

# Disciplining the Feminism: Girls' *Madrassa* Education in Pakistan

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## Abstract

*Since the events of 9/11, madaris have gained much attention from the world, mostly because of the alleged link between the Islamic religious education and militancy. Reports and popular writings revolve around the madaris for boys, providing information on various aspects of madaris. However madaris for girls have been ignored in this discourse. The Islamization activities of the female students of Jāmi' Hafsa attached to Lāl Mosque, Islamabad, and the delayed response by the state, culminating in army operation in July 2007. Fundamental questions regarding the nature of religious education of the girls, remain to be answered. The present study employs Michel Foucault's concept of total institution analysed the education and training the girls' madaris are imparting and trying to tame the feminism through ironing out the docile bodies.*

Contemporary discourse brought *madrassa*, the centuries-old institution of Islamic learning, to limelight and more or less define them as political entity with particular reference to Pakistan and try to discover the covert or overt relationship between Islamic *madrassa* education and militant extremism.<sup>1</sup> The *madaris* are accused of promoting religious fanaticism and sectarian violence within Pakistan, and of 'breeding terrorists' for international *jihad*. On the other hand, modern feminist writings by Pakistani scholars concentrate on analyzing the public school texts books to find out gender bias, which reinforces patriarchal ideologies.<sup>2</sup> Both the discourse ignore girls' *madaris* and their curriculum (formal and informal) . Curriculum is a necessary ingredient for carving out peculiar self and personality that is demonstrated by the girls of *madaris* in Islamabad in March 2007.<sup>3</sup>

In recent months, many articles and reports have pointed out with alarm the increase in the number of *Madaris* in Pakistan during the past two and half decades . It is hard to count the exact number of *madaris* in Pakistan. After independence, gradual increase has been observed in *madaris*. In 1947, Pakistan had 137 *madaris* or according to another estimate 245,<sup>4</sup> which increased upto 401 in 1960. In 1971 they were 893 and eventually 3000 in 1988. They are multiplying in number since then. According to the Ministry of Education, the number of *madaris* in 2001 was 6,996,

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which rose to 10,430 in 2003,<sup>5</sup> a 67 percent increase in two years, while some 1.5 to 1.7 million students are attending these institutions.<sup>6</sup> International Crisis Group's (ICG) recent report (2007) quotes Interior Minister Aftab Sherpao, that the total number of *madaris* is 13,000, of which 12,006 are registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860.<sup>7</sup> Pakistan's Federal Minister for Religious Affairs recently claimed that the total number of *madaris* registered under old law or new ordinance is 14,072, (till May 28, 2007).<sup>8</sup> Nearly 1.5 million children are attending the seminaries. The fact that the government data is oblivious to the gender difference,, makes it difficult to quantify their socio-educational impact. However, the most important question is not that of quantity: how many girls' *madaris* are working or how many girls receive religious education; rather it is a qualitative question what is the content and type of the religious education, which our girls receive.

The events of *Lāl Mosque* and *Jāmi' Hafsa* invoked the interest about the kind of education the girls are receiving from the *madaris*. This paper presents the study of one of *madaris* boards' curriculum – Wafaq ul-Madaris (Deobandi) - for girls. It argues that focusing on boys' *madaris* only makes incomplete sketch of *madrassa* discourse, hence there is a need to pay some attention on Pakistani girls' *madaris* to complete it. It analyzes the working of disciplinary processes these *madaris* use as a total institution, crafting docile bodies and inculcating a specific form of womanhood through creating a religious self among the girl students. The first section presents a brief review of present literature on *madrassa*, after the theoretical framework. The next section provides a brief historical account of the evolution and development of the Dars-i-Nizami, adopted by Deobandis *madaris*. The final section presents an analysis of girls' curriculum which aims at for disciplining the feminism among the girl students and inculcating them the patriarchal notion of man's superiority.

### **Review of Present Studies on Pakistani Madaris**

Before 9/11 academic works on Pakistani *madaris* are limited.<sup>9</sup> There are writings by 'ulema defending the existence of *madaris* in the wake of state's design to modernize and secularize them. Mostly these writings are in Urdu whether in the forms of books, pamphlets or essays in various *madrassa*' magazines but with limited circulation and for particular readership. 'Ulema's works are more oratorical and less convincing. We have two government sponsored reports on *madaris*; one in 1962<sup>10</sup> and other in 1979.<sup>11</sup> Both reports present governmental attempts to control the *madaris* by recommending reform in their organization and curriculum in order to bring them in conjunction with the mainstream education. J. D. Kraan's monograph, *Religious Education in Islam* provides a succinct introduction of *madrassa* education in Pakistan.<sup>12</sup> Jamal Malik's *Colonialization of Islam*<sup>13</sup> was major contribution towards understanding the *madaris* in relation to post-colonial state of Pakistan. Malik's study primarily concerned with the effects of state-sponsored Islamization as a vehicle of increasing state control over "autochthonous institutions." Some works trace the roots of sectarianism to *madrassa* education.<sup>14</sup> Other works on *madaris* mark out their development and transformation during colonial period to Pakistan,<sup>15</sup> or charged Pakistani government supported militants and *madaris* as an easy mode of fighting India and providing education to the children.<sup>16</sup> While the *madrassa* discourse before September 11, 2001 (9/11) was focused on critiquing the *madaris*, their system of education, the kind of knowledge they had been imparting, and questioning the utility

of *madaris* graduates, and blaming them for fomenting sectarianism. The post-9/11 events, however, upturned the chessboard of the discourse.

After the events of 9/11, there has been a plethora of academic works, journalistic articles, and policy reports, on *madaris* providing analyses with preconceived notions and predetermined conclusions. Nearly all of these acknowledge, like Peter Singer,<sup>17</sup> Mumtaz Ahmed,<sup>18</sup> Tariq Rehman,<sup>19</sup> and International Crisis Group (ICG),<sup>20</sup> that the *madaris* are promoting conservatism, obscurantism and intolerance while admitting that small percentage of *madaris* in Pakistan are promoting militancy or *jihad*. While blaming *madaris* as recruiting ground of terrorists, they ignored the mechanisms deployed to discipline the mind and body of the Taliban (students).

A study sponsored by the World Bank and published in 2005,<sup>21</sup> using the published data, deals only with the enrolment issue in Pakistani *madaris*, however, it did not provide segregated data. The report asserts that *madaris* are enrolling only less than one percent of all enrolment in Pakistan, a claim rejected by the ICG Report.<sup>22</sup> Yoginder Sikand through his seminal work, on *madaris*<sup>23</sup> becomes one of the lonely voice, after 9/11 episode, raised in the defence of *madaris* from the outside. Focussing on India, he critically interrogates stereotypical images of the *madaris* by highlighting their diversity and the complex social roles that they play in the lives of many Muslims. *Madaris*, as a rule, represent orthodoxy and teaching with an outdated and unscientific curriculum, yet, Sikand argues, this obscurantism does not necessarily lead to militancy and hostility against others. He also devoted some pages for reviewing girls' *madaris* working in India.

An excellent ethnographic study on a Deobandi *madrasa*, conducted by Masooda Bano<sup>24</sup> questions the perception of *madrasa* as an overtly political entity. She argues in its place "a *madrasa*, even today, is primarily a social entity with a specific socio-economic role." A recently published book on *madaris* edited by Robert Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman examines the varieties of modern Muslim education and their implications for national and global politics.<sup>25</sup> The contributors provide new insights into Muslim culture and politics among different nations. Qasim Zaman in his essay, contributed to this book, defends the *madrasa* learning and contends that the tradition of religious scholarship is well-acknowledged in the country<sup>26</sup>. Almost all the reports and studies present a substantially negative image of the *madrasa* system as a whole while focusing on boys' *madaris*.

However, despite the virtual non-existence of any work on Pakistani girls' *madrasa*, Sikand and Mareike Winkelmann initiated a dialogue on girls' *madaris* of India. In his article Sikand claims<sup>27</sup> girls' *madaris*, by combining religious with the modern education, are playing a great role in countering illiteracy in the most backward section of Indian society, i.e., the Muslim women. At the same time, they are inculcating Islamic domesticity among the young girl and by training them as specialists in religious studies so that they would become guardians of pure faith in a corrupt world. It is believed, that as religious authority on their own, these female graduates would learn their rights, which Islam has given them. Sikand is optimistic about the gender implications of girls' *madrasa* education, which emphasizes on "Islamicity," eventually leading to unintentional "modernisation."

In 2005, through an ethnographic study of a girls' *madrassa* in India, Mareike Winkelmann portrays detailed picture of the inner side of a girls' *madrassa* in India.<sup>28</sup> The study traces out the processes in which the values and requirements of the particular religious groups permeate and shape the human self. *Madrassa* education for Indian Muslim girls brings many benefits – the prospect of upward mobility through education, better marriage prospects, the option of taking up the teaching profession and finally the accumulation of *sawab* (religious merit) for themselves and their families. Winkelmann observes that girls' *madaris* are different from boys, not only in the quantity but also in the quality of education. She raised the question whether women *madrassa* graduates, could exercise the same or some amount of religious authority equal to men's and in finding the answer she is pessimistic.

After 9/11, *madaris* have come under media spotlight from the western academia and international organizations have also turned their gaze to *madrassa*, mostly owing to the alleged link between *madrassa* education and forms of violence. While considerable literature is available on boys' *madaris*, yet, there is hardly any work available on Pakistani girls' *madaris* and the mode of their education. Keeping in view the current mushrooming of *madaris*, and state of *madrassa* discourse, and present articulation of feminist debate in the academic circles, the lack of academic interest on Pakistani girls' higher *madaris* and the current political scenario; it is worthwhile to conduct study on this new phenomenon.

### **The framework**

Girl's *madaris* are relatively close communities with certain disregard for the worldly matters. The academic activity centres on religious education. The patrons, managers and the designers of curricula are, always men. Alongwith the curriculum which is devised with a particular mindset, in order to craft a receptive mind, the administration wants to create, for inculcating certain values, a particular environment in the *madaris*, which could be exploited later on for colonizing the mind and disciplining the body. These institutions use both curriculum and the disciplining mechanisms to meet these ends. In addition to specially crafted curriculum, girls' *madaris*, in the Foucault's terms, are 'total institutions' where disciplining mechanisms work. The control over civil society, it is thought, could be achieved through school children by using disciplinary mechanism. The reformist '*Ulama*' are trying to discipline the population through eradicating the houses of evil,<sup>29</sup> - reforming the minds of women.

For disciplining, *madaris* use both direct and indirect methods. They do not depend solely on the classrooms, they may use many understated methods, like manipulating the *madrassa* environment. *Madaris* discovered the body as the target of power. According to Foucault the "docile body" is "subjected, used, transformed and improved."<sup>30</sup> Docility is achieved through the actions of discipline. Discipline is different from force or violence because it is a way of controlling the operations and positions of the body. Disciplinary power, here the *madaris*' male administration, imposes the best relation between gesture and the overall position of the body, for instance, movement of the body while reciting the holy texts. In the correct use of the body, nothing must remain useless.

Therefore, the body is the subject of attention. In the modern system, Foucault says, the body is arranged, regulated and supervised rather than tortured. Now, the body is not subject to torture but to the forces of discipline and control. Discipline creates individuality out of the bodies that it controls. At the same token, the disciplining processes increase the ones' own "mastery" over his body.<sup>31</sup> In *madrassa*, as a disciplining society, where the disciplining processes shape out the individuality in girls by learning more about life and body, there, they also create docility by constant indoctrination of a particular ideal of Islamic womanhood.

Books and curricula reflect, more or less, the wishes of *madaris* authorities, who in almost all the cases are male. Girls learn what the "powers" wish them to learn. The choice of material for them from which they learn is pre-selected. The material which enables the girls to go beyond the classroom are also controlled either by subtly discouraging the student from going too far from what is taught in the classroom or it is controlled directly by making certain types of material more available than others and some simply unavailable. The forces of regimentation, the language relations, the power-stance of those in authority is similarly total in the *madaris* as in Foucault's total institution. Students are supervised and controlled by *madaris*' officials and they expect to respond, both in and out of the classroom, in a powerlessly, docile and predictable manner.

### **Muslim Education and *Dars-i-Nizami***

*Madrassa* education has a long tradition among the Muslims of South Asia. The number of *madaris* has enormously increased during the post-independence period. In the past, these institutions have played an important role in imparting Islamic education, increasing the literacy, and strengthening the Islamic consciousness and most importantly, providing training to the prospective civil servants. In the pre-colonial days, a graduate equipped with mathematics, logic, philosophy and the other secular sciences, along with the religious ones had better chances to get employment in the imperial civil service or in the courts of the regional rulers and nobles.

Historically, Islamic education was used to strengthen and maintain "specific discourses of power,"<sup>32</sup> consequently curriculum was designed accordingly to fulfill the needs of those who were in power. At first, during Akbar's reign (1556-1605) the *madrassa* curriculum was redesigned by Fatah Allah Shirazi (d.1589), a great Iranian scholar of Akbar's court. Being himself a great scholar of rational sciences, Shirazi put emphasis on the rational sciences (*m'aqulat*) by adding more books on logic, philosophy, mysticism and scholasticism.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, the tradition of teaching religious sciences also flourished.<sup>34</sup> This tradition was nourished by Sheikh Ahmed Sirhandi (d.1624), Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhadith Dehlvi (d.1641), Maulana Abdul Rahim (d.1718) and his son Shah Wali Ullah (d.1762). It contained reformist elements and aimed at purging out, what these scholars thought, the un-Islamic practices among the Muslims and propagating scriptural Islam, with emphasis on religious sciences (*manqulat*).

At the same time, the former trend, i.e., of teaching the *m'aqulat*, was preserved and promoted by the house of Farangi Mahal, Lucknow. Mullah Nizamudin Sihalwi (d.1748) of Farangi Mahall, consolidated rationalist tradition in the form of

*Dars-i-Nizami*, a curriculum for the *madrasa* at Farangi Mahal, Lucknow. *Dars-i-Nizami* became a landmark in the history of Muslim education in India and was adopted by most of the Sunni *madaris* of the Subcontinent; though with some amendments, particularly after the second half of the nineteenth century. *Dars-i-Nizami* was meant to train administrators and to fulfil the need of ‘increasingly sophisticated and complex bureaucratic system’ of India.<sup>35</sup> *Dars*, itself, did not demand rote learning, though it preserved the centuries-old tradition of oral communication and the memorization of texts. Being tilted in favour of *m‘aqulat*, the curriculum developed the habit of self-thinking. The number of books on sciences, which strengthened the power of thinking such as scholasticism, mathematics, philosophy and logic, was higher than any other branch of learning such as *tafsir* (exegesis of the Quran), *hadith* (tradition of Prophet Muhammad Peace be upon him), and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).

*Dars* was basically a standardized method of learning rather than a list of books taught to the students.<sup>36</sup> The fundamental feature of this curriculum was its emphasis on widening the mental horizon and develops the habit of reading and research and analytical skills rather than rote learning. In order to develop masterly skill, the students used to learn one or two relatively difficult books on a discipline. However their mental ability was put to a scrutines before initiating them into that process. After completing the study they were able to comprehend other books on that discipline also. In order to promote logic and philosophy in the *madaris* along with religious sciences, the *Dars* was heavily loaded with the books on grammar and syntax which were necessary to develop language skill in Arabic, the language of the textbooks and a means for the transmission of the heritage of the Islamic tradition. All these subjects which include logic, philosophy, grammar or syntax were considered ‘*ulum-e-‘aliya*, instrumental sciences.’<sup>37</sup> *Dars* did not emphasize literal contents of books rather it stressed the meanings of classical texts in the process of learning. It considered the book as a mean to educate for developing skills in a particular discipline, not as an end itself that was the basic reason behind the changes the curriculum is facing for past three centuries.<sup>38</sup> Mullah Nizamudin tried to keep the *Dars* in neutral tone, so it could not develop sectarian bias among the students. For that matter, in addition to emphasis on logic and philosophy, he kept those books on *fiqh* which were written logically and presented *fiqhi* (related to the religious law) debates on rational arguments. In the field of *tafsir* his preference was Allam Qadi Nasr al-Din Baidawi’s (d. 1285/86) *Anwar al-Tanzil fi Asrar al-Ta’wil*, commonly known as *Baidawi*, which is an amended version of *al-Kashshaf* of Allama Jar Allah Zamakhshari (d.1134), a *mut‘azilite*.

Keeping the holistic view of education, Mulla Nizamuddin did not base the *Dars* on the dichotomy of the religious and the secular – the colonial notion which the colonial and post-colonial ‘*Ulama* adopted. It is true that *Dars* was more inclined towards rational sciences, but it could not be termed as secular. Later, changes in late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, however, made it more religious but the basic framework for the formulation of learning remained the same.

Negotiating a strong link between pen, book, and the ‘*Ulama*, and by the nature of the method of teaching and the selection of books, *Dars*, with its *ma‘quli* tradition, had put its most of the graduates, politically, in low profile. ‘*Ulama* and the graduates of Farangi Mahal, with few exceptions, had not tried to wage *jihad*, holy

war, against new non-Muslim occupiers of India – the British. Nature of contents and the rationalist way of thinking, which the *Dars* developed in its graduates, convinced them that joining armed struggle or political agitation against the government of the time was an activity less than their status and was not suitable to their genius. For the '*Ulama*, they believed that the best *jihad* was through pen. Therefore, nearly all prominent *Dars* graduates, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, used written words, not swords, as a vehicle for their *jihad*. While acquiescing British occupation of India, a painful situation for the Muslims, *Dars* graduates and '*Ulama* continued their engagement with the educational activities.

During colonial period, as Christian missionaries intensified their work, and as '*Ulama* and Muslim education were deprived of state patronage coupled with anti-Muslim *waqf* (endowment) policies of colonial state, the second half of the 19th century observed the surfacing of different *maslaks* (factions) in the South Asian Islam as well as *madaris* related to these *maslaks*, which claimed as protecting the Muslim identity and preserving Islamic tradition. The most renowned of these *madrasa* was Dar ul-'Uloom at Deoband, a town in the Northern India. The Deoband *madrasa* founders accepted the British rule, at least in the last decades of the 19th century, as a *fait accompli* and by acknowledging the colonial notion that religion was a private matter, they manoeuvred to reach common Indian Muslim through controlling private sphere and by replacing Persian with Urdu as a medium of instruction in the *madaris*.<sup>39</sup> Deoband *madrasa* educational movement was reformist in its orientation but reformist not in the sense that it was promoting learning of modern sciences among the Muslims rather tried to eradicate the un-Islamic practices in the community of believers. Although '*Ulama* at Deoband adopted basic premises of *Dars-i-Nizami* for the curriculum of Dar ul-'Uloom, however, they injected some crucial changes that changed the texture of the *Dars*. The *Dars* emphasised on rational sciences, a fact which was readjusted in the curriculum of Deoband and other *madrasas*, which emerged after 1857, now, in the favour of *manqulat*, i.e., religious sciences.

Until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Persian was the language of Muslim court and culture. After the British ascendancy, it remained the language of colonial administration until 1835, when it was replaced by English. Later on it was replaced by provincial vernaculars. In the Northern India, vernacular meant Urdu/Hindi. With this replacement, '*Ulama*, from last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> and earlier decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, switched over from Persian to Urdu as the language of communication, both in print and in the *madaris*. The Persian commentaries and glosses on Arabic texts that that were published in the early 19th century, were gradually replaced with their Urdu translations. A considerable number of religious and non-religious works were published, in the last three decades of the 19th century, in Urdu language, the *lingua franca* of the Muslims of the North and the North Western India.<sup>40</sup> Soon Urdu became the mark of identity among the Muslims of India. For educated Muslims, especially of the Northern India, the decline of Persian was accompanied by the increasing prominence of Urdu throughout the 19th century as the language of literary and religious expression. Urdu became the medium of instruction in most of the *madaris*, and it was principally in this language that '*Ulama* preferred to debate, write and publish. Numerous translations of the Qur'an and of other religious classics were printed in Urdu, which contributed to the development of this language. Language, print and improved means of communication reinvigorated the learning environment

of the *madaris* and contributed towards the strengthening of religious identity among Muslims in the colonial India.

All these religious and socio-political changes that took place in the 19th and the 20th century British India put a deep print on the *madrassa* curriculum especially on *Dars-i-Nizami*. Nearly all Muslim *madaris* of India, no matter what their sectarian affiliations were, took pride by adopting and teaching the *Dars* curriculum, but after making changes according to their own *maslaks*' needs. The original *Dars* which was, once, an astute blend of *manqulat* and *ma'qulat*, a comprehensive syllabi for preparing the students not only for as a bureaucrat or a prayer leaders but also skilled them as literate-secular persons in a non-Muslim majority society, heavily became a singular instrument for demarking Muslim identity and for that matter reaching to the lower echelons of Muslim society who were, hitherto, usually not entitled to get higher education.

Almost all of the Pakistani *madaris*, of both boys and girls, of all the *maslaks* claim that they are practicing the *Dars-i-Nizami*. But as a matter of fact they are teaching some texts which were included in the original *Dars*. *Madaris* like Dar ul-'Ulum Deoband changed their orientation in the second half of the 19th century. Despite the fact that contemporary Pakistani *madaris* introduced modern subjects up to middle or matriculation levels, but they mainly concern with *manqulat* – religious sciences.

### **Girls' Madrasa education**

Until the liquidation of Muslim power in India, the Muslim educational institutions were not only training the students to be religious teachers/scholar or prayer leaders but also acted as the pre-service training academy for the civil services. At that time, like before, the state bureaucracy was absolutely staffed by men. For that reason, the gender bias that was inherently present in the composition of civil service, crept into the contents of Muslim education. Therefore, the curriculum and organization of *madaris* were devised in such a way that women were automatically being considered ineligible for higher Islamic education. Educated women had no utility in public sphere, so there was no need of higher learning institutions – *madaris*, they only needed basic religious education for personal use.

The recent years witnessed the emergence of a number of *madaris* including girls' *madaris* set up by different Muslim sects in Pakistan, particularly after the 1970s.<sup>41</sup> The British and modern educated/reformist Muslims established schools for Muslim girls during the colonial times, however, the concept of a separate higher-level *madrassa* for girls is relatively a recent phenomenon, as it is seen in response to modernity, – “women's liberation, consumerism, and un-Islamic way of life that would threaten the integrity of the community itself,”<sup>42</sup> which is going to challenge the traditional power structure in the Muslim societies.

In the pre-independence Muslim society of India, the girl education was informal, affluent Muslim families arranged, lady teachers or elderly men to teach their daughters the Qur'an and the basic tenets of Islam and this practice is still in vogue. The poor and lower middle class families send their daughters to *maktabs*

(primary Qur'anic schools), which are normally located in a nearby mosque or in a lady teacher's home, to get religious education. After getting basic religious knowledge, girls are normally withdrawn from the *maktabs* when they come of age. There is evidence that in the second half of the 19th century separate girls' *maktabs* were present which imparted primary education, for instance Madrasat ul-Binat at Jalandhar, Punjab.<sup>43</sup> In 1864 there were 129 *maktabs* for girls in Lahore and in Ambala district 23 *maktabs* existed for Muslim girls.<sup>44</sup> However, we do not have any record of the higher institutions of learning, i.e., *madaris*, for the Muslim girls in the pre-partition India.

After 1857 modernist Muslims were advocating for modern education, however, they were not in the vanguard of the struggle for women's education rather, in fact, religious reformist made the first move towards women's education. Syed Ahmed Khan (d.1898) gave preference to Muslim male education over women's. Surprisingly it was the Deobandi '*Ulama*, rather than the modernists who addressed the subject of the women's education, having faith in its advantages. Ashraf Ali Thanawi's (d.1943) well-known book of advice to women, *Bihishti Zewar*, characterizes radical departure from traditional expectations regarding women's religious learning. *Bihishti Zewar* was a sharp break from Muslim traditionalism wherein women were refrained to make independent judgement regarding the Qur'an and Hadith. Maulana Thanawi sought to project "Islam's egalitarian theological position vis-à-vis gender."<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, *Bihishti Zewar* advocated a particular type of learning for women, one that emphasized scriptural observance of defined social roles, and its ideal women, educated in the scriptures, who was privileged as the guardian of virtue.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, Syed Ahmed Khan was fairly conservative on the question. He maintained that education for women was premature and that it should be undertaken only after Muslim boys had been educated.<sup>47</sup> Though Deobandi promoted self-learning among women which was one of the fundamental tools in their reformist agenda, however, they did not established *madaris* for girls' education.

A few decades earlier we heard little about women becoming religious specialists. Today, though, someone does not see a female *mufti* (who has authority to deliver religious edict or *fatwa*) or *faqiha* (a woman specialist in the Islamic jurisprudence) but, definitely, we have qualified '*alimas* (women religious scholars) educated from a number of girls' *madaris*. In the year 2006, 8554 girls appeared in the examination of *darjah 'alimah* (equal to MA Arabic and Islamic Studies), as compared to 4660 boys, conducted by Wafaq ul-Madaris al-Arabia (Deobandi),<sup>48</sup> one of five the *wafaqs* or madrasa educational boards in Pakistan.<sup>49</sup> These *wafaqs* and some individual large *madaris* award various certificates and degrees to the students after examining certain religious disciplines. The focus of curriculum revolves around the religious sciences and little attention is paid to the modern subjects. For girls, in the Deobandi *madaris* of Pakistan, modern subjects are taught during the first eight years of schooling. Nearly all *madaris* combine religious education with modern subjects to varying degrees as required by the relevant *wafaq*, by doing this they are playing a major role in promoting literacy as well as Islamic awareness among the Muslim girls, who form the most educationally deprived section of the Pakistani society. This institutionalized and formal form of Muslim girls' religious education emerged with the aim to counter the evils of modernity, with the background of "ideological foundation established by the late nineteenth century Muslim reformers with their views regarding women's education, the role of women in society, and their

ideals of Islamic womanhood.”<sup>50</sup> It can also be seen as the “evolution” of pre-independence “theology” into post-independence “ideology” as a new function of Islam. Promotion of religious education and proliferation of *madaris* could be analyzed through the idealization of Islam and ‘*Ulama*’s response to the “cultural domination of (the) Western world.”<sup>51</sup>

The guardians of Islamic learning contend that the education, which *madaris* are imparting to the girls, is a training to do their domestic chores, what they regard, according to Islamic way. A *madrasa*-educated girl would become an ideal mother, as some traditionalist circles think, who would carry and transmit the centuries-old Islamic tradition to the new generation – an extension of civilizing task from *madrasa* to home. These mothers are fulfilling one of the most important objectives of a *madrasa*, the preservation and promotion of the Islamic teachings. They also saw that giving religious education to girls would reform and correct their actions and improve the moral standards of society at large. As men believe, by educating their girls they would earn merit for the hereafter. They also insist that through this education girls would become aware of the rights, which Islam has granted them and ultimately would lead to their empowerment.

Every sect in Pakistan, now, maintains girls’ *madaris* along with boys’, but curriculum implemented is not the same for both the genders. It seems as if boys and girls are not at par in terms of religious education they need and probably in intelligence. For instance, the curriculum for girls’ Islamic religious education devised and implemented by Wafaq ul- Madaris al-Arbia Pakistan (the education board of Deobandi *madaris*, which is responsible for making arrangements for examination at various levels and awarding certificates and degrees) is more relaxed for girls than for boys. A cursory comparison of *madrasa* curriculum for *banin* (boys) and *binaat* (girls) provides that girls are less than equal with their counterparts in getting religious education. The question of class and gender becomes more prominent in the girls’ *madrasa* education,<sup>52</sup> as most girls come from the lower financial strata of the society. The curriculum concentrated on cultivating ‘domestic femininity’ among the female students. As a result, girls are immune from learning modern subjects after passing the level 8, nearly at this age the girl comes of age. Therefore, from matriculation (secondary) onwards the curriculum does not contain any content of modern/secular subjects. The purpose of educating girls is not developing independent and autonomous selves among them or enhancing their intellectual capacities, rather it is to make them more proficient wives, mothers and domestic managers, who can continue the civilizing mission in the home. Girl education is justified on the grounds that it would be helpful for them to fulfil the domestic duties and providing their children with, at least, basic instructions in the Islamic doctrines and *adab* (etiquettes/values). By and large, education for girls does not visualize as preparing them for playing a significant role beyond their homes. Beyond the home, teaching is an acceptable profession if their domestic duties are not neglected and that the workplace maintains proper segregation of sexes.

### **Curriculum for Deobandi Girls’ *Madaris* of Pakistan**

The curriculum for girls’ *madrasa* related to the Deobandi *maslak* seems an impressive one. The girls who are interested in getting admission to the certificate

course of *sanvia 'amah* (secondary) have already completed the 8-year schooling and have passed the *mutawasat darjah* or the middle level or they had the same years of schooling in a modern school. The Deobandi *madaris* also maintained facilities for teaching at lower levels, *ibtadaiyya* (primary) and middle. The Wafaq ul-Madaris (board for Deobandi *madaris*) had also approved the curriculum for teaching at these levels, which is binding for all the affiliated Deobandi *madaris*. At this stage, both sexes have same curriculum, however, at higher level different curricula are used for boys and girls.

Secular subjects are also a component of primary and middle level education of Deobandi *madaris*. English, Urdu, and mathematics are compulsory subjects from year 1 to year 8. In addition to these, social studies from year 3 to 8 and science from year 5 to 8 are also the part of the modern education which the traditional institutions are imparting. For all these subjects, those books are used which are approved by the Text Books Boards of the relevant province for teaching in the government primary schools. The curriculum for primary and middle, which was implemented in 1993 by Wafaq ul Madaris, has more books on modern subjects than on religion. Comparing with the same quantity of education in the state-run schools, the *madaris*' education is more than equal to government schools, because *madrassa* students not only study the state-approved curriculum but also get religious education. They are required to learn, in addition to the religious texts, some socio-religious *adab* related to day to day life and proper observance of the religious rites.

From year 6, Persian learning becomes part of the syllabus. *Karima, Pand Nama, Nam-e-Haq* and *Gulistan-e-Saadi* are included in the curriculum. In these three years the religious education is continued and consists of, mostly, memorization (*hifz*) of some parts of the Qur'an and *tajweed* (learning method of the recitation of the Qur'an) and *Sirat un-Nabi* (biography of the Prophet Peace be upon him). In addition to, in year 8 students, both boys and girls, are required to study *Bihisti Gohar* of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawi (edited by Wafaq ul-Madrais),<sup>53</sup> which is basically 'advice literature' for boys.

The student who passes level 8 has enough basic religious education and is able to perform religious prayers and rites properly according to Islam. A boy or girl of a *madrassa* with having basic instructions in four languages, now also shares, more or less, equal quantity of education in modern subjects with the students of government schools.

After completing 8-year schooling, a girl can get admission to a higher *madrassa* for a two-year certificate course of *darja sanwiyya 'amah*, equivalent to matriculation. In contrast to boys of this *darja* (level), which is of three years for them, girls are deprived of getting instructions in modern subjects. It is said that they have got enough education of modern subjects during first eight years of their stay at the *madrassa*.

Apart from continuing the memorization, now translation and exegesis of the Qur'an, Hadith and *fiqh* become part of religious education. The courses, six in each year, in these two-year' study are constructed with emphasis on Arabic learning. Out of total twelve courses six are related to language learning - grammar, syntax and lexicon.

The next four-year study's curriculum mostly comprises of religious education. In addition to the teaching of exegesis, *Hadith*, *fiqh*, principles of jurisprudence, law of inheritance, syntax, and rhetoric become the part of a scheme of the study. A new subject, logic, finds place in the curriculum though only one book is listed as against five for boys. It seems that the curriculum is oriented towards crystallization of existing learning on one hand and then, furtherance of knowledge leading to specialization, on the other. Now, it could be understood that girl graduates are religious specialists and have sufficient knowledge of the Islamic jurisprudence and other branches of Islamic learning except Hadith, because designers of curriculum reserved the next two years for Hadith studies. But comparing girls' courses of studies with boys', it is easy to note that many books on Islamic learning are omitted from the girls' curriculum (see table-I). However, after graduation girls can get admission in a two-year programme of post-graduation, *darja 'alamiah*, a specialize course in Hadith studies.

Curriculum for *darja 'alamiah*, equal to Master of Arts (MA), almost exclusively focuses on the study of Hadith. Ten collections of Ahadith (plural of Hadith) (though not their complete texts but some sections) make eight courses out of ten. The remaining two courses are related to *tafsir* and *usul-i-tafsir* and *fiqh*.

A comparison with the curriculum of Dars-i-Niazmi for boys studying in Deobandi *madaris* of Pakistan indicates that many books are deemed either not suitable for girls studying in the same *maslak's* *madaris* for same certificate/degree (*sanad*) or they are considered not necessary for their learning and training as religious specialists. Philosophy, mathematics, economics and comparative religion are the subjects which are axed from the girls' syllabus. Even *'asri* (modern) subjects like English, social/Pakistan studies, science, mathematics, and Urdu are compulsory for boys of *darja sanviyyah 'amah* or matriculation who have to spend a whole year in studying these subjects only, are omitted from girls' curriculum.

It is claimed that girls' curriculum is based on *Dars-i-Nizami*, nevertheless, many books on different subjects are missing, if compared with the curriculum as administered in the nineteenth century by the *'Ulama* of Deoband or was fashioned in the 1960s or even today's Deobandi *madrasa* in Pakistan. Currently, fifteen books are included under the title of grammar and syntax, while for girls five are considered enough. Seven books on philosophy and logic, whereas fourteen in the original Dars-i-Nizami, with the aim of developing the reasoning and thinking faculty of the students and they also prepare them to combat the Western onslaught, are added in boys' *Dars*, whereas the girls' curriculum contains only one. This ratio of seven-to-one shows that *'Ulama*, at least the Deobandi, still consider that women are relatively in less need to develop analytical skills than men. *Fiqh* and *usul-i-fiqh* are no exception. For developing competence in jurisprudence, boys are required to study nine as compared to four books for girls. Same is the case with theology (*kalam*) and rhetoric (*balaghat*).

In addition to the excluded subjects and books, for girls, selected sections of many books, with certain aim in mind, are meant appropriate for learning and become the part of curriculum, for instance books of collection of *Ahadith*. For two years they receive instruction in Islamic law (*fiqh*) through studying exclusively *Bahishti Zewar* of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanwi, which some scholars put it in the genre of 'advice literature', and not a book of jurisprudence.<sup>54</sup> For next three years, on this subject,

only one book, *Mukhtasr al-Qaduri* and for another two years *Hidayah* are judged adequate for a woman to become specialist in the religious law. Non-religious sciences are disproportionately represented in the curriculum. Though, girls are taught in multiple subjects, however, strong emphasis could be seen on *Hadith* and *adab* training for creating a certain type of womanhood among the young girls according to the yardstick of Islam as defined by the '*Ulama*.

### **Educating the womanhood and disciplining the feminism**

Pakistan's Deobandi '*Ulama* have a particular agenda in mind while designing the girls' curriculum. Men decide what women ought to be studied and what kind of information they need. If compared with boys' curriculum, one can see that girls' curriculum is substantially different. During the last two centuries a religious change took place among the Indian Muslims, the Islamic discourse visibly shifted towards this-worldly rather than other-worldly religion to preserve religious identity in a non-Muslim majority society.<sup>55</sup> The reformist '*Ulama* perceived a heavy responsibility for themselves in order to develop a strong religious self in the Muslims through spreading the Islamic tradition by available means. The Muslim women became one of the most appropriate vehicles for 'this-worldly' shift in religion and for creating a new Muslim self. With the dissolution of Muslim power in India, they were seen as "the central transmitters of Islamic values" and as "the symbols of Muslim identity" rather being measured as "threats to proper conduct of Muslim society."<sup>56</sup>

After Partition, when girls' *madaris* emerged, the movement took a new turn. A host of value-oriented literature became part of the curriculum and instructions in *adab* are given through formal education. Instead of self-studying, now, young girls material to instruct them about the Islamic values in the classrooms. Certain books find place in the reading list while others are studied partially in the girls' *madaris* with more stress on the Qur'an and Hadith. Consequently, this tailoring of *Dars-i-Nizami* led to enlimit the scope of the knowledge acquired by the graduates. At the end, they have knowledge on those issues which are women-related like, marriage, divorce and inheritance. The inclusion of selected portions from Hadith books in the curriculum or the teaching of *Siar-i-Sahabiyat* (biographies of the female companions of the Prophet, Peace be upon him) and the like, are being taught to girls and criteria for this selection were made with the aim of creating an Islamic femininity among the women.

The tradition of teaching Persian language still flourishes in Deobandi *madaris* though at a much reduced level starting from the year 6 with *Karima* and then it continues with the teaching of the other mediaeval Persian texts. Now the Persian is no longer the language of state or literature, at least in Pakistan, nor it is necessary for training bureaucrats but still it is very dear to *madaris* because of their sheer love to conservatism. In addition to *Karima*, Fariddudin Attar's *Pand Nama*, *Nam-i-Haq* and *Gulistan-i-S'adi* are major Persian texts, which both the boys and girls have to study during their middle level. However, *Bustan* and many excerpts of *Gulstan* (only five chapters are included: 1 to 4 and 8) are excluded from the scheme of study. These books are considered 'safe' and moralistic. Those sections of *Gulistan*'s which contain love stories and project profane love are excluded from the curriculum, for example

chapter 5 which deals with the delicacies of love, because studying these kinds of texts would corrupt the students' minds.

Nevertheless, the standards of morality remain medieval and patriarchal. *Karima* of Sheikh S'adi tells about, on the one hand, the virtues of silence and hospitality, humility, contentment, patience and veracity and condemns ignorance, avarice and falsehood. While praising the fidelity as characteristic peculiar to men, S'adi tries to convince the reader that women are deceitful and tempting and inferior to men:

Infidelity is the nature of women

Do not learn [follow] the wicked conduct of women.<sup>57</sup>

*Pand Nama* and *Karima*, both inform us that women are unfaithful so wise men must suspect them – masculine is superior. All these texts not only reinforce but also indoctrinate them with the patriarchal concept of man's superiority.

Another well-known book which is a part of girls' curriculum is *Bihishti Zewar (Heavenly Ornaments)* of Maulana Thanawi. Many scholars, like Barbra Metcalf and Mareike Winkelmann, include this book in the genre of value literature. Nonetheless, the Deobandi *madaris* are teaching it to girls under the caption of *fiqh* (law). Basically, the book was written in a reformist tone for personal grooming of the Muslim women. To further the reformist agenda, the *adab* literature was the best and the cheapest way to reach the target population, as it did not need proper institution for instruction. For years *Bihishti Zewar* has remained a favorite with the Muslims of the Subcontinent. Among Muslims, it is a popular practice to present this volume to a new bride. The motivation behind this gesture is that as the young woman is going to take up the new social roles, so she should be well versed in the rites, rituals and traditions of Islam.

*Bihishti Zewar*, one of the important texts on girls' curriculum of Deobandi *madaris*, indoctrinates the young girls that women are socially subordinate to the men of their families and informs them that they are possessions of men. In the opinion of Maulana Thanawi, "in order to manage women (emphasis added), it is necessary to teach them the science of religion" was the basic cause for writing this book.<sup>58</sup> The book argues that ingratitude towards a husband is as much a sin as ingratitude towards God. It induces woman that she should obey her husband's will in all the matters, concerning her life and call the white black if he asks so. The book instructs women that they must learn above all to relate to her husband as they relate to God, with obedience and gratitude. They are responsible for their husband's disposition and are expected to keep them happy. The book advises the women:

Never think of him [husband] as your equal, never let him do any work for you.... If he comes to you and begins to massage your hands or feet, stop him; you would not let your father do this service, and you husband's rank is higher than your father's.<sup>59</sup>

The book induces women that they are entitled to *haquq* (rights) if they submit to men - woman's power is in her submission. In the same token Maulana Thanawi, as a reformist, believes that the observance of customs is responsible for deprivation of women from their rights which they are entitled to. Women were regarded "as guardian of virtue."<sup>60</sup> By attacking customary practice stridently, and by justifying women's subordinate position in the Islamic doctrinally established social hierarchy, the book represents an attempt to engage women in the construction of an "ideal Muslim" women. Subordination was made palatable by emphasizing women's own choice in religious observance and representing this subservient location as separate yet complementary to men. The book enlightens women that virtue lies in their observance of doctrinally defined role. It would be a privilege for them.

Cultural stereotypes suggest that women lack '*aql* – reason and the last pages of *Bihishti Zewar* affirm it. Women do not discourse logically. They quickly overwhelm with emotion, especially anger. They reach on conclusion without any investigation. "The do not measure any thing – not money, not time, not quantity. They talk too loudly. They do not protect their valuables or their honor."<sup>61</sup>

For determining a woman's social place in the hierarchy of relations, age and gender play very important parameters. As a child, a girl has to observe particular reverential patterns in her relations to elders. She must be careful in her conversation, dress, address, obedience to elders and must accept advice of an elder without questioning and must observe hierarchy of eating patterns and seating in a room with elders. In relation to husband the book advises her to treat him as a *majazi khuda* (impersonate God). Subservient to male authority is her power and privilege, the book instructs woman.

*Siar-i-Sahabiyat* (biographies of women companions of the Prophet Peace be upon him) of Maulana Abd us-Salam Nadwi and *Qasas un-Nabiyyin* including the book 8 of *Bihishti Zewar* not only form the major part of value education but also necessary for carving ideal womanhood among the young girls. The *adab* literature for girls' education is taken for granted that the apotheosis of virtue is in fact a good man.

A book on *adab* tells that "Muslim women even today can rise to high position of respect in society if they follow the great lives of the women companions."<sup>62</sup> *Adab* literature praises the great scholarly qualities of the female Companions, and narrates the virtues of pious women and discusses their moral qualities, their extraordinary character traits, and what made them good Muslim women. Who is a good Muslim woman? The interpretation is derived from the lens of a preconceived ideal of womanhood, and the result is a role model based on examples taken from the past. These texts explain the actions, character traits, and the social life of the female Companions. These markers of differentiation set the female Companions apart from other women, by virtue of which they are considered worth imitating for women today. Among the praiseworthy actions is the acceptance of Islam, bearing of hardships, keeping ritual obligations and abstention from music and musical instruments. The female Companions' character traits include dignity and self respect, sacrifice of personal interests, avoidance of vengeance, endurance in the face of affliction, and honour and chastity.<sup>63</sup> The value literature draws a sketch for a model social life of a woman where kindness to kin and relatives, protection and defence of

the wealth and property of the husband, and love, service, and seeking pleasure of the husband are the major ingredients.

The texts on Arabic literature which are included in the curriculum for developing language skills are also selected by the designers with a specific agenda in mind. Two major texts on Arabic literature are taken in as a supportive material for learning Arabic, the language of classical religious texts. Five *maqamat*<sup>64</sup> from *Maqamat al-Hariri*,<sup>65</sup> whereas boys have to learn ten *maqamat*, and *Nufhat al-Arab* (prose section) form main body of Arabic literature for girls. *Nufhat al Arab*, authored by Muhammad ‘Azaz Ali (d. 1955), a student and teacher at Dar ul-‘Ulum Doeband, is presently taught in Deobandi *madaris*. This was, basically, in response to *Nufat al-Yaman* of Sheikh Ahmed Shirwani (d.1840) which was written for the students of oriental learning of Madrasa ‘Alia Calcutta in the early nineteenth century. Though it was taught in the Daobandi *madrassa* in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, it was considered unsuitable for the students, particular for the girls. According to the present day Deobandi critics, the events and the language used in the book is bawdy, a disrespect to the Islamic honour.<sup>66</sup> Replacing *Nufhat al-Yaman*, with *Nufhat al-Arab* has been considered as an appropriate act for refining students’ ethics, morality and the Islamic mannerism;<sup>67</sup> such qualifications for a book on Arabic literature, and not the literary traits and style have become the judging criteria.

The texts on religious sciences are also related with ‘*ibadat* (prayers) and ‘*aqai’d* (theology) or those section of books are included which are concerned with the women’s issues. On *fiqhi* issues (related to law) those which are related to general interest or are of public nature seemingly have no utility for girl students; hence they face axe or receive less attention by the teachers during the class. Equipped with religious knowledge particularly of personal nature, the girl graduates have no value in job market. Adept in household affairs, they attune in a docile womanhood.

Docile bodies are the better vehicle for programming. In addition to inculcating Islamic womanhood through teaching the carefully selected texts, the girls’ *madaris* are creating docile bodies through subtle forms of disciplining. Young girls are indoctrinated in the ideals of a Muslim womanhood, not only through selected lessons given in the classrooms but also through ‘informal education’ – ‘through rules regarding discipline, body control, and behavioural expectations.’<sup>68</sup> So, the aim of bringing about a sense of *adab* in the students was not limited to the formally scheduled didactic activities. Even though lessons in *adab* or ‘value education’ share relatively small portion of study scheme, however, *adab* permeates the everyday actions and overall atmosphere of nearly all of girls’ *madaris* of Pakistan.

## Conclusion

The girls’ *madaris* assert that they are helping to train a class of Muslim girls who are committed to its understanding of Islam and who can later, go on to play a key role in the reform of Muslim society on ‘Islamic’ lines and combat what are seen as ‘un-

Islamic’ ways of life. The students of the *madrassa* are seen as ‘practical models’ for women in the rest of the world. Furthermore, claim is being made that *madrassa* education of the girls would give, them awareness, *inter alia*, about the rights, given to them by Islam. Having knowledge about the rights they could effectively defend them in the world of patriarchy – a difficult, if not possible, assumption to realize. This consciousness would earn for them empowerment and knowledge of religious sciences would exalt their status and they can exercise similar authority, which their male counterparts are enjoying. Apparently it is a foregone conclusion; however, in the real world of patriarchy it is doubtful. In addition to the religious subjects, the *madaris*’ course also includes some modern subjects, but they do not make sense because their aim – developing toleration and liberalizing their minds - of introducing them is not going to fulfil, as the girl students of Jāmi’ Hafsa demonstrated. A major focus of the teaching imparted at the *madaris* is internalisation of appropriate gender norms, as defined by the ‘*ulama*. Thus, strict purdah is rigidly enforced. Girls are not allowed to step outside the *madrassa*, in some cases, not even for a walk or to make purchases in the local market.

Educated in a specifically designed religious curriculum, the Muslim girls serve an effective instrument in fulfilling the ‘*ulama*’s mission of reconstructing the Muslim society in accordance with the Islamic ideals, as they define and further their influence and extend their constituency through reforming women’s morality. Using selective religious texts for the classrooms and giving them value education formally and informally, girls’ *madaris* of Pakistan are disciplining feminism, creating personalities which are easy to be moulded, by constant indoctrination of ideals of Islamic womanhood. Consequently, now, the Pakistani civil society has a new brand of educated women who are giving a novel interpretation to feminism that might be detrimental to women’s right movement in Pakistan.

**Table-I: The Current *Dars-i-Nizami* as Adopted by Deobandi *Madaris* (for 8-year course)**

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Books for boys</b>	<b>Books for girls</b>
Exegesis ( <i>Tafsir</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Tafsir al-Jalalayn</i></li> <li>• <i>Tafsir Anwar al-Tanzil (Baydawi Sharif)</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mukhtasar Tafsir</i></li> <li>• <i>Tafsir al-Jalalayn</i></li> </ul>
Methods of Exegesis ( <i>Usul-e-Tafsir</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Al-Fauz al-Kabir</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Tibiyān fi Uloom Al-Quran</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Al-Fauz al-Kabir</i></li> </ul>
Methods of Prophetic Traditions ( <i>Usul-e-Hadith</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Khair ul-usul</i></li> <li>• <i>Sharah Nukhbat al-Fikr</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Khair ul-usul</i></li> </ul>

<p>Traditions (<i>Ahadith</i>)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sunan Ibn-e-Majah including Shamail</i></li> <li>• <i>Sahih al-Muslim</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Jami ut-Tarimdhi</i></li> <li>• <i>Sahih al- Bukhari</i></li> <li>• <i>Sunan Abi Daud</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Tahawi</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Muwata Imama Malik</i></li> <li>• <i>Muwata Imam Muhammad</i></li> <li>• <i>Mishkat</i></li> <li>• <i>Riadh us-Salayheen</i></li> <li>• <i>Zad al-Talbin</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Riadh us-Salayheen</i></li> <li>• <i>Zad al-Talbin</i></li> <li>• <i>Mishkat</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Muwata lil-Imam Malik (up to kitab us-salat) and Shamail Tarimdi</i></li> <li>• <i>Kitab ul Asar of Imam Muhammad</i></li> <li>• <i>Sunan Ibn-e-Majah (from chapter al-Fitan up to the end),</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Nisai (from Kitab al-Zinat min as-Sunan al-Fitart up to the end)</i></li> <li>• <i>Sahih ul-Bukhari Volume-I, (Kitab ul-Eeman, Kitab ul-Ilm, Kitab ul-Jihad from page 390 to end of Manaqib) Volume-II, (Kitab al-Tafsir to Kitab un-Nikah)</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Trimdhi Volume-I&amp;II (up to Abwab Fadail al-Quran)</i></li> <li>• <i>Sunan Abu Daud Volume II (from Kitab al Taamah to Kitab al-Fitan and Kitab ul-Aadab up to the end)</i></li> </ul>
<p>Islamic Jurisprudence (<i>Fiqah</i>)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Al-Qaduri</i></li> <li>• <i>Kanz al-Daqaiq</i></li> <li>• <i>Sharah Wiqaya (Akhirain)</i></li> <li>• <i>Hidayah</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Bahishti Zewar</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Qaduri</i></li> <li>• <i>Hidayah</i></li> </ul>
<p>Law of Inheritance (<i>al-Fariad</i>)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Siraji</i></li> <li>• <i>Masnad ImamAzam</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Siraji (up to the end of bab ul-rad)</i></li> </ul>

Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence ( <i>Usul-e-Fiqah</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Nur al-Anwar</i></li> <li>• <i>Aasan Usul-e-Fiqah</i></li> <li>• <i>Usul al-Shashi</i></li> <li>• <i>Sharah 'Aqul dar sam al-Mufti</i></li> <li>• <i>Tawdih wa Talwih</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Usul al-Shashi</i></li> </ul>
Grammar ( <i>Sarf</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mizan al-Sarf</i></li> <li>• <i>Munshaib</i></li> <li>• <i>Punj Gunj / Irshad ul-Sarf / Ilm-ul-Sarf</i></li> <li>• <i>Sifwat-ul Masdir</i></li> <li>• <i>Tiseer al-Abwab</i></li> <li>• <i>Ilm al-Sighah</i></li> <li>• <i>Fasul-e- Akbari / Ilm-ul-Sarf</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Ilm ul-sarf</i></li> </ul>
Syntax ( <i>Nahw</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Ilm un-Nahw</i></li> <li>• <i>Nahw-e-Mir</i></li> <li>• <i>Usul al-Shashi</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Minhaj fi al-Qawaid wa al-Aarab / Al- Nahw al-asir / Tashil al-Nahw</i></li> <li>• <i>Hidayat un-Nahw</i></li> <li>• <i>Tashil al-Adab</i></li> <li>• <i>Kafiya</i></li> <li>• <i>Sharah Jami</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Ilm un-Nahw</i></li> <li>• <i>Awamil un-Nahw</i></li> <li>• <i>Usul al-Shashi</i></li> <li>• <i>Hidayat un-Nahw</i></li> </ul>
Philology & Literature ( <i>al-Lughat wa al-Adab</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Al-Tariqat al-Asirya</i></li> <li>• <i>Mu'alim ul-Insha</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Qirat ur-Rashidah</i></li> <li>• <i>Nufhat ul-Arab</i></li> <li>• <i>Maqamat-e-Hariri(only 10 maqamat)</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sifwat ul-Masadir</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Tariqa tu- al-asria(part 1)</i></li> <li>• <i>Qasas un-Nabiyyin</i></li> <li>• <i>Siar-e-Sahabiyat</i></li> <li>• <i>Nufhat al-Arab (prose</i></li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mukhtarat al-Adab</i></li> <li>• <i>Sab'a ul- Mu'alayqat</i></li> <li>• <i>Diwan al- Hamasah</i></li> <li>• <i>Matan al-Kafi</i></li> </ul>	<i>section)</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maqamat-e-Hariri (only 5 maqamat)</i></li> </ul>
Logic (Mantiq)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Tiseer al-Mantiq</i></li> <li>• <i>Isaghoj</i></li> <li>• <i>Mirqat</i></li> <li>• <i>Sharah-e-Tahdeeb</i></li> <li>• <i>Qutbi</i></li> </ul>	<i>Tiseer ul-Mantiq</i>
Philosophy (al-Hikmah)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Hidayah Saeediah</i></li> <li>• <i>Hidayah al-Hikmat</i></li> </ul>	
Rhetoric (Balaghat)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Daroos al-Balagha</i></li> <li>• <i>Mukhtasar al-M'aani</i></li> <li>• <i>Talkhis al-Miftah</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Daroos al-Balagha (al fun I)</i></li> </ul>
Astronomy & Math. (Falkiat wa Riazi)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Fahm-e-Falkiat</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-Haiyat al-Wusta</i></li> </ul>	-
Theology ( 'Adaid)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Al-Antabahat al-Mufeedah</i></li> <li>• <i>Al-'Aqidah ut-Tahawiah</i></li> <li>• <i>Sharah 'Aqid</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sharah 'Aqid (from 'azab-e-qabar to the end)</i></li> </ul>
Ethics (Akhlaiyat)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Talim al-Mut'alim</i></li> </ul>	
History (Tarikh)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Al-Tarikh al-Islami</i></li> </ul>	<i>Tarikh-e-Islam</i> <i>Khulafaiy Rashdin</i>
Comparative Religions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Aaeena-e-Qadiyaniat</i></li> </ul>	-
Economics (M'aeshat)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Islam, aur Jadid M'aeshat wa Tijarat</i></li> </ul>	-

Source: *Nisab-e-T'alim Wafaq ul-Mdaris al-Arabiah Pakistan, lil binat (for girls), Wafaq ul-Madaris al-'Arabiah, Multan, 1993; Nisab-e-T'alim Wafaq ul-Mdaris al-*

*'Arbiah Pakistan, lil binin* (for boys) for annual examination 1426/2005, issued by Wafaq ul-Madaris al-'Arabiah, Multan.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> There is much rhetoric than authentic statistical data on alleged link between *madaris* education and militancy. It is calculated that out of 79 leading Muslim terrorists only nine could be considered *madrasa* graduates, i.e. 11 percent. Peter Bergen and Swati Pandey, "The *Madrasa* Scapegoat," *The Washington Quarterly*, 29: 2 (2006): 117-125.

<sup>2</sup> Robina Saigol, *Knowledge and Identity: Articulation of Gender in Educational Discourse in Pakistan* (Lahore: ASR, 1995); and Fareeha Zafar, "Education, Gender and the Power Structure of the State," in Neelam Hussain; and *et al.*, eds., *Engendering the Nation-State*, Vol. 1 (Lahore: Simorgh, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> Girl students of *madrasa* Hafsa, Islamabad, raided a house, captured three women branding them as prostitutes and holding them in illegal custody in the *madrasa*. *Guardian*, March 29 & 30, 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Tariq Rehman, "The Madrassa and the State of Pakistan: Religion, Poverty and the Potential for Violence," *Himal South Asian*, <http://www.himalmag.com/2004/february/essay.htm>

<sup>5</sup> International Crisis Group Islamabad/Brussels, "The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan," *Asia Report*, 95, (18 April 2005)

<sup>6</sup> International Crisis Group, Islamabad/Brussels "Pakistan: Madrasa, Extremism and the Military," (2002), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> International Crisis Group, "Pakistan: Karachi's Madrasa and Violent Extremism," *Asia Report*, 130 (March 29, 2007).

[http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south\\_asia/130\\_pakistan\\_karachi\\_s\\_madrassas\\_and\\_violent\\_extremism.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/130_pakistan_karachi_s_madrassas_and_violent_extremism.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> M. Ijazul Haq, "Reforming Madressahs", *The News*, Lahore, July 17, 2007.

<sup>9</sup> Hafiz Nazar Ahmed, *Jaiza, Madaris-e-Arabia in West Pakistan* (Lahore: Muslim Academy, 1972); and Muslim Sajjad and Salim Mansoor Khalid, eds., *Deeni Madaris ka Nizam-e-T'alim* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1987); and Saleem Mansur Khalid, ed., *Deeni Madaris Mein T'alim* (Islamabad: Institute of Policies Studies, 2002).

<sup>10</sup> Government of Pakistan, *Report of the Committee set up by the Governor of Pakistan for Recommending Improved Syllabus for the various Darul Uloom and Arabic Madrasas in West Pakistan* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing West Pakistan, 1962).

<sup>11</sup> *Report Qaumi Committee bara-yi Dini Madaris-I Pakistan* (Islamabad: Ministry of Religious Affairs, 1979).

<sup>12</sup> J.D. Kraan, *Religious Education in Islam with Special Reference to Pakistan: An Introduction and Bibliography* (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1984).

<sup>13</sup> Jamal Malik, *Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Sectarianism in Pakistan: The Radicalization of Shi'i and Sunni Identities", *Modern Asian Studies*, 32: 3 (July 1998): 689-716; A.H. Nayyar, "Madrasa Education Frozen in Time" in Pervez Hoodbhoy, ed., *Education and the State – Fifty Years of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.213-50.

<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in the British India and Pakistan", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41:2 (April 1999): 294-323.

<sup>16</sup> Jessica Stern, "Pakistan's Jihad Culture", *Foreign Affairs*, 79:6 (November/December 2000):115 -126.

<sup>17</sup> Peter W. Singer, "Pakistan's Madrassahs: Ensuring a System of Education not Jihad", *Analysis paper*, 14 (November, 2001).

<http://www.brookings.edu/news/papers/singer/20020103htm>

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<sup>18</sup> Mumtaz Ahmad, "Continuity and Change in Traditional System of Islamic Education: The Case of Pakistan", in Charles Kennedy and Craig Baxter, eds., *Pakistan 2000* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2000).

<sup>19</sup> Tariq Rehman, *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A study of education, inequality and polarization in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>20</sup> International Crisis Group, Islamabad/Brussels "Pakistan: Madrasas and Extremism and the Military", *Asia Report*, 36 (29 July 2002) amended on 15 July 2005.

[http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south\\_asia/036\\_pakistan\\_Madrasas\\_extremism\\_and\\_the\\_military\\_amended.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/036_pakistan_Madrasas_extremism_and_the_military_amended.pdf). Also see International Crisis Group, "The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan", *Asia Report* No. 95, Islamabad/Brussels, 18 April 2005. [http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south\\_asia/095\\_the\\_state\\_of\\_sectarianism\\_in\\_pakistan.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/095_the_state_of_sectarianism_in_pakistan.pdf)

<sup>21</sup> Tahir Andrabi, Jashnu Das, Asim Ejaz Khawaja, and Tristan Zajonc, "Religious School Enrolment in Pakistan: A Look at Data", *Working Paper Series 3521 World Bank*, (February 01, 2005). [http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP05-024/\\$File/rwp\\_05\\_024\\_khwaja.pdf](http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP05-024/$File/rwp_05_024_khwaja.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> The ICG Report maintained that over 1.5 to 1.7 million children attending *madaris*, a sizeable portion whom attending schools up to middle level. ICG Report 2002, (amended in July 2005) f. n. 6 & 6a, p.2.

<sup>23</sup> Yoginder Sikand, *Bastion of the Believers: Madrasas and Islamic Education in India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2005).

<sup>24</sup> Masooda Bano, "Beyond Politics: the Reality of a Deobandi Madrasa in Pakistan", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 18:01 (2007): 43-68.

<sup>25</sup> Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds., *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

<sup>26</sup> Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Tradition and Authority in Deobandi Madrasas in South Asia", quoted in *Ibid.*, pp.61-86.

<sup>27</sup> Yoginder Sikand, "Educating Muslim Girls: The Role of Girls' Madrasas in India" (2005), <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/saldwr/message/321>

<sup>28</sup> Mareike Jule Winkelmann, *'From Behind the Curtain': A study of a Girls' Madrasa in India* (Amsterdam: ISIM/Amsterdam University Press, 2005).

<sup>29</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp.211-212.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.136.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p.137.

<sup>32</sup> Aziz Talibani, "Pedagogy, Power, and Discourse: Transformation of Islamic Education", *Comparative Education Review*, 40:01, 66-82.

<sup>33</sup> Here is the list of books that were included by Shirazi in Madrasa curriculum: Syntax: *Sharah Jami*; Logic: *Sharah Shamsiyyah* and *Sharah Matali*; Scholastic: *Sharah-ul-Aqaid Nasafi* and *Sharh Mawaqif*; Philosophy: *Sharah Hidayat-ul-Hikmah*; Rhetoric: *Mukassar* and *Mutawwal*; Medicine: *Mojaz-ul-Qanun* (abridgement of Avicenna's *al-Qanun*); Mysticism: *Awarif*, *Rasail-i-Naqshbandia*, *Sharah-i-Lamaat*, and *Muqadma-i-Naqd-un-Nasus*; Islamic Law: *Sharah Waqaya*; Principles of Islamic Law: *Hussami*, *Tawadih wa Talwih*; Tafsir and Hadith: *Madarik Masahib*, *Shimail Trimzi* and portion of *Sahih Bukhari*. M. Hamiuddin Khan, *History of Muslim Education (712 to 1750)*, Vol. 1 (Karachi: All Pakistan Educational Conference, 1967), pp.135-136.

<sup>34</sup> For discussion on educational traditions of rational and religious sciences in Seventeenth and early Eighteenth centuries Muslim India see, Francis Robinson, *The 'Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), pp.41-42.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p.53.

<sup>36</sup> Muhammad Raza Ansari Farangi Mahalli, *Bani-e-Dars-i-Nizami* (Lucknow: Nakhas Pres, 1973), p.259.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p.260.

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p.261; Abul Hasanat Nadwi, *Hindustan ki Qadim Islami Darshgahain*(Azam Garh: Mutba' Ma'rif, 1936), p.98.

<sup>39</sup> For detail discussion on Dar ul-Uloom Deoband see Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

<sup>40</sup> Francis Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 67.

<sup>41</sup>One reason for that burgeoning, it is said, of girl *madrasas* in South Asia is linked with the Islamization of Education conference, Jeddah, held in 1975. Winkelmann, 'From Behind the Curtain', p. 33.

<sup>42</sup> Skind, *Bastion of the Believers*, pp. 215, 217.

<sup>43</sup> *Urdu Da'rah M'arif-e-Islamiah*, Vol. 20, (Lahore: Danish Gah-e-Punjab, 1984) p.189.

<sup>44</sup> *Minaj al-Ta'lim*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Bareilly: Literary Society, 1870) p.72.

<sup>45</sup>Shahnaz Rouse, "Discourse on Gender in Pakistan: Convergence and Contradiction", in Douglas Allen, ed., *Religion and Political Conflict in South Asia: India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992), p.91.

<sup>46</sup> Barbara Metcalf, *Perfecting Women: Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawi's Bahishti Zewar: A Partial Translation with Commentary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p.1.

<sup>47</sup>Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab: From Seclusion to Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p.43.

<sup>48</sup> "Darjwar T'adad Talba'/Talbat Salana Imtehan 1427 AH [2006CE]", Mahnama [monthly] *Wafaq ul-Madaris*, Multan, No. 7, August 2006.

<sup>49</sup> These *madrasa* boards are Wafaq-ul-Madaris Al-Arabia, Head Office at Multan (Deobandi); Tanzeem-ul-Madaris Al-e-Sunnat, Head Office at Lahore (Barelwi) ; Wafaq-ul-Madaris Al-Salfia, Head Office at Faisaalabad. (Ahl-e-Haith); Wafaq-ul-Madaris Shia, Head Office at Lahore. (Athna Ashri Shia); Rabita-ul-Madaris Al Islamia, Head Office at Lahore, (Jama't-i-Islami)

<sup>50</sup>Winkelmann, 'From Behind the Curtain', p. 35.

<sup>51</sup>Jamal Malik, *Colonialization of Islam*.

<sup>52</sup>Patricia Jeffery, Roger Jeffery, and Craig Jeffrey, "The First *Madrasa*: Learned Mawlawis and the educated mothers", in Jan-Peter Hartung and Helmut Reiffld, eds., *Islamic Education, Diversity, and National Identity: Dini Madris in India Post 9/11* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006)

<sup>53</sup> *Bahishti Gohar* is book of Islamic beliefs and *Fiqh* for boys, like *Bahishti Zewar* which is for girls, deals with not only 'aqaid but also gives advice on the issues related to everyday life.

<sup>54</sup>Winkelmann, 'From Behind the Curtain', p. 73. For *Bahishti Zewar* see Metcalf, *Perfecting Women*.

<sup>55</sup>Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History*, pp. 110-112.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Shiekh Muslehuiddin S'adi, *Karima*, (Persian), trans. by E.R. Sahair, Erachshah Karani, (Bombay: 1885) p.55.

<sup>58</sup>Metcalf, *Perfecting Women*, p.49.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p.20.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p.1.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p.191.

<sup>62</sup>Allama Saiyid Sulaiman Nadwi; and et al., *Women Companions of the Holy Prophet and their Sacred Lives* (New Delhi: 2000), p.286.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p.219-226.

<sup>64</sup>Maqamat (sing. maqama) are an Arabic literary genre of rhymed prose with intervals of poetry written in rhetorical style with moral ending.

<sup>65</sup>*Maqamat a-Hariri* (Assemblies of Hariri) of Abu Muhammad al-Qasim ibn 'Ali (d.1122) of Basra, is a work of imagination, a kind of dramatic anecdote, and esteemed as a great literary treasure in the Arabic language. It is collection of fifty pieces narrating the adventures of on Abu Zaid of Saruj from the mouth of Harith ibn Hammam. It is work of prose with verses and

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poems suited to the text in book for those who want to obtain a profound and scientific knowledge of the Arabic language. Grammar, lexicography, rhetoric, poetry, religious traditions, civil and ecclesiastical law – all enter into the work. G.M.D. Sufi, *Al-Minhaj, Being the Evolution of curriculum in the Muslim Educational Institutions of India*, (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1941), p.19.

<sup>66</sup>Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkirah Musanayfin-e-Dars-i-Nizami* (Lahore: Maktaba Rahmania, 1978), p.71.

<sup>67</sup>Muhammad Hanif Gangohi, *Zafar al- Muhsalin ba Ahwal al-Musanayfin* (Deoband: Hanif Book Depot, 1996), p.377.

<sup>68</sup>Winkelman, *'From Behind the Curtain'*, p.75.