THE CONSTRUCTION OF MADRASSA IMAGE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE MADRASSA REFORMS OF PAKISTAN FROM 2001-2018

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Dedicated to my friends, whose tremendous support and cooperation led me to this

accomplishment.

Abstract

Before the creation of Pakistan, madaris were the center of scholarly debates and philosophical studies, but since the independence, these institutions are not seen as the traditional educational institutes, rather they have become a mere source of providing basic religious education to the children of the lower poor class. Currently, they are professed as social institutions having other religious and political agendas, and are linked to the society through ulema who play a number of other functions rather than teaching in madaris.

The change in the status of madaris is not merely because of the activities of ulema, there has been a role of the state affairs in the manufacturing of a new image of madaris, and policies of government played an imperative role in this regard. Policy documents are legal and legitimate means of a government to pursue its agenda, and the way madaris are portrayed in the policy documents is of acute significance while discussing the madrassa image in Pakistan. The qualitative research utilizes the analytical prism of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and constructs a theoretical lens from the post-structuralist philosophical underpinnings of Foucault on 'Power-Knowledge-Truth', to discover whether policy texts had a role in the construction of the image of madaris. The theoretical lens drawn from Foucault's thoughts and the application of CDA as an analytical tool, makes explicit how value is granted to certain metaphors that are associated with madaris in the policy texts, and how they work to construct the image of madaris in the policy discourse.

The research opts an archeological and genealogical approach of Foucault to understand the socio-political dynamics of the state analyzing the historical events and discursive practices that affected the image of madaris. Then, it constructs a multi-level theoretical and methodological framework in the form of micro-meso-macro level of analysis to deconstruct the policy texts and to find out the working of the metaphors of 'extremism, sectarianism, violence, tolerance, radicalization, militancy, reform, religious hatred' in the construction of madrassa image.

The thesis conducts the analysis of how macro level policy discourse is contextualized within the micro level of policy texts. This facilitates the research to elaborate the process of construction of a desired image of madaris in the policy discourse. This multi-level CDA approach draws a relationship between how specific metaphors are introduced in the policy texts, given legitimacy and constantly introduced to the society to form a justifiable vision of reality. The research elaborates the role of specific groups in power who made it possible to introduce a desired image of madaris in the society through policy texts, and how they managed to sustain the idea in the society. The research is a contribution to policy analysis, introducing Critical Discourse Analysis as a lens to critically analyze the madrassa policies, as this approach has not been previously applied to the analysis of madrassa policies in Pakistan.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, madrassa reforms, Foucault, Fairclough,

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview:

Educational institutions in any society have a vital role to play, owing to the fact that it is through education that the ideas, beliefs and behaviors of people are developed and molded. Access to classrooms and the curriculum can play a crucial role in developing peace or conflict in a society. Pakistan has not been very fateful in terms of its education system, and the role the teachers and ulema play in our society have certainly worsened the situation. The education system of Pakistan is divided into three modes of schooling; the private schools, the public/ government schools and the madaris, which run parallel in the society (Andrabi, Das, Fair, & Khwaja, 2009). Each system has a different idea of knowledge, curriculum designs and the way of instruction, and the government has been crafting variant policies for these modes of the education system, tarnishing the balance between them. The Government of Pakistan had tried to reform the education system to form a symmetry in the three modes of schooling, but have not been successful in proposing a successful working plan for the educational institutions, and the state has been grappling with the problem ever since its independence. However, in this research the focus would be on the policies of the government associated with the madaris, the reaction of the madaris to these policies and the effects these policies had on the quality and status of madaris in our society.

The role that madaris play in Pakistan is not merely restricted to providing education to children, they are also source of religious association to certain groups/sects. However, nowadays madaris are not perceived as the institutes they were a century ago; producing

philosophers and intellectuals. Now, they are professed as social institutions having other religious and political agendas, linked to the society through ulema who play a number of other functions rather than just teaching in madaris. Ulema are seen as the spiritual leaders, who are supposed to protect the socio-religious traditions of the Muslim community. The association between ulema and madaris bestow them with a higher status in the society, and provide them with the power to lead the community to a certain direction, which in case of Pakistan has led to increased extremism and sectarianism (Zaman, 2002). The reason is that these institutes are used by the power seekers; that are the religious and political parties, to gain control over the minds of the society.

Pakistan inherited not more than 300 madaris at the time of its inception in 1947, but the number continuously and drastically increased, especially in the 1980s (Kennedy, 1990). Throughout the history of Pakistan, the madrassa policies changed with the changing regimes, serving those who were in power. The changing political interests of ulema and the manipulation of the religious institutions by the regimes along with the ulema to get more power and control worsened the situation. The Pakistani madaris were not given much attention until the Afghan War; and later after the 9/11 incident, madaris have become the center of debates in national and international intellectual circles. These events played a key role in first portraying madaris as the prestigious institutions producing students who were to fight for a holy cause in the Afghan War, and later the 9/11 attack portrayed the same religious seminaries as the institutions producing militants and terrorists. With the beginning of Global War on Terror, the downfall of madaris began, and since then, madaris have not been perceived as the prestigious institutions. Although, on and off informal madrassa policies were introduced by the successive regimes, but the international events affecting Pakistan in the 1980's along with the increasing number of madaris

in the state pressurized the government to introduce formal madrassa reforms in 2001 (Sajjad, 2013). The policy became subject of criticism by the madaris and religious leaders, as they felt insecure by the state-led restrictions on them. Ever since, the mistrust between the government and the madaris administrations widened the differences between the two parties, due to which the reforms failed to provide any fruitful results.

Madaris remained as openly criticized topics among the international and national scholars, with their studies focused on the political interests labelling madaris as being involved more in the national politics rather than fulfilling their role as educational institutions, the role they played in increasing militancy and extremism, and the reforms that failed to curtail the issue (Bergen & Pandey, 2006). Researches have been conducted on madaris highlighting the weaknesses of this mode of education system, the role ulema and madaris play in the society, but not much attention is paid to the involvement of political and religious interests in the formation of policies that served as legitimate pathway in inculcating and constructing certain ideas about madaris. The need of the hour is to understand how trends of extremism and sectarianism began to get associated with the madaris, and what processes lead to the transformed role of madaris in Pakistan. How the political parties manipulated madaris in their own favor through the introduction of their versions of Islam (Kennedy, 1990) and have manipulated madaris for their own cause (Saikia, 2014). There is a need to understand the role of madrassa policies in context of Pakistan, because policy documents contain certain legitimacy and they possess values which provide them with the ability to craft new truths in the political discourse.

In order to analyzes the role of policy documents in the construction of madrassa image, the theoretical lens of 'Critical Discourse Analysis' embedded in the philosophical work of Foucault on 'Power, Knowledge and Truth' (Foucault, 1982) are used to analyze the policy texts,

which lead to the effective analysis of how macro level policy discourse is contextualized within the micro level of policy texts. This enabled the research to elaborate how power forms a discourse, which leads to the construction of a desired image. This multi-level CDA approach helped to draw a relationship between how specific terms are introduced in the policy texts, given legitimacy and constantly introduced to the society to form a justifiable vision of reality. The research elaborates the role of specific groups in power who made it possible to introduce a desired image of madaris in the society through policy texts, and how they managed to sustain the idea in the society. The research introduces a multi-level CDA approach amalgamated in the philosophical workings of Foucault to understand the role of policy discourse in the transforming the status of madaris in Pakistan and the power relations among the actors forming the policies. This adds to the phenomenon of policy analysis in Pakistan, with the introduction of CDA as a tool of analysis.

1.2 Literature Review

Madaris in Pakistan is not a new concept; as it inherited almost 300 madaris in 1947, and the number is increasing ever since (Andrabi et al, 2009). In the early years, Pakistani madaris did not get much attention of the government but later the changing national and international dynamics such as the changing governments regimes and their religious associations, the Afghan war and later the 9/11 incident, brought them under the lime light (Bano, 2012). These were the instances that compelled the state to form policies for the regulation of religious seminaries so as to control the role of madaris and ulema in the political domain.

Critical Discourse Analysis of madrassa policies is not done before in Pakistan, but there have been massive inflow of articles and books written on madaris, which depicts the influence

of the madrassa policies on the society and on the academia. Referring to one of the articles on

Paksitani madaris, Farooq (2010) in his work titled "Objectification of Islam: A study of

Pakistani Madrassah Texts" examined how Pakistan has been trying to inculcate madaris in the

post-colonial modernized environment since its independence. There had been attempts by the

state to introduce new subjects in the madaris curriculum and to change the text of the 19th

century Dars-e-Nizami curriculum, but the results are far from satisfactory because the concept

of change in curriculum has been alien to the madaris ulema. Apart from this, the author asserted

that somewhat failure of the reforms is also due to the fact that texts have been interpreted and

reinterpreted according to the needs of the political regimes in Pakistan. Adding to this argument,

Farooq highlighted the politicized interests of the religious institutions and religious scholars

before the creation of Pakistan. He asserted that the ulema started to think of themselves as the

custodian of Islamic morals and culture and started the Caliphate Movement in 1920's and later

when Pakistan came into being, they pursued the same agenda, and aimed to make Pakistan an

Islamic state which was contrary to the vision of Jinnah. However, the situation reached new

heights when in the 1980's the religious seminaries were used as the training hubs of the Holy

warriors. The author also discussed the dramatic shift in the status of madaris after 9/11 incident

when madaris were portrayed as institutions producing extremists and terrorists. However on the

other had the curriculum in madaris portrayed the West as a threat to Islam and glorified the

concepts of jihad and martyrdom. The author argued that the whole phenomenon of changing

curriculum by forcefully introducing new subjects, glorifying some concepts of Islam, while

completely ignoring other important teachings have led to a distorted image of Islam and

Pakistan in the international community. The picture that Farooq drew in his work depicts that

madaris in Pakistan have been subject to interests of certain groups from the very beginning of its journey as an independent state.

Adding to the argument of influence of personal and political interests on policies for madaris, Malik (1996) in his book "Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan" has thoroughly analyzed the evolution of policies of Ayub Khan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Zia ul Haq, directed towards madaris. He has conducted a detailed research and build an argument that it was not only in Zia's era that the process of Islamisation began. He argued that the process had established its roots in the society way before Zia's regime. The way the religious institutions had been managed and manipulated by different government regimes in Pakistan depict that regimes before Zia had also used Islam as a tool to serve their political interests. Whether it was Ayub Khan's vision of modernized version of Islam, Bhutto's idea of socialist Islam or Zia's vision of Islamisation, all policies were meant to favor the regimes. Another important factor, according to Malik, is the sociopolitical outlook of the religious institutions and ulema that developed during these regimes and created interest among the religious scholars to participate in politics. The author argued that these factors collectively led to the Islamized version of Pakistan that is becoming complex with the passage of time.

Saikia (2014) in her article "Ayub Khan and Modern Islam: Transforming Citizens and the Nation in Pakistan" has focused on the manipulation of religion for political interests and has discussed that forming Muslim identity in Pakistan was inevitable because the drive for the creation of Pakistan was shaped as a separate Muslim homeland demanded by the Muslims in sub-continent. This was the reason that from the very beginning of the journey of Pakistan, Muslim identity became the focus of the state, and this Muslim identity was constantly

manipulated by regimes in power to pursue their political agendas. The study particularly focused on the transformation of Islam during Ayub Khan's era, and the idea of modernized Islamisation of Pakistan. Saikia very carefully examined the experimentation of religion done by Ayub Khan's regime to redefine the Muslim identity of the nation, to portray Pakistan army as the Jihadi army. She discussed how the concept of redefining the Pakistani identity as the Muslim identity was used by Ayub Khan's regime to encourage ulema and madaris to develop modernist Islamic views in order to facilitate the regime. This whole phenomenon was actually facilitating the regime to gain support from the people and the religious parties. The author also discussed how Ayub Khan and the succeeding regimes introduced their own modified versions of Islam and used madaris and ulema to gain support for their regimes.

A similar overview of the manipulation of Islam for political reasons has been reflected by Shaikh (2008) in her article "From Islamisation to Shariatisation: Cultural Transnationalism in Pakistan" discussed how Pakistan from the beginning had a weak nationalist element and how this facilitated the way for Islamisation of the state by the early regimes, and later transformed to shariatisation under Zia's regime, in particular. The article discussed how Zia's regime took advantage of the frustrated youth, which was disappointed by the Bhutto's failed policy of Roti, Kapra and Makaan, and engaged them in jihad in Afghanistan, which resulted in people getting inspired by jihadi movements as they visioned jihad as a revolutionary efforts which would lead to favorable political and economic change. Madaris became the main hubs of training of jihadists, and ulema realizing the power dynamics demanded more autonomy over the madaris. Author argued that, though shariatisation has always been associated with Zia's era, it had developed roots in the previous regime. Adding to this argument, the author asserted that it was Bhutto who drew Pakistan's most Islamic constitution in 1973, declaring Pakistan an Islamic

state for the first time in history. However in Zia's era, the shariatisation reached another level, which increased the political and religious legitimacy of religious groups, and worked as tools to promote an Islamized society. This transformed madaris from traditional religious institutions to modern politicized institutions.

The aforementioned research studies elaborate the political usage and manipulation of religion and the religious institutions by political regimes of Pakistan. Along with keeping in view the fact that religion has been politicized by regimes in Pakistan, Bano (2007) in her paper "Contesting ideologies and struggle for authority: State-Madrasa engagement in Pakistan" proceeded the argument a phase further and studied the madrassa reforms introduced by the state and managed to highlight that the intent of the state to reform the madrassa curriculum and the education system dates back to 1960's when Ayub Khan tried to modernize the madrassa education system and Islam and analyzes the madrassa reform program the government launched in 2002. Bano emphasized on the fact that the agenda of their madrassa reforms had been the same from the beginning of the state as the intent had been to inculcate the madrassa education system into the formal education system but the results have never been fruitful. The author asserted that the trends of the madrassa reforms and their results have remained the same as the madaris have always successfully resisted the reforms and the government only managed to register 200 madaris after the 2002 reforms. Though there are many reasons responsible for the strength and resistance by madaris, Bano highlighted two main factors. First is the dependency of the society on the religion along with the strong link between Islam and political legitimacy. Second factor is the linkage between the society and the ulema and the enormous authority of ulema over the state. Ulema have always been key actors in the madaris and in the society at large. While highlighting the role of ulema, Bano revealed that the control of ulema over

influential madaris grants them more authority over the society. They mold the public opinion according to their interest by using such platforms. This leads to the smaller madaris follow the same course.

After the vigilant analysis of the 2002 reforms, Bano discussed the methods to develop a constructive relationship between the governmental bodies and ulema. She argued that developing trust between these two players can yield workable framework of madrassa reforms, and this trust can be developed if the government understands the fact that madrassa system cannot be completely secularized due to the fact that the base of the madrassa education system is religion, so the madaris role as a key producer of Islamic knowledge cannot be ignored while forming the madrassa policies.

Following a similar trajectory as the former author, Malik (2008) in his book "Madrasas in South Asia: Teaching Terror?" has analyzed the madaris reforms proposed in 2001 and 2002 by Pervaiz Musharraf's regime and discussed the issues of failure of the reforms and the increased sectarianism in the society, along with adding the sectarian element to the analysis. He discussed that the issue of the refutation of other sects and debates to prove other sectarian groups as bad Muslims or even apostates is becoming a major defining factor of madaris students, which is increasing sectarianism in the society. The author argued that the proposed madrassa ordinances had loopholes and were not implemented properly by the government, and the restricted implementation was through coercive means which according to him, has not and would not lead to any fruitful conclusions. The author emphasized on the engagement between the ulema and the educators in order to develop a more neutral syllabus for the madaris, as it is only through cooperation between these two parties that the education reforms can be

successfully implemented. The author also criticized the working of the Model Dini Madaris and the non-existent level of commitment of the authorities in organizing these madaris.

Many incidents related to madaris have occurred in Pakistan, depicting the lack of trust and communication between madaris and the state, however a key incident was the Red Mosque Incident of 2007. Bano (2012) in her book "The Rational Believer: Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan" discussed the evolution of madaris in South Asia and in the case of Pakistan. She discussed the increase in religious fanaticism and sectarian violence in Pakistan. Bano conducted a research encompassing eight districts of Pakistan and surveyed 110 madaris, in order to get a clearer micro as well as macro view of the situation. She discussed the Red Mosque incident and analyzed the actions of the government, madrasa and the students. Incorporating the Rational Choice Theory, Bano established that the Red Mosque incident was a test for the entangled components that are at play in Pakistan's inflamed religious scene and furthered indicated that madrassa students are vulnerable to jihad not because of the narrow education or indoctrination of Islam in madaris, but due to other factors like the national and international politics which make fertile ground for the extremist identities to thrive in the society. Bano added to the argument that not all madaris are involved in political and sectarian violence, rather only a small segment supports such extremist practices and jihad. She identified the Red Mosque resistance as an unfortunate incident, which ended the thirty years of peaceful relations between the state and the madrasa, and led to divided opinion among the population.

One of the key factors that make the research piece an important addition to the literature on madaris is that it highlighted the perspective of madrassa students, which is normally not given much attention in researches. Bano quoted the interviews taken by the jihadists who claimed that they were fighting for a prestigious and purposeful cause. The author gave a very

comprehensive understanding of the madrasa perspective of entangled religious situation of Pakistan, but she did not analyze the government tactics and policies towards madaris, which are one of the defining factors of the multifaceted religious scene in Pakistan.

When it comes to exploitation of religion in Pakistan, sectarian element is the core of this phenomenon. To study the sectarian element in madaris, Ali (2009) in his book "Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs" conducted research on two different areas of Pakistan. The author asserted that one of the major problems with madaris in Pakistan is that they are keenly focused on portraying the supremacy of the sect they are associated with, and refutation of other sects is a common practice. Jihadist literature, the extremist mosque sermons, glorification of revolution as means of political change are some of the factors identified by the author as responsible for the increasing extremism among the madrasa students. The author did not classified madaris as terrorist hubs by definition, but he argued that the fact cannot be denied that a violent image of madaris has emerged over the time. Along with analyzing the flaws in the madrasa system, the author also discussed the reform processes introduced by the state, and concluded that the policies were developed under the pressure from external sources like America, overshadowing the complex political and religious environment of the state, and were not implemented with persistence due to which they have not been successful in achieving the desired goals.

Complementing the previous theme, Bano (2010) in her research article "Madrasas as partners in education provision: the South Asian experience" has discussed in detail the issues and perspective of the madaris and ulema with regard to the reform programs of the state. She highlighted that the dilemma that the madrassa reforms have continuously failed, because the ulema consider such programs as part of the US war on terror. The religious leadership of

madaris consider the reform programs as schemes to contain the madaris, rather than supporting them, and the general perception is that the government aims to interfere in the madrassa affairs high jacking its autonomy through its reform policies. The author vocalized the concerns of the madrassa administration related to the terminology of the madrassa policies, they consider the term 'reform' as a negative association with the madrassa system, and this badly affected their trust on the government. Bano asserted that this negative perception of the government policies has led to resistance by the madrassas in the implementation of the policies. She furthered her argument and stated that the reforms in the syllabus of madaris and introduction of secular subjects are considered by the madrassa administration as compromising the ideological commitment of the ulema. Ulema believe that teaching secular subjects would confuse the students, and would lead them to excel neither in secular subjects nor in Islamic education. They believe that the reform policies are aimed at the secularization of the madaris, rather than improving the capabilities of madaris to produce learned Islamic scholars.

Another research work titled "The Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan" by Fair (2006) voiced the concerns of madrasa administration towards the reforms. She represented the constructive image of madaris asserting that madaris play an important role in providing education to two million students in Pakistan, and challenged the general perception of association of terrorism and madrassa. However she did mentioned the issue of sectarianism making its way into the madrassa system and leading to incidents of sectarian violence in Pakistan. Discussing the issue of madrassa reforms, Fair pointed out Musharraf's crisis of governance, ulema's concern over foreign involvement and the amplified resentment towards US as the reasons for the increased resistance towards the reforms. While coining some solutions, Fair mentioned that the state should stop using madaris as a scapegoat

for terrorism and increased militancy in Pakistan, and the foreign meddling should be restricted. She stated that madaris need substantial help to fulfill their role in the society, but the solution should come from within the state, rather than pressure from foreign actors.

All of the above mentioned researches have debated over different aspects of the madrasa systems; the association between religious and political parties and their respective agendas to gain more control over the society, the introduction of reforms by the state under national and international pressure and their failure to sort out the issue of militancy. However, the studies did not paid heed to the idea that what role did the government policies played in transforming the madrasa image. Along with the national and international events shaping the image of madaris and using them according to their desire, the government policies as legal documents played a vital role in legitimatizing certain concepts about madaris.

1.3 Objectives

Madaris in Pakistan work parallel to the private and public education institutions and play a very imperative role in providing education to the poor and rural population. At the time of Pakistan's inception, madaris were considered as prestigious educational institutions producing distinguished philosophers and scholars, however with the passage of time their image transformed. This study is to find out the ways in which the transformation took place, analyzing the power dynamics, the social acceptance towards the construction of a new madrassa image and the effects it had on the madaris.

1. This study aimed to find out the factors responsible for the construction of a certain image of the madaris and the role of the related government policies in this construction.

2. It aimed to critically analyze the policies, ordinances for madaris and the reform processes introduced by the state, the state-madaris relations over course of history and the effects of these reforms on the status of madaris in the society.

3. The study also aimed to study the effects of the madrassa reforms on the behaviors of the ulemas and the madrassa students.

4. It aimed to find out the loopholes in the madrassa reforms that led to their continuous failure.

5. The study aimed to find out if the madaris have been deliberately labeled as extremist and radical.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How has the image of madaris been impacted by association with the metaphors extremism, sectarianism, violence, tolerance, radicalization, militancy, reform, religious hatred'?

2. Is there any impact of the social and political environment on the madrassa reforms and their implementation?

3. Was the formation of the madrassa policies swayed by the political and religious interest of the state?

4. How does the introduction of reforms affected by the state-madrassa relations?

5. What role did the policy texts played in constructing the image of madaris?

1.5 Methodology:

This study is a qualitative research, utilizing Content Analysis approach to analyze the texts of the policy documents. The research elaborates the relation between the policy texts and

construction of a new image of the madaris and what role did the power politics played in this construction. The main idea is that policy texts and language have a patent social impact and as the policy texts have undeniable legitimacy, they have substantial applications. Content Analysis methodological approach is utilized to extract themes out of the policy texts and study their role in the construction of image of madaris. It proves to be an effective tool to scrutinize the politically-based policy formation processes and the texts that are produced. Critical Discourse Analysis (analytical tool) assists the research to understand the delicately multifaceted and twisted relationships of language with the social processes, and to study how language works within the power relations and policy formations. By tracing a historical sequence from the establishment of Pakistan in 1947 till 2018, this study identifies and relates the construction of madaris with the power politics and the politically based policy formations along with the role of the religious groups in this process. Through a systematic content analysis, this study examines how certain terms have been incorporated into the policy texts and granted legitimacy.

A three leveled qualitative approach, amalgamated with the CDA approach of Wodak and Fairclough, and embedded in principals of Foucault's 'micro capillaries of power' and 'Power-Knowledge-Truth' (Foucault, 1982) is used for the analysis of texts. At the *micro level,* Textual analysis has been done, where themes emerged from the analysis of the policy documents. At the *meso level,* analysis of the discursive practices has been done, and specific texts from the policy documents are analyzed on the basis of the themes that emerged in the first level. At this stage, the discursive practices of production, distribution and consumption of the policies are studied in the context of how such power induced policies form a certain trend. At the *macro level*, the social practices are studied that how the repetition of the metaphors had infest certain idea in the minds of the people and how these ideas started making sense. The

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micro-meso analysis focuses on the text of a single document, while the meso-macro accentuate the inquiry of various texts associated together through the metaphors. This method facilitates the research in tracing the evolution of the trend that led to the transformed image of madrassas.

This multi-level CDA framework constructed an affiliation between the language analysis, the granting of value to some specific metaphors and the way these metaphors were constantly introduced to the society that created a vision of reality based on these expressions. This portrayed how repetition of similar terminology or expressions/discourse bind together and make a particular value system that facilitates the materialization of desirable outcomes.

1.6 Significance:

The research elaborates the role of specific groups in power who made it possible to introduce a desired image of madaris in the society through policy texts, and how they manage to sustain the idea in the society. The research highlights the idea that policy texts have a substantial role to play in the construction of madrassa image that has not been given serious consideration and has not been scrutinized in academic literature before. There have been researches conducted on madaris highlighting aspects of how the institutions are unsuccessful to perform effectively, but analysis of reform/ policy documents that are central source of working of the system that has placed madaris in this scenario has not been previously examined. This research is an effort to make explicit what exactly led to such circumstances which led to manipulation of madaris, the educational institutions, by different actors for their interests. This undoubtedly is an area that needs thorough examination. This research contributes to the policy analysis, introducing Critical Discourse Analysis as a lens to critically analyze the madrassa policies; an approach which has not been previously applied to the analysis of madrassa policies

in Pakistan. The research introduces CDA approaches to analyze the process of formation and implementation of madrassa policies. It not only adds to the policy analysis but also supplements the understanding of association of the metaphors 'extremism, sectarianism, violence, tolerance, radicalization, militancy, reform, religious hatred' with madaris.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

The chapter draws the foundation of the research method used for the research. It proposes a theoretical framework and methodological design to analyze the policy documents in order to examine the transformation of madrassa image through policy discourse. For this purpose, it uses Critical Discourse Analysis to dig out themes from the policy texts, and the philosophical concepts of Foucault to examine these themes. The chapter provides with an understanding of the basics of the Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytic tool. It discusses the approaches of Wodak and Fairclough with regards to CDA, in order to devise a relevant methodological approach which is suitable for the analysis of the madrassa reform documents. Then the post-structuralist philosophical underpinnings of Foucault on the 'Power, Knowledge and Truth' and 'micro-capillaries of power' are discussed in detail and these philosophical concepts are incorporated into the CDA approach so as to form a workable tool for the analysis of the reforms.

2.1 Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis:

Madaris in Pakistan have been target of severe criticism for providing extremist and radical education to students. They were once considered respected institutions providing education to students and working parallel with the private and government schools, however, now the situation has completely changed for madaris. The research aims to find out the role, if any, of the madrassa reforms and policies in the construction of a transformed image of madaris. CDA in such a case is a helpful research tool to analyze the transformation of madrassa image over the course of history, along with examining the evolution of policies.

CDA is an approach that aims to study the construction of social practices and identities through a rhetorical and linguistic analysis (Fairclough, 2003). It is the inquiry of the relation between discourse (which includes language and graphic aids) and the social norms and practices (social culture, and politics). The main area of concern/inquiry of CDA which resonates with this research is that it aims to study the changes that occur in the society and how a certain discourse and its formation effects the social practices (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002). CDA assists the research in studying the construction of discourse on madaris. Rather than focusing only on the language and literal data, CDA also looks for semiotic aspect of communication and social activities, and how they affected the perception of people regarding the madaris. CDA makes the vision clearer of how the image of madaris as prestigious institutions was changed with a new and changed image, and how it was made acceptable by the society. While analyzing the discourse and its role in the society, CDA pays heed to the power relations in the society. Power is a very important aspect of research which is to be studied under the watch of CDA. The ways in which power is exercised by the authorities whether political or religious, and resisted by the madaris are minutely observed in the CDA research. CDA as a research method aims to understand the working of discourse in power relations (Janks, 1997). In this research, power relations and the study of power aims to understand a two way process; how policy formulators affected the image of madaris through the introduction of certain metaphors about the madaris and how madaris and the ulema exercised their power in resisting the state's orders. The study elaborates how the tussle between the madaris and state negatively affected their image.

While incorporating Critical Discourse Analysis, special attention is given to the analysis of how power is used to fabricate methods in order to influence people, how power justifies these methods, and manipulate the ideology of the society (van Dijik, 1995). By power, the strength

and hold of both the institutions; the madaris and the government bodies, are analyzed as both the parties exercise power in their domains. Madaris being the social institutions practice their power by persuading and charging the followers and students against the state introduced madrassa policies, while on the other hand state authorities use some specific metaphors associated with madaris in their policy documents that portray the institutions as dangerous extremist hubs. Through these lens, the research elaborates the state's power to introduce new concepts and ideas about madaris, i.e. madaris as being tolerant towards extremist ideologies, nurturing such extremist trends, etc. When official government bodies use these metaphors for any institution, this provides the idea with certain legitimacy that assists it to influence the understanding of that institution in the society.

CDA is a problem-oriented research tool and does not possess a unitary theoretical structure which is why it is open to incorporate Foucault's post-structuralist theoretical approach in order to form a workable framework.

2.2 Different Approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis:

CDA is not a theory, school or direction, rather, it is a different perspective of looking at things and analyzing them. The main argument of CDA is that the discourse is influenced by social practices and is produced by social interaction. It focuses on studying the relationship between scholarly discourses and society and their effects on each other. Through this approach, the research aims to explore the power relations between the state and madrassas and their effect on the discourse written on madaris. The main idea that the research follws is that the policy documents and their texts had a major role in influencing the madrassa discourse. Here, CDA is utilized to bridge the micro level analysis of the policy texts that is the language analysis,

communication and interaction and the macro level analysis which is the use of power, inequality and dominance on part of the institutions that are involved in the construction of dicourse on madaris. CDA aims to study the social power of groups in the society, the social institutions exercising power that is exercised in terms of control. Power in these cases is not absolute, it varies from groups to groups due to their status and in different situations. The means of control also changes along with the situations and the groups exercising power, which in case of madaris varied over the history. At times government tried to exercise its power by using coercive measures to force madaris to register to the Madrassa Education Board or to follow other laws inroduced by the state, however, there were times in history when madaris also gave tough time to the state instituions when they implied their persuasive power and convinced their followers to react against the government policies that resulted in large scale protests and resistance from the society.

Discourse and the control over the public discourse are paid special attention in CDA, as these are the determinants of perception of ceratin ideas in the society. In the case of madaris, the public discourse on madaris is very complex as the national and international scholars and academia perceive madaris as low standard educational institutions that provide for the poor low class society of Pakistan, and as the low class faces social and economic issues, the madaris exploit their sentiments to use them for their own interests. However, there is a section of the society that has a rather positive image of madaris,who perceive madaris as institutions that can connect their generations by providing them with the Islamic morals and values. This leads to mind control which is another important feature according to Van Dijk (1996) as it is through mind control that hegemony, control and dominance of a group or institution is reproduced in a society.

2.2.1 Wodak's Approach of Critical Discourse Analysis:

Wodak's (1996) approach to CDA is more leaned towards the politics of identity and language, and their integration into the macro social theories, which facilitates the research in analyzing the language of the policy texts and the construction of the image of madaris in Pakistan. This approach emphasizes on the interdisciplinary analysis in order to get a more clear understanding of language and its function in exercising power and focusing on a certain social order. A very important feature of CDA, according to Wodak (1997), is its concern for power and its implications in developing the social perception and social life. This leads to the general idea of madrassa in the mind of a layman, which is affected by the political discourse on madaris, shaped through the policy documents. Defining the relationship of power and language, Wodak (ibid) asserts that language is not dependent on power; it is the means of expressing power. In this context, policy documents and the language used for the madaris is the exercise of power by the political regimes. Wodak proposes a discourse-historical approach in order to get a historical context of the situation in which certain policy discourses were formed.

Wodak (1996) presents CDA as a multi-method approach subdivided into three levels; the Pragmatic level, which deals with observation and theoretical assumptions of the problem; that is 'whether madrassa reforms affected the image of madaris in Pakistan'; the Social level which deals with the surrounding environment of the problem; which in case of this research will focus on the role of the policy formulators and the ulema and the Historical level approach to conduct social research, which reaches back to the historical events that affected the status and workings of madaris in the society. Wodak (1996) introduces the idea of mediation between society and language which he believes is absent in other approaches of CDA. In case of this

research, the language of the policies introduced by the government would be analyzed to understand their share in producing the discourse on madaris.

Wodak's (1997), approach of Critical Discourse Analysis of conducting research on social problems based on the theory of context is applied to this research, through which the role of policy makers is studied in context of their association with the institutions they were associated with. This assisted to understand the effect of the institutional practices, the national and international environment and its pressure on the government. Wodak's (ibid) claimed that these individuals play their part according to certain set frames of perceptions which form their social representations. These representations are of the group, rather than the strategy of a single individual. In case of madaris in Pakistan, this approach leans towards the idea that there were people influenced by their group interests and ideologies that persuaded them to form policies that served their groups' interests without acknowledging the effects these policies would had on the madaris.

2.2.2 Fairclough's Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis:

Fairclough's (1992) approach of CDA is based on the three-dimensional model, where the first dimension is the textual analysis of the discourse, the second dimension is the analysis of discursive practice and the third dimension is the analysis of social practice. According to Fairclough, through the analysis of these three dimensions, the evolution, distribution and practice of discourse analyze the process that leads to the construction of a new image of madaris. While highlighting the importance of language in CDA, Fairclough (2003) focuses not only on the text that is presented in a discourse, but also on what is absent or hidden from the discourse. Fairclough (2001) asserts that the content of the text is a midway between what is

present and absent from the text. Language being a crucial element in the CDA has two kinds of uses in discourse. It serves as a mode of action and as a mode of representation through the policy documents, while directing the social practice i.e. the transformed perception of madaris in the society. According to Fairclough, discourse is not just a mere representation of the word, it is the manner of constructing the meaning of the world and signifying it. This role of language and discourse continues as it contributes to the formation of social identities (madaris) and their positions (degradation) in the society and the construction of social relationships between different actors/subjects (state, society and madaris).

The social practices that are the negative perception of madaris and the clashes between madaris administration and the state work in a certain way to form a social order (a generalized transformed image of madaris) (Fairclough 2001). The identity, relational and ideational aspects of discourse may have dominant or negligible effects on the social practices, which is why he emphasized on a multi-theoretical analysis of discourse. The main concern while analyzing the discourse is on power and the struggle for the attainment of power, and its effects on the discourse and social order. The struggle and attainment power was the motive behind state regimes to exploit religion and Muslim identity, and the same desire for power persuaded the religious scholars/ ulema to rebel against the government policies. The changing social, political and cultural context has effects on the politics of discourse. The power relations play a crucial role when it comes to the exploration of connections between different levels of policy making process.

Fairclough (2003) distinguishes between the approaches of CDA by highlighting that some approaches use language as center of their focus while others do not focus only on the language. Presenting his approach in a unique way, Fairclough categorizes his research to be

interdisciplinary, which encompasses analysis form different fields in order to conduct research on social processes and change. He emphasized more on the importance of discourse and on the necessity that it should be analyzed. He asserts that analysis of the text along with social analysis makes CDA a useful tool for policy analysis, which makes Fairclough's approach ideal for this research. Only the amalgamation of different disciplines makes CDA a critical tool to reveal the power relations and the social change, which is why Foucault's concepts of Power-Knowledge-Truth and his Archeological-Genealogical approach is assimilated with the CDA approaches of Wodak and Fairclough (Fairclough, 2001).

Fairclough's (2001) approach to CDA directs the textual analysis of the madrassa reforms, with a focus on the internal relations of the texts and the social analysis which includes the external relations of the texts, the social and political environment in which certain policies were formed. It explores the concept that texts of the madrassa reform documents contain metaphors to influence the reader and to persuade him. Here the emphasis falls on the representation of certain metaphors in reforms, their identification and relation to the society (Richard, Katherine, & Alian, 1999). In order to do justice to CDA of the madrassa reforms, this multi-disciplinary approach would be used to comprehend the mediation between the texts and society, and the continuous assimilation of the political, historical and social contexts in which texts of the reforms are produced.

2.3 Exploring Foucault's Archeological and Genealogical Approach, and the Concept of Power-Knowledge-Truth:

2.3.1 Foucault's Archeological and Genealogical Approach:

Archeological method of Foucault helps to understand the objectification of subjects (madaris) in the policy documents. As Foucault (1986) argues that it is through the objectification of subjects that new trends are introduced, new understandings are developed and thus new truths are formed.

The new understandings initially introduce the possibility of an assumption that madaris might be involved in promoting religious hatred and extremism in the society and later when the concept is continuously familiarized with the society in the form of repeated policy documents and reforms, it becomes a reality and an openly except notion. This approach when combined with Fairclough's CDA technique leads to make explicit the ways through which new metaphors associated with madaris gained such value that a new image of madaris was constructed. This method is used in this research to understand how the policy documents managed to define and classify madaris in a different and desired way.

Foucault's genealogical method provides with the historical analysis of events and the discursive practices that led to the creation of a new madrassa image (Foucault, 1989). This approach makes transparent the process through which power relations influenced the policies related to madaris, and provides with a knowhow of how historical events led to the construction of new madrassa image in Pakistan.

2.3.2 Foucault's Concept of Power-Knowledge-Truth:

Foucault (1998) described the Power-Knowledge-Truth as interdependent entities. According to Foucault, all the public relations and the social institutions are run by power, which is the case in the state-madrassa engagement in Pakistan. Power is exercised even at the tinniest

level, be it the small non-existent madaris in the rural areas of Pakistan and it originates from knowledge that is disseminated through the ulema to the society. Power and knowledge are interdependent and it is through this power-knowledge nexus that the society is working in a certain discipline. This depicts that power must have been involved in the construction of certain reality about the madaris and that the knowledge produced might have affected the power of the institutions. Language plays a vital role in this nexus and connects the discourses of the society. The Power-Knowledge nexus works to form the truths, where power is exercised in the form of threads connecting people, forming groups (state institutions) and providing them with a status to exercise power (Feder, 2011). This nexus is the basis of the formation of discourses which creates the social structures. According to Foucault (1982), discourses are everywhere and are the very foundation of society, which mediates among all the aspects of life in a society. These discourses always go through changes, in the form of new ideas and policies introduced for the madaris, making the whole nexus a continuous circular movement. This backs the idea that policy documents have been a source of introducing new terms related to madaris and the association of the metaphors 'extremism, sectarianism, violence, tolerance, radicalization, militancy, reform, religious hatred' have constructed a new image of madaris in the society, which is generated a negative discourse about them in the society that is reflected in the form of an image of madaris, alien to the modern democratic trends.

Foucault's (1991) concept of Power-Knowledge-Truth unveils the relations between truth and the subject. It uncovers how a subject is placed as an object in the games of truth. Foucault (2001) argues that the power is formed and transmitted in the society through accepted forms of knowledge that are the legal policy documents and formulates truth that madaris are a source of extremism and terrorism in the society, therefore they must be fixed through

government policies. Policy documents, according to this concept, are the accepted form of knowledge, which have been inculcating desired truths about madaris in the society. By games, Foucault (1972) means the principles for the production of knowledge and truth. His approach of Truth offers a very flexible approach to study the identity construction and its effects. It explores how identities become a conventional reality through truth formulations and how these identities play role in forming institutional practices while simultaneously they are formed by the institutional practices.

In his work on power, Foucault (1998) asserts that power is everywhere and comes from everywhere, which means that it is not a structure or agency. However, it is a regime of truth where it is a meta power and in continuous shifting and negotiations. It is formed when a certain form of knowledge or truth is acknowledged and accepted by the society (Foucault, 1998). Power according to Foucault, is not just negative and coercive, it can also be a positive or productive force (Gaventa, 2003). For Foucault (1972), power is an everyday phenomenon indulging the society, so for a discourse to change and maintain power in the society, it needs acceptance from the society. For example, the policies introduced for the madaris did not only label the madaris as extremist hubs, there were laws and ordinances introducing education boards for madaris, and offering incentives in return of registration of madaris, which portrayed the power exercise by government as a positive force. This force was perceived by the madaris as an unnecessary involvement on part of the state, but the general understanding of these laws and incentives was that government was taking a progressive step in its relations with the madaris.

Another factor in the construction of truth highlighted by Foucault (1972) is that Games of Truth are not always imposed on the subjects through some structural pressure and it is not only a top-down hierarchy of power that forms and transforms the identity of subject, rather

the process of identity formation and the exercise of power is horizontal and it involves all the actors within the society. This is the reason that revolutions and struggles that are mostly only institutional do not work out to be successful unless they get the support from the society. Keeping in view Foucault principles, power is not studied with regards to its rules and principles rather the techniques that gave legitimization to power. Along with this, focus is on how discursive formations, which are the statements of the madrassa reforms, operate to objectivize the subjects (madaris) in the Games of Truth (Fairclough, 1992), (Foucault, 1982). Truth and power are linked in a circular model where truth is produced and sustained by power, and at the same time truth extends and induces the effects of power (Foucault, 1986). The philosophical underpinnings of Foucault provides with an analytic basis and conceptual understanding of how identities are encoded in the policy discourse but to analyze and explore the ways to empirically situate the concepts, Fairclough's approach to CDA textual analysis is employed. Followed by this, the concept of the historical principles of production of truth are studied along with the discursive practices in order to study the formation of the subject.

The concept of Power-Knowledge-Truth guides the research to provide insights of how madrassa image was transformed through madrassa reforms and the socio-political factors guiding these reforms within the policy discourse (Foucault, 1972). It aids the research to discover how identities are formed and made manifest and describable. Foucault's workings assist in analyzing the texts of the madrassa reforms and facilitate the study of the historical patterns that contributed in altering the madrassa image in the society. The concept of Power-Knowledge-Truth is amalgamated in the research not to study the power relations but to elaborate how through the use of power exercise madaris are made a subject in the policy

discourse. It helps to study the complex power relations that make policy statement and legitimize them as knowledge.

Truth is formed when the knowledge produced is given certain status and acceptability from the society. The granting of this status and value makes a hierarchy of concepts in accordance with the status allotted to them. When a term is introduced in policy document with an official status and legitimization, it will have more impact than a term introduced in a local newspaper. Values are relational, and comparison of things is what grants these things values, so in case of introduction of metaphors associated with madaris in the policy documents gained their value with the legitimacy and status of the government institutions. This understanding directs the research to a philosophical trajectory of understanding the workings of power in forming the truth. The center, in this case, would be the construction of truth and the value assigned to it, which would expose the underlying principles finding identity construction of madaris and the formation of a certain truth about them. Valuations are act of power that bring certain truths into being, and through this understanding the research would unfold the power relations, their effects on the production of a new image of madaris, as the object of desire.

2.4 Micro-Meso-Macro Movement of Metaphors:

The analytic framework indulges the concepts of 'power-knowledge-truth' and 'micro-capillaries' of power by Foucault (1986) into a multi-level analysis of the madrassa reforms, where the micro-meso level deals with a single text of reforms, and the meso-macro level deals with policy texts across several years. This multi-level analysis makes overt the evolution of values through metaphors of extremism, religious hatred, violence, reform, tolerance, sectarianism and radicalization and at the same time underlining the dimensions of metaphors.

This further elaborates how through policy texts these metaphors are transmitted and propagated. The multi-level analysis makes clearer how macro level values are made desirable through micro-level values. The micro-meso-macro trajectory of analysis helps to reveal the use of power in the historical framework along with explaining how the macro level domination was maintained by the micro level discursive practices. The meso level is the bridge between the two levels; micro and macro, serving as the center of the analytic structure, connecting the two structural aspects of transformation of madrassa image that was drawn by the usage of metaphors in order to create a truth about madaris that was desirable.

This philosophical-analytical research framework analyzes how changes associated with new modes of value determined to construct a new image of madaris. The three levels of analysis of the metaphors functions to unveil how the metaphors of extremism, sectarianism, violence, tolerance, radicalization, militancy, reform, religious hatred work to maintain a structure where madrassa image is differed from the past. The analytic tool explains in two ways how social practices formed through policy discourse transformed the madrassa image. First, they depend on the metaphors and secondly, they converse with a value system and make the new image of madaris, the only truth. Foucault (1984) argues that truth is formed by the social practices and these social practices are a result of valuation of certain concepts, where valuation becomes the essence of truth. Both are interdependent where micro-meso-macro valuations sustain the truth. From this mutual development and the interconnection between the truth and valuation, the Games of Truth is formed (Foucault, 1997). In order to examine the truths in discourse, though CDA, it is necessary to see them having no previous value and in order to get certain valuation they must be embedded in the ideology from which the truths can derive their value or non-value.

The strength of CDA lies in its capacity to reveal and expose the hidden tensions (Foucault, 1997). Through the incorporation of philosophical underpinnings of Foucault, this research became a method-driven and theoretically framed CDA to explore the construction of madrassa image through madrassa reforms.

Foucault's micro-capillaries of power formulates a fluid multi-level framework to interpret the micro-meso-macro strategies that backed the idea of Foucault that 'Power is everywhere' (Foucault, 1991). These micro-meso-macro web of analysis interconnects theory and data to yield constructive results. Policy language has certain value in the discourse, however, at the same time it has its arbitrariness which makes its questionable. However, what unifies the two concepts is their interdependence and valuation becomes a necessity to provide with a logical basis.

In the micro-meso-macro level of analysis, the micro level covers the general themes and metaphors that emerged from the inquiry of texts, while the meso level deals with specific texts and the macro level deals with themes over several texts over a large period of time. Binding the multiple level web with Foucault's concept that power is everywhere and it does not comes from a central source, the power is perceived to be functioning as at capillary level (Foucault, 1982). The meso level works as a flexible and adaptable relationship for valuation as a form of power. It mediates between the boundaries of micro and macro and regulates the revaluation of values.

2.5 Critical Discourse Analysis in the light of previous researches conducted:

Taylor used Fairclough's approach to CDA in order to analyze the issues of equity in the Education Queensland's reform agenda and emphasized on the need to evaluate texts, contexts and their consequences while analyzing the policy texts. He argued that CDA is an exemplary

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approach with a framework for a multilevel and orderly analysis of how policy texts work in power relations (Taylor, 2007).

A research titled 'Critical Analysis of the Educational Policies of Pakistan' conducted by Rehman & Sewani (2009) critically analyzed the education policies of Pakistan with a focus on the 2005-2009 policy development process, pre-policy document titled 'Education in Pakistan – a White Paper' in 2007, followed by a final policy paper in 2009. The research utilized Fairclough's approach to CDA for the anaysis of the documents. The paper criticaly analyzed how neo-liberal values are incorporated through policies and how these trends are gainig strength in Pakistan. It explored the policy documents through the themes of standardization, continuation, vocalization, decentralization and governmentality, and explored how through these themes the international education policies are incorporated into national education policies and how these themes interact with the formulation of the national education policy in Pakistan. The context of the themes has been explained so as to give an idea of national pecularities. CDA reveals how the global education policy penetrates into the national education policy of Pakistan through dicursive sources and the consultaion processes. However, in order to understand the dynamics of policy formulation in Pakistan, the research needed to analyze the historical context of the policy formation. For this sake, a multi-disciplinary approach is required incorporating different techniques to find out the working of the themes generating new movements in the policy system. Policy formation is a complex phenomenon, where a lot of factors act simultaneously. There are different power groups with their respective interests working on negotiating their way in the process. Power exercise is being involved and practices at every step of the policy formation, different values are revaluated, and as a result either they are discarded

or changed, along with addition of new values which makes it difficult to analyse this complex phenomenon by using a single CDA technique.

CDA is a flexible and accommodating approach which encourages the incorporation of multiple disciplines to analyze the texts, and this research lacked a multidisciplinary approach which would have assisted the research to lead to more effective results.

The research titled "The Insecurities of Weaponized Education: a Critical Discourse Analysis of Securitized Education Discourse in North-West Pakistan' by Ford (2017) analyzes the educational situation of the North-west of Pakistan after the shooting of Malala Yousufzai. The paper critically analyzes how the extremist mindset was transformed into educational mindset so as to combat increasing extremism in the region. The themes of the study are education, international developmet, and security and the insecurity faced by the educational institutes and students in North-West Pakistan which was under attack by the Pakistani Taliban.

This research analyzes the securitization of the discursicve production of political practices and its effects on the educational practices, exploring how securitization engenders insecurity or security. It revealed three major findings. First that the securitized education aimed to mindset transformation from extremist to educated mindset. Seond, students are transformed into soldiers using education to fght extremism and third, it is due to securitization of education that the line between the educated and extremist becomes blur in the discourse and a new identity of threatening uneducated emerged. The research yielded the conclusion that the international community involvement in the education system of North-West Pakistan infact created more insecurity rather securitizing the region.

Chapter 3

Overview of the State-Madrassa Relations from 1947-2000

Madaris in Pakistan had a very humble beginning with a number of less than 300 (Bano, 2012). Many of the leading Muslim madaris were located in India. But the number increased dramatically ever since and some estimates are that it has reached 50,000 these religious educational institutions host approximately 3.5 students, most of these students belong to rural areas with poor financial conditions (Fair, 2006). The number of registered madaris in Pakistan is only 14405, and they host 1.84 million students (Abbasi, 2015).

The main duty of madaris is considered to educate the students to become religious preachers in future and fulfill their religious and spiritual duties, and proliferate the Islamic teachings. The students are taught Islamic subjects, mainly Quran, logic, jurisprudence, hadith, Islamic law, etc. and sectarian subjects are added according to the affiliation of madaris to a sect.

In Pakistan, five Islamic school of thoughts operate having their own systems. These schools of thoughts are Barelvi, Deobandi, Ahl-e-Hadith, Shi'ite and Jamaat-e-Islami. Each system has organized its own schooling systems, Islamic boards, etc. the names of the boards are Tanzim-ul-Madaris that organizes to Sunni Barelvi madaris, the Wafaq-ul-Madaris Shia which deals with the Shi'ite madaris, Wafaq-ul-Madaris Al-Arabiya organizes the Deobandi madaris, Rabitah-ul-Madaris-ul-Islamia organizes the Jamaat-e-Islami madaris and lastly the Wafaq-ul-Madaris-Al-Shafia deals with the Ahl-e-Hadith madaris (Chawla, et al., 2015). Pakistan's madrassa system is dominated by the Sunni sects, Barelvi and Deobandi. Among these school of thoughts, the Deobandi school of thought is considered to more in strength and relatively more conservative than the rest of the sects. The differences among the madaris, based on the varying

methods of interpretation of Quran and Hadith has led to gruesome results for the state. However, there have been continuous struggle by the state to maintain peace and harmony among the religious leaders of the madaris.

3.1 Political Instrumentalization of Islam and Religious Institutions in Pakistan 1947-1957:

Pakistan was created on the base of two nation theory that Muslims and Indians are two distinct nations, but at the same time Jinnah the founder of Pakistan, was not of the view of Pakistan as a theocratic state, instead he was prone to a secular state, where Muslims and non-Muslims can live together, with equality and justice. Before partition some of the Muslim ulema were against a separate state, but later when Pakistan gained independence, they came with the idea of making Pakistan a theocratic state, implementing Shari'ah law (Bano, 2010). These were the people who were initially against the creation of Pakistan, but after 1947 they wanted to be the guardians of the state, implementing their religious interpretation as the basis of Pakistan, so they created hurdles in the implementation of the Jinnah's vision of a secular state. The religious leaders like Maulana Maudoodi and Ramadan started to suggest the Islamic parameter they thought were suitable for the constitution of the new born state (Bano, 2010). This resulted in the Objectives Resolution of 1948 which did not have any practical gains for the people; instead it was used by the leaders for the religious exploitation of the people. The inculcation of the points made by ulema in the Objectives Resolution led them to actively take part in the political process, rather than focusing on the madrasa education system which was their actual area of expertise (Chawla et al, 2015)**.** And madrasas in such a scenario were used as institutions that were promoting orthodoxy in the state. They were the cradles for extremist Islamic tendencies in the people. The objectives resolution that led to the making of the 1956 constitution focused on the states of Pakistan as an Islamic republic where Islamic laws should be followed, however, the

minorities would also be allowed to practice their own religion and there would be democracy and equal rights for all. But the exploitation of madaris by the religious leaders effected their educational and institutional practices. Before the creation of Pakistan, madaris were the center of scholarly debates and philosophical studies, but since the independence of Pakistan these institutions are not seen as the traditional educational institutes, rather they became a mere source of providing basic religious education to the children of the lower poor class.

The state that was promised by Jinnah was a state where religion was to be followed with strong basis of democracy, equal rights and justice for all (Farooq, 2010). The newborn state was to follow liberal Islam where the egalitarian values of Islam were merged with modern changes. But at the time of independence, the majority of the masses followed the Sufi tradition and Sufi doctrine, which was a concern for the ulemas so they focused more on inculcating the doctrine of a theocratic state in the constitution in the form of the objectives resolution. Ulemas were successful in the formation of theocratic basis of Pakistan because after independence the economic status of the state was not very strong and the ruling class was more focused on their capitalist economy and they were ready to compromise the well-being of nation in order to attain their objectives. This compromise by the ruling class had serious impact on the society as the implementation of a theocratic ideology led to division among the Muslim population in the form of sectarianism, and also in the form of rich and poor. (Bano, 2012)

The madaris faced difficulty in maintaining their order due to the fact that they were left unattended by the ulemas who were actually supposed to run the madaris effectively to maintain the mandate of madaris they had before 1947 (Malik, 1996). Due to the compromise of the ulemas in the name of theocracy, the madrassa system that was once considered the education system of the elite, began to transform into the education system of the poor, as due to the

exploitation of the masses, they became financially weak and when the people had no other source of education then they headed towards the madaris. Also the elite class was more prone to economy they shifted their interests towards the secular education system. Adding fuel to fire, ulema created and promoted the attitude of religiosity as a pure idea, neglecting the economic and social issues and needs of the people and the madaris, that is why madrasa focused on nothing but only the staunch religious knowledge which intentionally declined the status of the previously glorified institutions (Bano, 2010).

Pakistan had only 300 or even less madaris at the time of independence, but the number rose alarmingly later (Rahman, 2013). The number did increase but the quality did not and this was due to the lack of efficient government policies to keep a check on the madrasas. There had been lack of check on the madrassa education system and the religious leaders of these madaris focused more on securing power and their interests rather the preservation of the traditional madrassa education system. The religious parties like Jammat e Islami who bitterly opposed Jinnah and the creation of Pakistan, later transformed into Jammat e Islami Pakistan and even participated in provincial elections, actively taking part in the politics (Bergen & Pandey, 2006).

Jammat e Islami has given tough time to the Pakistani government throughout history. This party was also responsible for sectarian clashes and anti-Ahmaddiyah movement, which led to riots in Lahore and sectarian clashes all over Pakistan. The main aim of the movement at that time was to dismiss Mohammad Zaffarullah Khan from the post of foreign minister. Zaffarullah Khan was the author of the Lahore Resolution which later the Jammat claimed was its creation (Bergen & Pandey, 2006). He was from the Ahmaddiyah community and the religious group was against the Ahmadis declaring them as apostates. Along with this religious friction in the state, the international political scenario also affected the already weak state. The tussle between

capitalism and communism served well the religious parties well in their quest for making the new born state, an Islamic republic. US supported the cause of the ulemas and staunch religious parties which considered communism an anti-religion and anti-God system, US was concerned about the growing support for communism among the labor class and the press, so it used religious affiliation of the people as a measure for national unity of Pakistan and a force to tackle communism (Ali, 2009).

3.2 Modernized Image of Madaris 1958-1969:

In the late 1950's the parliamentary form of government was overthrown by the military coup of Ayub Khan which introduced the presidential form of government. Ayub Khan had a more modernistic approach towards the implementation of Islam in the society. Ayub Khan himself got his primary education from madrassa and later moved to secular education system for higher education. Ayub Khan was the first Muslim ruler in South Asia to introduce liberal reforms, and tried to put the state to a secular path (Malik, 1996). His view of Islam was more liberal and flexible as compared to proponents of the Objectives Resolution, which was the reason he faced immense resistance by the ulemas when he implemented his policies and made changes in the constitution and eventually proposed the 1962 resolution (Chawla et al, 2015). There was also a general conception that army is a west-oriented, so Ayub Khan was considered a military figure forcefully imposing liberal ideas in the society because of his association to western lifestyle. Ayub Khan himself did not give much leniency to the ulemas; he did not allowed conservative religious leaders to be a part of the Islamic Research Institute, which aggravated the discontent among the ulemas. Also the forced implementation of policies lead to resistance by the society as well, which was the reason that in the second phase of regime from 1962-1965, Ayub Khan became lenient in his policy implementation as he was becoming less

popular among the population and he needed the support from the ulemas. But during the Ayub's era the conservative religious institutions and the ulemas faced serious concerns as they were continuously forced by the regime to liberalize. In this situation a tussle between the liberalists and the fundamentalists started in the state. (Ansari, 2011)

Ayub Khan attempted to reform the curriculum of madaris and integrate them into the formal education system. He formulated a committee for this purpose in 1961, which was to cover 700 madaris. The committee formulated a report in 1962 and suggested that the general education subjects should be induced in the curriculum of the madaris along with the traditional religious subjects. The report proposed to cut down the subjects of philosophy and logic from the Dars-e-Nizami (Saikia, 2014). Such reforms were not very welcoming by the madrassa administrations and the ulema. The report triggered a conflict between traditionalist and modernists ulema who differed on the inclusion and exclusion of religious and non-religious subjects. However, another ambiguity in the implementation of the 1962 report was that it began by labelling Islam as the religion encompassing all the matters of life, which was used by the traditional ulemas as a standpoint, as it means that the religious Islamic subjects that are taught in the madaris cover all aspects of life, so there is no need to include general education subjects into the madrassa curriculum.

3.3 Socialization of Madaris 1973-1978:

After the Ayub Khan era, Yahya Khan also showed little sympathy for the religious leaders and ulema, and they felt marginalized on behalf of the government. It was later under the regime of Bhutto that the risky merger of religion and politics occurred. Bhutto introduced the term "socialist Islam" and introduced socialist trends in the society (Khokhar, 2007). His merger

did not serve well because of the fact that the tenets of this merger were not clear. Also the sectarian rift started in the society, and the idea of socialism did not get much support from the society (Rahman, 2012). During this era Bhutto used religion as a means to acquire foreign assistance and ideological connection between Muslim states. Later the religious card was used as a unifying force for internal stability. Islamisation measures were used along with implementation of Shari'ah laws. These Shari'ah laws served well the religious institutions and madaris that increased in number and the madaris became the hub of religious education that was considered necessary. The religious sentiments of people were exploited by the religious parties that had affiliated themselves with the government, with the only reason of facilitating their interests (Ahmad, 2010).

When Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto came into power, madaris were initially not given much attention. But later when the nationalization of educational institutions was proposed, the Tanzim-ul-Madaris al Arrabiya protested against the nationalization program. Due to the pressure from the Tanzim, government had to made concessions for the madaris in 1973. A report on the future of Islamic Character of education was prepared in 1975 by the Council of Islamic Ideology. Bhutto's government introduced the exchange of subjects between the madrassa education system and the general education, under which Quran and teaching of Islam was introduced to the general education system while, general education subjects were introduced in the madrassa curriculum.

Establishment of a madrassa board was suggested in the report and the board was given full autonomy. This whole phenomenon of exchanging subjects of the madrassa education and formal education resulted in less modernization of madrassa and more Islamisation of the general education system. Another important step taken by Bhutto's regime was the recognition of

madaris asnaads by the University Grant Commission (Shaikh, 2008). However, not all universities recognized the asnaads of the madaris, making it difficult for the madrassa students to get admission in the universities. The effort of Bhutto to integrate the two modes of education could not prove to be a success and the successive regimes had to continue the reform process with little hope of success.

3.4 Conservative Islam and Madaris 1978-1988:

The sectarian division, forceful implementation of modernist policies and the resistance by ulema was apparent in the early years of Pakistan but the event that had major impact on the madrasa system of Pakistan was after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Afghan war for which US used Pakistan as a proxy state, and also due to the Islamisation process led by Zia ul Haq. It was the era when madrasas were used as training institutes of jihadists who were directed to fight the soviets in Afghanistan, labeling the fight as a holy war or jihad (Shah, 2012). This zest for jihad created appeal for strong religious affiliation among the people, which served Zia's interests as a religious person who wanted to implement Islamic Shari'ah laws in Pakistan. Strict measures were taken for the Islamisation of the society; also the Afghan war played a vital role in the promotion of extremism and the concept of jihad among the society. The Afghanistan center for education located in Peshawar published textbooks that had content related to the glorification of jihad as a pure and divine concept, with pictures of jihadists as heroes that had fought the war for a holy cause. Similar content glorifying jihad was inculcated in the texts of Pakistani curriculum (Davis, 2002). Osama bin Laden and other militants that fought the Afghan war were hosted in Afghanistan, and at that time the Pakistani government also supported the militants' cause so as to get US aid for the training of jihadists. The reason of immense support for the Holy war from the Pakistanis was that they believed that if Afghans can get their land free

from the Soviets then fighting with the same religious zeal would liberate Kashmir from India. Pakistan ISI along with US aid supported the Saudi funded jihadists but later when the war ended with the success of the militants, they needed another cause to fight for, as this was the only thing they were trained for (Rahman, 2012). The militants had made strong roots in Pakistan and had strong affiliation with the madrasas here, so they kept on their struggle for the preservation of Islam and directed their holy war towards the liberation of Kashmir. Madaris remain the training centers for the warriors who aimed to liberate Kashmir.

Zia came to power as a result of resistance movement against Bhutto's regime. Pakistan National Alliance Movement gained its strength from the madaris in the state, so from the very beginning Zia manipulated madaris for his political interests. Zia as a religious being wanted to involve clergy into the political affairs of the state and establish a string relationship between madaris and clergy. This support from the madaris and clergy allowed the dictator to stay in power for a period of ten years from 1977-1988 (Hussain, 1994). Zia's era is important while analyzing madrassa's role in the political setting of Pakistan.

Two reports are important with regard to the madrassa strategy of Zia, first, the Sargodha report and second, the Halepota report. The Sargodha report studied that Sargodha district's madrassa system and compiled observations on them (Shah, 2012). The education system, its levels, the finances of the madaris, issuance of asnaads and their non-recognition by some universities despite efforts by the previous regime, and the disputes over property rights on the lands madaris were constructed were all covered in the report

The committee highly supported the idea of giving autonomous status to the madaris. It proposed the establishment of All Pakistan Advisory Board to formulate reports on the working

of the madaris. It also proposed a federal ulema university along with standardization of the examination system of madaris. The proposals of the report faced strong opposition from the Wafaq-ul-madaris al Arabiya. Awareness programs regarding the advantages of reforms were run which facilitated the program when it was initiated under the National Committee for Deeni Madaris in 1979. The committee comprised of 27 members from the ulema and the government making it an alliance body serving the cause of both the parties involved (Hussain, 1994).

The second report titled the Halepota report was formulated by the National committee for Deeni Madaris. The report highlighted the flaws in the madrassa education system and expressed dissatisfaction at the workings of the system, it criticized the quality of education and the financial dealings of the madaris and highlighted the flaws in the curriculum and examination system, and proposed that government should provide aid to madaris for effective working of the system (Hussain, 1994). Like the efforts of the previous regime, Zia also aimed at the integration of the general education system and the madrassa education system.

The Islamic schools of thoughts comprising the five boards of the Madrassa education agreed on the proposal of the Halepota report which aimed to support the madrassa education system, in order to help the students of madaris compete for jobs with other students, from the formal education system. The reform program was initially welcomed by the ulema but later it faced criticism by some madaris and traditional ulemas (Bano, 2007). The proposal by Zia's regime was considered as a conspiracy which would negatively affect the autonomy of the madaris.

Under this whole process of reforming the madrassa education system, lied three main objectives of the participants. First, Zia wanted to legitimize his rule based on religion to get

more support. The bureaucracy wanted the control over madaris and neutralize and the ulema aimed at achieving social recognition and strengthening the madrassa education system. Funds were also provided to the madaris through zakat. This was the reason, the number of madaris proliferated during the Zia's regime and reached a figure of almost 45000-50000 in the 1980's (Shah, 2012). 1979 was a year of ground-breaking shifts in the political landscape of the world. The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and the Islamic Revolution in Iran transformed the role and status of madaris in Pakistan. Zia threatened of the Shi'ite influence in the shape of revolution promoted Sunni Islam in the state which had consequences for the state in the following years.

3.5 Madaris under the Democratic Rule (1988-1999):

The democratic governments after analyzing the power and status of madaris and their influence on the society opted to the appeasement of the religious groups rather than reforming the madrassa system. The Afghan War had its repercussions for Pakistan in the form of Taliban who were trained in the madaris of Pakistan in the decade from 1979-1989 (Andrabi, Das, Fair, & Khwaja, 2009). The ties between madaris and the Taliban was a bad news for the government. Islamic movement erupted in the state adding fuel to the religious fire spreading all over Pakistan.

Madaris worked as support groups for the domestic and regional policies of Zia. Sectarian divide had always been present in Pakistan but it became violent during Zia's regime when the Deobandi and Ahl-e-Hadith madrassa were provided with funds from Iraq and Saudi Arabia due to their mutual hate for Iran and Shi'ism. Iran also provided funds to the Shi'ite madaris in Pakistan (Grare, 2007). This foreign meddling in the madrassa affairs of the state

adversely affected the madrassa education system as madaris transformed from educational institutions to political tools used by the regimes for maintain their influence.

As an aftermath of the Afghan War, mushrooming of extremist outfits especially in the tribal belt started in Pakistan, which gave the government tough time to counter. The democratic regimes failed to cut down the ties between Taliban in Afghanistan and madaris in Pakistan. The failure of the government to counter the growing Taliban-madrassa relations and failing to come up with a workable mechanism, adversely effected the image of madaris in the state as well as in the international community.

The review of the regimes from the inception of Pakistan till 2000 portray that all of them politicized religion and the religious institutions for their personal and political interests. Reforms were introduced by these regimes, but could not bear fruitful results due to biased motives behind those reforms.

Chapter 4

Critical Discourse Analysis of the Madrassa Reforms from 2001-2018:

This chapter investigates the madrassa policies of Pakistan from 2001 till 2018. The policies first go through a micro-meso level of analysis and then through a meso-macro level of analysis in order to find out value of truth in the policy documents. The Chapter analyses how in the government policies the metaphors of extremism, religious hatred, sectarianism, radicalization, and violence were used to create a truth about madaris. While analyzing the documents the concept of Foucault of Power-Knowledge-Truth are employed to find out how power is submerged in the policies and to make visible how values are granted to notions and are made desirable through policy texts as legitimate sources of change.

This chapter elaborates how legal documents like policies work to create identities or redefine the previous ones. The analysis highlights through a micro-meso analysis of texts that how certain metaphors were introduced in the documents, and the meso-macro analysis makes explicit how those metaphors are presented in texts of policies across several years.

4.1 Micro-Meso-Macro Level of Analysis:

Madaris in Pakistan gained special attention in the national as well as international politics after the end of the Afghan War and the initiation of the Global War on Terror. These events highlighted the Pakistani madaris in the international community, and increased the significance and necessity of introduction of effective madrassa reforms. Description

Foucault's micro capillaries of power formulates a multi-level model to inspect 'valuation' as a form of power (Foucault, 1997). This multi-level model scrutinizes the concept

of valuation that bridges the philosophical theory with data. This three level model identifies the interdependence of valuation and policy language. In the first stage the madrassa policies are analyzed individually and go through a meso-macro level of analysis where the metaphors of extremism, sectarianism, violence, tolerance, radicalization, militancy, reform, religious hatred are analyzed in individual policy papers. In the second stage, the meso-macro level of analysis takes place to analyze the fluidity of these metaphors across several policy texts. The micro-meso-macro web makes overt the interactions between the analytical data and the philosophical underpinnings discussed in the previous chapter. The process starts from the inquiry of analytical data and derives the valuation system associated with the metaphors. This highlights the dimensions of the metaphors associated with the madaris in Pakistan.

4.2 The Pakistan Madrassa Education (Establishment and Affiliation of Model Dini Madaris) Board Ordinance 2001:

Due to the increased national and international pressure Musharraf's regime introduced the Madrassa Education Board Ordinance in 2001. This ordinance was the first effort by Musharraf's regime to address the issues related to the madaris. Among other clauses, some of the main were related to revisions in the curriculum of the madaris so as to connect them with the general education.

The ordinance established a madrassa board to keep check and balance of the madaris in Pakistan. Model Dini madaris were established to set a role model for other madaris and to set up regulatory rules for them. Two madaris for boys was set up in Karachi and Sukkhar and one model madrassa for girls in Islamabad. The main focus of the ordinance was to approve the curriculum of the madaris which could bridge the gap between the general education and the

madrassa education in Pakistan. It was directed to promote cooperation between the existing madaris of different sects so as to curb the sectarian divide in the society. The ordinance approved equivalence of the certificates and degree of the madrassa taught subjects to be equivalent to the subjects of general education.

4.2.1 Policy Extract:

'… To establish such model madaris and model darul ulooms in which the Islamic Education is the main component and includes courses and curricula of the general education system as may be prescribed;

To regulate and approve conditions for affiliation of such existing madaris as have duly been recommended by the Academic Council…' (Governemnt of Pakistan, 2001).

Musharraf's regime aimed to change the internal perspective of madaris that they are the breeding grounds of terrorism, but in addition to that, the government also desired to gain control over the religious movements through the control over the madaris, which were the main source of their support. For this sake, government wanted to inculcate the madrassa education system into the formal education system of the state. The 'model madaris and Darul ulooms' were the instruments of gaining control over the madrassa system, presenting the model madaris so as to attain the desired madaris following the rules made by the government. The statement 'regulate and approve conditions for affiliation' also served the interests of the government. In this scenario, power is distributed among the madaris and the government, and both the actors want to maintain its status along with gaining more strength by controlling and resisting the reform process (Shabir, Abbasi, & Khan, 2012). The government as having more control over the state issues constructed an ideal image of the madaris in the form of model madaris, making the

society believe that only the madaris following the regulations made by the government are the cradles of peace.

In the madrassa ordinance of 2001, the government paid the most attention on connecting the two systems of education, making the madaris to follow the working system of the formal education system (Bano, 2012). The text of the policy document placed madaris as the subject that needs to adhere to the regulations made by the government. The statements of the policies gave more authority to the government and the established Madrassa Board, thus re-defining the status quo of the madrassa education system.

The desirability and valuation of things seems to emerge from the role of necessity. What is necessary is made desirable and certain higher value is attached to its attainment. In the form of these reforms, regulation of madaris and their surrender to governmental bodies and laws was the desire of the regime, and it was posed as a necessity by linking regulation of madaris with security of the society. Necessity was placed as the logic to structural reforms, which formed a common base for the production of certain proposals for reform in the existing system.

This ordinance did not get much support from the madrassas and the ulema also did not approve this much control of the government on the madaris. The madrassa registration ratio remained low due to the clause that the registration was not obligatory, so the madaris did not paid much heed to the registration with the madrassa boards. Among the 25000 madaris, only 449 got themselves registered with the PMEB (Farooq, 2015). There was a continuous lack of trust between the government and madaris ulema on the formation of a consensus based registration process. The five Wafaqs formulated an Ittehad Tanzeemat-e-Madaris-e-Diniya to protest against the government's any act to reform the madrassa system. After the creation of

PMEB, despite membership in the board, the Wafaq's representatives never accepted the formation of the board and never attended any meeting of PMEB (Shabir et al, 2012).

Another ordinance was prepared by the regime of Musharraf in 2002, titled Voluntary Registration and Regulation Ordinance (Muhammad, Muhammad, Shafiq, & Shah, 2011). The ordinance faced immense pressure and protests by the madaris. Later a number of meetings were held between the heads of the Wafaq's and the government officials for drafting a policy for the registration of madaris and finally the 2005 Societies registration Ordinance was compiled (Andrabi et al, 2009).

4.3 The Deeni Madaris (Registration and Regulation) Ordinance, 2002:

Musharraf's federal cabinet passed this ordinance on June 19th, 2002, without considering the suggestions of the provinces and resistance by the madaris.

4.3.1 Policy Extract:

… Provincial Boards would be established in each province, which would oversee the matters of Madaris established in the respective province.

These Boards would make policies and implement the governmental reforms in madaris. All those madaris would cease to exist which do not comply with this ordinance and register themselves with Pakistan Madrasah Education Board(s). Madaris are bound to share all of the information, with the government, which includes all of the records about students and teachers, their qualifications, salaries as well as the curriculum and trainings by the Madrasah, source of funding, sponsors and any other information required by the government.

Deeni Madaris are <u>strictly bound</u> to follow the curriculum provided by the Pakistan Madrasah education Board.

Both Pakistan Madrasah Education Board and Provincial Madrasah Education Board are authorized to <u>suspend or dismiss the administration of any Madrasah</u> and appoint its own administrator or care taker if finds any kind of mismanagement regarding funding information etc. or not properly following the instructions of the Board(s).

Both Pakistan Madrasah Education Board and Provincial Madrasah Education Board are also authorized to cancel or suspend the registration of any Madrasah if found guilty of not following the instructions of the Board(s).

Both of the Boards are also entrusted with the authority to define the criterion, standards, curriculum and duration of different courses offered by the Madrasah, also to determine the requirements of the admissions in training courses, examination procedures… (Government of Pakistan, 2002)'

Strict measures were proposed against the madaris in this ordinance. The policies like providing information regarding the funding sources, records of the students and teachers was contested by the madaris as compromising the integrity of the institutions. The statement "Deeni madaris are strictly bound" place the government as the powerful actor dominating madaris by granting more value to the authority of the government, thus constructing the truth that the policies formulated by the government are necessary. This leads to the construction of the discourse where madaris are presented as submissive actors. Thus the image of madaris goes through a gradual alteration, where the metaphors are sometimes explicit and at times they are implicit, forming a chain of metaphorical relations. This induced mechanism of policy narratives

persuaded through valuations bestowed to certain expressions construct the ideology desired (Foucault, 1998).

4.4 Societies Registration Ordinance 2005:

The Societies Registration Ordinance of 2005 also known as the Dini Madaris Voluntary Registration and Regulation Ordinance was proposed by the government when the madaris were not abiding by the regulations of the previous ordinance. This ordinance was the extension of the Societies Registration Act 1860 (Chawla et al, 2015). In addition with the previous clauses, the ordinance introduced the regulations that all madaris would have register with the Pakistan Madrassa Board, they would have to submit an annual report to the registrar.

4.4.1 Policy Extract:

"No Deeni madaris shall teach or publish any literature which promotes 'militancy' or spreads 'sectarianism' or religious hatred" (Government of Pakistan, 2005).

Keeping in view the Foucauldian approach towards object and the scrutiny of object (Foucault, 1972), the usage of these metaphors of sectarianism, militancy and religious hatred portrays that there must have been chances of promotion of religious hatred and sectarianism by the madaris, which was the reason that the government had to address the issue by making it obligatory not to publish any material encompassing these metaphors. When the madaris are placed within a system of differences (Foucault, 1982) in the ordinance texts, they are subjected to power politics, this system of differences controls them and binds them to follow the regulations.

By using the metaphors of sectarianism, religious hatred and militancy, though for the sake of obligating the madaris not to promote them, a connection has been formulated between them. The metaphors themselves have an effect in image construction, and by using them with madaris redefines their values and generates a concept that madaris are linked with militancy and sectarianism.

Keeping in view Fairclough's approach about discourse and the ideological struggle, placing the metaphors of 'militancy' and 'sectarianism' and 'religious hatred' with madaris generates the idea that these attributes are related to madaris and if they are not contained by laws using force, then they will spoil the whole madrassa education system. The use of the metaphors of sectarianism, religious hatred and militancy is a tactic of social control which objectivizes the subjects (madaris) (Foucault, 1982). While in the 'Games of Truth' (Foucault, 1998), these metaphors play a crucial role in defining the status of madaris, making them the subject. These metaphors construct a certain truth about the madaris, and the truths themselves have no meaning in the games of truth unless they indulge themselves in a certain ideology (Foucault, 1986), which in this case is that madaris have curriculum which has tendencies to promote extremism in the society, so the government is issuing a policy to curb the chances of development of an extremist society.

Here the effect of this ordinance was not only the madaris, but also on the ulema and the students and the society as a whole. The ordinance was not welcomed heartily by the ulema, who considered it to be a conspiracy to rule out their writ from the religious educational institutions, which was an important source of maintain their control on the people. As Foucault (2003) asserted that power is everywhere and is exercised at the most tinniest level, so is this case as it is not just large religious seminaries and their associated religious scholars who reacted to this

ordinance, but the small madrassa administrations and ulemas working in small cities and villages who reacted to the ordinance which is the reason that the registration process could not fulfill its goal of registering all the madaris in Pakistan.

The statements in the ordinance texts suggest that if the madaris do not comply with the regulation of the ordinance, then it will automatically characterized them among the madaris who are spreading religious hatred and extremism. The ordinance also demarcated 'madaris as the religious educational institutions which are *chiefly* dedicated to religious/ Islamic education', contradicting its own regulation of inculcating the general science subjects into the curriculum of the madaris.

Contradictory statements led to lack of trust on the governmental reform program, by the madaris administrations as the common perception among the madaris was that the reform project introduced by the government was actually a scheme to depart the madaris from their right path. Moreover, the reform projects and policies by the governments were considered as a sincere effort on part of the government (Khokhar, 2007).

4.5 National Internal Security Policy 2014-2018:

National Security Policy 2014 was the first internal security policy of Pakistan. The policy was formulated as a result of the UN resolution 1624, which made it obligatory for all states to issue an annual report on its combats of terrorism from the states (Ramay, 2015). The armed struggle in Afghanistan and the global terrorism had negatively affected the security and stability of Pakistan. The increased number of terrorist attacks and extremist and religious conflicts had effected the security of Pakistan. According to a NACTA report, more than 50,000 Pakistani nationals have been killed due to terrorist incidents (NACTA, 2017). In order to

address the declining peace situation of Pakistan, the government came up with the National Internal Security Policy for counter-terrorism in 2014.

Along with addressing other important issues related to the security of Pakistan, government discussed the issue of madaris in Pakistan and their role in the society. While discussing the threat perceptions, the document addressed the 'Red Mosque incident' among other factors, as a reason for the increase in terrorist incidents in Pakistan (Ministry of Interior, 2014), which is a concern for madaris, as characterization of madaris as terrorist outfits/sponsors would not reflect a positive image in national as well as international sphere.

4.5.1 Policy Extract:

"…there were <u>problems</u> within some madrassas, which have spread '<u>extremism</u>'. There are some <u>troublesome aspects</u> of these madrassas, which impinge on national internal security, include financing from unidentified sources; publication and distribution of <u>hate material</u>. Overtime not only have they dated curriculum but some of them have also taken a dangerous turn in cultivating '<u>non-tolerant</u>' and '<u>violent</u>' religious attitudes. Lack of employment opportunities for students of these madrassas can cause frustration and make such youth vulnerable to prejudices and polarization, which can lead to '<u>extremism</u>'. Earlier, it was limited to madrassas for boys but Jamia Hafsa incident has brought madrassas for women also under the microscope of security analysts. Mostly these madrassas operate outside the ambit of the government specified structures" (NACTA, 2017).

In this text, the metaphors 'extremism, violent, non-tolerant' have been used to define the attitude of madrassa in the society. According to Fairclough (2001) if the analysis is done of these ideologically converted metaphors, then it would propose that the above mentioned

metaphors are the central focus of the ideological struggle about the belief that non-tolerance, extremism, violence are increasing in the society due to its association with madaris, therefore, they must be excluded from the madrassas image for the sake of betterment of the religious seminaries. Implying the Fairclough's (2001) approach towards the examination of imbedded conventions needed for an articulate interpretation, and to make a persuasive link between the issue and the solution, the assumption made is that the ethical solution to the issue of madaris is forcibly made them to abide by the government policies.

4.5.2 Policy Extract:

"…Among other reforms in criminal justice, it also requires review of the regulatory capacity of the state to monitor, evaluate and prevent the misuse of existing laws under which mosques and madrassas are functioning.…Social harmony and national integration of Pakistan are the prime targets of <u>extremists</u>, <u>terrorists</u> and <u>separatists</u>. The concept of '<u>radicalization</u>' literature in madrassas, wherein the complete rejection of other beliefs and <u>sectarian</u> indoctrination plays a critical role in dividing society and adding emotive fuel to existing divisions in the society. Also a large number of <u>terrorists</u>, either are, or have been students of madrassas where they were <u>brainwashed</u> to take up arms against the state. Therefore, madrassa and mosque remains and important point of focus for any government policy to stem the spread of <u>violent extremism</u> in Pakistan."

In the NISP 2014-2018, very straightforward and intense terminologies are associated with madaris. It has been mentioned that radicalization is present in the literature of madaris which is used to spread sectarian divide in the society. Here the aim is not to deny the problems Pakistan is facing due to the increasing extremism and religious divide, where madaris do have a

role to play, but the aim is to understand that either all madaris spread sectarianism and religious hatred or are some of them involved in this matter. When these metaphors are associated with madaris, it encompasses all madaris in Pakistan. There is no specification given of the institutes that are involved. When this policy texts categorize all madaris under one umbrella then there are chances that those religious seminaries which were not previously involved in increasing extremism and sectarian divide might get involve in extremist or unlawful activities, due to the unjust labelling by the state. Therefore, more careful usage of terms and such associations should be in order to cater the situation.

"…The madrassa system cannot be excluded from the internal security parameters of the country. All madrassas derive their inspiration from some specific sect. It appears that the madrassas are in competition to proliferate for more influence and power. "

"There is also another reason for their horizontal expansion: the incentive of raising funds in the name of a madrassa locally and receiving covert funding from foreign sources. Sectarian and terrorist groups of the country receive funds through formal as well as informal money transfer channels. Controlling funding of the terrorists is a major challenge especially when the curriculum in these madrassas does not prepare the youth for the job market. By involving banks, Federal Board of Revenue and taxation departments for monitoring flow of money to suspected organization; it is expedient to implement the laws to tighten control over foreign funding to non-governmental organizations and madrassas to distinguish between the legal and illegal flow of money…Similarly, while evolving counter terrorism measures, mosque and madrassa remains an important focus. NACTA will coordinate and make necessary plans to combat non-traditional threats to internal security of Pakistan."

Rather than entrusting the religious seminaries as a part of the apparatus that is to resolve the threats to the internal security policy, the institutes are portrayed as non-traditional threats to the internal security of Pakistan. This again raise many questions among the madaris and ulema. The use of these metaphors in the first National Internal Security Policy of Pakistan draws a visible line between the madaris and the state, which is not a very good sign, if the state is actually looking forward to curb extremism and sectarianism in the society. Government needs to win the trust of the madaris and the ulemas, in order to resolve the non-traditional threats, as through this approach it can access the large amount of followers of the madaris.

4.6 National Action Plan 2014:

The National Action Plan was devised after the Peshawar APS attach on 16th December, 2014. The government aimed to take effective control efforts against the expanding extremist ideologies in the state. Although NISP 2014-2018 was already proposed by the government and was in the working, but the results were not satisfactory, so the NACTA formulated the twenty points of the National Action Plan, and the plan was approved by the parliament on 24th December, 2015 (NACTA, 2017). This plan is the second policy document approved by the government, after the NISP 2014 (Chawla, et al, 2015).

4.6.1 Policy Extract:

'Taking effective steps against the religious persecution' (NACTA, 2017).

'Registration and regulation of religious seminaries' (NACTA, 2017).

NAP lacked a working mechanism for the implementation of the points it proposed. The plan faced criticism as it did not elaborated the points it proposed. In the text, the above

mentioned statements were related to madaris. In these two points the focus is on the registration of the madaris, and taking steps against the religious discrimination. This means that the government perceive madaris to be responsible for the increment in religious oppression in the society. This is one side of the story, madrassa on the contrary oppose such allegations against them and hold the view that they have been victimized themselves through such associations. As Fairclough (2003) demonstrated that different metaphors have several ideological meanings attached to them, which means that the metaphors of religious persecution and regulation of madaris portray the flaws in the madrassa system which allows extremist and conservative religious bugs to enter the system and manipulate the madaris. The metaphors here are the elements of exercising power used to characterize madaris as institutes promoting the ideas of extremism and religious discrimination (Foucault, 1986).

This metaphorical construction thus forms two types of madaris, one who complies with the regulations of the government and the other which protests against the allegations and do not comply with the proposed metaphors of the government, thus creating an image of good and evil. This categorization in the games of truth play as a key role in deriving the ethics of moral and giving value to the metaphors, which directs the sequence of the political discourse. Only a few madaris registered with the PMEB, and majority of them criticized the reform policies as conspiracy against their power. The categorization of the madaris here complies that those religious seminaries which did not got registered are the ones responsible for increasing extremist tendencies in the society, however, there are other reservations for the madaris that led them to opt not to register. The continuous mistrust between the government and madaris is one of the factors responsible for the failure of the policies.

4.7 National Internal Security Policy 2018-2023:

The National Internal Security Policy 2014-2018 failed to manage the extremist tendencies from proliferating in the society. The policy lacked a workable implementation mechanism, which is why it was unsuccessful in eliminating extremism from the society. However, in 2018 the second NISP is presented by the government with a relatively better work plan and implantation strategy.

4.7.1 Policy Extract:

'... In collaboration with the provinces, curriculum guidelines and standards will be developed to ensure the textbooks are free of <u>hate content</u>, racial, gender and regional <u>stereotypes/prejudices</u> and <u>glorification of war and 'violence'</u>.

Registration and regulation of madrassas in a <u>uniform manner</u> in all provinces will be ensured ... (Ministry of Interior, 2018)'

"Conditional state funding in return for a financial audit, adoption of national curriculum, teaching of science subjects and examinations systems will be institutionalized.

Increased collaboration will be promoted between madrassas, public and private educational systems, including student and teacher exchange programs as well as joint academic and co-curricular events. This will not only reduce mutually harbored misconceptions and distrust but must also lead to shared research and insight into the drivers of and solutions for <u>insecurity</u>, <u>militancy</u>, and <u>extremism</u> (Ministry of Interior, 2018)."

The main focus of the reforms continues as the previous policies, with inclusion of some new strategies for incorporating madaris in the formal education system. The policy

acknowledges that curriculum has material of gender, racial, gender and regional prejudices along with glorification of war and violence. This acknowledgement proves that the previous policies had not been a success in achieving their objectives as the policies formulated in the latest NISP 2018 are more or less the same as the previous ones. Along with this, it also means that madaris still are perceived as institutes promoting extremism, violence and hatred. This depicts that over the years the status of madaris has changed which is reflected in the policy discourse.

However new values had been added to the system, as madaris are recognized among public and private educational systems as actor that can lead to solution of the issues of insecurity, extremism and militancy. These were the metaphors normally associated with madaris, but in this policy madaris are considered as a possible tool to solve the issues faced by the society.

4.8 Meso-Macro Analysis of Policy Documents:

The metaphors of extremism, sectarianism, violence, tolerance, radicalization, militancy, reform, religious hatred' are continuously hosted in the policy texts from 2001 till 2018 in order to make sense of their connection with the madaris. Metaphors here acted as the agents of power exercised by the government. The metaphors in the micro-meso analysis outline the state-madrassa relations in separate policy documents, however, in the meso-macro analysis they outline the operation of the method as the transmission of the meanings of metaphors from government policies moves towards forming a discourse.

In the meso-macro level of analysis, the meanings of metaphors and their effects are discovered in comparison with the subject they are associated with, over the course of history. In

policy extracts, the relationship between the problem with the madrassa education system and solutions of the problem is presented in metaphors of necessity. Similar among all policies from 2001 till 2018 continuous use of similar metaphors 'extremism, sectarianism, violence, tolerance, radicalization, militancy, reform, religious hatred' which makes the solution of madaris getting registered by the governmental bodies a necessity. In this process of government being the more powerful actor, projecting the desirable policies as a necessity and using certain metaphors for the madaris, constructs a new identity of madaris in the political discourse.

This categorization of madaris and the inclusion of the element of necessity, in the games of truth play a key role in the games of truth whilst giving value to the metaphors, which directs the sequence of the political discourse.

Employing Fairclough's (2001) approach to the analysis of these ideologically converted metaphors proposes that the above mentioned metaphors are the central focus of the ideological struggle about the belief that madaris are the link to increasing violence and extremism in Pakistan. Furthering this concept, Fairclough's (ibid) approach towards the examination of imbedded conventions needed for an articulate interpretation, and to make a persuasive link between the issue and the solution, the assumption made is that the ethical solution to the issue of madaris is the registration of madaris to the related government established bodies.

The metaphors not just address the issues to the security of the state, they work in two ways, firstly creating a scenario, where they are associated with the subject (madaris) and secondly, they are the attributes that need to be separated from the subject (madaris), so as to portray them as peaceful educational institutions. Policy documents being legal documents have legitimacy, and a source of constructing a national narrative, thus forming a discourse, and when

such metaphors are associated with madaris in policy documents then the image of madaris goes

through a process of construction and reconstruction in accordance with the metaphors.

Chapter 5

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations for Madrassa Reforms:

The statements analyzed critically in the previous chapters make explicit the relationship between the metaphors interests of the regime and shows how the association of the metaphors extremism, religious hatred, sectarianism, militancy, violence, radicalization with madaris bestowed them with values that served the government interests and constructed a new image of madaris.

The micro-meso analysis highlighted the fact that through policy discourse the identity of madaris is constructed and reinforced as being responsible for the expansion of extremism, violence and religious hatred in Pakistan, which makes them subject to criticism and formulates policies that force them to alter their course. The micro-macro analysis highlighted how the metaphorical trends move across several years through policy texts and madaris despite any distinction among them are subjected to the idea of propagating extremism, violence and hatred. The analysis of the policy texts made explicit that there exist a discrimination towards the madaris, when based on some incidents, the madrassa education system as a whole is attributed as facilitator of extremist tendencies in the state. For example, in the National Internal Security Policy 2014, the Red Mosque incident and Jamia Hafsa incident had raised concerns about the madrassa system (NACTA, 2017). However, involvement of these institutes in any extremist violent activities do not testify that the foundation of madaris is corrupt, rather other environmental factors effect there involvement in extremist and sectarian conflicts.

The analysis has made clear how through linguistic terms in the policy documents works towards forming a discourse (Fairclough, 1992) that portrays madaris as responsible institutes for

instability in the society. The policy whilst sorting out solutions create a more complex environment for the madaris. This paradox in the policy discourse threatens the very existence of madaris.

Throughout the policy texts, the metaphors moved through micro and macro discourses, positioning madaris in such an apparatus that they are compelled to follow the government regulations which is presented as the only justifiable and ethical move, whereas, resistance to reforms is placed as undesirable. The critical analysis of the policy documents of the madrassa reforms exposed how such legal documents shape the environment in which different social actors interact and that policy descriptions are truth only in the sense that they create the settings of life for us. These truths in the form of policies form the discourse and make explicit what Foucault (2003) conceptualizes as 'truth attains its reliability through certain procedures' which leads to the idea that truth and micro-macro values are codependent, and this interdependence forms a reality'. This formulates what Foucault (1997) calls the Games of Truth which advocates that truths themselves have no meaning in the games of truth and to gain value, they have to be observed as indulged in a certain ideology.

The study concluded with two aspects of truth that are formulated in the policy texts, first; that the identity of madaris is created through different institutional processes, and second; it elaborated the pervasive capability of the formulated truth in the policy texts.

The policies adversely affected the state-madrassa relations, as the madaris and the ulema had concerns related to the reform programs and policies introduced by different regimes over the course of history. The reforms have faced continuous failure due to this mistrust between the two main actors in the reform process. The madaris strongly believe that the reform processes are

part of the US war on terror. One of the reasons for this is that US perceives madaris to be outfits of extremists, however the ground reality is not that worse as it is perceived by the US (Bano, 2012). The madaris administrations consider these to be schemes of the state, under the pressure of US, to contain the madaris. The negative sentiments among the madaris flair up because of the terminology of the madrassa policies, too. The continuous usage of metaphors like extremism, sectarianism, violence and religious hatred associated with madaris in governmental documents is perceived by the madaris as scheme of the government to use these associations as means to interfere in the affairs of the madaris and hijack its autonomy. The term 'reform' is professed by the madaris as a negative association and this has badly affected the trust between the madaris administrations and the governmental bodies. The continuous focus of the madrasa policies; changing the curriculum of madaris is taken as offence by the madaris as introduction of secular subjects and removing some religious subjects from the madrassa curriculum is considered as compromising the ideological commitment of the madaris and the ulema. A very common understanding of the reform policies is that it aims to secularize the madaris, and instead of improving the capabilities of madaris the reforms are compromising its ideology. The amplified resentment towards foreign involvement in state matters has mainly effected the madrassa reforms implementation and lead to more resistance by the madrassas.

The image of madaris that has been constructed by the reforms documents has effected their status nationally and their image in the international community. Although, apart from the policies, there are other factors effecting the status of madaris, but policy texts have legitimacy that can construct truth about a subject with acceptance from the society.

5.1 Recommendations for Madrassa Reforms:

After the analysis of the government policies for madaris, and their inability to achieve the desired objectives, following recommendations can be considered for future policy endeavors:

- Madaris should be considered as partners in achieving security by eliminating extremism, violence, sectarianism and religious hatred from the society and maintaining stability in the state.

- Madaris should be treated as educational institutions rather than political actors and focus should be on restricting the formation of ties between the political parties and madaris.

- Rather than just focusing on curriculum changes and forcefully inculcating madrasa education system into the formal education system, other factors that are responsible for the downfall of madaris and the problems faced by the madrassa students should be taken into account.

- Ulema should be taken into trust and they should be included in the curriculum reform committee, as they have more knowledge of the Dars-e-Nizami and can provide with valuable information and recommendations for the modernized curriculum.

- The policies should be reviewed by the parliament, and public through media forums and public talk sessions to include the society in the policy formation process. In this way the acceptance rate of the government policies will increase.

- Madaris administrations should be asked to propose policy clauses, so that their opinion could be included in the policies from the beginning of the process.

The research highlighted the phenomenon of language analysis, the philosophy of Power-Knowledge-Truth and valuation as power to analyze the construction of a new image of Madaris. By analyzing the policy texts through philosophical underpinnings of Foucault, the research demonstrated how through these policy texts, certain metaphors are granted value and inserted into the discourse through which the terms are introduced in the society.

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