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Radicalization in Pakistan

The Radicalization of Pakistan and the spread of Radical Islam in Pakistan

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Chapter 1

Radicalization in Pakistan and the spread of radical Islam in Pakistan

1. Introduction

In this chapter I want to discuss the main reason of religious radicalization in Pakistan. Islamic radicalism and extremism, political, social, cultural and traditional beliefs and anti-west sentiments are the important factors that radicalize people in Pakistan.

It is pertinent to mention that radicalism is not intrinsic to Islam and radical interpretations of the religion or for that matter may occur within any way of life and religion (Saikal, 2003), and yet, the question remains as to why Muslims in certain geographical regions have more radical approaches towards their religion and also that what are the causes of such radicalization. Becoming a radical Muslim is not even a matter of a day nor is it a sudden process. There are several reasons behind making a person radical, peaceful, angry, smiling or tolerant. For knowing the reason behind radicalization or radicals persons, one has to understand the causes. Tracing these causes is one of the ways to eliminate such behavior. The first step in the elimination of the radical sentiments in a person is to develop peace in his personality, (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010). The chapter, which has been addressed here, is going to shed light on the roots and symptoms of the radicalism. There will be a brief discussion on how the roots of radicalism can be traced and can be eliminated. The assessment and discussion will be conducted on the parameters of the economy, media, politics, and theology from social cultural point of view. According to the analysis of Ahrari, (2000), political factor is one of the major and direct factors which have resulted in causing of the radicalism. These factors however intertwine with one another. Radical actions cannot take place only because of the political factors. There are other factors also that should be given equal importance, in accordance with the work of Nasr (2002).

Sectarian killings are another reason of radicalization in Muslims. These killings became rampant and welcomed jihadists to come to Pakistan from Afghanistan and play their part against non-Muslims and Muslims, as well, (Roy, 2002). The syllabus of the subjects such as Islamic studies and Pakistan studies is also viewed as instilling the hate ideology among school children,

and college students (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010; Saikal, 2003). Even the militants and Mullahs have also worked for these radicalized people and they have tamed them to fight for their motives and feed their ambitions.

In traditional societies, religion and culture play an important role. The Traditional and moderate Islamic beliefs and practices with strong indigenous and Sufi content in South Asia are diametrically opposed to the radical Wahhabi and Taliban ideologies and practices which are intolerant of other cultures and groups, (Yusuf, 2008). The emergence of radicalization and the spread of radical Islam in Pakistan is the main source of instability and conflict in this region, (Kirby, 2007).

Another doctrine of Zahab, (2002), has explained that extremism or radicalization has tendencies in the country and they are the product of imperial, local, national and interlocking capitalist factors. Global and the transitional factors are playing a part in the creation of the religious violence. Even the rulers of Pakistan and government is also involved in making alliances with the retrogressive forces for the achievement of their political goals and seek power from Americans and Saudi Arabia. Moreover, due to the disharmony, dishonesty, challenges, failing economy, fragmentation, political turmoil, directionless education system, dysfunctional government and real concerns are the source of creating radicalism in Islam and Pakistan, (Cohen, 2003).

Radical Islam began showing its influence in Pakistan during 1979 When Afghan Jihad started against Soviet forces in Afghanistan and has since become an important factor in the conflict, resulting in several unconventional attacks on Pakistani Army targets and the fragmentation of the separatist movement of Baluchistan, (Ahrari, 2000). The terrorist tactics and radical beliefs of a number of Pakistani Taliban are unprecedented in Pakistan, but contrary to popular belief, radical Islam is embraced only by a minority of the population, (Chellaney, 2006). Additionally, Pakistani practice a form of Sunni Islam with Sufi influences, and Sufis and Wahhabis have never had harmonious relations, (Roy, 2002).

Societal transformation is a continuous process and it does not depend on the single factor. The phenomena of the transformation are being linked with the internal and external factors. Internal factors include the religious disharmony, failing economy, education system, and dysfunctional

government. External factors include clashes of the civilization and the generation of the war and anti-west sentiments (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010). So in this assessment of the analytical work the analysis of the factors causing the radicalization in the Muslims has been intended to analyze. Moreover, the assessment is planned to base over exploration of factors which has resulted in expanding the perceptions of the people about radicalization, (Nasr, S. V. 2002). It is also intended to explore that what have forced people to change their perceptions and behavioral adaptation due to the Afghan and US war, especially after 1979. In addition, the need is to explore that how Islamic settings and the education system in Pakistan is generating the negative feelings of hate for the other people. In addition, this work has also set its focus over explaining the role of the Americans aids in dollar for the adaptation of war against terrorism by Pakistan government.

The aim of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive explanation of the causes of the spread of radical Islam in Pakistan. Other research on the subject fails to provide an in-depth explanation for this recent phenomenon and presents only a partial picture of the causes. This thesis will, through the application of two theories, investigate different claims and is expected to arrive at certain conclusions concerning the causes behind the spread of radical Islam in Pakistan. Hence, the objectives are of the current study are:

- The exploration of factors that have resulted in radicalization. Radicalization has been created by the formation of strong beliefs to save Islam and its boundaries from non-believers and fight for the rights of the nation has given birth to the militants.
- To explore that what have forced people to change their perception and behavioral adaptation due to the Afghan and US war, especially after 1979. Afghanistan is the hub of Talibanisation and is the main area controlled by Mullah Umar and Osama Bin Laden and their successor. US have started the war against them with the help of Pakistan due to which both countries have to face some pros and cons.
- The exploration of how Islamic settings and education system in Pakistan is generating the feelings of hate for other people and analyze the cultural, social and economic factors.

- To set its focus over explaining the role of the Americans aids in dollar for the adaptation of war against terrorism by Pakistan government. Pakistan has to face economically bad conditions due to numerous factors, since the day first. They have remained in issues created by India and later on they have lost their main area of West Pakistan (Bangladesh). Political instability has created the issues of unemployment, health, education and security unaddressed. Some of the natural disasters like flood, earth quakes and tsunami have also distracted the country and in such condition aid is the only option to run the country. Pakistan has faced burden of IMF loan and they are forced to get involved in the war against terrorism, which has restricted their economic and social growth.

1.1 Research question

What are the factors behind the emergence of radical Islam in Pakistan?

1.2 Theoretical foundation

- 1.3 In addition to the literature review I have applied two major theories for discussing the causes of radicalization of Islam. Huntington theory explains that Islam is the only religion of violence and Islam is originated from tribal conflict and even the birth of Islamic religion is violent. In the Holy Quran and other Islamic books use the authoritative language that convinces Muslims to use violence against non-Muslims. On the contrary, Lieven's theory of religion and nationalism explain that the differences between different ethnic groups lead to violent conflict. In Pakistan many different ethnic groups are living together and the main cause of violent conflict and radicalism are ethnic differences.

1.3.1 Introduction

The two theories that have been reviewed in this chapter are of Huntington and the Lieven. These two theories have been studied as they have laid ground for the understanding development of conflicts among nation and reason for causing the radicalization process heat up

in Islam. Ideology explained here very fruitful for the development of understanding about the Islam, Muslim and their acts in radicalization process.

1.3.2 Huntington theory of civilization

The theory presented by Huntington about the Clash of the Civilization has been published in Foreign Affairs journal and it has got more attention from the world. It is being suggested by the theory that the world has got influenced by the clashes between the civilizations. However, the theory has not got appreciation and it has to undergo criticism for the ignoring of indigenous conflicts, wrong prediction about past and over simplification. It has been evidently proven that the claims made by Huntington are not supported by the world after the incidents of the 9/11. The world went into a new cold war and has influenced by the International relationships, (Kean, & Hamilton, 2004).

Huntington theory has shown its entire basis over the future of the “great division between the human kinds and dominance in the source of conflict due to the culture”. The division of the culture is being done in to seven current civilizations as Hindu, Western, Islamic, Japanese, African, Latin American and Sinic civilization.

Huntington has discussed the ideology for the confrontation among the liberal democracy and the communism as the future of the conflicts among the micro level of the civilization. He has predicted that at the macro level, the conflict has occurred due to having difference in the civilization and for unable to control the institutions for the military powers and the economic powers. This is attributed due to the vast history of conflicts among the different civilization. This is also attributed to the geo political factors rather the only persuading the cultural differences (Altman, Burton, Cuthill, Festing, Hutton, & Playle, 2006).

The power of multi civilizations becomes stronger over the clash of the Soviet Union. It is not the fact that civilizations were not present before this cold war, but it is truth that they become more communicative and powerful after this cold war. Politics in the world is being now shaped by different civilizations, which according to the Huntington is based over the highest cultural grouping and results in identifying the cultural identity. The intellectual characteristics of the society has been addressed by these common believes and values, and one of them is the religion formation. Race and the political entities are the two dimensions over which civilization are

distinguished and differentiated from others. The identity of civilization has become stronger identity and is becoming reason to derive the conflicts behind the world and is replacing super power rivalry, (Kean, & Hamilton, 2004).

Huntington has addressed the issue of clashes in the civilization by accepting the fact that the world is based over different multi-player and multi civilization. The power of multi civilizations becomes stronger over the clash of the Soviet Union. It is not the fact that civilizations were not present before this cold war, but it is true that they become more communicative and powerful after this cold war. Huntington has claimed that Muslims are the Bloody Boarder and they have destroyed the world peace. They cannot live with non-Muslims and thereby they have adopted the ideology of converting the non-Muslims into Muslims. Although, they have done this, still they do not accept the minorities of non-Muslims in their countries. They are brutal and cruel and they cannot have tended to accept their presence. Huntington has shown that Muslim civilization has done this because they have a fear of losing their identity in the world as a civilization and to ensure that they do not lose it, they have adopted the way of hate spreading. They are killing one another, so to keep their identity alive as the brutal nation, (Altman, Burton, Cuthill, Festing, Hutton, & Playle, 2006).

1.3.3 Lieven theory of religion and nationalism

Lieven has admitted that nationalism and religiosity are created due to the span of the centuries and develop the religious identity and ethnic cultural identity. The threat caused due to the ethos provides strength to the religious convictions and the embracement of the fanatical forms which gives power to the cultural resistance and militants. However, his believing is opposite to that of Huntington. Huntington believes that it is the nation who generates the conflicts and act in a conflicting manner towards accepting the civilization of others. Whereas, Lieven believes that conflict is the root cause of creating ideology for the nation. When there is conflict occurred in the society, civilization act as religious and national fanatics. Firstly, they are not a threat to others, but later on they become a huge threat for others. So, it is found that the ideology of the Lieven about the religiosity and nationalism is quite changed to that of the Huntington. He has presented a completely different view, (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006).

Lieven has talked too much about the idealism of the American nations by addressing the American Creed, constitutionalism, democracy, liberty, law, separation of churches and individualism. He has addressed the attitudes and influencing factors for both of the domestic and the foreign affairs. He has written in his book about the reasonable situation of the American nations and their part in struggling against the terrorism, al Qaeda and other allies. They are backed with the support of their entire nation and power from the entire world for the safety of the humanity.

Lieven has thereby first painted the picture in explaining the nation and its features as constitutionalism, democracy, liberty, law, separation of churches, equality, social, desire to spread their religion and individualism., (Diagonal, 2004). It is found that Americans cannot spread their religion and nationalism as they have restricted rules and they might become able to confront the world about their actual values and that is the reason they have unrealistically hold such acts. The Lieven has thus added the decapitation and democratic theory which is going to be supported with Saddam. This is the camping of American nation for making the other societies and communities democratic. This means they have promoted the meanness of the spirit and sloppiness of the intellectual. This work is valuable for the entire nation of USA and for the whole world, (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006).

Many nations have resulted to have adherence of the religion processes for the homogenizing modernization among the miserable, cruelest and bear the association with the cultural and imperial power to threat the destruction and assimilation of the culture. As a result strong religious feelings are resulted to arouse in the nation and it resulted in the evolution of the war against terrorism and pray under the fire. The reasons which have created the radicalization in Pakistan are based over the construct of Lieven's theory. The creation of radicalization in Pakistan is based over two major points: conservatism in the classes and societies and the extent to which culture and nation appears to be threatening due to destruction and assimilation outside the cultural influences, as explained by Lieven, (Diagonal, 2004). Comparison of Samuel Huntington's clash of civilization theory and Anatole Lieven religion and nationalism theory:

Huntington belief was that the civilizations are the reason for the conflict and since religion is the core aspect of civilization, thereby religion has become the reason for the creation of conflict. The claim of Lieven's is quite opposite to that of Huntington. He has claimed the opposite and

said that conflict is the main source behind religiosity. He explained that conflicts are not fueled by the religion fanatics rather it is vice versa. It means that conflict occurs and then after this strong believers in the religions are created.

Huntington theory of civilization	Lieven theory of religiosity and nationalism	
Multiplier and multicultural nature of the civilization is addressed as a core aspect of the theory	The clashes of the civilization and the generation of the war and anti-west sentiments are the reasons for the adopted policies and socioeconomic conditions	
Race and Politics are used to shape different civilizations and nations	Conflict is used to shape different religion and nations	
Common values and beliefs are used to address the ideology in the religion formation	The noticeable religious influence is resulted due to the secular nationalism	
Super power is being replaced by the civilizations who have strong replacing power	The threat caused due to the ethos provides strength to the religious convictions and the embracement of the fanatical forms which gives power to the cultural resistance and militants	
Ethnic conflicts and tribal conflicts are the two areas over which to civilization conflict with each other	Conflicts are not fueled by the religion fanatics	
Religion has become the reason for the creation of conflict	Conflict is the main source behind religiosity.	

The comparison of both theories explain that radicalization in Pakistani society is mainly focuses violence in Islam and traditional and cultural conflict.

The chapter mentioned a comprehensive explanations and causes of religious radicalism in Pakistan. During my research work I have found several factors that are working behind the spread of radicalization in Pakistan. Huntington arguments that Islam lacks its position seems to

be true in Pakistani society. Lieven theory of nationalism also seems true that ethnic, social and cultural conflicts are causing radicalism. Both Huntington's and Lieven's theory are very helpful in answering the research question. Both theories are presenting a comprehensive picture of the spread of radicalization in Pakistan.

Chapter 2

2. Introduction

Methodological section of the research tells about the ways through which researcher has finally made the way to reaching solutions. The way highlighted is based over the reviews made about the previous researchers and sees what outcomes they have managed to obtain. I use the method to approach the research problem theoretically. The two theories clash of civilization is focusing on his arguments about Islam. His arguments that Islam is the bloody borders giving a complete assumption by answering the research question. Huntington's arguments also contrasted with the relation between religion and nationalism that is presented in Lieven's theory.

2.1 Methodology

The chapter, which is prepared for the methodology is the basic road map which is required to be followed in developing the understanding of the studied problem and the way to get the solution through the adopted road map. In this chapter of the research methodology, the aim of the researchers is to establish the way for themselves in knowing what to do and how to do. The answers to the problem will be surely attained by following these road maps and the solution attained will be used for the description of the data analysis chapter, which will be prepared after the conduction of data testing and data collection. The data collection methods will be thoroughly explained and discussed. Let's develop understanding on the dimensions of this chapter.

The adopted method of analysis for the studying of the radicalization in Islam is being done with the qualitative method. The qualitative method will be presenting the deep analysis on the topic analyzed and it will be shedding light on how the radicalization has taken root in Pakistan and what will be the solution to the problem. This approach is selected to solve the research problem with the theoretical work. The two theories adopted are Samuel Huntington's clash of civilizations theory, focusing primarily on his arguments about Islam, and Anatol Lieven's religion and nationalism theory. The investigation will be done through the research question by examining Huntington's argument that Islam has bloody borders, with the assumption that his argument is insufficient in answering the research question. His argument will then be contrasted

with the alternative explanation on the relationship between religion and nationalism presented by Lieven (De Marchi, & Blaug, 1991).

2.2 Research approaches and design

Design for the research has shown groups of explorers, predictor and explanatory. The design selection is done over the basis of adopted methodology. The adopted method of analysis is qualitative and thereby the design chosen for the further analysis is explanatory. The explanatory manner of research design is being elected for the reason of finding a solution to the problem by explaining each and every step faced in generation and creation of radicalization and its consequences on the country of Pakistan. With the help of the same design, the explanation will be given on the methods adopted for solving the issues related to the radicalization and the possible solution for the ending of radicalization in Pakistan. The mode of research design adopted is based over the explanatory mode, (Reinharz, & David Mann, 1992). This is due to adopt methodological approach of qualitative nature. The explanatory approach says that the explanation of the ideology discussed is being explained in the deepest manner and by exploring the different theories, (Hovland, Lumsdaine, & Sheffield, 1949; De Wilde, Bour, Dingemans, Koelman, & Linszen, 2007). The assessment of the radicalization is being explained with the concept discussed by the theorist of Lieven and Samuel. The mode of explanation is being adopted as deductive. Deductive method says that the exploration of the research data is being done with the widest and general manner and the extraction of the specific findings has been done.

The approaches have shown groups of inductive and the deductive. The inductive approach is a dimension of the research in which the research finds solution to the problem by following the pattern of general facts from the specific observations. This approach is adopted to make certain that the researcher will end up in the presentation of the newly evolved theory. The generation of a new theory is being done with inductive approach. The deductive approach is a dimension of the research in which the research finds solution to the problem by following the pattern of specific facts from the general observations. This approach dimension is adopted to make certain that the researcher will present the outcomes of the research with the adaptation of the available theories. The generation of no new theory is being done with deductive approach, (De Marchi, &

Blaug, 1991). The approach adopted with this research project is deductive and this is chosen so to present the specific facts of radicalization about Pakistan. Moreover, old theories will be applied so to derivatives the outcomes.

2.3 **Sampling** procedures

The grouping of the sampling, which is extracted from the population is done over the probability and non-probabilities basis. The probability basis selection when made than the research is known as probability sampling and when the non-probabilistic basis selection when made than the research is known as non-probability sampling. Probability sampling is the technique of assessment when the probabilities and frequency of occurrence is being allocated to the samples which are required to be selected. The further breaking of the probability groups has been done as cluster sampling, quota sampling, random sampling and stratified sampling. Non-Probability sampling is the technique of assessment when the analytical skills and judgments are being allocated to the samples which are required to be selected, (Salomon, & Clark, 1977). The further breaking of the probability groups has been done as judgmental sampling, convenient sampling, and purposive sampling. The sampling which has been done here is done over the non-probability based purposive sampling. The purpose established for the selection of the samples is based over the updated data available about the problem studied. However, at some places it has also become essential to add the data from the history and thereby purposefully data is being divided and examined. Samples are the part of the population and they have been studied so to have explored the research project. The samples extracted from the research problem will be described in the heading below and they are true representatives of the population, (Salomon, & Clark, 1977) & (Mertens, 1998). The grouping of the sampling, which is extracted from the population is done over the probability and non-probabilities basis. The probability basis selection when made than the research is known as probability sampling and when the non-probability basis selection when made than the research is known as non-probability sampling. Probability sampling is the technique of assessment when the probabilities and frequency of occurrence is being allocated to the samples which are required to be selected. The further breaking of the probability groups has been done as cluster sampling, quota sampling, random sampling and stratified sampling. Non-Probability sampling is the technique of assessment when the analytical skills and judgments are being allocated to the samples which are required to be

selected, (Salomon, & Clark, 1977). The further breaking of the probability groups has been done as judgmental sampling, convenient sampling, and purposive sampling. The sampling which has been done here is done over the non-probability based purposive sampling. The purpose established for the selection of the samples is based over the updated data available about the problem studied. However, at some places it has also become essential to add the data from the history and thereby purposefully data is being divided and examined.

2.4 Data collection technique

The data collection technique has gained establishment of the groups of primary and secondary data. The primary data gathered from the primary research conducted is fresh in nature and it has to undergo the reliability testing. The data are gathered by researchers and is re-designed and used as per the need of the research. Primary research conduction requires money and time and is thereby not advisable when the secondary paradigm can be followed. Primary data collection has been incorporated with the conduction of interviews, surveys, experiments, questionnaire fillings, focus groups, case studies and etc. The secondary data gathered for the secondary research conduction is based over the used data. The data are gathered by researchers and is re-designed and used as per the need of the research. Secondary research conduction does not require much amount of money and time and is thereby being preferable than the primary research. Secondary data collection has been incorporated with the review of the economic data, financial figures, World Bank data, survey reports issued by countries, journals, websites, news reports and channels and etc., (Reinharz, & David Mann, 1992).

Data collection, which is done here in this report is based over the secondary data. The secondary data collection will be done from the different websites, journals and reports. The data collection will be to analyze the data with the observational and thematic approach.

2.5 Data analysis

The analytical approach to the data collected includes the observational and phenomenological. This approach is based over the explanation of the outcomes by observing what have been done in the past and developing the phenomenological outcomes out of the derived outcomes. The

assessment is then used to enable the researchers in getting the answers. With the adopted methodology the aim is to gauge that what are factors causing the radicalization in the Muslims, how Islamic settings and education system in Pakistan is provoking the negative feelings of hate for the other people, what have forced people to change their perception and behavioral adaptation due to the Afghan and US war, what is the perception of the people about radicalization and what is the role of the Americans aids in dollar for the adaptation of war against terrorism by Pakistan government. The assessment is going to help the people in getting the outcomes. With this research approach the weakness is that the subjective views may add the biasness and it may result in presenting the irrational outcomes, (Reinharz, & David man, 1992). For the logical assessment of the outcomes, quantitative research approach is the best one, which is not being adopted here.

2.6 Reliability and validity

The testing for the validity and the reliability becomes essential for the primary data and the primary conducted research. In the secondary data the validity and reliability is already being examined by previous researchers. The reliability is measured with the statistical software with the attainment of the value of Cornbach's alpha. The value of cornbach's alpha must be near to one for the provision of the guarantee for the reliable value. The reliability is measured so to guarantee that examination of the data is also reliable and reliable outcomes are gained. The validity measurement is done with the consultancy attained from SMEs or subject matter experts, (Reinharz, & David man, 1992). These experts know about the research and have knowledge to help others in knowing error free and valid generation of the outcomes. They validate the questionnaire for the validity and give guarantee for the gaining of the valid data. The validity is measured so to guarantee that examination of the data is also valid and valid outcomes are gained.

2.7 Weakness of the research method

Weakness linked with the research work is the addition of the qualitative paradigm. The qualitative paradigm has made this research based over detailed study. The weaknesses associated with this method is lacking of the analysis of the numeric data and the quantitative figures. The figures must be analyzed with the quantitative tools like SPSS. There is no logical

and rationale association of the data with the research project. The lacking of the rationality is the issue with the current research. Moreover, the assessment of the research is also based over the subjective view. The associated way of qualitative is being enriched with the subjective views and they provide deep assessment of the problem. Thereby it is lacking in the presentation of the objective view. The objectivity lacking has made the research limited for having the objective narration of the data. Lastly, the weakness present in the methodology is about the addition of the biased views, (Salomon, & Clark, 1977). This has happened due to the subjective nature of the research. There is no assurance given against not adding the personal and biased views. May be the researchers used in this work is not valid and reliable and thereby biasness has being occurred in one way or other.

2.8 Data collection technique

The data collection technique has gain establishment from the groups of primary and secondary data. The primary data gathered for the primary research conduction is fresh in nature and it has to undergo the reliability testing. The data is gathered by researcher and is re-designed and used as par the need of the research. Primary research conduction requires money and time and is thereby not advisable when the secondary paradigm can be followed. Primary data collection has been incorporated with the conduction of interviews, surveys, experiments, questionnaire fillings, focus groups, case studies and etc. The secondary data gathered for the secondary research conduction is based over the used data. The data is gathered by researcher and is re-designed and used as par the need of the research. Secondary research conduction do not require much amount of money and time and is thereby is preferable than the primary research. Secondary data collection has been incorporated with the review of the economic data, financial figures, World Bank data, survey reports issued by countries, journals, websites, news reports and channels and etc., (Reinharz, & David man, 1992).

Data collection which is done here in this report is based over the secondary data. The secondary data collection will be done from the different websites, journals and reports. The data collection will be to analyze the data with the observational and thematic approach.

2.9 Conclusion and summary

Suitable method and the pathway to analyze the research project are being discussed in this chapter of the analysis. There have been three methods of the assessment of the research, which has inclusion of qualitative, quantitative and mixed approach. The three of the approaches differ from each other and they all have different analytical techniques. The analysis through quantitative mode is done with the numeric data, which is quantifiable and can be monitored in the statistical manner. This has enabled the researchers to reach towards the objective outcomes. The analysis through qualitative mode is done with the deep reviews taken from the people associated with the problem. This has enabled the researchers to reach towards the subjective outcomes. The analysis through mixed mode is done with the numeric data and with the deep reviews taken from the people linked with the problem. This has enabled the researchers to reach towards the objective and subjective, both outcomes. The adopted approach for the assessment is the qualitative approach. This approach is selected to solve the research problem with the theoretical work. The two theories adopted are Samuel Huntington's clash of civilizations theory, focusing primarily on his arguments about Islam, and Anatol Lieven's religion and nationalism theory. The investigation will be done through the research question by examining Huntington's argument that Islam has bloody borders, with the assumption that his argument is insufficient in answering the research question. His argument will then be contrasted with the alternative explanation on the relationship between religion and nationalism presented by Lieven.

The mode of research design adopted is based over the explanatory mode. This is due to adopted methodological approach of qualitative nature. The explanatory approach says that the explanation of the ideology discussed is being explained in the deepest manner and by exploring the different theories. The assessment of the radicalization is being explained with the concept discussed by the theorist of Lieven and Samuel. The mode of explanation is being adopted as deductive. Deductive says that the exploration of the research data is being done with the widest and general manner and the extraction of the specific findings has been done.

The collection of data is being categorized as the primary and the secondary modes. The primary mode is the way to collect the fresh data and use it for the exploration of the specific outcomes.

Primary mode for the data collection include the experimentation, surveys, interviews, focus group etc. the secondary mode is the way to collect the second handed which is used by others. Secondary mode for the data collection includes the financial data of companies, the economic surveys, journals, research papers and others. Here the collection of the data is being with the secondary mode. This is done by exploring the different theories shared by Lieven and Samuel and added by others.

The analytical approach for the data collected includes the observational and phenomenological. This approach is based over the explanation of the outcomes by observing what have been done in the past and developing the phenomenological outcomes out of the derived outcomes. The assessment is then used to enable the researchers in getting the answers. With the adopted methodology the aim is to give that what are factors causing the radicalization in the Muslims, how Islamic settings and education system in Pakistan is provoking the negative feelings of hate for the other people, what have forced people to change their perception and behavioral adaptation due to the Afghan and US war, what is the perception of the people about radicalization and what is the role of the Americans aids in dollar for the adaptation of war against terrorism by Pakistan government. The assessment is going to help the people in getting the outcomes. With this research approach the weakness is that the subjective views may add the biasness and it may result in presenting the irrational outcomes. For the logical assessment of the outcomes, quantitative research approach is the best one, which is not being adopted here.

Chapter 3

3. Introduction

The assessment of the history of the radicalization is required to be tested and evaluated with the different theories, theoretical framework, empirical evidences and conceptual ideology. This chapter has briefly shed light over each of the factors.

3.1 Historical background

a. Radicalization –causes and enabling factors

When Pakistan got independence in 1947, many of the religious groups in subcontinent were against the idea of division of subcontinent because they disliked the orientation of the leaders of Muslim League (which supported the idea for partition of subcontinent) and also thought that they had more capabilities to proselytize in India than Muslim League. However Pakistan was created to protect the interests and rights of Muslims living in the Indian subcontinent, the political party despite being secular used the name of Islam during their freedom movement in order to galvanize and mobilize the people. The founder of Pakistan Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876- 1948) and many other leaders were highly liberal and educated people who committed themselves for creating a democratic Muslim state called Pakistan and not a theological state. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898), the leader who provided a platform to Muslims living in Indian subcontinent by establishing Aligarh University and Allama Iqbal (1877-1938), the philosopher and poet who presented the idea of establishing Pakistan, were both enlightened and progressive leaders. The message and philosophy of Allama Iqbal is apparent through one of his popular verses which means “the belief of the mullah is to spread anarchy in the name of Allah”.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah in his 1st address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan declared in clear terms that people may belong to any caste, religion or creed, the State has nothing to do with this. It is interesting to note that numerous political leaders who were around Jinnah belonged to the minor sects of Muslims. Mohammad Ali Jinnah himself belonged to Ithna Ashari Shia sect of Muslim. Other important personalities of British India that belonged to minor sects of Muslims incl

ude Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja Mohammad Ameer Khan, MAH Ispahani, Lady Nusrat Haroon, Seth Mohammad Ali Habib (creator of Habib Bank) and Prince Karim Aga Khan (the leader of Shia Ismaili sect) .Sir Zafarullah Khan, the 1st foreign minister of Pakistan and a stalwart of freedom movement was a follower of Ahmadi sect (which was declared to be outside of Islam in the year 1973 by the legislature of Pakistan). At that time, the religious identity of these personalities did not matter.

Instead of following the guidelines given by the leaders who participated in freedom movement, the Pakistan's 1st constituent assembly argued and debated over the identity of the country and finally resorted to Islam in order to establish national unity. Pakistan which was initially established as a federation aimed to mend 6 ethnic groups together, however when this objective was announced publicly, only the religious parties who claimed to be most potent and qualified demanded to make this state an Islamic state. Since then, the religious and clergy political parties claimed their right of defining the identity of Pakistan and started recommending constitutional provisions in order to establish the Pakistan's new constitution which is 'Islamic' in form as well as spirit. In the initial three decades from 1947 to 1977, they had minimal success, however the political strength of religious parties increased and they expanded their organization during these years.

The initial signs of radicalization were obvious in the 1st decade of establishment of Pakistan in the year 1953 in the form of anti-Ahmadi group in Punjab. This will be discussed later in more detail. In the year 1977, the emergence of General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq in the political scenario was helpful in redefining Pakistan. General Zia-ul-Haq declared clearly that Pakistan will collapse if you make it a secular state by taking out Islam from Pakistan. The religious parties were glad to hear this and saw a 'messiah' in Zia-ul-Haq who can bring transformation in Pakistan from above and help in their efforts to make Pakistan an Islamic state which failed initially. Unlike Sufism, an enlightening, egalitarian and soft message that initially introduced Islam to the people of subcontinent, the clerical Islam as taught by the religious parties in Pakistan was dogmatic, intrusive and conservative in spirit. This view resulted in the radicalization of religious identity.

It remains a highly contested question that Pakistan should adopt what sort of polity Islamic or liberal democratic. This quest of shaping the state of Pakistan resulted in addition of another dimension to the political and religious polarization. The problem of rights of minority and civil liberties

ies faced a great setback in this entire process of choosing the identity. The crisis of identity faced by the state as well as the society has generated an empty space for religious activism as well as resultant radicalization. President Pervez Musharraf during his rule from 1999 to 2008 tried to support those factors that believed in progressive and liberal Pakistan, but his conflicting agendas and legitimacy were questioned again and again. Numerous dictatorial regimes that were liberal in orientation resulted in more political radicalization by shutting doors that lead to democracy.

B. Religious Radicalization: The State Sponsorship Gone wrong

As described above in political radicalization, the religious parties joined the public domain slowly and gradually. During these years, the state used the antagonism between Muslims and Hindus to establish a distinctive identity of the newly formed state. In this rivalry within the state, religion behaved as a context. This it did not result in radicalization but it caused marginalization of sectarian as well as religious minorities who resided in Pakistan. To prove this point, relevant references from historical events are given.

In Afghanistan, the Mujahedeen were never decommissioned. These Mujahedeen created chaos in Pakistan after their successful jihad in Afghanistan. Radicalization of society resulted from these foreign entanglements which had bad consequences for Pakistan. The ideals and idea that were carefully propagated and framed for inspiring the militants and Mujahedeen to fight in Afghanistan and Kashmir have come to Pakistan in the recent years because of the spread of 'jihadi' materials and literature which did not remain limited to certain geographic zone or people.

Since the creation of Pakistan, the country considered itself as a state which has severe threats from the neighboring country India. India had grudgingly admitted the existence of Pakistan and its prospects of survival. The foreign and domestic policies of Pakistan were driven by the fear of India. In the current situation, the India's growing relationship with Afghanistan and its investments in a country destroyed by war are looked upon by great suspicion by the security forces in Pakistan. It is thought that India is planning to encircle Pakistan. A recent poll conducted in 2012 in the project named Global Attitudes Project by Pew Research Centre showed that a number of Pak

istani's believed that India is a greater threat than Taliban despite of the clear evidence of Taliban and the associated group terrorist activities all over Pakistan taking place in the recent years.

The massive military spending by Pakistan is because of this way of thinking. Instead of establishing schools, hospitals, buildings and dams for making electricity, the government of Pakistan invested a great amount of money in buying submarines, heavy guns and fighter aircraft. The military has expanded its role and work far beyond the requirements of national security. The military in fact has a controlling interest in political economy of Pakistan which only demands hold on power. The scarcity of resources for proper development has created dissatisfaction among people and numerous people have adopted radicalization because of the inability of state to fulfil their needs. The involvement of Pakistan in the Jihad by Afghanistan in 1980s resulted in similar problems. In order to sponsor and support young militants to fight against Soviet army in Afghanistan, a network of madrassa was rapidly established in Pakistan. This was financed largely by the Gulf and Arab countries so that they can create new militants for this battlefield. The prime recruits in these madrassa were the children's of Pashtuns and Afghan refugees of tribal belt and KPP in Pakistan.

According to Kamal Matinuddin, a retired general in Pakistan, General Zia ul Haq created a chain of madrassas along the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan in order to establish a belt of students who were religiously oriented so that they can assist the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan to kick out Soviet from Afghanistan. The Afghan struggle was supported by Arabs because of geopolitics. They were afraid of the expanding influence of Soviet as well as the empowerment and uprising of Shia in 1979 in Iran, (Subramaniam, Spear, Vucetic, Chadha, Bhaskar, Gupta, & Subrahmanyam, 2013).

Clear evidences are available that the Disband and Ahle Hadith who constituted about thirty percent of Pakistani Sunni population greatly benefited from these establishments. When Pakistan came into being in 1947, there were only 136 madrassas but it has increased to 30,000 in the recent years. According to an estimate, in the year 1947, there were 245 madrassas in West Pakistan. The number of madrassas increased to 2861 in the year 1988. During the time period of 1988 to 2000, there was a further increase in madrassas of 136%. Deobandis owned the largest number of madrassas that is about 64% whereas Bareli owns about 25% madrassas. Ahle Hadith owns 6% of

madrassas. There is a phenomenal increase in total number of madrassas of Ahle Hadith. In the year 1988 they owned 134 madrassas which rose to 310 in the year 2000, a rise of about 131%. This rise in number of Ahle Hadith madrassas was due to the support of Gulf and Saudi Arab.

Furthermore, numerous religious warriors were brought from all across the Muslim countries. This effort was done intelligently. After all Afghanistan did not have Mecca for which the Muslims would be obliged to defend. Numerous secular regimes in Arab were happy to get rid of the extremists who participated in militant opposition groups which planned to overthrow the local regimes. The invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet was a great opportunity for the Arab groups who were close to U.S to export these troublemakers for their own good or to redirect their anger from domestic situations to foreign situations namely Soviet. The ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) of Pakistan had to become central player in this regard.

In this whole situation, Pakistan became radicalized itself. The capital of KPP, Peshawar became the headquarters for Mujahedeen and one of the commanders was Osama bin Laden who resided in this city. The manager of Service Bureau and Abdullah Azam who was the mentor of Osama in Mujahedeen group established their network in the city of Peshawar which also included charity organizations and a publication house. Al-jihad, the magazines by Mujahedeen are still available in some of the bookstores of Peshawar. When the Soviet forces were withdrawn from Afghanistan, thousands of militants who were trained and experienced were left in Pakistan which is estimated to be around 40,000 to 60,000 jihadi. It is hard to produce such militants but decommissioning them is much harder than creating them. Rather than stopping their activities when the mission was achieved, the militants spread their materials and literature and this was largely controlled by Saudi Arab who joined them in the jihad. This made them more powerful and articulate. According to Abu Mus'ab Al Suri, the strategist of Al-Qaeda, all the ongoing debate and discussion during the years of Afghan Jihad spread quickly to the other Muslim countries through leaflets, books, visitors, couriers, communiques and audiocassettes. According to a Pakistani intellectual named Suroosh Irfani, the al Suri's publications in Peshawar called the 'Experience and Lesson of Islamic Jihad Revolution' published in 1991 signaled the internalization of these Arabs in Pakistan. The shift of Arabs in Pakistan played a central role in the radicalization of Pakistan society.

After 1988, some of the militant groups who fought in Afghanistan shifted the focus of their group to Kashmir with the help of intelligence services in Pakistan. Lashkar-e-Taiba which means the Army of pure, was a group of militants who was based in Pakistan and supported insurgency in Kashmir. The purpose of Lashkar-e-Taiba was to attack the Indian forces deployed in Kashmir. However, Pervez Musharraf banned the activities of this group in Kashmir after the attack of terrorists in U.S.A on 11th September 2001 but some of the militants went underground whereas others joined their sister organization called Jamaat-Ud-Dawa. This is a group of militants that runs charities and religious centers.

Chapter 4

Literature review

4. Introduction

Review of the literatures has become crucial to see that how previous authors have worked in reviewing the work and what they have found with the similar context of the study. It is also based over the ideological creation for the development of the logical framework with the gap identification.

4.1 The Radicalization Process

A lot of research has been done, theories have been flout and people have written about the causes and motivations behind becoming a terrorist. After empirical research there is one consistent finding that there is no particular “terrorist profile “and who or why a person becomes a terrorist cannot be predicted, (Subramaniam, Spear, Vucetic, Chadha, Bhaskar, Gupta, & Subrahmanyam, 2013). Unlike the early theories it is completely ruled out that people suffering from some sort of mental disorder can only be associated with terrorist activities, as stated by Biloslavo, (2004). Horrible acts of terrorism are not only committed by “crazy” people. The prevalence of mental illness in between the imprisoned terrorists is much lower than the general population according to studies. The profile of a classic psychopath is rarely matched by a terrorist who commits horrible acts of violence. Not necessarily they are lower socioeconomically from their peers nor not even less educated, (Kalra, & Butt, 2013).

1. It has been agreed upon by intelligent agencies, social scientists and law enforcement organizations that a dynamic process known as “radicalization” produces terrorists. One of our country’s most senior terrorist scholars Brian Jenkins, explains radicalization as, adopting a system of radical believes and also try to impose them on others and committing to them without the fear of the rest of the society”, (Shehzad, 2013).

2. The compulsive behavior for use of violence on the rest of the society for the imposition of their believes, giving punishment for their “evil actions” is the final stage in the process of radicalization, (Subramaniam, Spear, Vucetic, Chadha, Bhaskar, Gupta, & Subrahmanyam, 2013).

The thing which distinguishes a terrorist from other extremists is the commitment to violence. How people see the world and themselves living in it can be caused by a fundamental change which occurs over a long period of time, (Kalra, & Butt, 2013). This process is still poorly understood in exact nature. None of the theories are tested empirically but conceptual models and different theories have been developed by researchers that explain the route of a person in becoming radicalized. From the beginning to the end of this process most of them see three to five stages, from initial exposure through indoctrination, training, and then violent actions. Though, different terminologies are used to explain and identify these stages, these stages are conceptualized differently by different researchers. However, it is agreed broadly that when the process of radicalization starts not all the stages are crossed by people to become a terrorist. The violence which is typical to militant jihadists in order to become terrorists many people stop short of it, (Waghmar, 2013).

Violent jihadism is the base of our focus here, and in particular those numerous characteristics of the procedure of radicalization on which consensus have been made. As the causes of terrorism have not been identified by the researchers, three vulnerabilities have been recognized by them that probably endorse violence, or provide the source of its motivation, as stated by Biloslavo, (2004). These vulnerabilities are:

Perceived Injustice or Humiliation: it may be perceived that the remedy of humiliation or in justice is violent attacks, (Subramaniam, Spear, Vucetic, Chadha, Bhaskar, Gupta, & Subrahmanyam, 2013).

Need for Identity: in search of someone's own identity a person can be attracted to any extremist organization to become a terrorist in a variety of ways. A person who is searching for a goal or purpose in life can take any actions to achieve that goal. In the process of succeeding at something which can make a difference violent act can be seen as the method. Those who feel the stress and complexity is overwhelming to navigate in this complicated world are often attracted to the absolutist "black and white" idea. A person might choose to define his or her identity by associating itself with a terrorist group or organization simply to discern any personal meaning without any struggle, (Kalra, & Butt, 2013).

Need for Belonging: A sense of belonging, affiliation and connectedness can be felt by many prospective terrorists in fundamental extremist group. One researcher describes, that the initial attraction can be the association to a group of common beliefs rather than committing any horrible act of violence or abstract ideology, (Roy, 2002).

3. For its own sake terrorism is not random act of violence. An ideology provides the rules for one's behavior which ends in violence. A set of common and broadly believed rules is known as an ideology which helps in regulation or determination of a person's behavior, (Jones, & O'Donnell, 2012).

4. Long term positive rewards and outcomes which are anticipated are often linked by these rules. The characteristic of violent jihad is suicide attack based on this. Access to paradise is allegedly gained by killing the infidels, (Waghmar, 2013).

5. In its substance the ideology is very different that support militant jihad from other types of terrorism or extremism like eco-terrorism or white supremacy groups. However four features are common in them, (Rashid, 2011). They are:

Polarized: their mindset is "us vs. them". They more think about their own selves rather than the other people. They use other people for their own interest and thereby assures the working of their mindsets for their private use. The explanation of the polarized system is being given by Singer, (2001). It is the education given by the madrassas for dividing the entire society between us and them. They divide the society and the religious lines and thereby break the ideology in which society is being created and the country is being founded.

The major act in the madrassas is to divide the society among us and them. These madrassa divide the society on the basis of the religious lines and also breaks the ideology over which the society is being formed and the country has been founded, (Woodward, Rohmaniyah, Amin, & Coleman, 2010). The most of the poor, jobless, uneducated and frustrated youths become prey of these madrassas and make their lives turn in to disrespect and hate in society, (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010).

Absolutist: sometimes supported by sacred authority, the truth in its absolute sense is believed. This squashes dissent, questioning and critical thinking. Moral authority is added in us vs. them to make it good vs. evil, as stated by Biloslavo, (2004).

Threat-Oriented: Cooperation is caused in groups by external threats. This is intuitively known by good leaders. It is persistently reminded to their adherents that “us” are threatened by “them”. Because it is seen in its absolute sense that “us” are good and noble and this also works as an opposition to non-believers and causes cohesion, (Jones, & O'Donnell, 2012) & (Roy, 2002).

Hateful: Violent actions are energized by hate. Direct action is impelled on principled opposition. Facilitation to different mechanisms of dehumanization and disengagement is provided which helps in the erosion of physiological and social barriers in engaging violence. It is an important point in support of distinguishing a simple extremist from a violent terrorist, (John, 2003).

6. The threat is described in the section on The Militant Jihadist Terrorism Threat. Study on 117 homegrown jihadists in UK and USA is done empirically which described the manifestation of the radical process. This can help in establishing how far a person has come in the process of radicalization, (Kalra, & Butt, 2013).

In the early stage, only ideological interpretations are trusted of the rigid set of religious authorities. Significant impact is put on others how to interpret what their faith demands, groom different scholars and role models, as stated by Bishoyi (2013) & Roy (2002).

Also in early stage, Muslim faith's legislated interpretation is adopted. For virtually every aspect of one's life there are rules to be followed and not only for the practice of faith. For example it is considered sinful for women to laugh in the street or taking pictures or to play music. In the final stage of radicalization in order to advance in faith it is an obligation for believers to take an action of violence against infidels, (Jones, & O'Donnell, 2012).

A fundamental conflict is perceived between the Islam and the west by the Muslims as they become more radicalized. It becomes ideologically critical to be loyal; they cannot have any kind of loyalty to any non-Muslim state their only obligation is to Islam. It is considered a

violation of Allah's rules even to participate in democratic process of one's country because these rules are made by man, (Hashmi, 2010) & (Weinbaum, 2013).

Any other alternative interpretations or practices have very low tolerance except from the rigid interpretation of Islam. It becomes a compulsion to impose your own beliefs on friends and family members after changing one's own beliefs. It is seen as a personal affront any deviation from these rigid interpretations by others, (Rashid, 2011). It is normally expressed in the form that other people are not practicing and good Muslim which usually ends up in violence. It separates individual from the people who were first an important part of their lives but they start to hate them as they are not practicing Muslims, as stated by Bishoyi (2013).

In the later stages, religious and political beliefs are included in the process of radicalization. It is believed by the radicals that to subjugate Islam morally western powers have conspired. Muslim world was once ruled by the teachings of Allah under the caliphate rule they want to restore all that, (Dorschner, & Sherlock, 2009).

It should be remembered that it is not illegal in United States to express radical or extremist's views. Until it reaches the advance stages like engaging one's self in any act of violence or other illegal behavior. A stricter standard of allegiance to the United States applies on a person who holds a U.S. Government security clearance or some other position of public trust. As described in The Militant Jihadist Terrorism Threat advocacy of militant jihadist is ground for denial or revocation of a security clearance or access to other sensitive information or installations if it is cleared by evidence of an absence of loyalty to the United States, (Weinbaum, 2013) & (Shezad, 2013).

4.2 Radicalization in Pakistan

Radical Islam began showing its influence in Pakistan during 1979 When Afghan Jihad started against Soviet forces in Afghanistan and has since become an important factor in the conflict, resulting in several unconventional attacks on Pakistani Army targets and the fragmentation of the separatist movement of Baluchistan, (Ahrari, 2000). The terrorist tactics and radical beliefs of a number of Pakistani Taliban are unprecedented in Pakistan, but contrary to popular belief, radical Islam is embraced only by a minority of the population, (Chellaney, 2006). Believers of

radical Islam to be widespread than it actually is due to the high level of participation and publicity of this minority in the conflict. Additionally, Pakistani practice a form of Sunni Islam with Sufi influences, and Sufis and Wahhabis have never had harmonious relations, (Roy, 2002).

Societal transformation is a continuous process and it does not depend on the single factor. The phenomena of the transformation are being linked with the internal and external factors. Internally, the religious disharmony, failing economy, education system, and dysfunctional government bodies are the. Externally, the clashes of the civilization and the generation of the war and anti-west sentiments are the reasons for the adopted policies and socio economic conditions, (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010). So in this assessment of the analytical work the analysis of the factors causing the radicalization in the Muslims have been intended to analyze. Moreover, the assessment is planned to base over exploration of factors which has resulted in expanding the perception of the people about radicalization, (Nasr, S. V. 2002). It is also intended to explore that what have forced people to change their perception and behavioral adaptation due to the Afghan and US war, especially after 1979. In addition, the need is to explore that how Islamic settings and education system in Pakistan is provoking the negative feelings of hate for the other people. In addition, this work has also set its focus over explaining the role of the Americans aids in dollar for the adaptation of war against terrorism by Pakistan government.

4.3 Exclusive Islamic Identity and Youth Radicalization

The formation of Pakistan was specifically designed as an Islamic state from the British rule. It was later more endorsed by Zia-ul-Haq in the 80's. He encouraged among Pakistani youth and adults the spread of individual exclusivist identities, (Dorschner, & Sherlock, 2009). Political and religious groups that seek to define themselves in alignment with Islam are furthered by radicalization, including indigenous culture in opposition to all else, (Weinbaum, 2013).

The Lahore youth conducted some surveys in which 88 percent of elite school students stated that religion is their primary identity. Youngsters of Pakistan high level of recognition with their religious beliefs 50 percent said that their national identity is above their religious identity. 15 percent identified themselves as Pakistani where as 75 percent identified them as Muslims. Most

of them said that their religion is far more important than their country. This kind of homogenized and extreme point of view can lead to violence in the name of Islam, (Kalra, & Butt, 2013) & (Hashmi, 2010).

The “Enabling Environment” for Radicalization

Violent terrorist acts are embedded in larger social and political milieu and are not an act of single person who works in isolation, (De Sousa, 2011). Radicalization can be explained in the form of a pyramid, like on the top there are active terrorists, in the middle there are religious political organizations and in the end there are missionary Islamic organizations, (Dorschner, & Sherlock, 2009). The links between these three stages create an “enabling environment” that enhances an Islamic based identity, the radicalization of youth is used for militant purpose.

These linkages can be categorized into three basic models

- The encapsulating model, whereby an entire social network has been mobilized to form a large organizational form, encapsulating all three levels of the pyramid. For example, the Jamaat-ud-Dawa acts as a proselytizing actor with a network of mosques and educational institutions, as well as a service oriented NGO; it has increasingly taken on a political role through its messaging on culture and politics, while its militant role as the banned Lashkar-e-Taiba has been well documented, (De Sousa, 2011).

The loosely-coupled model, where a shared space facilitates interaction between nominal sympathizers, supporters and militant actors, (Cohen, 2004). For example, a mosque or large congregations of missionary organizations, such as the Tableeghi Jamaat, allows for literatures of all levels to be distributed, and political and militant activists have the opportunity to interact with lower level sympathizers, (Subramaniam, Spear, Vucetic, Chadha, Bhaskar, Gupta, & Subrahmanyam, 2013).

- The bridge model, where one organization bridges the initial pool of sympathizers with more militant organizations. As an example, the Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) is a religious-political party which acts as the political representative of the large Deobandis mosque-madrassa network, composed of various missionary organizations, (Shezad, 2013) & (Hashmi, 2010). It also acts both as an ideological guide as well as a channel for youth volunteers to join

Taliban militant actors. During the 1990s, for example, the JUI-S faction led by Maulana Sami-ul Haq closed its madrasa schools to allow students to participate in the Afghan civil war alongside the Afghan Taliban. Similarly, the Jamaat-e-Islami both has a strong national student organization, the Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba, and is connected with militant organizations such as Hizbul-Mujahedeen, (De Sousa, 2011).

Although the methods used by missionary organization might seem peaceful so it is more likely that their message is more acceptable in youth and it is believed that these religious organizations are absolute.

For instance missionary organizations like Al-Huda the female based or tableeghi jammat which is male based has the most reach in general youth, they have the potential to the receptiveness of youth, through the rejection of indigenous ethnic, national or tribal identities as well as foreign cultural and political signifiers groups by reinforcing messages of a primarily Islamic identity, and the rejection of pluralistic politics may contribute to alignment with more radical organizations, (Subramaniam, Spear, Vucetic, Chadha, Bhaskar, Gupta, & Subrahmanyam, 2013).

Jammat e islami and JUI are the religious parties who have participated in the electoral process of the state, and have maintained an cordial relationship with the government but still in some selected situations endorsing violent jihad for example the Pakistani policies on Kashmir and Afghanistan in 80's and 90'. Tahreek- e -Taliban Pakistan and Lashkar e jhangvi are a few of the examples of most militant organizations who take their stance to the extreme level in order to impose their kind of Islam, (De Sousa, 2011) & (Cohen, 2004). According to these militants to achieve a general goal for imposing an Islamic based government not only in Muslim countries but in the whole world a revolutionary action must be taken. Intra Isla-mist violence is raised in order to lead to power, and it also leads to sectarian differences. Pakistan is known to give space to much religious organization to operate, operate recruit and mobilize and even in some cases some active sectarian militant organizations, (Shehzad, 2013).

In order to support regional policy objectives in neighboring Afghanistan or India has helped build a resource for the Pakistani military's historical practice of selective support for certain

militant actors for not just militant but also nonmilitant organizations serving bridging or encapsulating roles, (De Sousa, 2011).

In a vibrant free market today, there exist 232 religious organizations and militants groups within the country having their head offices in Lahore and Punjab. Approximately 71 in Lahore and 100 in Punjab alone. Establishing parallel educational or training institutions, some militant groups operate openly in the country, distributing published materials and media collecting or extorting financial donations, (Rashid, 2011) & (Kalra, & Butt, 2013). By low levels of public education provision the state's education system also facilitates these groups, who are often able to fill a vacuum left. To draw youth from lower ends of the radicalization "pyramid" upward toward active militancy the strength of these organizations leads to better marketing and recruitment, (Subramaniam, Spear, Vucetic, Chadha, Bhaskar, Gupta, & Subrahmanyam, 2013).

4.4 Madrassa education: a threat to peace and tolerance

The explanation of the polarized system is being given by Nasr, (2000). It is the education given by the madrassas for dividing the entire society between us and them. They divide the society and the religious lines and thereby break the ideology in which society is being created and the country is being founded.

Traditional the madrassas are the source of all the kinds of the knowledge transferred to the Muslims. They educate the Muslim students about the science subject and about the religion. In the current time, the role of madrassas has remained related only to teach the children about the religious education. In the countries like Pakistan, the madrassas are not properly governed and administered and that has become reason for provoking the elements like extremisms, (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010). The uncontrolled madrassas and education given by those madrassas are dated back to 1980s when the Saudi Arabia and USA has poured almost \$4 billion for the establishment of the religious schools and madrassa, (Tellis, 2004). Since that time, madrassas have become the breeding ground of the religious extremism creation in Pakistan and have made the security condition in the country even worse.

Pakistan has to face acute security issue. In order to tackle these issues, one of the ways is to take step in taming the religious education and its quality. The chief purpose of the education is to

make the people enlighten so that understanding about the various issues of the country can be prevailed and prepare the people in distinguishing among the right and the wrong things, (Woodward, Rohmaniyah, Amin, & Coleman, 2010). But this is not the scenario in Pakistan, as it was supposed by US commission over the International Religious Freedom, (Atran, 2010). It is being explored that almost every madrassa in Pakistan has religious biasness that has led towards the maligns of the minority groups and societal intolerance, (Jaffrelot, 2002).

Huge numbers of the Pakistanis are living in the small villages and towns. They have to face the feudalism, poverty, lacking of the awareness and illiteracy problem. These issues have left two conditions for these people. First is to abandon the education of their kids and second is to make them induct in the religious schools. Majority of the madrassa preach the students free, they also provide lodging and the boarding services for their students, (Singer, 2001). That is the mere reason for the hijacking of the minds of the youngsters and hypnotizing it with the extremism. It is quite important that government must articulate the education presented and taught in these madrassas so to prevent the hate and war in the religion, (Nasr, 2004). It is also being seen that in the normal schools of Pakistan Jihad-Bis-Saif or fighting with the sort is being given emphasized by Islam instead of provoking the preaching of Islam about purity, peace and submission to Allah and His people. The wars fought in the history have been given proper context in the text books, (Woodward, Rohmaniyah, Amin, & Coleman, 2010).

It is being highlighted from the study conducted by Roy, (2002), that most of the sectarian schools are getting their back and support from Iran and Saudi Arabia and they have resulted in dividing the society of Pakistan in to numerous sects. This has resulted in increasing the sectarian violence in Pakistan and has also increased the killing of thousands of citizens in the name of Shia and Sunni conflicts. The reason for this blood shed is again due to madrassas and their preaching that only the path followed by them is correct and they are only having right religious beliefs and the ways, (Haider, 2005).

They have declared the followers of other sects as Non-Muslims or Kefirs and this is the normal practice seen in the majority of religious madrassas where they have target the young children as their audience. It is said that the religious extremism is being hit in majority of the nations and has become serious threat and also effecting Pakistan since years. The need is to tackle this

problem as soon as it is possible or else the effect will be adverse and will push Pakistan in the Stone Age. The major act in the madrassas is to divide the society among us and them. These madrassa divide the society on the basis of the religious lines and also breaks the ideology over which the society is being formed and the country has been founded. The most of the poor, jobless, uneducated and frustrated youths become prey of these madrassas and make their lives turn in to disrespect and hate in society, (Roy, 2002). There are almost thousands of the madrassas in Pakistan which is working illegally and they are not registered yet. The numbers of unregistered madrassas in Islamabad is approximately 83 which are established in the mosques and the seminaries. It is the matter of great thinking that how many youths are taking education in these madrassas and what type of education is being provided to them. The minds of these young students are like wet clay, thus it can be easily molded in to the shapes as desired by the extremists, (Woodward, Rohmaniyah, Amin, & Coleman, 2010). In majority of the madrassas these minds are molded in the negative stance and as the youngsters are the real pillar of the economy and the country thus there negative development is making them rust on the entire nation. The figures shared by MacDonald, (2003) & Haider, (2005) of unregistered madrassas are almost 80,000 and they have millions of students in their hands which are turning as the religious extremists, (Islam, 1981). It is required by the government of Pakistan to take bold action in banning these misguided madrassas in the country. Also, the revision is required in their curriculum and proper education system's establishment. The government bodies are responsible to form the educational institutes with their own designed and controlled curriculum. The madrassas are also required to get registered with the state government and there firing and hiring process must be governed by the state's government. In addition, the entire curriculum of the normal schools must also be taken over by the government, (Davis, 2008). There must be teaching of peace and tolerance in the schools. It should be their tag lines and they must make their students acceptable to the tolerance and make them know about the real picture of Islam and its preaching, (Lall, 2008) & (Hafez, 2003). For changing the entire society, the need is to add more of the chapters about Islam and more emphasize is required to be given to the education of real meaning of jihads, tolerance and jihad Bin-Nafs or jihad within oneself. It is also required to establish a universal curriculum in the country which must be taught to all the sects of the country. Within which the curriculum for the religious schools must also be taught and importance of Islam and its preaching must be strengthened. There must also be emphasized

given on the education of science as it is attained by many of the Muslim scholars, (MacDonald, 2003).

With uniformity in the education system, there will be removal of the division among the sectarian and the religious basis. The madrassas will become place to give wide ideology to the young students and tend to spread oneness in the society and also tend to stop immoral subjects like unacceptability and intolerance so to rule it out from the society, (Davis, 2008) & (Islam, 1981). In addition, the madrassas have to go under modernization so that they do not appear as alien to the other people who have accepted them as a place of generating the extremist in the society, (Irfani, 2004).

The general mindset of the people who are sending their kids in madrassas are deemed to be backward and they are not much aware about the scientific progress. This has become one of the chief reasons for reforming and removing of the exposure in those people about the new ideas and the using of the new and modern teaching methods and subjects, (Esposito, 2002). In this domain, a scenario is shared by a teacher of Baluchistan that his students are not ready to accept the utility of English subject due to which he has to face biggest challenge. Most of the students have perception that by learning Islamic they will directly reach to heaven. There is no motive there to learn English and thereby they are not convinced to acquire English learning knowledge, (Ayyub, 1979) & (Rascoff, 2012). In some of the countries like Pakistan, the religious institutions are also engaged in the social working. However, madrassas of Pakistan has not shown involvement in the offering of the social services beside the impartment of education. The examples of social services can be seen in the temples of India where they render free medical services as the inoculation campaign and they also allow government to use their place for raising of the health awareness in the people, (Zahab, 2002) & (Roy, 2002). Whistle in madrassas the main concern is of continuous curriculum reforms only. They are more bothered to translate their some of the books from English to Urdu so that theirs students can easily understand the relevancy. The major purpose of this translation is to assure that the students can have better understanding of the new knowledge plus they can implement this knowledge in to their lives and they can also actively take part in the development of the country, (Esposito, 2002) & (Reetz, 2009).

4.5 Education in modern regular schools

Regular school is opened to embrace the new changes, especially in the introduction of the new curricula in to their modern educational designs. The demands of the regular schools are of skilled and trained teachers so that they can teach the difficult subjects in science and English, (Ashour, 2011) & (Murshed, & Pavan, 2011). Regular schools also motivate the students to pursue higher education in the universities along with the Islamic studies so to have balanced information about world and religion. On the other hand, the madrassas' students are taught with the Arabic, Islamic studies and Persian as well. They have been provided by the curriculum issued by United Nations mandated University for Peace, Costa Rica in the Islamic context. The curriculum has been developed and deployed in consultation of the Islamic scholars in 2005 to 2007. This curriculum is mostly implemented in the south Asian madrassas of Bangladesh and Pakistan and they have integrated this curriculum with their existing one, (GITHENS-MAZER, & Lambert, 2010).

Education is important ingredient for growth and development of the entire nation. With the use of education and information system, nations have successfully acquired prosperity and development, (Wilner, & Dubouloz, 2010) & (Ahmad, 2005). The economic and human both developments are assured with the investment made in the attainment of the education. But in Pakistan, it is a biggest challenge. The regular education system of Pakistan is being rotten due to the rate of literacy has reached up to 55% (2012 and 2013 report). The education system of Pakistan has to undergo many challenges and crisis and some of the major problems are identified.

There is being division of the students in to the two segments in the educational system of Pakistan. The division of the regular schools has been seen in the private schools that are mostly English mediums and the other is in Government schools, which are mostly Urdu medium. This has become one of the major reasons for the bad and poor educational system in the country, (Murshed, & Pavan, 2011). Also one of the core reasons which have been seen in the difference in the educational system is the gender biasness. People of Pakistan have conservative mind set and they feel reluctant to send their girls in the schools for the acquiring of the education. Due to

this reason, ratio of the boys and the girls in the primary schools has been seen as 10:4, (Wilner, & Dubouloz, 2010).

According to the report of Human Development, Pakistan is having 136th position with 49.9% of the educated population. The report of UNESCO has showed the rank of Pakistan on 113th position out of 120 for the education member in UN. The ethnic, economic and the socio-political crisis in the country have tended to affect the normal educational system in Pakistan. In addition, the quality of the education that has been provided to the students is also very bad. The teachers of the government schools are not trained, (GITHENS-MAZER, & Lambert, 2010). Those people, who fail to get the job in any sector, try to get their job in educational institutes. And the reason as they are not trained, they become unable to train the entire nation. The attention is also required in the teaching of the rural areas where departments lack is found, (Abbas, 2008) & (Marsden, 2008).

Another reason is mentioned as poverty, which restricts the parents to send their children to the private schools for getting the high quality education. Government schools are the only option for the poor parents. And the untrained teachers of the government schools are not trained professionally, (Wilner, & Dubouloz, 2010) & (Ashour, 2009). The precious time of the students get wasted due to the lectures. The fund allocation for the educational sector of Pakistan, by the government is also very low, (Pargeter, 2009). Only 2% of the GDP is allocated to education and the need is to enhance this rate and improve the quality provided. For any country the educational development is very important. It is only cure for the disable economy and for the building of the tomorrow's nation. The above mentioned problems can only be treated with the governmental support, (Johnson, & Mason, 2008).

4.6 Education employing for eradicating extremism:

The 20th century is being marked as the century of humanity in the history, as almost 150 million people has been killed by the hands of other people. Same century has remained remarkable in knowing as the most promising century for the technological and intellectual invention. There has been great challenges inherited to the 21st century and it is hoped that the development of the previous century will be used for the promotion of prosperity and peace in the 21st century. This

will have impact over the improvement in the quality of life of the people and thereby will allow the survival of the humanity, (Pargeter, 2009).

21st century is being loaded with the numbers of large challenges for global community. The challenges have inclusion of the exponential growth of the innovation and information, globalization of the business environment, availability of the information in terms of the volume, mode, speed, time and nature, access of the data, controlling of the intern organizational and international business processes in the real time, new level of the national and the international competition referred as hyper competition, highly uncertain and the chaotic environment of the business, energy, quality, increasing stress of acquiring skills, productivity, government regulations and the other stressors, (Woodward, Rohmaniyah, Amin, & Coleman, 2010). Moreover, the extremism has been emerged in the society as the common trait in global world and it has posed threat over the prosperity, peace and harmony of the entire globe, (Johnson, & Mason, 2008).

Many people have considered education to be the only solution to the highlighted problem. They are right as the education is the commonly meaning of bringing change in the behavior of the people, (Woodward, Rohmaniyah, Amin, & Coleman, 2010). To educate the people is meaning to change the behavior of the people. Now the question is what to change and to what extent change must be brought in the society. The educational philosophies have shown the review and have highlighted the impact of education over the progressivism, perennialism, essentialism, reconstructionism, modernism, eclecticism, and the post-modernism. And in the course of history the socio, political and economic condition has also shown benefits attainment from the education, (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010). The relationship mentioned by the educationalist among the power and knowledge and shown argument that the society classifies, distributes, selects and evaluates the educational knowledge for the public which is reflected in the distribution of the power and the social control. So it is narrated that the education is the only activity which has shown importance for the political and social dimensions, (Pargeter, 2009) & (Azzam, 2006). The knowledge is required to be properly organized in the curriculum of the schools so that it can be reflected in the social activities of the people and have the particular pattern seen in the failure and success of the economy. Now the question is that who is really responsible for defining the education to the nation, (Hamm, 2008).

In the current time, the knowledge about the social, civic and the personal responsibilities is the key sources for the combating of terrorism and extremism, (Lall, 2008) & (Hafez, 2003). It is also showing the major framework for the 21st century skills acquisition. The sections that have been added in the 21st century skill framework has shown inclusion of:

Life skills: The good teachers allow the students to incorporate the life skills in to pedagogy. The major challenge is to implement these important skills in to the schools strategically, broadly and deliberately, (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010).

The life skills include the following:

- Accountability
- Leadership
- Personal productivity
- Ethics
- Self-direction
- Personal responsibility
- Adaptability
- People skills
- Social responsibility

The skills framework has inclusion of:

- Teaming, interpersonal skills and collaboration,
- Effective communication
- Interactive communication
- Social, civic and the personal responsibilities

The American association of the colleges and universities has shown inclusion of skills in 21st century framework as:

- Social and personal responsibilities
- Intercultural competence and knowledge
- Civic engagement and knowledge about globe and locality

- Foundation and the skills for the lifelong learning
- Ethical actions and reasoning

In order to combat the extremism spread through madrassas, and religious schools, the government of Pakistan has decided to take them under the national education system. This will be done under the National internal security policy. In a report issued by AFP, it is said that there are approximately 22,000 madrassas in the country that has become responsible for the spreading of extremism. In the parliament a united policy is being presented by Chaudhry Nisar that almost \$78 billion cost have been incurred over the lives lost in a decade. However, it is equally documented by (Lall, 2008) & (Hafez, 2003) that all of the madrassas are not upfront from the problem and thereby it is not right to view them all as negative. There is problem creation from some of the madrassas and they are the reason for spreading of the extremism. These madrassas are gaining external financing from the unidentified sources for the distribution and promotion of the hate material and publications, (Davis, 2008) & (Islam, 1981).

There are majority of the madrassas in the country which fall outside the approach and control of the government and they offer very little mainstream of subjective study to their students. They tend to preach violence and also do propaganda over hatred towards the non-Muslims and other sects. These madrassas result in establishing large numbers of the terrorists by brain washing their minds against their states and people, as stated by Ahmad, (2005).

The policy of the government which is based over 94 pages is stating that what should be done to eradicate the roots of terrorism in the country and their efforts on fight against terrorism. The report presented by Hafez, (2003) has criticized that all of the powerful military has become unable for demonstrating their abilities in successfully counter parting, building and holding of the integrity for the civil security, (GITHENS-MAZER, & Lambert, 2010). The established policy of Pakistani government has called to build the national narratives over the terrorism and extremism. They have created opinion polls to see the consequences of the extremisms and government to tackle these groups. It is also required by the government of Pakistan to establish a separate entity of the Federal Rapid Response Force and Counter Terrorism Department in the

police force so that they can play their part in fighting against the terrorism, (Davis, 2008) & (Islam, 1981).

4.7 Limitations in the current educational curriculum which hinders in the way to combat the terrorism and extremism

In the 20th century curriculum the lacking of the perennial and the contextual skills are lacking and which is become important in the current legacy of the curriculum of 21st century, (Ayyub, 1979) & (Rascoff, 2012). The main course of education in 20th century was having focus over manipulating the pre designing of the information for becoming fluent in the problem solving rather than just deriving the data for the complex setting of developing the skills for finding sophisticated solution to the problem. Knowledge has shown impartment from the skills and given the revealing of the truth for not only understanding the construction and discovering of the separation of the results for the learning data available for the assimilation. The major objective of the education is to present the learning for the solving of the specific routine problems with match with the everyday solution rather than just remaining associated with the expert decision making and the meta-cognitive strategies and expert decision making, which is used to indicate that what are the standard approach that can be applied, (Wilner, & Dubouloz, 2010) & (Ahmad, 2005). In legacy curriculum, there is less number of time which is spent over the building of the abilities in the negotiation sharing, interpretations in the groups and the co-constructions of the problem resolution. Simple presentation is adopted as the communicational skills, rather than finding the capacity to get engaged in the richly structured interaction with the articulation of the perspectives from which audience are unaware. The gold standard is to apply the face to face communication for the students so to develop the few abilities in the dialogue sharing and designing of the virtually common workspace.

4.8 Links of the Pakistani education system with the extremism

It is issued by the report of the World Bank that almost half of the adult population in Pakistan is unable to read and the net rates of enrollments in the primary section has also remained lowest in the South Asia. The reason is due to the suffering of the system from the insufficient support from the government, less investment, lack of the institutional capacity, poor curriculum and the

corruption. The chief of the counter terrorism experts of White House, Mr. John Brennan has summed up in the report shared by US terrorism experts in 2009 August that, “Extremism in groups of Pakistan has become their major weakness”. Further he has added that, “It is the mere reason that they have offered free education to the impoverished children, so to indoctrinate and recruit next generation”. However, United Nations, World Bank and US has shown their efforts in taming the conditions of Pakistan but the challenges are still the same in the country, (Wilner, & Dubouloz, 2010) & (Ahmad, 2005).

It is being said by Rascoff, (2012) that universities are also failing in to the trap of extremism. Mr. Lord Carlile is the in charge of watching the counter terrorism strategies of the Pakistani government. He shared that it is a new narrative that Muslim theologies must share their support for combating extremism caused by Al Qaida and they have to show like with their likeness. In a report, he has viewed that almost 133 universities has reported the glimpse of omitting terrorist activities in the country. It is being told to the guardian of those universities that it is their responsibility to handle those individuals who has been suspected for the creation of radicalization or who have been gotten affected by radicalization, within their university premises. It is the need of the time that the universities must engage none marginalize extreme political views in their campuses. There must be aberrant behavior confrontment and they must refer this to police. The report has also added that there must not be any fear in testing and controlling the ideas and beliefs and universities must act as the safeguard for the ideologies and must not get threaten by the society.

4.9 Teaching to the citizens as the education and why

In the book of “Education, Extremism and Terrorism: What Should be Taught in Citizenship Education and Why” written by Dianne Gereluk, Continuum (2012), it is considered that the issues of the terrorism and the extremism must be addressed and should be taught in the schooling education system. In the latest curriculum of England, the issues related to terrorism and the extremism has been introduced in the numerous aspects of the secondary education system. There is no or little justification given on why they have added this education in their curriculum. There is very little level of the knowledge spread through the brochures pasted on the schools walls about these subjects, (Wilner, & Dubouloz, 2010) & (Ahmad, 2005). This is due to

the fact that everyone is being aware about the issue and they better have knowledge on why this is happening and what are the reasons of adding this in the educational structure, (Ayyub, 1979) & (Rascoff, 2012). Moreover, the need is to broaden the views of the education towards the political objectives for the enhancing of the political education and justifying the terrorism and extremism in the society. Also the way through which the awareness about the terrorism and the extremism must be developed is being deployed to the facilitators so that negative perception does not get spread for the Muslims living in their nation.

4.10 Conclusion and summary

Radical Islam began showing its influence in Pakistan during 1979 When Afghan Jihad started against Soviet forces in Afghanistan and has since become an important factor in the conflict, resulting in several unconventional attacks on Pakistani Army targets and the fragmentation of the separatist movement of Baluchistan, (Ahrari, 2000). The terrorist tactics and radical beliefs of a number of Pakistani Taliban are unprecedented in Pakistan, but contrary to popular belief, radical Islam is embraced only by a minority of the population, (Chellaney, 2006). Believers of radical Islam to be widespread than it actually is due to the high level of participation and publicity of this minority in the conflict. Additionally, Pakistani practice a form of Sunni Islam with Sufi influences, and Sufis and Wahhabis have never had harmonious relations, (Roy, 2002).

A lot of research has been done, theories have been flout and people have written about the causes and motivations behind becoming a terrorist. After empirical research there is one consistent finding that there is no particular “terrorist profile “and who or why a person becomes a terrorist cannot be predicted. In traditional societies, religion and culture play an important role. The Traditional and moderate Islamic beliefs and practices with strong indigenous and Sufi content in South Asia diametrically opposed to the radical Wahhabi and Taliban ideologies and practices which are intolerant of other cultures and groups, (Yusuf, 2008). The emergence of radicalization and the spread of radical Islam in Pakistan is the main source of instability and conflict in this region, (Kirby, 2007).

The thing which distinguishes a terrorist from other extremists is the commitment to violence. How people see the world and themselves living in it can be caused by a fundamental change which occurs over a long period of time, (Kalra, & Butt, 2013). This process is still poorly

understood in exact nature. None of the theories are tested empirically but conceptual models and different theories have been developed by researchers that explain the route of a person in becoming radicalized.

The formation of Pakistan was specifically designed as an Islamic state from the British rule. It was later more endorsed by Zia-ul-Haq in the 80's. He encouraged among Pakistani youth and adults the spread of individual exclusivist identities, (Dorschner, & Sherlock, 2009). Political and religious groups that seek to define themselves in alignment with Islam are furthered by radicalization, including indigenous culture in opposition to all else, (Weinbaum, 2013).

It remains a highly contested question that Pakistan should adopt what sort of polity Islamic or liberal democratic. This quest of shaping the state of Pakistan resulted in addition of another dimension to the political and religious polarization. The problem of rights of minority and civil liberties faced a great setback in this entire process of choosing the identity. The crisis of identity faced by the state as well as the society has generated an empty space for religious activism as well as resultant radicalization.

Traditional the madrassas are the source of all the kinds of the knowledge transferred to the Muslims. They educate the Muslim students about the science subject and about the religion. In the current time, the role of madrassas has remained related only to teach the children about the religious education. In the countries like Pakistan, the madrassas are not properly governed and administered and that has become reason for provoking the elements like extremisms. In majority of the madrassas these minds are molded in the negative stance and as the youngsters are the real pillar of the economy and the country thus there negative development is making them rust on the entire nation. The figures shared by MacDonald, (2003) & Haider, (2005) of unregistered madrassas are almost 80,000 and they have millions of students in their hands which are turning as the religious extremists, (Islam, 1981). It is required by the government of Pakistan to take bold action in banning these misguided madrassas in the country.

The general mindset of the people who are sending their kids in madrassas are deemed to be backward and they are not much aware about the scientific progress. This has become one of the chief reasons for reforming and removing of the exposure in those people about the new ideas and the using of the new and modern teaching methods and subjects. Education is important

ingredient for growth and development of the entire nation. With the use of education and information system, nations have successfully acquired prosperity and development, (Wilner, & Dubouloz, 2010) & (Ahmad, 2005). The economic and human both developments are assured with the investment made in the attainment of the education

Chapter 5

5. Introduction

Analysis of the data is done in this part of the work so to make certain that how things have worked and what is the derivation of outcomes from the obtained data.

5.1 Critical analysis

The critical analysis of the work has been done with the exploration of the question that How Islamic settings and education system in Pakistan is provoking the negative feelings of hate for the other people has been thoroughly addressed in this section. Plus the original text from the madrassa education has been derived to show the authentication of the work done.

5.2 Roots of extremism in Pakistan

Radical Islam began showing its influence in Pakistan during 1979 When Afghan Jihad started against Soviet forces in Afghanistan and has since become an important factor in the conflict, resulting in several unconventional attacks on Pakistani Army targets and the fragmentation of the separatist movement of Baluchistan, (Ahrari, 2000). The terrorist tactics and radical beliefs of a number of Pakistani Taliban are unprecedented in Pakistan, but contrary to popular belief, radical Islam is embraced only by a minority of the population, (Chellaney, 2006). Believers of radical Islam to be widespread than it actually is due to the high level of participation and publicity of this minority in the conflict. Additionally, Pakistani practice a form of Sunni Islam with Sufi influences, and Sufis and Wahhabis have never had harmonious relations, (Roy, 2002).

Societal transformation is a continuous process and it does not depend on the single factor. The phenomena of the transformation are being linked with the internal and external factors. Internally, the religious disharmony, failing economy, education system, and dysfunctional government bodies are the. Externally, the clashes of the civilization and the generation of the war and anti-west sentiments are the reasons for the adopted policies and socio economic conditions, (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010). So in this assessment of the analytical work the analysis of the factors causing the radicalization in the Muslims have been intended to analyze.

Moreover, the assessment is planned to base over exploration of factors which has resulted in expanding the perception of the people about radicalization, (Nasr, S. V. 2002). It is also intended to explore that what have forced people to change their perception and behavioral adaptation due to the Afghan and US war, especially after 1979. In addition, the need is to explore that how Islamic settings and education system in Pakistan is provoking the negative feelings of hate for the other people. In addition, this work has also set its focus over explaining the role of the Americans aids in dollar for the adaptation of war against terrorism by Pakistan government.

5.3 Outcomes derived from madrassa in form of hate

In Pakistan, a major outcome of madrassa system is the spillover effect on the neighboring countries. As we know our country Pakistan is surrounded by Iran and Afghanistan. Towards the end of 1970s, the revivalist Shia Islam emerged in Iran along with the emergence Khomeini. At the same time, Afghanistan was invaded by the Soviet which demanded religious fighters to fight with the atheist Soviet force and push them out of Afghanistan. In Iran, the development of religious theocracy also resulted in growth and establishment of madrassas of Shia sect in Pakistan. The ongoing war in Afghanistan demanded large number of motivated religious soldiers trained and educated in Pakistan by the Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) with the help of numerous madrassas in the region. The Afghan refugees also played a dominant role in Pakistan-Afghanistan border area. In year 2001, more than 3.6 million refugees migrated from Afghanistan to the border areas of Pakistan and established their camps in those areas. A system of Islamist parties in Pakistan runs numerous programs in those refugee camps related to educational, social and health services. Thus as a result, madrassas got a chance to flourish in such environment because the state was not able to provide alternatives (Nolan, 2006). The majority of volunteers in Afghan Jihad are the Afghans but there are some Pakistani national as well from the province of Baluchistan, NWFP (KPK), Punjab and Sindh (Dorransoro, 2000). In the recent years, the major activities and programs of madrassas have shifted from Afghan borders to the rural and southern Punjab. Organizations like Jama'at-e-Islami (JI) and Jami'at-e-Ulema-e Islam (JUI) played an active role in linking the Pakistani madrassas with Afghan cause which is commendable. In FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Area) which is a tribal dominated region along the border of Afghanistan served as a breeding ground for training Mujahedeen in numerous seminaries under control of the ISI instructors. These seminaries

supplied Afghan refugees and recruited many people in the war of Afghanistan against the communist forces (Gul, 2009). The invasion of Soviet in Afghanistan also resulted in proliferation and growth of madrassas of Deobandis sub-sect in the border regions of Pakistan. Thus madrassas have been regarded as Neo-fundamentalist groups which are active in Afghanistan and Pakistan since 1980s which resulted in radicalization and formation of conservative forces of Taliban. The main objective of this radicalized group is to impose Sharia and to propagate Jihadi activities in the name of their religion (Roy, 2002).

There are strong followers of madrassas in the less fortunate regions of urban and rural Pakistan. The madrassas have become a center of politics and power after the extension of radical Islam in many regions of the country. Thus, the establishment of madrassas usually receives more donations and funds as compared to schools. On the contrary, the education sector of Pakistan with missionary, public and cadet schools does not want to be associated with the madrassa system. The students in madrassas are not exposed to students educated in western countries as they are regarded as forerunners of anti-Islamic thoughts and ethically wrong. As a result, they start contesting the western ideas of individualism, liberty, socialism, capitalism and economic ideas and regard these concepts as disruptive for the Muslim community (Rahman, 2008). Majority of madrassas do not include secular subjects in their teaching curriculum. The religious leaders who plan and approve the curriculum believe that all aspects of knowledge that must be known to a Muslim have been revealed to Prophet and are mentioned in Qur'an. Because of this opposition to secular education, most of the madrassas are not preparing and training students to be eligible for employment (USAID, 2004).

The emotional and religious concept of getting reward (sawab) for good actions is very much attached with the idea of charity concerning the madrassas. People with good fortune and large number of landed properties often support madrassas in order to get the blessings and rewards of the God and to have a good after-life.

The above stated points have given a reason and scope to the international society for demonizing the Islam religion. In Pakistan, the divisive and conflicting role played by the madrassa system has provided an opportunity to the international society to regard Islam as a religion of violence and madrassas as religious institutions for teaching violence. The position of

Pakistan in international community has been questioned severely with the emergence of Al-Qaeda and Taliban forces and their alleged connections with the madrassa system in Pakistan.

The fact that education system of madrassa produces sectarian, religious, anti-west and sub-sectarian bias cannot be denied but this does not justify that these biases results in militancy or other violence as thought by international community. According to the western politicians, a specific type of education system developed by madrassas for teaching rote and exclusive learning of Qur'an appears to be the mere logical reason for development of irrationality and hatred in Islamic terrorist organizations (Bergen and Pandey, 2006). West has linked militant activities with Islamic education in madrassas which has resulted in propagation of the idea that Islam is a violent, ideological and monolithic religion (Shaikh, 2006). However, not only madrassa students are responding to political Islam but people belonging to secular education system are also getting involved. Majority of people involved in fight against non-Muslims and suicidal bombings are young, angry and radical people with educational background of secular institutions and have become anti-west because of exploitative and neo-colonial policies (Rahman, 2008). There exist a major distinction among madrassa graduates who belong to low socioeconomic background, with modest technological awareness and lead a religious life in villages and the graduates who belong to middle class and are politically educated global Jihadist (Bedi, 2006). The second group uses its western upbringing and exposure as a tool to work against the modern lifestyle and create subsequent chaos through terrorist attacks and other terrorist activities. This is a significant aspect that has never been discussed on international platforms.

After the 9/11 attack, Pakistan has been facing a challenge for reforms of madrassa. However, most of these reforms can be considered as political 'eyewash' as government has totally failed to streamline and regulate the education system of madrassas. A major drawback of the study is the inability to calculate total amount of madrassas both un-registered and registered in Pakistan. Even though the government is encouraging the madrassas to register themselves, the sense of superiority and curricular autonomy are major obstacles towards rational growth of the institutions.

Huge numbers of the Pakistanis are living in the small villages and towns. They have to face the feudalism, poverty, lacking of the awareness and illiteracy problem. These issues have left two conditions for these people. First is to abandon the education of their kids and second is to make them induct in the religious schools. Majority of the madrassa preach the students free, they also provide lodging and the boarding services for their students, (Singer, 2001). That is the mere reason for the hijacking of the minds of the youngsters and hypnotizing it with the extremism. It is quite important that government must articulate the education presented and taught in these madrassas so to prevent the hate and war in the religion, (Nasr, 2004). It is also being seen that in the normal schools of Pakistan Jihad-bis-saif or fighting with the sort is being given emphasized by Islam instead of provoking the preaching of Islam about purity, peace and submission to Allah and His people. The wars fought in the history have been given proper context in the text books, (Woodward, Rohmaniyah, Amin, & Coleman, 2010).

It is being highlighted from the study conducted by Roy, (2002), that most of the sectarian schools are getting their back and support from Iran and Saudi Arabia and they have resulted in dividing the society of Pakistan in to numerous sects. This has resulted in increasing the sectarian violence in Pakistan and has also increased the killing of thousands of citizens in the name of Shia and Sunni conflicts. The reason for this blood shed is again due to madrassas and their preaching that only the path followed by them is correct and they are only having right religious beliefs and the ways, (Haider, 2005).

They have declared the followers of other sects as Non-Muslims or Kefirs and this is the normal practice seen in the majority of religious madrassas where they have target the young children as their audience. It is said that the religious extremism is being hit in majority of the nations and has become serious threat and also effecting Pakistan since years. The need is to tackle this problem as soon as it is possible or else the effect will be adverse and will push Pakistan in the Stone Age. The major act in the madrassas is to divide the society among us and them. These madrassa divide the society on the basis of the religious lines and also breaks the ideology over which the society is being formed and the country has been founded. The most of the poor, jobless, uneducated and frustrated youths become prey of these madrassas and make their lives turn in to disrespect and hate in society, (Roy, 2002). There are almost thousands of the madrassas in Pakistan which is working illegally and they are not registered yet. The numbers of

unregistered madrassas in Islamabad is approximately 83 which are established in the mosques and the seminaries. It is the matter of great thinking that how many youths are taking education in these madrassas and what type of education is being provided to them. The minds of these young students are like wet clay, thus it can be easily molded in to the shapes as desired by the extremists, (Woodward, Rohmaniyah, Amin, & Coleman, 2010). In majority of the madrassas these minds are molded in the negative stance and as the youngsters are the real pillar of the economy and the country thus there negative development is making them rust on the entire nation. The figures shared by MacDonald, (2003) & Haider, (2005) of unregistered madrassas are almost 80,000 and they have millions of students in their hands which are turning as the religious extremists, (Islam, 1981). It is required by the government of Pakistan to take bold action in banning these misguided madrassas in the country. Also, the revision is required in their curriculum and proper education system's establishment. The government bodies are responsible to form the educational institutes with their own designed and controlled curriculum. The madrassas are also required to get registered with the state government and there firing and hiring process must be governed by the state's government. In addition, the entire curriculum of the normal schools must also be taken over by the government, (Davis, 2008). There must be teaching of peace and tolerance in the schools. It should be their tag lines and they must make their students acceptable to the tolerance and make them know about the real picture of Islam and its preaching, (Lall, 2008) & (Hafez, 2003). For changing the entire society, the need is to add more of the chapters about Islam and more emphasize is required to be given to the education of real meaning of jihads, tolerance and jihad Bin Nafs or jihad within oneself. It is also required to establish a universal curriculum in the country which must be taught to all the sects of the country. Within which the curriculum for the religious schools must also be taught and importance of Islam and its preaching must be strengthened. There must also be emphasized given on the education of science as it is attained by many of the Muslim scholars, (MacDonald, 2003).

There are majority of the madrassas in the country which fall outside the approach and control of the government and they offer very little mainstream of subjective study to their students. They tend to preach violence and also do propaganda over hatred towards the non-Muslims and other sects. These madrassas result in establishing large numbers of the terrorists by brain washing their minds against their states and people, as stated by Ahmad, (2005).

The policy of the government which is based over 94 pages is stating that what should be done to eradicate the roots of terrorism in the country and their efforts on fight against terrorism. The report presented by Hafez, (2003) has criticized that all of the powerful military has become unable for demonstrating their abilities in successfully counter parting, building and holding of the integrity for the civil security, (GITHENS-MAZER, & Lambert, 2010). The established policy of Pakistani government has called to build the national narratives over the terrorism and extremism. They have created opinion polls to see the consequences of the extremisms and government to tackle these groups. It is also required by the government of Pakistan to establish a separate entity of the Federal Rapid Response Force and Counter Terrorism Department in the police force so that they can play their part in fighting against the terrorism, (Davis, 2008) & (Islam, 1981).

5.4 Why education system of madrassa is under criticism?

The components of jihad were included in the education curriculum of Pakistan after the war in Afghanistan. At that time it was favorable for America and its favorite ally Pakistan to glorify and encourage the holy warriors or Mujahedeen (the performers of jihad). Thus, in United States a university was asked to develop textbooks for the schools of Pakistan. After Soviets departed from Afghanistan, the religious warriors not only developed into Taliban but also lived longer than their usefulness. Afterwards, the same university in United States was given the duty of removing those references to Mujahedeen trained under the educational reforms. The constant changes in educational reforms have brought forward the motive of America and are therefore facing greater opposition from Pakistanis towards these reforms. In recent years, the Islamic educational system is facing intense scrutiny by public because of their alleged links with militant groups. On the other hand, a lot of research work done so far is based only on unreliable accounts and journalism. The Pakistani madrassas in particular have been the center focus for media coverage in recent times.

After the attack of 9/11, the Pakistanis living overseas were surprised by the investigation reports that bombers were Pakistani living in Britain. The news also showed that one of the attackers was trained in a madrassa in Pakistan. The connection between radical madrassa and hostile

behavior against western people has also encouraged numerous development agencies (INGOs) to concentrate on madrassa reforms.

In Pakistan, the major International NGOs working on the task of madrassa reforms/education are the United States Institutes of Peace, International Center for Religion and Diplomacy and the Asia Foundation. Most of the International NGOs work together with the local partners to perform their work. Media propaganda has unfortunately reinforced the connection between Pakistani madrassas and terrorist organizations thus targeting each and every madrassa even if they are not involved in such terrorist activities. Some studies that were conducted have showed that only a few madrassas are involved in terrorist activities. Not all of the Pakistani madrassas are involved brainwashing the minds of young people.

The opinion that terrorism is linked to madrassas arose when radical groups went inroads to the madrassa system. The reforms of madrassa has become a difficult task for the reformists working in Pakistan. This is a matter of concern for the government of Pakistan as well as for the governments of neighboring countries of Pakistan. In the beginning of year 2007, the leader of Jamia Hafsa madrassa and the head of Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) announced the implementation of Sharia (Islamic law) in Jamia Hafsa and Jamia Fareedia in Islamabad. At that time, the Jamia Hafsa students who were mostly girls hijacked the Children Library of government in Islamabad. They also warned the government of that time to not to initiate any operation against madrassas otherwise they will begin suicide attacks.

This was done primarily to stop the government from doing any reforms in madrassas and to prevent Capital Authority Development from demolishing mosques that were constructed illegally in Islamabad. Since then, numerous other incidents of suicide bombing and kidnappings have been related to radical groups from the madrassas. But, not all religious leaders (Ulema) support the terrorist activities. In reality, some religious leaders belonging to other schools of thought have strongly condemned the terrorist activities.

In Pakistan, civil society leaders are not happy with the failure of the writ of state in this case of terrorism in the name of religion. Since a long time, government authorities have been avoiding this issue so that they don't get into another conflict by stating that in case of any sort of operation there will be a collateral damage.

In general, only ten to fifteen percent of Pakistani madrassas are linked with the extremist political/religious groups who have developed an education system as per their own need.

In Pakistan, the radical madrassas which teach the concept of intolerance and religious extremism to young people neglect the concept of secularism and pluralism. Their agenda is to propagate Islam throughout the state and to dictate the policies that are formulated.

The extremist groups want the people of Pakistan to follow only the principles and rules set by Islam since this was the idea behind Two Nation Theory and establishment of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Nonetheless, madrassas are the only source for educating those children who are deprived of educational opportunities in many parts of the country. Students aged between 5 and 25 pay a small amount of rupees 20 per month (approx. \$1.5).

Poor children, who could not afford to go to a private school, look towards the madrassas as a good place to fulfill their educational needs and therefore they do not resist this culture of madrassa. According to a report by BBC, people studying in radical madrassas of Pakistan have also been involved in sectarian violence since the last decade. Hundreds of Sunnis and Shias have been killed during this time.

It is therefore very important to understand the dynamics of recruitment in madrassa, sources of funding for madrassa and the difference of curriculum between sectarian schools.

5.5 Influence of environment and Pedagogy

The content of curriculum plays an important role in influencing the minds of young children. But pedagogical practices guarantee that students do learn what they are required to learn. The objective of this part of study is to emphasize the importance of pedagogical practices of madrassas in minimizing their influence on attitudes and beliefs of young students. Every madrassa decide themselves what to preach and teach to the students. Majority of madrassas teach only religious curriculum to the students and focus totally on memorization of text. This results in complete elimination of basic skills like science, geography or math. As a consequence, most students of madrassas acquire education that is not according to the demands of job market. In recent years, a major concern for researchers across the world is propagation and proliferation of jihad by madrassas. They are also concerned that whether these institutions

are explaining the term jihad in right context or not. Some people argue that madrassas have distorted the actual meaning of jihad and they are using the teachings of Islam as stepping stone. In Islam, terrorism has no place since it condemns the killing of innocent people and destructing properties during war.

Despite the loud claims as well as counter claims, study of the beliefs and attitudes of students graduated from madrassa has exposed the degree of harm these madrassas have posed on the young minds of Pakistani and Afghan students. A research that collected the reviews of students studying in Pakistani madrassa revealed that an Afghan boy of 15 years of age expressed his wish to fight the infidels. One other boy expressed his hatred against America and his desire to fight Americans. Another student stated a similar feeling: "I'll devote my entire life for jihad. This is very important for Muslims. I'll eradicate all enemies of Islam".

The extremist groups have distorted the actual meaning of jihad to manipulate the minds of young children for their own advantage. This has provoked conflicts within Pakistan as well as between Pakistan and other regions of the world. It has also resulted in conflicts between different sects of Islam and violence against the minorities. In Pakistan the differences between Shia and Sunni have also been increased because of the training these young students receive in the sectarian madrassas. The madrassa students in Pakistan who are a part of extremist mission, are the primary forces involved in sectarian conflicts which are increasingly becoming violent. Madrassas not only attract students because of their low cost but also because of its pedagogy. Many madrassas not only teach theory but they also involve students in other activities like sermons, lectures and protests. This is very far from the type of education that students get in other secular educational institutions in which pedagogy is limited to classrooms only. These practical training methods motivate youngsters very quickly and also provide them a purpose and develop a feeling for 'doing'. The radical extremist groups have adopted the successful model of teaching that was also utilized in communist revolution around the world from Cuba to China. As students become integrated and more dependent on the social system offered by these extremist groups, the inspiration to remain loyal with the government also diminishes. These groups therefore become a way of motivating students against the state when the policies of state go against the beliefs of groups. Young students are frequently exploited and fight against authorities. In this manner they become more violent and radical

The madrassas use a curriculum that promotes a sense of dominance in the minds of young students regarding Islam. This reduces the respect of other religions in the eyes of these students. It also generates enmity towards people belonging to other religions. The madrassas discuss, define, understand and criticize the ‘infidels’. The sectarian literature plays an important role in Pakistani madrassas. The study of curriculum and syllabi of Pakistani madrassas have shown that hatred is generated towards other sects through criticism of other religious minorities and sects. The curriculum also promotes siege mentality from the beginning of schooling.

5.6 Militants and moderates

After 9/11, an investigation was started to search the root cause of international terrorism. Pakistani madrassas soon got the attention from international community. Counting the total number of madrassas and the students enrolled in madrassas can be considered as a way of measuring terrorist threats. The estimates show that about 10-15 percent of madrassas are affiliated with extremist political/religious activities.

However, this estimate can be considered as problematic and dubious because of the existing uncertainty about the actual number of madrassas. Nonetheless, this percentage is repeatedly reported in media and by policy makers. Connection between extremist groups and some of the Pakistani madrassas are well known. But this is limited to a small number of madrassas.

Graff and Winthrop assessed the alleged connection between militancy and madrassa and they concluded that “as opposed to the popular belief, Pakistani madrassas have not proliferated to fill the vast gap in public education supply and are not the chief cause of recent increase in the militancy”.

In Pakistan, there is a reasonable demand of religious schools. Thus one must be cautious and not generalize the role played by some madrassas in facilitating the militant groups. Hence people should be careful in discriminating between peaceful elements of madrassas and the radical groups that support militants.

While searching for a reason for the increase in militancy in different parts of Pakistan, two authors said “we should move beyond madrassas and must scrutinize the challenges faced by education system in Pakistan in detail”. The one sided view on the connection between militancy

and large number of students in madrassa has showcase a picture of madrassas in Pakistan as controversial “terrorist caves” and “Jihadi factories”. Looking at the sensationalist and crude images of madrassas and focusing on the debate regarding number of students and schools has not provided much information about the “madrassa phenomena”. However, this has resulted in diversion of debate from problems of much importance: what subjects and curriculum are taught in madrassas? Who are the supporters of madrassas? What is the role played by madrassas in Pakistani community? Why young students choose madrassa education instead of secular education? How can madrassas be changed into a better school for learning?

5.7 Change and continuity in religious education

The main concern and point of focus of analysts, media and policymakers is on the political role played by the madrassas. An ethnographic study by Masooda Bano on a Deobandi madrassa situated in Rawalpindi showed that “their social environment is ignored completely”.

By keeping an eye on the political linkages and role of madrassas, one runs the possibility of missing out a broader picture that is important for appropriate development of policies.

5.8 Diversity of institutions

The madrassas of Pakistan constitute a largely diverse segment in terms of level of education, size, financing, ideological and theological positions and connections with political groups. Accessibility to funding and resources vary enormously between different madrassas.

The madrassas are built on basis of importance given to education in Islam and the idea of charity in Islam. Therefore, majority of madrassas provide free education along with boarding and lodging facilities. The Pakistani madrassas are generally private institutions working with the help of funds from private donations, charity and income earned through religious endowments (waqf) for example income from rent on property and shops. The tradition in Islam of charitable donations has resulted in considerable growth of madrassas. Some of the madrassas also receive Islamic alms administered by governments (Zakat). The “bazaaris” or traders are also big sponsors of madrassas and they have contributed towards growth and development of some of the big madrassa schools in Pakistan. In Pakistan, there are also numerous big madrassas of university-style which is a center of attention for many students in Pakistan as well as students from outside Pakistan. These big institutions were established on the basis of an ideal Islamic

community which do not only provide education but also offer health care facilities and other facilities. However, majority of madrassa in Pakistan are modest in resources and size. Many madrassas are built inside house or are adjacent to a nearby mosque. These types of madrassas are usually funded by the local people and the head of madrassa is usually a local imam whereas former students work as teachers either voluntarily or on minimal salary. Private Madrassas are generally dependent on the support of community to exist and grow. This association provides madrassas with legitimacy in the society which is not usually given to government funded madrassas.

The aspect of community is also important for larger madrassas. In a study on madrassas of Rawalpindi done by Bano, she stated that madrassas are primarily a social and spiritual entity in where Alim (pl. 'ulama') creates his authority via continuous interaction with the members of community. This authority is under considerable scrutiny as the community supports madrassas based on the personal commitments and efficiency of Alim's and is not provoked by blind ideological belief.

According to Masooda Bano, after partition of sub-continent in 1947, the migration of popular Ulema from India provided a strong base for development and growth of madrassas in Pakistan which has 97 percent Muslim population. The Pakistani constitution regards Islam as the supreme power which explains a strong impact of Ulema on defending their view of Islamic education. Some leaders of madrassa are political leaders whereas others have strong links with the leadership and political parties. In the past, there have been strong relationships between the Islamist and political parties of Deobandis which are Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) as well as madrassas affiliated with these denominations. The political parties utilize these links for various purposes for instance to mobilize people for mass demonstrations.

5.9 Transnational networks

The madrassas in Pakistan belong to a transnational system of education. Some madrassas in Pakistan are very well established and therefore also attract large number of students from outside Pakistan. The madrassas in Pakistan have a high repute among Muslims of Afghanistan and they also attract students from North West China, Uygur, and Central Asia and from other countries in South East Asia and from Western countries.

The relationship between teacher and student is considered as important in the madrasa system. Students studying at advanced level also search for madrassas known to have good religious scholars who are specialized in a particular field of interest. The teacher-student relationship and relationship with fellow students is also important after the completion of studies. These relationships help to generate an informal network of religious teachers, scholars and students across the world. This transnational relation of religious networks has faced intense scrutiny after finding out that one of the terrorist involved in bombings in London on 7th July 2005, spent his time in a Pakistani madrassa. Western governments regarded madrassas in Pakistan as transnational threat for security. This resulted in an increased pressure on Pakistani government to introduce reforms in the religious schools.

5.10 Challenges to reform:

5.10.1 Independence of madrassas

The madrassas in Pakistan are mainly private institutions and therefore the independence of madrassas is important for their identity. The madrassas regard themselves as the sustainers of religious tradition of Islam. The government initiative for reform and control of madrassa has been resisted firmly throughout the history of Pakistan. The center of madrassa, the training and education of religious leaders, clergy and students according to the rules of Islam is done according to the designed curriculum. Therefore, madrassas always oppose control of government over designing of curriculum as they think that religious curriculum must be decided by religious leaders. The main interest of madrassa is to protect the position of religious education and they generally do not trust government reforms.

Madrassa also resist any sort of financial dependence on the state. Most of the madrassas in Pakistan are financed by business men, religious patrons and local communities. This charity is very important for the survival of madrassas. Madrassas consider financial support from government as a way that leads to government control. The madrassas in Pakistan are a component of transnational religious education which depends upon finance, ideas and people which in turn serves as the biggest challenge for government reforms. The opposition to registration of madrassa and opening of madrassa accounts for government scrutiny reflects

loyalties of madrasa and their leaders towards the financial supporters which may also include foreign Muslim supporters and transnational networks.

Although some analysts claim strong connection between foreign supporters and madrassas, it is very difficult to establish and estimate the extent of funding from outside Pakistan. Though madrassas are ready to accept some level of government supervision and regulation, they will not endanger their independence especially if such regulations are considered as part of foreign agenda.

5.10.2 Capacity restriction in small-scale madrassas

There exists a substantial variation among different schools in madrassas. This variation is not only limited to ideological and sectarian linkages but also there are variations in organization, size and accessibility to resources. This in turn affects the ability of madrassas to implement reform programs given by the government. The bigger well established madrassas have already introduced secular subjects in their curriculum. The biggest challenge faced by government is to reach out to numerous smaller schools which lack considerable resources and does not have the ability enforce the government reforms. These small schools lack teaching materials, teachers and other essential facilities, thus implementation of government curriculum might be beyond the resources of these schools.

5.10.3 Government ambiguity

Madrassas are not the only institution resisting the government reforms but the government as well is split internally on this issue. In a study done by Bano on the relationship between madrasa and government, she found out that government itself is not willing to involve fully in bringing reforms for madrassas. She alleged that government has contacts with majority of madrassas. The district level officers visit madrassas on regular basis and government has knowledge about the attendants of madrassas, the teachers in madrassas and their financial support.

On the other hand, the leadership in Pakistan, both military and political, has constantly utilized the religious madrassas to achieve support and legitimacy for their policies. The Pakistani leaders who are secular minded have also used madrassas rather than challenging the religious orthodox.

The army has also utilized militant religious groups to achieve geostrategic goals in Afghanistan and Kashmir.

The leaders of madrassa regard government position as ambiguous because of the crackdown of government on moderate and small madrassas while madrassas which have proven links with militant groups and extremists are still operating freely. Thus the relationship between religious institutions and government of Pakistan is mistrustful. The madrassas are reluctant to grant access to the government to their financial accounts. The madrassas are distrustful on intentions of government behind reforms and they think that they serve a foreign agenda. Thus in order to proceed, the government and madrassa must build a relationship of trust between them.

5.10.4 Politicized madrasa debate

In Pakistan and all over the world, madrassas have become a subject of controversy. The secular minded leaders in Pakistan which dominate the think-tanks of Pakistan consider madrassas as supporters of obscurantism. The liberal leaders think critically of education in madrassa and also about the foreign assistance and involvement of Western countries like UK, US or Norwegian governments. In 2002, a report was published on militancy and madrassa and IVG constantly have a critical opinion regarding religious institution and religious education. The security and terrorism analyst Amir Rana gave an interview on 28th April 2010 at the Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies in Islamabad. In this interview he raised his concern regarding financial assistance of madrassas in Pakistan. According to him, “you will produce another monster by funding and supporting the madrassas”. He asked foreign donors to give financial assistance to public education. He also said that, “it is essential to oppose, not reinforce, the Islamic narrative”. The think tanks constantly ask for disengagement with the overall madrassa sector as they think that engagement will reinforce and strengthen the madrassa system.

All the extremist groups have roots from the local madrassas. My argument is that the major source of financial assistance for all these groups and madrassas is Saudi Arabia. In reality, these terrorist activities that we are facing, which also includes the militant group of Al Qaeda, is very closely related with religious and financial projects of Saudi Arabia for the Muslim countries as a whole. Thus Saudi Arabia is the major source of financial assistance to the Islamic extremist and the religious institutions that educate and train them.

In your view, who is the major source of funding for Islamic militants or the institutions that train them?

It is Saudi Arabia and its entire network of charitable organization. The fact behind this argument is that there are terrorist activities and fanaticism that is working hand in hand at the Pakistan-Afghanistan arc and it extends as far as Uzbekistan. The reflections of this can be seen in Kosovo, Philippines, Indonesia and Bosnia.

I conducted an interview on one of the madrassas of Pakistan from 70 Thai and Malaysian students. These students were receiving education along with the students who served as Mujahedeen in the war of Afghanistan and other wars. These students then return back to their country and then the results can be seen after some time. These students also become hot headed teachers in madrassas that motivate students to fight against Christians in Indonesia or Nigeria. And in the worst scenario, they participate or recruit people for terror attacks at different places in the world.

So what you want to say is that, if we want to understand the causes of development of all these terrorist activities and groups like Al Qaeda, we should look at the madrassas and educational system financed by Saudi Arabia in the Islamic countries?

Particular interpretation of Quran and Islam is required in order to motivate people to become terrorist, to develop supporters for these terrorists, to have teachers who interpret religion in aggressive and violent ways and to motivate terrorist to crash into a building to murder five thousand innocent people.

These violent interpretations of Islam are propagated through schools that receive financial and organizational assistance from Saudi Arabia. These schools might not have any existence without funding from Saudi Arabia. They might not have developed and proliferated easily in Afghanistan, India and Pakistan without funding from Saudis. These groups would not have such power and abilities without the funding and would not have been able to train large number of fighters without funding from Saudi Arabia.

5.11 What is a madrassa?

It is a religious school, a place where students of various ages, as little as 9 or 10 years of age go to receive religious education and to be trained in reading and afterwards in religious studies. In the past, it served as a substitute for standard elementary education as well as higher education and finally develops clerics, quote and unquote. The religious community leaders, scholars and teachers handle the religious issues of a community.

But what you want to say is that the impact of Saudi Arabia on these madrassas has generated certain type of violent Islam and not the mainstream Islam?

Well, foremost, we have new sorts of madrassas developing in Afghanistan-Pakistan area because of the war in Afghanistan.

And all over Central Asia, right?

These schools have spread all through the Central Asia, but there are students from Central Asia, Indonesian students, Filipino students, Arab students and Nigerian students. All this became possible because of the scholarship funding programs from Saudi Arabia and Persian Gulf that the schools are receiving.

The Afghan madrassas are different from the regular madrassa in that they were not much concerned with scholarship. These madrassas were mainly concerned with training the students to become religious fighters and fight in the Afghanistan. I mean, the Taliban phenomena, which means students of religious schools. This is what Taliban actually means.

Who are they? Are they scholars? Are they preachers? What amount of scholarship do they receive? Are they trained in carrying out terrorist activities rather than interpreting religion? All these are open questions.

So we have risen of Islamic military camps, Islamic guerilla camps and Islamic West Points on the border which combine Islamic education with a great amount of military training. They are educate and train a new group of mosque clerics and leaders who then open the madrassas of their own or go to populous mosques from Rabat to Jakarta.

But in my view, when Saudi Arabia started funding large amount of money for this cause in 1980s, they were doing this with our consent to aid isolation of Iran and to prevent the growth of fundamentalist Shi'ism?

Yes. The initial generation of religious schools from which people of Northern Alliance also originated, were developed to recruit people for war of Afghanistan against the Soviet. Obviously this was the main cause for their creation.

So were they actually recruiting schools?

They were organizing, recruiting schools which use ideology of Islam as a method of developing efficient guerilla fighters with a clear ideology of against communist.

What is wrong with that?

We are facing all this as a consequence of that initial situation. Also United States did not clean up properly after they left Afghanistan.

Who attends these madrassas?

People are recruited from lower middle class and lower class. In the Pakistan-Afghanistan region, there are people from Pashtun tribal areas who register themselves in these madrassas. The madrassas have peasant students from peasant background. Sometimes they are also able to recruit children of lower middle class especially those who lack any other facilities of schools.

Thus the ideology propagated by these madrassas plays a significant role in shaping minds of young people in the Islamic world. So if students are not getting education through regular schooling system, and they get schooling from madrassas that propagate fanaticism, then it is obvious what impact these madrassas will have on the students and the society.

Richard Holbrooke, ambassador of U.S. to the U.N. in the administration of Clinton:

In my opinion, one of the calamity of this whole story is that Saudis exported their issue by providing finance to the madrassas and schools all over the Islamic world. I witnessed this in Uzbekistan after it got separated from the Soviet Union and became a sovereign state. Saudi

Arabia was funding schools in cities like Samarkand and Tashkent. These schools taught Koranic studies and developed a class of students who only gave importance to studying their Holy Book, Quran.

What occurred was that the Saudi government split into two wings. The mainstream leadership of Saudi Arabia went into defense issues, financial issues and they handled the elite establishment so that they can purchase support. The fundamentalist religious groups gave education ministries, religious ministries and various other ministries to fundamentalist leaders of Islam. This is how the split took place.

So government of Saudi Arabia was, to some extent, adopting internally conflicting policies all through this period. They were approaching Western countries with well educated, sophisticated and secular minded leaders for instance their ambassador in Washington, its foreign minister and many others. But simultaneously, they were also using their vast oil revenues to fund schools which only provided religious education based on Koran and created a group of narrow minded people.

5.12 Overview of madrassas

The religious landscape of South Asia is transforming because of new religious school from Saudi Arabia. Wahhabism is a school of fundamental Sunni of Islam which originated in Saudi Arabia and reached South Asia in late 1970s. With private and public Saudi funding, this school of thought attracted many Muslim communities all through the region. As a consequence, the nature of Islam in South Asia has changed significantly in the past 3 decades. This has resulted in a rise in violence in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Kashmir and India in the name of religion. Initially governments were unable to establish a link between Saudi Arabian funding and rise in militant activities in their countries but it is now apparent that spread of Wahhabism has resulted in an increase in South Asian fundamentalism.

In South Asia, the Islam has been traditionally different from Islam in Middle Eastern countries. Mystical Islam -- Sufism along with other components of syncretism with Hindus and other religions characterize the Islam in South Asia. Throughout South Asia, the Muslim leaders were mostly isolated from Muslim world in the medieval period and thus relied largely upon the non-Muslim subjects. Thus Islamic practices in South Asian incorporated many other customs like

visiting graves and shrines of holy people, used of music, and meditative practices incorporating yoga.

The Islam in South Asia began to change after persuasion from Wahhabism and Saudi government invested large amount of money on madrassas and mosques in South Asia. As a consequence, many South Asian people have now become Wahhabis or students of related sects which practice a strict form of Islam found in Saudi Arabia. Deobandis movement are a type of these related sects which originally belong to South Asia but is influenced by Saudi Wahhabism. In South Asia, Bareli movements are the greatest rival of Deobandis and were formed as a reaction to Deobandis. This sect aims to preserve the South Asian Islamic practices especially the visiting of shrines and graves. During Soviet Invasion in Afghanistan, the Saudi influence reached Pakistan in the form of financial assistance for mosques and madrassas in Pakistan so that the Mujahedeen can be trained to fight against Soviet Union.

The government of Saudi Arabia funded money to both Wahhabi and Deobandi madrassas all over Pakistan and Saudis also donated money to Pakistan with blessings of government of Saudi Arabia. Initially, the Deobandi and Wahhabi madrassas recruited and trained mujahedeen to fight against Soviets in Afghanistan war. Later on, some elements in government of Pakistan, mainly the ISI and Intelligence agencies found that the propagation of Wahhabism is useful in generating jihadist to influence Indian Kashmir and Afghanistan. As a consequence, even though the Afghan-Soviet war ended in 1989, the Wahhabism influence continued to proliferate in Pakistan. Furthermore, because of the poor education system in Pakistan, the Saudi Arabia funded madrassas educate many poor children who otherwise would not have got the opportunity to attend a school.

At present, Saudi Arabia is still providing financial assistance to the Deobandi and Wahhabi madrassas that propagate their ideology in the community with the approval of government of Pakistan. This success of Saudi Arabia in building an army of Wahhabism is thus being replicated in many other countries of Saudi Arabia including Bangladesh and India. The Saudi influence in the Indian State of Jammu Kashmir has resulted in 1.5 million people being affiliated with the Wahhabi madrassas.

The Saudi Arabia funded influence of Wahhabi will continue to propagate until the South Asian countries takes steps to restrict the funding of Saudi money on madrassas and find an alternative source for providing funds to mosques and madrassas. This will be an important step for preventing the spread of militant groups in other parts of the world.

Figures, Facts, and opinion based on the reports of The Express Tribune:

There are about eighteen thousand to twenty four thousand registered madrassas operating in Pakistan and there are countless other non-registered madrassas as well.

In Islamabad alone, there are about 83 seminaries and mosques constructed illegally.

The interior ministry facilitates madrassas (including illegal madrassas) with police official and walk through gates for security purpose.

The governments in Kuwait, Iran, Jordan and Saudi Arabia have total control on the religious education in madrassas to prevent any sort of sectarian clashes in the society.

Around ninety percent of students from abroad studying in madrassas across Punjab have visas which are expired.

The government has made plans on paper to demolish religious seminaries that are not registered with Al-Arabia Pakistan, Wafaqul Madaris and Tanzeemul Madaris.

But government is showing hesitancy in demolishing illegal madrassas as they fear a violent backlash from students and community just like Laal Masjid.

There are a number of cases of terrorism, violence and rape linked to madrassas in the year 2011 alone.

The education ministry received an aid of \$70 million to modernize the curriculum taught in religious schools.

Most of this aid was not used because of non-cooperation from madrassas.

A commission of US for International Religious Freedom studied the textbooks of Pakistani schools and discovered that the curriculum is biased and it denigrates minorities. This study was based on visiting 19 madrassas and 37 public schools.

5.13 Madrassa text

The madrassas not only propagate a particular type of ideology to students, but they also propagate this ideology in the society and to the families of these students. A study done by Saleem H Ali found that madrassas also propagate sectarian hatred. They do not want people and society to listen and consider alternative perspectives in the religious conversations. Madrassa text:

In South Asia, Madrassas teach a curriculum called as Dars-i-Nizami which was first introduced by a renowned scholar Mullah Nizamuddin Silhalvi (d.1747) in the field of philosophy and Islamic jurisprudence in Luck now. This is not the same curriculum which was associated with the name of Madrassa Nizamia and Mullah Nasir Uddin Tusi (d.1064) who introduced it in eleventh century in Baghdad. Most of the Sunni madrassas whether they belong to Bareli. Ahl-I-Hadith or Deobandi persuasions follow this same curriculum of Nizami studies which was adopted by Deobandis madrassas in the year 1867. This curriculum includes 20 subjects which are divided into 2 main categories: al-uloom al-aqliya (the learning of rational science and al-uloom an-naqliya (the learning of transmitted sciences). The subjects included are as follows: prosody, rhetoric, grammar, Arabic literature, philosophy, dialectical theology, logic, mathematics, and medicine, life of prophet, Hadith, jurisprudence, Tafsir, Islamic law and polemics. This should be noted that out of 20 subjects in the curriculum, only 8 subjects are solely religious whereas other subjects are secular subjects that have been included in Nizami course of studies to make the students eligible for civil service jobs and to help them understand the religious texts. But the amenities for teaching all these books and subjects are not usually present in all the madrassas. This is especially true for subjects like mathematics, history, medicine, polemics, prosody and philosophy. Thus, the students often transfer from the madrassa they are enrolled in to another madrassa in order to finish their curriculum. Because of this, many madrassas also fail to institutionalize their promotion and grading procedures. It is also well known that majority of books taught under this course of studies are very old. For example, the books used for teaching logic and philosophy were written in 13th and 14th century. The book of

Medicine used to teach students was written in the 11th century and it is still understood as an authentic book for studying pathology and human anatomy. The books used for teaching purely religious subjects were written in the 11th century at the earliest and the latest books used for teaching religion were written in 17th century. Books for teaching grammar, mathematics and astronomy are more than 500 to 700 years old textbooks. Majority of madrassas does not have a formal procedure for admission of students and their academic schedules are usually flexible. However, some madrassas have institutionalized their admission, promotion and grading procedures and have also managed to establish some level of strictness in their academic timetable.

The entire Nizami curriculum is completed in about 7 to 9 years after the end of elementary level. This entire system of madrassa has been supported traditionally by the community members through endowments, trusts, zakat contributions and charitable donations. In the year 1980, the government of Zia-ul-Haq introduced a compulsory system for collection of usher and zakat. Thus majority of madrassas receive a financial assistance on regular basis from the publicly governed zakat funds. The students do not have to pay any tuition fees and they are also given free boarding and logging facilities, textbooks and a stipend as well. In Pakistan, the madrassas are categorized based on the levels of education as follows: (a) ibtedai (elementary level), at this level the students only learn and memorize Quran; (b) vustani (middle level, at this level some selected textbooks are taught from Dars-i-Nizami; and (c) fauqani (higher level), in which students learn the complete Dars-i-Niazami.

In some of the madrassas where competent and good ulama are present, the students after completing their graduation opt for post graduate studies in fiqh, hadith or tafsir. In Pakistan, madrassa education is manly given in private sectors except for some madrassas governed by Auqaf departments of provincial government. In majority, the madrassas are personal institutions of renowned ulama who manage and own them and arrange finances for running the madrassa. Generally, the owners of madrassas are prominent ulama of good reputation and have some degree of influence on the local people living in a community. Thus this helps them to acquire housing facilities, land and financial assistance for their madrassa. Majority of madrassas in Pakistan are registered with government as charitable institutions and therefore acquired a status of tax exemption. This provides them with an indirect financial support from the government.

The larger madrassas have established their own executive committees or board of trustees which includes landed gentry, prominent ulama and local business elites. In many cases, there are only ceremonial bodies which are meant to provide legitimacy and decorum to the particular madrassas. The major policy decisions for curriculum, selection of teachers, selection of students and doctrinal preferences are exclusive right of Ulama.

5.14 Languages Taught to students in Madrassas

According to Malik (1996), the main focus of teachings in madrassas is Islam or the teachings of Islam as interpreted by a particular sect or a sub-sect. Languages in madrassas are not taught because of their intrinsic value but they are taught because they aid in religious understanding or might be important in the eyes of a religious scholar. Thus, for this reason Arabic language has occupied major importance. Persian language which was academically and socially very important for Muslims in India is still included in the curriculum for madrassas. In Pakistani madrassas, the medium of teaching is usually Urdu language. However, in some parts of N.W.F.P, the medium for instruction is Pashto while Sindhi is used as a medium for instruction in most madrassas of Sindhi-speaking areas of Sindh (1988 Report). However, Urdu is the usual language in which students of majority of madrassas become most competent. English is not included in the teaching curriculum of most madrassas although the government has tried to encourage them for teaching English. When English is taught in madrassas, it is taught to only few students (about 2.84%) with the help of government text books.

View of World Via Textbooks: The most astonishing fact regarding teaching of languages in madrassas is that it is “frozen in time” as said by A.H. Nayyar in Nayyar forthcoming. The Arabic textbooks are those books that were used in medieval ages and was later prescribed in the mid of eighteenth century by Mullah Nizamuddin Sehavi. All the sects use same core textbooks for teaching Arabic grammar which are Nahw and Sarf. Both of these books are used by many madrassas of different sects.

Majority of these textbooks were utilized even before Dars-e-Nizami and these books were also approved in this. The striking fact regarding Pakistani madrassas is that they still teach numerous texts of Dars-e-Nizami on Arabic. The modern books are written and explained in Urdu whereas

the oldest books were written in Arabic. There are also books available in Arabic language with Persian explanation.

The Arabic books contain grammar in the form of rhymed couplets. One such well known book is *Kafia Ibn-e-Malik*. This book is very difficult to understand thus it is usually taught via a commentary of *Sharah Ibne-Aqil*. The students often dread this commentary but it is considered as a pride for teachers who have learnt it. Arabic is a living language but it is not taught like that in madrassas. Students are taught to memorize the rhyming couplets and their explanations from ancient textbooks. In many books, the explanation is in Persian language which is also memorized by the students therefore, they usually fail to apply this knowledge. Some ancient books like *Mizbah-ul-Nahw* have explanation in Urdu but the Urdu used is arabicized. The explanations in textbooks are scholastic and therefore cannot be easily understood by people who are not familiar with the philosophical branch of medieval Islam. Grammar is usually divided into *Sarf* and *Nahw*. *Nahw* is translated as syntax. However, the initiation of this learning branch was a concern for religious authorities. *Abdur Rahman* stated that once a man incorrectly pronounced *Rasulullah* as *Rasulillah*. After this incident *Caliph Umar* asked *Abu Al Sood Du'ali* to gather rules for correct pronunciation called *Nahw* (*Ahmad n.d*). Thus in short, *Nahw* is referred to pronunciation or to be more precise the mispronunciation of words which could result in improper changes in meaning. The modern linguistics refers this as morphophonemic (rules regarding pronunciation of words). On the other hand, pronunciation has become a great concern of *Qira'at* (the art of recitation of Quran). *Nahw* deals with the order of word i.e. with the syntax.

Sarf is referred to as morphology i.e. the study of word formation. But this should not be considered as the type of morphology taught by recent linguists educated in the west. Both *Nahw* and *Sarf* are prescriptive and their objective is not to investigate the language to see its function but to preserve its original form and save it from alterations. The idea of including grammatical texts in curriculum is to develop a defensive mechanism that could prevent any divergence from the rules of linguistics found therein.

While discussing the education system in madrassa, we usually forget a very important part of the system. From time to time, madrassas have tried to prove themselves as a successful institution for imparting religious as well as formal education. They are doing this work for

centuries. Thus one should keep in mind that there must be some innate qualities within the system of madrassas that have helped them to survive for a long time. But the initial objective for establishment of madrassa has seen some decline in recent times. Madrassas are not associated with merely imparting “education, as now they give attention mainly to ‘religious education’. Thus it has become essential to analyze the effect of madrassa education on polity and society.

Also in Pakistan, madrassas are divided according to the sects and therefore they do not have an integrated and unified system of madrassas. In Pakistan, Sunnis are in majority and their madrassas are divided into Ahl-e-Hadith, Bareli and Deobandi sub-sects. Shia madrassas in Pakistan also follow their own beliefs like the Sunnis. Followers of Deobandi sub-sects are mostly living in the Pashtun belt from NWFP (KPK) to North Punjab, Urban Punjab, Sindh and northern Baluchistan. Followers of Bareli are mostly concentrated in Sindh and rural Punjab with dominance of shrine and saint culture. Followers of Ahl-e-Hadith are mostly situated in Punjab whereas Shias are located in Karachi, northern areas of Pakistan, occupied Kashmir and Southern Punjab (Bedi, 2006).

Chapter 6

6. Introduction

The final conclusion and remarks are given about the topic so to make the people understand that on what context the researcher have talked and analyzed the research and what objectives have managed to be obtained.

6.1 Discussion

The two major theories which have been addressed in the working of radicalization and its ground have been of Huntington theory of civilization and the Lieven's theory of religiosity and nationalism. These both theories are discussed so to extract the outcomes. Analysis has resulted in showing that Huntington has addressed the issue of clashes in the civilization by accepting the fact that the world is based over different multipolar and multi civilization, (Pohl, 2006). The power of multi civilizations becomes stronger over the clash of the Soviet Union. It is not the fact that civilizations were not present before this cold war, but it is truth that they become more communicative and powerful after this cold war. Politics in the world is being now shaped by different civilizations, which according to the Huntington is based over the highest cultural grouping and results in identifying the cultural identity. The intellectual characteristics of the society has been addressed by these common believes and values, and one of them is the religion formation. Race and the political entities are the two dimensions over which civilization are distinguished and differentiated from others. The identity of civilization has become stronger identity and is becoming reason to derive the conflicts behind the world and is replacing super power rivalry. Ethnic conflicts and tribal conflicts are the two areas over which two civilization conflict with each other. There has been seven division of civilization done by Huntington and these are Hindu, Western, Islamic, Japanese, African, Latin American and Sinic civilization, (Afsaruddin, 2008). It was the working of Huntington who has addressed Islam as the Bloody Borders due to the claim that Muslims do not like to get adjusted with Non-Muslims and they cannot live peacefully with their neighboring countries.

The violence caused by Muslims against the non-Muslims was reported in early 1990s where intergroup conflict occurred and this has leaded the Muslims societies to be evidently violence. Tendency towards the violence can also be evident from the militant in the Muslims and these

forces heavily influence the other nations. Major clashes and wars are resulted due to the high level violence created by Muslims.

The reasons for causing violence in Muslims are addressed by Huntington as of their history. They have felt insecure and have fear of losing the grouping in civilization and that is the reason they have acted as violent group, (Bentz, & Shapiro, 1998). There are six major causes reported of violence by Huntington in Muslims and these are:

- Islam is religion of violence and has given birth to violent religions. Their doctrine teaches them to create war against those who do not believe and embrace Islam.
- Muslims have spread Islam and they have conquered in converting people into their religion, however their legacy has remained same.
- Muslim countries have indigestions or problems with the minorities of non-Muslims living in their country. Muslims have their political reforms from Islam and its values and this make it difficult for the non-Muslims to live with Muslims.
- Economic weakness and militant in Muslim countries has undergone the treatment from the Non-Muslims.
- There is no core state of Muslims and this has given them no center from where they can lead and influence the Muslim society.
- There has been reported explosion in the demographics of Muslim societies and they have large numbers of unemployed males in their society. Unemployment is the reason due to which violence and instability occurs in Muslims.

Huntington belief was that the civilizations are the reason for the conflict and since religion is the core aspect of civilization, thereby religion has become reason for the creation of conflict. The claim of Lieven's is quite opposite to that of Huntington. He has claimed the opposite and said that conflict is the main source behind religiosity. He explained that conflicts are not fueled by the religion fanatics rather it is vice versa. It means that conflict occurs and then after this strong believes in the religions are created, (Magilvy, Thomas, & Kotzer, 2009).

Lieven has admitted that nationalism and religiosity are created due to the span of the centuries and develop the religious identity and ethno cultural identity. The threat caused due to the ethnos provides strength to the religious convictions and the embracement of the fanatical forms which gives power to the cultural resistance and militants. This results in the formation of the new

religions and institutes in the existing religions. In starting the effort does not counted as the creation of the nationalism and ethnicity and later it does. The noticeable religious influence is resulted due to the secular nationalism. There are two major things over which the commitment to the new nations depends. These are:

- The conservatism in the classes and societies.
- The extent to which culture and nation appears to be threatening due to destruction and assimilation outside the cultural influences, (Kean, & Hamilton, 2004).

Many nations have resulted to have adherence of the religion processes for the homogenizing modernization among the miserable, cruelest and bear the association with the cultural and imperial power to threat the destruction and assimilation of the culture. As a result strong religious feelings are resulted to arouse in the nation and it resulted in the evolution of the war against terrorism and pray under the fire, (Magilvy, Thomas, & Kotzer, 2009).

The reasons which have created the radicalization in Pakistan are based over the construct of Lieven's theory. The creation of radicalization in Pakistan is based over two major points: conservatism in the classes and societies and the extent to which culture and nation appears to be threatening due to destruction and assimilation outside the cultural influences, as explained by Lieven.

Societal transformation is a continuous process and it does not depend on the single factor. The phenomena of the transformation are being linked with the internal and external factors. Internally, the religious disharmony, failing economy, education system, and dysfunctional government bodies are the. Externally, the clashes of the civilization and the generation of the war and anti-west sentiments are the reasons for the adopted policies and socio economic conditions, (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010). So in this assessment of the analytical work the analysis of the factors causing the radicalization in the Muslims have been intended to analyze. Moreover, the assessment is planned to base over exploration of factors which has resulted in expanding the perception of the people about radicalization, (Nasr, S. V. 2002). It is also intended to explore that what have forced people to change their perception and behavioral adaptation due to the Afghan and US war, especially after 1979. In addition, the need is to explore that how Islamic settings and education system in Pakistan is provoking the negative feelings of hate for the other people. In addition, this work has also set its focus over explaining

the role of the Americans aids in dollar for the adaptation of war against terrorism by Pakistan government.

A fundamental conflict is perceived between the Islam and the west by the Muslims as they become more radicalized. It becomes ideologically critical to be loyal; they cannot have any kind of loyalty to any non-Muslim state their only obligation is to Islam. It is considered a violation of Allah's rules even to participate in democratic process of one's country because these rules are made by man. In the later stages, religious and political beliefs are included in the process of radicalization. It is believed by the radicals that to subjugate Islam morally western powers have conspired. Muslim world was once ruled by the teachings of Allah under the caliphate rule they want to restore all that.

Before explaining the connection of Pakistan with extremism, militants and terrorism, it is necessary to understand the process. Radicalization is the process caused by compulsive behavior for use of violence on the rest of the society for the imposition of their beliefs, giving punishment for their "evil actions" is the final stage in the process of radicalization. It may be perceived that the remedy of humiliation or in justice is violent attacks. It is also caused in search of someone's own identity a person can be attracted to any extremist organization to become a terrorist in a variety of ways. A person who is searching for a goal or purpose in life can take any actions to achieve that goal. In the process of succeeding at something which can make a difference violent act can be seen as the method. Those who feel the stress and complexity is overwhelming to navigate in this complicated world are often attracted to the absolutist black and white idea. Lastly, it is explained to be sense of belonging, affiliation and connectedness can be felt by many prospective terrorists in fundamental extremist group.

Since the creation of Pakistan, the country considered itself as a state which has severe threats from the neighboring country India. India had grudgingly admitted the existence of Pakistan and its prospects of survival. The foreign and domestic policies of Pakistan were driven by the fear of India. In the current situation, the India's growing relationship with Afghanistan and its investments in a country destroyed by war are looked upon by great suspicion by the security forces in Pakistan. Exploration showed that massive military spending by Pakistan is because of this way of thinking. Instead of establishing schools, hospitals, buildings and dams for making electricity, the government of Pakistan invested a great amount of money in buying submarines,

heavy guns and fighter aircraft. The involvement of Pakistan in the Jihad by Afghanistan in 1980s resulted in similar problems. In order to sponsor and support young militants to fight against Soviet army in Afghanistan, a network of madrassa was rapidly established in Pakistan. This was financed largely by the Gulf and Arab countries so that they can create new militants for this battlefield. The prime recruits in these madrassa were the children of Pashtuns and Afghan refugees of tribal belt and KPP in Pakistan.

The capital of KPP, Peshawar became the headquarters for Mujahedeen and one of the commanders was Osama bin Laden who resided in this city. The manager of Service Bureau and Abdullah Azam who was the mentor of Osama in Mujahedeen group established their network in the city of Peshawar which also included charity organizations and a publication house. Al-jihad, the magazines by Mujahedeen are still available in some of the bookstores of Peshawar. It is explored that Abu Mus'ab Al Suri, the strategist of Al-Qaeda, all the ongoing debate and discussion during the years of Afghan Jihad spread quickly to the other Muslim countries through leaflets, books, visitors, couriers, communiques and audiocassettes. According to a Pakistani intellectual named Suroosh Irfani, the al Suri's publications in Peshawar called the 'Experience and Lesson of Islamic Jihad Revolution' published in 1991 signaled the internalization of these Arabs in Pakistan.

Formation of madrassa and the madrassa education is one of the reasons highlighted for creation of radicalization and extremism in Pakistan. Madrassa and text read in madrassa are designed to spread Polaris. The major act in the madrassas is to divide the society among us and them. These madrassa divide the society on the basis of the religious lines and also breaks the ideology over which the society is being formed and the country has been founded, (Woodward, Rohm Aniyah, Amin, & Coleman, 2010). The most of the poor, jobless, uneducated and frustrated youths become prey of these madrassas and make their lives turn in to disrespect and hate in society, (Fair, Malhotra, & Shapiro, 2010). Moreover, absolutists' is common in madrassa which sometimes supported by sacred authority, the truth in its absolute sense is believed. It creates threats for the entire nation. This is intuitively known by good leaders. It is persistently reminded to their adherents that "us" are threatened by "them". Because it is seen in its absolute sense that "us" are good and noble and this also works as an opposition to non-believers and causes cohesion. Lastly, the text is spreading hate and violence. Violent actions are energized by hate.

Direct action is impelled on principled opposition. Facilitation to different mechanisms of dehumanization and disengagement is provided which helps in the erosion of physiological and social barriers in engaging violence. It is an important point in support of distinguishing a simple extremist from a violent terrorist.

It is found that majority of madrassas do not include secular subjects in their teaching curriculum. The religious leaders who plan and approve the curriculum believe that all aspects of knowledge that must be known to a Muslim have been revealed to Prophet and are mentioned in Qur'an. Because of this opposition to secular education, most of the madrassas are not preparing and training students to be eligible for employment. Plus it is concluded from the study that emotional and religious concept of getting reward (Sawab) for good actions is very much attached with the idea of charity concerning the madrassas. People with good fortune and large number of landed properties often support madrassas in order to get the blessings and rewards of the God and to have a good after-life. It is claimed by Western politicians, a specific type of education system developed by madrassas for teaching rote and exclusive learning of Qur'an appears to be the mere logical reason for development of irrationality and hatred in Islamic terrorist organizations. As a result, majority of people involved in fight against non-Muslims and suicidal bombings are young, angry and radical people with educational background of secular institutions and have become anti-west because of exploitative and neo-colonial policies

Huge numbers of the Pakistanis are living in the small villages and towns. They have to face the feudalism, poverty, lacking of the awareness and illiteracy problem. These issues have left two conditions for these people. First is to abandon the education of their kids and second is to make them induct in the religious schools. Majority of the madrassa preach the students free, they also provide lodging and the boarding services for their students. The general mindset of the people who are sending their kids in madrassas are deemed to be backward and they are not much aware about the scientific progress. This has become one of the chief reasons for reforming and removing of the exposure in those people about the new ideas and the using of the new and modern teaching methods and subjects. In some of the countries like Pakistan, the religious institutions are also engaged in the social working. However, madrassas of Pakistan has not shown involvement in the offering of the social services beside the impartment of education. Most of the sectarian schools are getting their back and support from Iran and Saudi Arabia and

they have resulted in dividing the society of Pakistan into numerous sects. This has resulted in increasing the sectarian violence in Pakistan and has also increased the killing of thousands of citizens in the name of Shia and Sunni conflicts.

It is explored that education is the only construct through which radicalization can be eradicated altogether. Many people have considered education to be the only solution to the highlighted problem. They are right as the education is the commonly meaning of bringing change in the behavior of the people. The relationship mentioned by the educationalist among the power and knowledge and shown argument that the society classifies, distributes, selects and evaluates the educational knowledge for the public which is reflected in the distribution of the power and the social control.

There are majority of the madrassas in the country which fall outside the approach and control of the government and they offer very little mainstream of subjective study to their students. They tend to preach violence and also do propaganda over hatred towards the non-Muslims and other sects. These madrassas result in establishing large numbers of the terrorists by brain washing their minds against their states and people, as stated by Ahmad, (2005).

The madrassa and Pakistan education system have also remained under question and criticism by the press and media. This is due to the fact that terrorism is linked to madrassas arose when radical groups went inroads to the madrassa system. The reforms of madrassa has become a difficult task for the reformists working in Pakistan. This is a matter of concern for the government of Pakistan as well as for the governments of neighboring countries of Pakistan. In the beginning of year 2007, the leader of Jamia Hafsa madrassa and the head of Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) announced the implementation of Sharia (Islamic law) in Jamia Hafsa and Jamia Fareedia in Islamabad. At that time, the Jamia Hafsa students who were mostly girls hijacked the Children Library of government in Islamabad. They also warned the government of that time to not to initiate any operation against madrassas otherwise they will begin suicide attacks.

Despite the loud claims as well as counter claims, study of the beliefs and attitudes of students graduated from madrassa has exposed the degree of harm these madrassas have posed on the young minds of Pakistani and Afghan students. A research that collected the reviews of students studying in Pakistani madrassa revealed that an Afghan boy of 15 years of age expressed his

wish to fight the infidels. One other boy expressed his hatred against America and his desire to fight Americans. The extremist groups have distorted the actual meaning of jihad to manipulate the minds of young children for their own advantage. This has provoked conflicts within Pakistan as well as between Pakistan and other regions of the world. It has also resulted in conflicts between different sects of Islam and violence against the minorities. In addition, the education given in madrassa is promoting a sense of dominance in the minds of young students regarding Islam. This reduces the respect of other religions in the eyes of these students. It also generates enmity towards people belonging to other religions. The study of curriculum and syllabi of Pakistani madrassas have shown that hatred is generated towards other sects through criticism of other religious minorities and sects. The curriculum also promotes siege mentality from the beginning of schooling. In Pakistan, there is a reasonable demand of religious schools. Thus one must be cautious and not generalize the role played by some madrassas in facilitating the militant groups. Hence people should be careful in discriminating between peaceful elements of madrassas and the radical groups that support militants.

In Pakistan, there are also numerous big madrassas of university-style which is a center of attention for many students in Pakistan as well as students from outside Pakistan. These big institutions were established on the basis of an ideal Islamic community which do not only provide education but also offer health care facilities and other facilities. However, majority of madrassa in Pakistan are modest in resources and size. Many madrassas are built inside house or are adjacent to a nearby mosque. These types of madrassas are usually funded by the local people and the head of madrassa is usually a local imam whereas former students work as teachers either voluntarily or on minimal salary.

Although some analysts claim strong connection between foreign supporters and madrassas, it is very difficult to establish and estimate the extent of funding from outside Pakistan. Though madrassas are ready to accept some level of government supervision and regulation, they will not endanger their independence especially if such regulations are considered as part of foreign agenda. The biggest challenge faced by government is to reach out to numerous smaller schools which lack considerable resources and does not have the ability enforce the government reforms. These small schools lack teaching materials, teachers and other essential facilities, thus implementation of government curriculum might be beyond the resources of these schools.

The leaders of madrassa regards government position as ambiguous because of the crackdown of government on moderate and small madrassas while madrassas which have proven links with militant groups and extremists are still operating freely. Thus the relationship between religious institutions and government of Pakistan is mistrustful. The madrassas are reluctant to grant access to the government to their financial accounts. The madrassas are distrustful on intentions of government behind reforms and they think that they serve a foreign agenda. Thus in order to proceed, the government and madrassa must build a relationship of trust between them.

The above given violent perception of madrassas are even not correct. These violent interpretations of Islam are propagated through schools that receive financial and organizational assistance from Saudi Arabia. These schools might not have any existence without funding from Saudi Arabia. They might not have developed and proliferated easily in Afghanistan, India and Pakistan without funding from Saudis. These groups would not have such power and abilities without the funding and would not have been able to train large number of fighters without funding from Saudi Arabia.

Madrassa is a religious school, a place where students of various ages, as little as 9 or 10 years of age go to receive religious education and to be trained in reading and afterwards in religious studies. In the past, it served as a substitute for standard elementary education as well as higher education and finally develops clerics, quote and unquote. The religious community leaders, scholars and teachers handle the religious issues of a community. The text included in madrassa are Dars-i-Nizami which was first introduced by a renowned scholar Mullah Nizamuddin Silhalvi (d.1747) in the field of philosophy and Islamic jurisprudence in Luck now. This is not the same curriculum which was associated with the name of Madrassa Nizamia and Mullah Nasir Uddin Tusi (d.1064) who introduced it in eleventh century in Baghdad. Most of the Sunni madrassas whether they belong to Bareli. Ahl-I-Hadith or Deobandi persuasions follow this same curriculum of Nizami studies which was adopted by Deoband madrassas in the year 1867. This curriculum includes 20 subjects which are divided into 2 main categories: al-uloom al-aqliya (the learning of rational science and al-uloom an-naqliya (the learning of transmitted sciences).

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personal institutions of renowned ulama who manage and own them and arrange finances for running the madrassa. Generally, the owners of madrassas are prominent ulama of good reputation and have some degree of influence on the local people living in a community. Thus this helps them to acquire housing facilities, land and financial assistance for their madrassa.

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The problem identified in this work is related to the radicalization in Islam and the specific study is being conducted over Pakistan. This has made the population of the research as the entire people living in Pakistan plus the Taliban's from all over the world. The Taliban who spreads radicalization in Pakistan has been addressed on how they have used madrassas and other places for the spread of hatred in the people and how they have been converted in to dead cells. Obviously it is possible to go to each individual of this group and ask them about the associated problem and thereby it is required to extract the smaller group of people that can be studied for the derivation of the outcomes.

6.2 Findings

- It is found that the issues of the terrorism and the extremism must be addressed and should be taught in the schooling education system. This is due to the fact that everyone is being aware about the issue and they better have knowledge on why this is happening and what are the reasons of adding this in the educational structure.
- It is required by government and politicians to study the role of madrassas, one runs the possibility of missing out a broader picture that is important for appropriate development of policies.
- The madrassas of Pakistan constitute a largely diverse segment in terms of level of education, size, financing, ideological and theological positions and connections with

political groups. Accessibility to funding and resources vary enormously between different madrassas.

- The government initiative for reform and control of madrassa has been resisted firmly throughout the history of Pakistan. The center of madrassa, the training and education of religious leaders, clergy and students according to the rules of Islam is done according to the designed curriculum.
- It is explored that madrassa require funding. So suggestion is to make it available from government. Madrassas consider financial support from government as a way that leads to government control. The madrassas in Pakistan are a component of transnational religious education which depends upon finance, ideas and people which in turn serves as the biggest challenge for government reforms.
- Accessibility to madrassa is still a question and government is required to get accessibility to these madrassas. It is required by government to make careful consideration and assessment in reaching to the madrassa and helping them out as the way they want. Facts and figures must be maintained. Moreover, government must also deal and keep their eye open for the education given in those madrassas.
- It is explored that the management of madrassas and government are not having any relationship. The need is to build relationship over strong basis and promote it so to have strong bounding. It can be done by the initiative taken from the government in reforming madrassas and making one to one relationship with their management. Like secular institutes and schools are promoted and supported, there must be equal support given to the madrassas.
- It is the duty of government to change the thinking and mindset of people of Pakistan and the world against madrassas and its education system. Islam is not a religion to spread hate and terrorism. It is a religion to spread love and care for others. So, it is advised to the government to reform madrassas and make it spread love rather than hate.

6.3 Future findings:

Findings for the future work are advised by studying the limitations in the current work. Weakness linked with the research work is the addition of the qualitative paradigm. The

qualitative paradigm has made this research based over detailed study. The weaknesses associated with this method is lacking of the analysis of the numeric data and the quantitative figures. The figures must be analyzed with the quantitative tools like SPSS. There is no logical and rationale association of the data with the research project. The lacking of the rationality is the issue with the current research. So it is advised to have addition of quantitative work and logical construct in future.

Moreover, the assessment of the research is also based over the subjective view. The associated way of qualitative is being enriched with the subjective views and they provide deep assessment of the problem. Thereby it is lacking in the presentation of the objective view. The objectivity lacking has made the research limited for having the objective narration of the data. It is required to add the quantifiable data and measure it with the objective views so to have rationale and calculative outcomes.

The addition of the biased views can be a possibility in this work. This has happened due to the subjective nature of the research. There is no assurance given against not adding the personal and biased views. May be the researchers used in this work is not valid and reliable and thereby biasness has being occurred in one way or other. So it is advised that in future it must be eradicated by adding objective views and be not adding the biasness.

Chapter 7

7. References

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