

## Education, Religion And The Creation Of Subject: Different Educational Systems Of Pakistan

By Muhammad A. Nisar

*“The forms and the specific situations of the government of men by one another in a given society are multiple; they are superimposed, they cross, impose their own limits, sometimes cancel one another out, sometimes reinforce one another.”*

Foucault

*“The direction in which education starts a man will determine his future life.”*

Plato

*“We must...do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.”*

Macaulay, Architect of education system of British India

*“Through its textbooks, school teachers, universities, newspapers, novels and magazines, the colonial order was able to penetrate and colonize local discourse.”*

Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*<sup>1</sup>

The educational system has a unique place in modern nation state. Foucault calls it “the instrument whereby every individual, in a society..., can gain access to any kind of discourse.”<sup>2</sup> Most of the possibilities to progress and prosper are available only through educational systems in the world today. Refusing entry into the educational system is synonymous with refusing entry into the main stream culture and work ethic of a country. All this has placed extraordinary power in the hands of those who design what an educational system looks like and how it defines right and wrong.

Educational institutions are instrumental in shaping how we view the world. Each educational system teaches an entire generation the difference between what is right and what is wrong. That is why Foucault calls educational systems as constituting “doctrinal groups”.<sup>3</sup> Naturally, who defines this right and wrong and what

these definitions imply for a society are of utmost importance in modern nation state.

Most of modern nation states have a single educational system for all citizens. It ensures that the definitions of right and wrong, the ethnocentric ideals,<sup>4</sup> and the worldview of all citizens are identical. A single educational system, thus, creates a unity of thought and outlook within a society. Pakistan with its different educational systems is an exception to this rule. While there are certain notable exceptions like the United States where multiple education systems are in vogue, other determinants of popular culture like media and politics ensure creation of a single “national culture”.

There are three different educational systems in Pakistan; State education system,<sup>5</sup> elite private schools and Madrassahs (religious schools). State education system is the largest and most of the student population is enrolled in these schools. Elite private schools and Madrassahs have comparatively smaller student populations. However, these two systems have great sociological significance because students from the Elite schools have a disproportionately high representation in bureaucracy, businesses, and state offices (Rahman T, 2005). Similarly, the students from Madrassahs have constituted a significant portion of the sectarian violence in Pakistan (Rahman, 2003).

This paper argues following main points about educational systems of Pakistan. Firstly, the three educational systems represent products of totally different historical evolutionary processes and have divergent ideologies about education. Secondly, these systems because of differences in curriculum, pedagogical style, and discipline techniques create distinct concepts of “citizenship” among their students. Owing to this difference, students which pass through these systems do not share the same worldview and form different types of “subjects”. Thirdly, I argue that most of the problems of radical Islam which Pakistan has been experiencing in recent past are because of these different educational systems.

It is not intended to discount the importance of other socio-political factors like neglect of frontier regions by the government and the US-Pakistan politics in Afghanistan during the Cold War. However, I argue that the difference in outlook towards life in various strata of Pakistan induced by education systems of Pakistan create a fertile ground where other socio-political factors can sow the seeds of discontent and unrest.

## **Historical Evolution of Educational Systems:**

### *Religious Madrassahs:*

Religious Madrassahs (places of study) emerged as centers of organized learning in early Islamic history during ninth and tenth centuries Arabia. These Madrassahs were a new innovation because there was no tradition of organized learning in Arab before the emergence of these institutions. They were designed to satisfy the need for organized teaching of newly emerging fields of knowledge like Hadith,<sup>6</sup> Tafsir,<sup>7</sup> Kalaam<sup>8</sup> and logic. Owing to their attraction of the best minds of their time, very soon they surpassed all forms of private learning. The rigid classification of knowledge based on religious law and dogma inevitably made jurists and traditionalists final authorities in religious and worldly matters.

Within a few decades, Madrassahs became the only legitimized source of Islamic knowledge. There are a variety of reasons for this rapid increase in importance of these institutions. One of the major reasons was the relationship with the state. Madrassahs were mostly state funded and the Kings looked to the Imams in major Madrassahs to legitimize their actions.<sup>9</sup> In return, Imams were given a relatively free reign in religious matters not concerning the state (Fazlur Rahman 1982). This State-Madrassah relationship also had the added benefit of ostracizing any radical religious sentiments against the Kings.

These Madrassahs in the first few centuries of Islamic rule provided the state with most of its bureaucracy and state functionaries. In addition, they served as learning centers for most of the prominent Islamic scholars during the medieval ages. For centuries, these Madrassahs had virtual power over the definition of right and wrong in the Islamic world. For example, fields of study like philosophy and astronomy were not taught at the Madrassahs and were labeled “un-Islamic”. These fields had to be studied privately and socially they had a status much inferior to fields such as logic, tafsir, and medicine.

When India was colonized during the nineteenth century by the British, rules of the game changed. The British brought their own educational system. Entry into all major state and bureaucratic jobs was dependant on passing through this new educational system. In addition, the British withdrew all state funding to the Madrassahs. So, the Madrassahs not only suffered a financial crisis but also a social crisis (Zaman 1999). Passing through a Madrassah was no longer a guarantee to any job because graduates from Madrassahs, though fluent in traditional languages like Persian and Arabic, were unfamiliar with language of the Colonialists (English).

All this created a fundamental change in the educational goals of the Madrassahs. They resisted change and refused to adopt modern curriculum or teaching of English. The learning objectives changed from training bureaucrats and state officers to defending the faith against foreign invaders (Talbani 1996). Owing to this static stance, Madrassahs continued to teach their curriculum which was unchanged since the middle ages. As a result, graduation from these Madrassahs stopped having any value in society and the job market. Students of these Madrassahs could only become teachers in other Madrassahs or Imams in local mosques.

All this insulated the Madrassahs and their students from all that modernity and the industrial age stood for. Everything which was associated with the West came to be recognized as evil and hence, worthy to be despised and rejected.

*Public Schools and State Education System:*<sup>10</sup>

State-run education system was introduced by the British in India. A lot has been written on the educational philosophy behind the educational system of British India. Nothing explains it better than the following quotes from the architect of this education system,

. . . the effect of training . . . is to give an entirely new turn to the native mind. The young men educated in this way cease to strive after independence according to the original Native model, and aim at, improving the institutions of the country according to the English model, with the ultimate result of establishing constitutional self-government. They cease to regard us as enemies and usurpers, and they look upon us as friends and patrons, and powerful beneficent persons, under whose protection the regeneration of their country will gradually be worked out. . . .<sup>11</sup>

This system was, therefore, designed to establish the hegemony of the British over the colonized people.<sup>12</sup> After its independence in 1947, Pakistan maintained the basic educational philosophy of the British. It was especially true for the discipline and control methods of the British colonial education system, before independence the British used the state education system to establish hegemony over the locals, after independence it was the religious and political interest groups who managed to exploit the state education system to establish hegemony of certain ideas in society.

A new educational policy was developed with each political transition in Pakistan. Each new educational policy publically aimed to prepare 'good citizens' but instead, reproduced the government's ideology and its conception of citizen-

ship and citizenship education (Althusser 1972). For example, during the socialist regime of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, the school curriculum was revised to preach “socialist” values and “all privately-managed schools and colleges” were nationalized in line with socialist ideals (Ministry of Education, 1972, pp. 6, 35). The new educational policy of 1979 under Gen. Zia ul Haq who replaced Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, revised the curricula so that “Islamic ideology permeates the thinking of the younger generation,” and society is refashioned according to Islamic tenets (Ministry of Education, 1979, p.2).

The state schools, therefore, continue to indoctrinate the students with the political ideology of the state. The discipline and control methods ensure that the graduating students do not resist the dominant political culture of their society.

*Elite Private Schools and British Education System:*<sup>13</sup>

Elite private schools are also a product of British rule. Initially, two kinds of elitist schools in India were formed: those for the hereditary aristocracy, called the chiefs’ colleges; and those for the newly emerging professional classes, called European or English schools, including armed forces schools which taught all subjects in English. Both kinds of institutions served political and social purposes because the chiefs’ colleges were meant to Anglicise young rulers, to encourage loyalty to the crown, and preclude events like those of 1857 (Mangan in Rahman 2005).

The parallel system of elitist schooling did not change because of the establishment of Pakistan. Indeed, as the military and the higher bureaucracy both came from this elite background, these schools multiplied in Pakistan as the professional middle-class started expanding in 1960s. Thus it is no surprise that the government, dominated by members of these two elitist groups, came up with policies that supported these Elite schools.

These schools suffered a temporary setback during the 1970s when the socialist regime of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto nationalized all private schools. However, immediately after his government fell, these schools were de-nationalized. 1980s saw a huge increase in the popularity of these schools. Huge profit margins attracted a large number of investors.

Many new schools were built to make profit and cater to the demands of elite sections of society for “better” education. These schools have remained almost an exclusively urban phenomenon which also indicates the elitist character and focus of these schools.

Over the years, these schools have come to represent best possible opportunities to personal growth in Pakistan. Most of the students of these schools either

enter foreign universities after graduation or receive admission into one of the elite domestic higher education institutions.

### **Discipline and creation of the “compliant” subject:**

Foucault in his book *Discipline and Punish* has pointed to the importance of control over the physical body of the subjects for creation of discipline by the state starting in the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> He also points to the fact that schools like the military and prison were institutions where this disciplining of the body was carried out (Foucault 1977). This concern for physical discipline is visible in the education system of Pakistan.

The teaching methodology in almost all of the public schools and most of the private schools which follow the government curriculum is surprisingly identical. All these schools idealize discipline; strong emphasis is put on routine, following orders, and completing the assigned tasks in time. Physical punishment is not uncommon especially in boys schools.

Learning mostly involves cramming and copying what has been taught. Until the High School level, students are encouraged not to question what is written in the text books and what is taught to them. Students are supposed to memorize the books, mostly without realizing what they are memorizing. Most of the assigned homework involves copying from the text books instead of analytical assignments. The curriculum of these schools is set by the government. Teaching of Islamic studies is compulsory at all grades of school. However, it is the social studies curriculum which is the most ideologically indoctrinated. Both the social studies and Islamic studies books have articles on themes like Pan-Islamism, Islamic identity of Pakistan, Muslim world, revolutionary movements in Islam, history of Western colonization and the idealization of the concept of Jihad (Ahmad 2004).

Interestingly, as with the Madrassahs, no part of curriculum presents perspective of followers of other religions or of citizens of the rest of the world. The only topic which deals with Non-Muslims is the status of minorities in an Islamic state and that is also in a very superficial and non-analytical way. The curriculum does not differentiate between a “good citizen” and a “pious Muslim”.

There are hardly any analytical discussions outside of the assigned curriculum in classes and raising questions is not appreciated especially in social sciences. Similarly, examinations are almost exclusively written so that instead of analytical skills or academic grasp of educational concepts, memory, and cramming skills of students are tested. Students who are able to identically copy what was taught to them generally receive the highest marks.

A combination of strict physical and mental discipline permeates these schools. We see here the clear continuation of the controlling techniques which Mitchell captured in his insightful study of colonial educational system,

‘A student is not permitted to change his place in any of the classrooms without permission; this order is to be followed in all classes.’ There is a meticulous concern for the discipline of rank and place. It is not the particular place that matters - desks can be assigned by drawing lots - but the act of positioning and remaining in place. Punishment is a more overt expression of this concern with order... (Students) are now deprived of leave or confined to their rooms rather than beaten with the leather whip. In this way punishment is made an aspect of discipline, of that continuous technique of control whose method is to position, to divide, and to set limits.<sup>15</sup>

Students who pass out of these schools have a world view which idealizes following authority without questioning.<sup>16</sup> Thus students are physically and mentally trained to become conformists, a practice which is the legacy of British colonial experience. However, what is new is the idealization of an Islamic society and Islamic state which is inculcated into the minds of these students. Most of these students come to view Pakistan as an Islamic Khilafa where all the laws should be in conformity with Islam. Any social or legal change which is deemed socially un-Islamic is thus deemed to be a grave mistake by this group of students.

**\*Taqlid<sup>17</sup> and creation of the “follower” subject:**

The main objective of Madrassahs continues to be the production of religious scholars trained to defend religion and protect traditional values (Talbani 96). Therefore, curriculum is heavily focused towards Islamic theological subjects like Quran, Hadith, Fiqh,<sup>18</sup> etc. Although many Madrassahs have started teaching English as a subject, sciences or English language are hardly ever the focus of study in these institutions. Islamic subjects have essentially remained unchanged in curriculum since the middle ages.

All Madrassahs, including the ones belonging to the Shia sect, teach the Dars-i-Nizami though they do not use the same texts. Dars-i-Nizami was designed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and has remained mostly unchanged. All Madrassahs also teach their particular point of view (Madhab or Maslak) which clarifies and rationalizes the beliefs of their sect (Sunni or Shia) and sub-sect (Tal-bani 1996). Moreover, they train their students to refute<sup>19</sup> “heretical” beliefs and Western ideas. The world view of these students remains limited to only their own

sect. For them all the “truth” is present in the belief system of their own sect, all the “others” are blinded by the “false” beliefs.

Pedagogy is based on rote memorization, which is considered the way to achieve maximum benefit from learning and obedience to authority. Raising questions is hardly ever encouraged. It is especially true of Islamic subjects. The doctrine of Taqlid is taught with faithful diligence. This doctrine implies that Islamic law and practices of the early centuries of Islam are ideal, unchangeable and final; thus they should be followed as they are without raising new questions. Imitation of teachers is regarded as a virtue because they are supposed to be the role models of Islamic way of life.

No part of the curriculum presents perspectives of the followers of other religions or of citizens of the rest of the world. The only topic which deals with rights of the Non-Muslims is the status of minorities in an Islamic state. Even this topic is taught with its medieval interpretation which implies that all Non-Muslims in an Islamic state must pay an additional tax called Jazya to enjoy protection of law.

Strict discipline is inculcated among students and any deviation from the rules is punished by physical punishment. Sometimes physical punishment involves severe thrashing at the hands of the teachers. Raising a voice which questions any taught subject is unimaginable in such an environment. Discipline and punishment in these schools is much harsher than the state education system.

The stagnant curriculum, physical punishments, and a teaching philosophy which refutes all other religious and cultural points of view ensure the creation of a subject who blindly follows the brand of religion taught to him. His mind is totally closed to the possibility that there is any truth outside his particular sect. He idealizes the Islamic system preached by his own sect and is taught the virtue of sacrificing his life for the establishment of this system.

### **Pedagogy and creation of the “liberal” subject:**

The elite private schools have a totally different educational philosophy than the state education system and the Madrassahs. They do not follow the curriculum, teaching methodology, or examination method of the state. Instead, all of these schools are affiliated with the Cambridge Education System of England and follow its approved curriculum.

The curriculum of these schools teaches entirely different values than the ones taught at Madrassahs or the state run education system. Religion does not play a significant part in the curriculum of these schools. Here curriculum focuses on inculcating into students virtues of a secular, capitalist nation state. That is why most students tend to have a secular liberal outlook towards life.



The teaching methodology is also different as compared to state schools and Madrassahs. Physical punishment is uncommon and asking questions is encouraged. The examinations in these schools follow University of Cambridge guidelines. The focus is not on memorizing the facts. Instead examination questions require analysis and intelligent interpretation of curriculum. All this translates into an analytical and open frame of mind.

More important than curriculum, however, is the social life within these schools. All of these schools are co-ed. In addition, all the teaching and conversation among students takes place exclusively in English. These students, therefore, develop a lifestyle and point of view which has nothing in common with the social norms and values of their society. That is why, generally, the students who graduate from these schools tend to have a social circle limited to graduates of similar schools.

### **The conflict of educational ideologies:**

Education, according to Foucault, in its distribution, in what it permits and in what it prevents, follows the well-trodden battle lines of social conflict. In his opinion, “every educational system is a means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it” (Foucault 1971). Thus, the different educational systems of Pakistan act as indoctrinating grounds for different social groups and serve as the breeding grounds for future social conflict.

Each educational system has its own conception of an “ideal” subject. The strict discipline and literalism of the Madrassahs ensures total submission by the students. The Madrassahs, therefore, serve as the ideal recruiting grounds to create blind followers of a particular brand of religion. Similarly, the state education system acts to create individuals who are passive and compliant to state policies. Elite private schools on the other hand create subjects who share capitalist values but have no roots in their own culture.

All these subjects have very different conceptions of what an ideal society should look like. A Madrassah student is trained to think that an Islamic state is the rightful destiny of Pakistan. His first affiliation is to his religion. He is trained to think that there is no concept of a nation state in Islam. A student of an Elite school on the other hand seldom bothers with this question.<sup>20</sup> He is in awe of the Western culture and its values. For him modernity means, everything which is Western. There is no common ground when it comes to social ideals between a student of a Madrassah and a student of Elite school. They are residents of different planets.

The students of State education system are the most “confused”. On the one hand, the curriculum teaches them that Pakistan was made in the name of Islam. On the other, the discipline and routine method in the schools trains them to be compliant to state policies. Various studies have shown that a majority of these students idealize an Islamic system in Pakistan.<sup>21</sup> However, they are trained not to do anything about it unless the state decides to do so. This difference between “ideal” and “reality” creates social cognitive dissonance.

One of the major reasons Taliban have been so successful in the North-West is because they have come forward with the claim to install the Islamic system which the state has not been able to create in 60 years. In this way they have been able to address this cognitive dissonance created by the state education system. It is especially true for the Pathans of the tribal areas.<sup>22</sup>

The effects of this compliance can be seen in the political and social landscape of Pakistan. It is no wonder that Pakistan has been ruled by military dictators during most of its history. These dictators largely faced very little popular resistance against their rule. Similarly, a culture of public protest for social rights has failed to develop. In my opinion, a lot of it has to do with the passivity and compliance created by the state education system.

Rahman has shown that the attitude towards religious tolerance and pluralism is very different among the students of the different educational systems of Pakistan. His results showed that whereas 65.5% of surveyed students in elite private schools were in favor of giving equal rights to Ahmadis,<sup>23</sup> this percentage was 46% in State school and only 12.6% among Madrassah students<sup>24</sup> (Rahman 2004). These results clearly show that Madrassah students are extremely intolerant regarding equal rights for all religious minorities.

The most surprising aspect of this study was that it revealed that the school teachers were significantly more intolerant than their students on questions of religious equality. The study showed that only 43% teachers were in favor of giving equal rights to Ahmadis (compared to 65% of students). Similarly, in State schools only 27% were tolerant of equal rights (compared to 46% students). The most striking results were from the Madrassahs where only 3.7% of teachers said that Ahmadis deserved equal rights (Rahman 2004).

The results of this study lead us to two important sociological findings; First of all, a lot of religious intolerance in Pakistan is because of the training which students receive at schools. Secondly, and more significantly, the study shows the importance of school curriculum on social attitudes. Almost all the teachers in the schools belong to the age group which grew up in 1970s and 1980s when the state education policy was revised to “Islamize” the population. The effects of this policy are proving detrimental to the society now.

Recently it has been argued that these Madrassahs and their curriculum are not very important in the emergence of radical brand of Islam in Pakistan; therefore, there is no need to reform them. The major rationale provided to justify this explanation is that only 1.5 Million students<sup>25</sup> are currently enrolled in these Madrassahs. It has been argued that this subgroup forms a very small number as far as the total number of total student population of Pakistan so this subgroup cannot be responsible for the deterioration in law and order situation (Khawaja et al 2003, 2004, 2005).

However, in my opinion, this argument is incorrect because even if only one third of the student population of the Madrassahs became radicalized and raise arms against the state, they will form a force of greater strength than the Taliban.<sup>26</sup> It is especially true of the North-West where the rugged mountain terrain makes guerrilla style warfare ideal for small groups like Taliban. In addition, statistics prove that the enrollment in these Madrassahs is comparatively more in the Pashtun belt of Pakistan where the Taliban have been created (Khawaja et al 2004). All of this, points to the importance of Madrassah reform in Pakistan.

These educational systems, however, co-existed peacefully till the 1980s when the state decided to glorify the concept of Jihad. The motives for this policy were purely political because Pakistan had decided to cooperate with U.S.A. to coordinate aid and military equipment to the Afghans in fighting against the Russians. Owing to various state policies and changes in academic curriculum, Jihad and armed resistance to fight for an Islamic state became a part of popular discourse during these years (Talbani 1996, Zia 2003, Ahmad 1999).

This new discourse was especially encouraged and facilitated by the state in the Madrassahs of the North-West Frontier Province. The reason for this was simple. These Madrassahs were used to recruit and train new “Jihadis” for the fight against the Russians in Afghanistan. State also provided them with weapons to fight in Afghanistan. Although after the fight was over, state stopped using the Madrassahs as training grounds, in many areas of Pak-Afghan border this practice continued (Abbas 2002, Rana 2004). The major reason was the continued fighting in Afghanistan between various factions of militants. From these Madrassahs, the Taliban was formed which today controls parts of the North-West Frontier Province.

I argue that these different education systems imply that there are different “governments” for different social groups in Pakistan. I use the word “government” here in the sense which, according to Foucault, is the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups is directed by dominant social groups. It includes “modes of action more or less considered or calculated which are destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people” (Foucault 1982).

For a modern nation state to become more cohesive and stronger, power has to become progressively “governmentalized.”<sup>27</sup> However, the control of different social groups over creation of the “subject” means that this trend is reversing in Pakistan and power relations are increasingly getting away from the state and into the hands of other “potential states.”<sup>28</sup> If this trend is not stopped, it will prove fatal for the state of Pakistan in the long-run.

### **Conclusion:**

Pedagogical philosophy of educational systems is instrumental in the creation of modern subject. Modern nation states, therefore, tend to have an educational system (or at least a curriculum) which preaches an ideology that is cohesive and facilitates the creation of the “subject” which the state desires. The three educational systems of Pakistan, on the other hand, create very different types of subjects who have completely different worldviews.

At present, the state is ruled by the subjects taught at the Elitist private schools. However, socio-political developments in the last decade have created circumstances which have facilitated the “Muqqalid”<sup>29</sup> subjects created by the Madrassahs to take up arms against the other two groups. They have been able to gain more power by tapping into the cognitive dissonance of the “compliant” subjects created by the State education system, especially in the North-West.

All the developments indicate that if the state does not reverse its policy of letting the three different educational systems from continuing, the unity of the state will be in greater jeopardy in the days to come.

---

### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> Mitchell Timothy, *Colonizing Egypt*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, p 169-170

<sup>2</sup> Foucault Michel, Orders of Discourse, *Social Science Information*, Apr 1971; vol. 10: pp. 7-30

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> I have included all Public Schools and the low fee private schools in this category because all these have the same curriculum designed by the state. These schools also have similar teaching methodology, and discipline techniques. Therefore, the

students graduating from these schools come to have the same world view.

<sup>6</sup> The knowledge of sayings of Prophet Muhammad

<sup>7</sup> The knowledge of exegesis of Quran

<sup>8</sup> Knowledge of reasoning and arguing which was very important for development of Muslim law during initial centuries of Islamic era

<sup>9</sup> Fazlur Rahman also discusses how the relationship between religious scholars and the Kings was responsible for the development of the doctrine of “Irja” which has been responsible for passivity among the Sunni sect of Islam

<sup>10</sup> This category includes all Public Schools and most of the private schools other than the ones which fall under the category of Elite Schools.

<sup>11</sup> This speech by Thomas Babington Macaulay to the Committee of Public Instruction which was entrusted with the task of designing an educational system for British India was given in 1835. It is considered to represent the philosophy behind the educational system of British India and has been widely used to represent Colonial Education systems by many authors like Timothy Mitchell. For more details see Bureau of Education. Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839). Edited by H. Sharp. Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1920. Reprint. Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965, 107-117.

<sup>12</sup> Here I am using the Gramscian concept of hegemony as it is exercised through the institutions of civil society, the ensemble of educational, religious and associational institutions. According to Gwyn Williams’ introductory definition, hegemony means ‘an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society, in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all tastes, morality, customs, religions and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations’ (Femia 1975)

<sup>13</sup> This category of private schools are labeled “elite” because the exorbitant fee structure and the distribution of these schools in large metropolitan areas ensures that only students belonging to a particular socio-economic class get entry in them.

<sup>14</sup> For further details see Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish*, New York : Pantheon Books, 1977

<sup>15</sup> For details on this see Mitchell Timothy (1988). *Colonising Egypt*-. Berkeley: University of California Press

<sup>16</sup> It is also because of the doctrine of Irja (passive following of the rulers) which is taught in Islamic studies curriculum

<sup>17</sup> Taqlid refers to the popular Islamic doctrine which implies that the four schools of Islamic Law should be followed literally without changes according to time

<sup>18</sup> Knowledge of traditional Islamic Law

<sup>19</sup> It is taught in the subject known as “*Radd*” which deals with the rationale and logic to negate and refute the points of view which are considered heretical according to the scholars of that particular sect

<sup>20</sup> There is some evidence to indicate that since 9/11, even in this group of students the question of the relationship between religion and state is getting more attention

<sup>21</sup> I also conducted a small random survey (87 students) for this purpose. The results showed that 62% of students wanted Islam to have a role in Public sphere of Pakistan. The survey is a part of an ongoing research project and is currently unpublished

<sup>22</sup> According to Olivier Roy, an expert on Taliban, the constitution of Pakistan promises an Islamic state which has not been created in 63 years. This has given organizations like Taliban an opportunity to legitimize their struggle. They claim that the state is hypocrite because it has not established an Islamic state while they are working towards the realization of this dream.

<sup>23</sup> Ahmadis are a sect which according to majority of Muslims is considered non-Muslim because of its belief system. State of Pakistan in the constitution of 1973 declared the Ahmadi sect as un-Islamic.

<sup>24</sup> The percentage of students who were in favor of giving equal rights to Hindus was 78%, 47% and 17% in Elite schools, state schools and Madrassahs respectively. Similarly, for Christians 83%, 65% and 18% of students were in favor of equal rights in Elite Schools, State schools and Madrassahs respectively.

<sup>25</sup> There is some difference of opinion on the exact number. However, most of the studies put it between 1.3 -1.7 Million students. See for example, Andrabi et al (2006). Religious school enrollment in Pakistan: A look at the data. *Comparative Education Review*, 50(3), 446.

<sup>26</sup> Taliban have been successful as small groups. For example, only 100 fighters of Taliban were able to conquer Buner which is a small city south of Swat in North West Pakistan.

<sup>27</sup> Foucault, Michel, (1982), the subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, , 777

<sup>28</sup> According to Theda Skocpol, there are two main conditions of a sudden social change in a country; absence of law and order, and presence of “potential states” (Skocpol 1979). The different educational systems, in my opinion, have fulfilled the second requirement by creating Taliban

<sup>29</sup> A person who follows the doctrine of Taqlid i.e. blindly follows the religious doctrine he is born into. Reference here to the subject created by the Madrassahs.

---

 References:

- Abbas, Azmat. (2002) "Sectarianism: The Players and the Game", South Asia Partnership-Pakistan
- Ahmad, . (2004). Islam, democracy and citizenship education: An examination of the social studies curriculum in Pakistan. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 7(1), 39.
- Althusser L (1972) - Ideology and State Ideological Apparatuses (Notes toward an Investigation), Education--Structure and Society: Selected Readings
- Andrabi, et al. (2006). Religious school enrollment in Pakistan: A look at the data. *Comparative Education Review*, 50(3), 446.
- Bureau of Education. Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839). Edited by H. Sharp. Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1920. Reprint. Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965, 107-117
- Dean BL, Citizenship in Pakistani Education; Problems and possibilities International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education, 2005
- FEMIA, & Femia, (1975). Hegemony and consciousness in the thought of Antonio Gramsci. *Political Studies*, 23(1), 29.
- Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish*, New York : Pantheon Books, 1977
- Foucault, Michel. (1971). Orders of discourse. *Social Science Information*, 10(2), 7.
- Foucault, Michel, The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Summer, 1982), pp. 777-795
- Mitchel Timothy, *Colonising Egypt* - Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988
- Rahman, . (2001). English-teaching institutions in Pakistan. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 22(3), 242.
- Rahman, . (2004). Denizens of alien worlds: A survey of students and teachers at Pakistan's urdu and english language-medium schools, and madrassas. *Contemporary South Asia*, 13(3), 307.
- Rahman, . (2005). The muslim response to english in south asia: With special reference to inequality, intolerance, and militancy in pakistan. *Journal of Language, Identity Education*, 4(2), 119.
- Rahman, T. (2005). *Passport to Privilege: The English medium Schools in Pakistan*. Available at <http://www.tariqrahman.net/language/English%20Medium%20Schools.htm>, last accessed 05/03/2009.

*Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies* Vol. 2, No. 1 (2010)

Rahman, Fazlur. (1982) *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1982

Rana, Muhammad Amir. 2004. *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, Lahore: Maktaba Jadeed Press

Talbani, . (1996). Pedagogy, power, and discourse: Transformation of islamic education. *Comparative Education Review*, , 66.

Zaman M Qasim, (1999) *Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan - Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Cambridge Univ Press

Zia Rukhsana (2003), *Religion and education in Pakistan: an overview*, *Prospects*, vol. XXXIII, no. 2, June 2003