Insights of Mystical, Spiritual and Theological Studies

Vol. 2 No. 1 (January 2023), pp. 27-45

ISSN (Print): 2958-5082 ISSN (Online): 2958-5090

http://www.imsts.rmrpublishers.org



Reforming Madrasa Education during the 21st Century; A Case Study of South Punjab

Syed Raheem Abbas Naqvi (Corresponding Author)

Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Government Graduate College Bhakkar Raheemshahbk786@gmail.com

Muhammad Asim

Assistant Professor of Political Science at Government Graduate College Asghar Mall, Rawalpindi

Razia Mussarat

Research Supervisor, Department of Political Science, the Islamia University of Bahahwalpur

Publication History:

Received: October 09, 2022 Revised: November 01, 2022 Accepted: November 10, 2022 Published Online: January 01, 2023

Keywords:

Dars,

War against Terrorism, American School in Dubai,

PMEB, ISIS,

Research related to Academic Areas:

Social Studies

Acknowledgment:

Author 03 customarily supervised **Author 01** and **Author 02** in this research during their PhD coursework. However, she has no contribution to collecting, analyzing, compiling and concluding data.

Ethical Consideration:

The researchers try to protect the rights of members of the social community or groups being investigated by avoiding undue intrusion, obtaining informed consent, and protecting the rights to privacy of individuals and social groups. There is no any harmful activity against socio-cultural differences and conflicting problems.

Abstract

Madrasa system of education with a long history is providing religious education in Pakistan. For some students, the only source of formal education is Madrasas, while they are serving supplementary for others. In the current criticism by western media, the perceptions of students towards the Madrasa system of education carry great significance. For this purpose, such king of pilot study consisting of a sample of 454 students is randomly selected and data is collected through the survey method from twelve Deoband and four Shia madrasas in different regions of Southern Punjab. The impacts of previous madrasa education reforms after the establishment of the Pakistan Madrasa Education Board (PMEB) in 2001 and contemporary proposed madrasa education reforms during the War against Terrorism are also analyzed in this study. Findings and suggestions by the author are given in the last.

Copyright © 2023 IMSTS Journal as an academic research-oriented non-profit initiative of Rehmat and Maryam Researches (SMC-Pvt) Limited, working in Islamabad, Rawalpindi, and Lodhran under the Security and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP). This is an open-access article. However, its distribution and/or reproduction in any medium is subject to the proper citation of the original work.

Preface

The issue of madrasa education reforms is considered a sensitive topic for debate in Pakistan. Therefore, during the collecting data from different madrasas, a huge criticism and difficulty were faced by the researchers. Faculty and administration of Deoband madrasas asked strict questions in this regard and

verified whether there is any national or international funding program behind collecting this data or not while, several madrasas did not allow getting data from their students. So, some questionnaires were filled out secretly from the madrasa administration by the students on personal request. On the other hand, there was no sign of any difficulty in collecting data from Shia madrasas. There principals and faculty welcomed warmly and allowed openly to collect data from their students.

Introduction

Madrasa is an Arabic word that means "an educational institution". This word usually refers to an educational institute of Islamic religion but originally, it can be used for any type of educational institution either secular or modern. In Bosnia, the word "Madrasa" is used for Islamic High School. On the other hand, in the United Arab Emirates, the word "Madrasa" is used for any type of school. For example, American School in Dubai is called "Madrasa Al-America". At the same time, this word refers to an educational institution only specified for Muslim students in Bangladesh (Qasmi, 2005, .93).

Basically, the word "Madrasa" is derived from another Arabic word "Dars" which means "to learn" or "to study". Therefore, the actual meaning of the word "Madrasa" is "a place where studying or learning takes place". Several other societies which have been inspired by or experienced Arab culture have adopted this word like Pakistani, Indian, Iranian, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Indonesian, Bosnian, Kurdish, Malaysian and Croatian societies. In the early modern period of the Ottoman Empire, the word "Madrasa" is used for early school education while the Arabic word "Jamia" for university or institute for post-graduation (Hefner, 2007, 01-39).

In the English language, the word "Madrasa" is only referring to an Islamic educational institute that offers two types of education. One is a Hifz course which means memorizing Quran. A person who memorizes Quran orally is called "Hafiz". While, the second is an "Alim" course. A person who is called Alim is actually an accepted scholar in society. During becoming an Alim, students get education about Arabic language, Tafseer (interpretation of Quran), Shariah (also called Islamic laws), Hadith (quotations and acts of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH), Mantiq (also called logic) and history of Islam and Muslims. The study of Hadiths in the Madrasa syllabus was introduced by Caliph Suleyman 1 during the early modern period of Ottoman Empire. Along with this syllabus, several Madrasas offer advanced and modern courses in English, Arabic or local languages like Mathematics, Persian and English languages, world history and science. In Ottoman Empire, Madrasas also delivered an education about political science, natural sciences, poetry and different foreign languages along with grammar and writing style (Hefner, 2007, 01-39).

Madrasa education is not only presented in Islamic countries but it exists where Muslims live even in minority like the United States of America, Canada, South Africa or the Philippine. In the United States, some of the famous Madrasas are Khalil Gibran International Academy in Brooklyn (New York), Shia Isna-Ashri Jamaat of New York or called Shia Ithna-Ashari Jamaat of New York in Queens (New York) and Dar-ul-Uloom in New York City which is an affiliated Madrasa of Dar-ul-Uloom Haqqania Pakistan. On the other hand, Al-Rashid Islamic Institute was the first Madrasa in North America, established in 1983 in the Canadian city of Ontario. This madrasa delivered the education of Hifz and Alim. This Madrasa had also linked with the Indian Tablighi School of Thought and was established under the directions of Indian Tablighi Scholar Muhammad Zakariya Kandhlawi (Muslim Congressman, 2015). Similarly, in South Africa, Muslim families send their children to Madrasas after completing their school education. There are several

modern Islamic schools also which provide modern, secular and religious education at a time. Some Madrasas also delivered education in the Urdu language to the Muslims of Indo-Pak origin. At the same time, madrasa education is also a common way of getting religious education for Muslims in the Philippines. Here, Madrasas have been established in 16 regions along with Muslim majority areas in Mindanao. States Schools have been bounded to teach Arabic language and Islamic values for Muslim students. Similarly, the Department of Education bounded private Madrasas to apply the Standard Madrasa Curriculum (SMC) designed by the Government of Philippine. There are also some State-Recognized Islamic Schools in different areas of the country like Sarang Bangun LC in Zamboanga City, Ibne-Sina Integrated School in Marawi City and SMIE in Jolo City (Salaam, 2015).

Madrasas have a long vital history also in Indo-Pak Subcontinent. During British occupation, 2,000 Madrasas were closed just in the Bengal region due to the fear of teachings about "Jehad". This time, Bangladesh has two types of Madrasas. One is non-government Madrasas and the second is related to higher education. During the 2006 survey, it was found that fifteen thousand madrasas have been registered under the Bangladesh Qoumi Madrasa Education Board while, almost double that they are still unregistered. On the other hand, India is a hub of two biggest sub-schools of thought within Hanfi school of thought in this region. These are Deobandies and Barelvies. Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband is situated in Deoband city while Jamiat-ul-Ashrafia in Mubarikpur, Jamia Nizam-ud-Din in New Delhi, Jamia Nayeemia in Muradabad and Manzar-e-Islam in Bareilly are some of the major madrasas for Barelvis. At the same time, Madrasa education in Indian state of West Bengal has been idealized by the international community (Sikand, 2008, 282-284). Even, Brookings Doha Center recommended West Bengal Model for Madrasa education in Pakistan. As the international non-Muslim community began to think about Madrasa education in South Asia especially in India and Pakistan after 9/11, there were more than 500 hundred registered Madrasas in the Indian state of West Bengal which were delivered state-designed syllabi not only to Muslims but 20 percent of non-Muslim students also (West Bengal..., 2015).

In Pakistan, usually, this is a common perception that students of madrasas get only religious education, but this theory is totally proven as wrong in West Bengal. Here, students also get modern education along with religious education. English language, computer science, geography, mathematics, biology, chemistry and physics are the part of madrasa syllabus. Therefore, students can choose any kind of professional field after getting a madrasa education. They can be a doctor, engineer or management professionals. Although, Islamic studies and Arabic are compulsory subjects in these madrasas but pupils are not bound here to practice any kind of Islamic norms. Males and females get to study together. 10 among each 30 teachers are Hindu here and there is no conservatism among Hindus and Christians regarding feeling hesitation in getting admission to these madrasas. Even, this environment is becoming a reason of changing their thoughts about Islam and Muslims (West Bengal madrassas draw non-Muslim students, 2015).

On the other hand, usually, all the Madrasas in Pakistan are delivering Islamic education. There are very rare madrasas which are offering modern education along with Islamic education. After getting eith years education in Madrasa, a Pakistani student gets a degree of Shahadat-e-Aalmiya which is equivalent to the Master's degree in Islamic Studies and Arabic by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. Although, this region has a long history of madrasa education, but this culture was promoted dramatically during and after the rule of the 3rd military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq. In 1947, there were just 189 Madrasas but till 2009, there were approximately 12,000 registered madrasas in Pakistan but counting is impossible at different places where public schools and madrasas are established together. Similarly, a survey

described that there were 10,000 to 13,000 unregistered madrasas in Pakistan till 2002 where approximately 1.7 to 1.9 million students were studying. Another survey held in 2008, described many 40,000 unregistered madrasas in the entire country (Thobani, 2010, 31).

After 9/11, when Madrasa education was criticized by the west, General Pervez Musharraf tried to control madrasas through two types of laws. One was to establish Model Madrasas under government control and the second was to establish Pakistan Madrasa Education Board for registering and regulating all the Madrasas. Similarly, the government introduced some rules for foreign students regarding getting admission in Pakistani Madrasas (Sareen, 2005, 32). Although, several madrasas opposed the establishment of this board and announced agitation against it, but, in 2015, almost all the madrasas in South Punjab claimed to be registered under rules and regulations of Pakistani Government. These madrasas are not delivering modern education but criticizing it. On the other hand, liberal or secular Pakistani scholars along with West criticize the syllabus and teaching attitude in these Madrasas because of finding several Taliban leaders also from the Madrasas of South Punjab (Gishkori, 2015).

For this purpose, this study initiated to measure the opinion of Madrasas students regarding Western or Pakistani liberal or secular-minded views. As there is a ratio of 10:04 between Sunni and Shia madrasas in Pakistan, we collected data from the Deobandi sect of Sunni Islam due to huge criticism on its "Jehadi" ideology by Western and secular or liberal Pakistani scholars.

Sample

The sample of the study (N=454) consisted of Madrasa students in South Punjab. 12 Madrasas are selected from the Deoband School of Thought under Sunni Islam. The basic reason of selecting the such a huge number of Deoband Madrasas is the relationship of Afghan and Pakistan Talibans, Hizbul Mujahideen, Sipah Sahaba and Jesh-e-Muhammad to these madrasas in Pakistan. And, since 2008, several Taliban were arrested in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Tribal Areas that belong to South Punjab. Therefore, this region is now under observation by several intelligence agencies (Salahadin, 2015).

On the other hand, Followers of Shia School of Thought present themselves as peace-loving and respective for other religions and sects. After 9/11, therefore, the United States along with International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) helped Northern Alliance against the Afghan Taliban because of belonging from the Shia School of Thought. Similarly, the remaining 5% area of Afghanistan than the Taliban Government was also practicing Shia sect of Islam. Northern Alliance had strict rule over there. Another example of supporting Shai community by major powers is the occupation of Najaf during the Iraq War in 2003 (The Shia Factor For The Stabilization Of Afghanistan: Iran And The Hazara, 2015). The United States and its allies supported Iraqi Shias against Saddam regime. In response, Shia community welcomed US army with followers during the occupation of Najaf and other Shia-majority areas. According to a survey, in 2014, more than 95% bomb blasts and other militant activities are recorded in Sunni-majority areas of Iraq which aggravates Shia community claim of being a peace-loving community (Goodenough, 2015). So, four madrasas are also selected from Shia School of Thought regarding judging their opinion regarding madrasa education reforms. Given table is highlighting region, Madrasa name and the number of students within South Punjab along with its sectarian ideology;

No.	Region	Madrasa Name	Principal or Mohtamim Name	Number of
				Students (N)
		Deoband School of T	hought (N=227)	
1	Kehror	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	Ghulam Muhammad Abbasi	48
2	Pakka	Mufah-ul-Uloom	Sheikh Muhammad Shahid	12
3		Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	Mufti Muhammad Ismail	18
4	Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	Malik Muhammad Manzoor	06
5		Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	Haji Abdul Razzaq	10
6		Jamia Sirajia	Molana Nazeer Ahmed Saddiqi	04
7	Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	Molana Abdul Khaliq	35
8		Jamia Islamia Majeedia	Molana Fazal Ahmed	12
9	Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	Molana Muhammad Nasir	25
10	Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	Molana Muhammad Hafeez	17
11	Basti	Madrasa Al-Arbia	Qari Muhammad Shakeel	09
12	Malook	Majid-e-Khizra	Molana Abdul Ghaffar	31
		Shia School of Tho	ught (N=227)	
13	Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	Molana Qaswar Abbas	50
14		Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	Molana Aqeel Abbas Ghallu	50
15		Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	Molana Fida Hussain Khan	50
16	Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	Syed Turab Ali Shah	77

^{*}Total number of students from Madrasas belonging to Deoband School of Thought are 227 while, the same number of students from the Madrasas belong to Shia School of Thought. Total number of students is 454 from different regions of South Punjab.

Instrument

A two point scale is used to measure students' opinions regarding madrasa education reforms. Similarly, Statistical formulas are used to assess the percentage of students' opinions on each question. The quantitative research method is also used to conclude the discussion on the criticism upon madrasa education reforms in different regions of South Punjab. The difference in opinion of students from madrasas of rural and urban areas is also measured in this study. For this purpose, the division of rural and urban madrasas from the mentioned sample is taking as follows;

- 1) Madrasas in Gogran, Dhanot, Basti Malook and Kotla Jaam belong to rural areas. Total number of students from rural areas is 189 in which Shia students are 77 and Deoband students are 112.
- Madrasas in Kehror Pakka, Lodhran, Dunyapur and Bhakkar belong to urban areas. Total number of students from urban areas is 265 in which Shia students are 150 and Deoband students are 115.

As there is difficulty for understanding questions in English language by the madrasa students, a translated version is prepared in Urdu language which is presented in the appendix after the bibliography.

Results

The tables given below show students' opinions on each question with percentage and descriptive findings;

Question No:01	Do you agree that madrasa education is best than the so	chool education	?
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)		
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	NO
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	45	03
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	12	00
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	10	08
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	06	00
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	09	01
	Jamia Sirajia	04	00
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	34	01
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	12	00
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	21	04
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	15	02
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	09	00
	Majid-e-Khizra	31	00
	Total	208	19
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)		
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	28	22
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	38	12
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	48	02
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	75	03
<u> </u>	Total	189	38

On the first question, 91% of students from the Deoband School of Thought preferred Madrasa education on school education while 83% of students from Shia School of Thought showed their same orientations in this regard. The basic reason for 8 points difference between both schools of thought is that; the Madrasas belong to Shia ideology enroll students after completing their secondary education while, Deoband Madrasas offer secondary education after getting two years basic madrasa education. That's why, students of Deoband madrasas are more inclined towards madrasa education than school education.

During measuring the difference in opinion of rural and urban students, it is assessed that 107 out of 112 (95%) students of Deoband madrasas and 75 out of 77 (97%) students from Shia madrasas in rural areas are considered madrasa education as best than the school education.

On the other hand, 101 out of 115 (87%) students of Deoband madrasas and 114 out of 150 (76%) students of Shia madrasas in urban areas incline towards madrasa education.

Question No:02	Do you agree that you should get school education along w	vith madrasa educ	ation
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)		
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	N
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	40	08
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	08	04
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	15	0
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	02	04
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	09	0
	Jamia Sirajia	02	0
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	35	0
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	11	0
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	22	0
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	17	0
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	07	0
	Majid-e-Khizra	30	0
	Total	198	2
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)	·	
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	50	0
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	50	0
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	50	0
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	77	0
	Total	227	00

During assessing opinions on second question, it is judged that 87% of students from Deoband madrasas and 100% students from Shia madrasas agree on the statements that they should get school education along with madrasa education. The 13 points difference still exists in both the ideologies because students enroll in Shia madrasas cannot get admission without getting secondary education while Deoband madrasas have no such condition for getting admission.

Similarly, during measuring the difference in opinion of urban and rural madrasas students, it is calculated that 93 out of 115 (80%) students from Deoband madrasas and all the 150 (100%) students from Shia madrasas in urban areas have orientations of getting school education along with madrasa education.

On the other hand, 105 out of 112 (94%) students of Deoband madrasas and all the 77 (100%) students from Shia madrasas in rural areas tend towards school education along with madrasa education.

Question No:03 Do you agree that all the madrasas should be affiliated with Pakistan Madrasa Education board?			
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)		
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	NC
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	05	43
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	00	12
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	01	17
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	00	06
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	01	09
	Jamia Sirajia	01	03
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	30	05
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	03	09
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	11	14
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	00	17
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	03	06
	Majid-e-Khizra	10	21
	Total	65	16
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)		
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	50	00
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	50	00
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	50	00
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	77	00
	Total	227	00

The affiliation of madrasas with any regulatory authority like the Pakistan Madrasa Education Board (PMEB) is still a very controversial issue in Pakistan. To analyze the opinion of madrasas students in this regard is also a basic objective of conducting this study. During assessing the opinion regarding the affiliation of madrasas with PMEB, ideologically, we found huge differences among both schools of thought. Just 27% of students of Deoband madrasas show their agreement on madrasas' affiliation with PMEB while 100% of students of Shia madrasas are agreeing with the statement of the question.

Similarly, during analyzing urban and rural students' opinions, it is assessed that all 150 (100%) students of Shia madrasas in urban areas are agree with the affiliation of madrasas with PMEB but the agreement in this regard in Deoband students is too much low. Just 8 out of 115 (07%) students of Deoband madrasas in urban areas are agree for the affiliation of madrasas with the Pakistan Madrasa Education Board. The 73 points difference shows multiple reasons in this regard. Reasons can be mistrust over PMEB, considering their educational planning and structure better than designed by the government, sense of religious or sectarian superiority and keeping secret their militant orientations (as a secular or liberal school of thought blames) (Gishkori, 2015).

The same difference is found in rural areas of South Punjab according to the given sample. All 77 (100%) students from Shia madrasas agree with the nature of the question. On the other hand, 57 out of 112 (51%) students of Deoband madrasas are inclining towards affiliation of madrasas with PMEB.

Question No:04 Do you agree that you will earn or get employment opportunities after getting madrasa education?			
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)		
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	NO
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	20	28
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	05	07
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	09	09
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	06	00
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	10	00
	Jamia Sirajia	04	00
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	21	14
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	02	10
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	18	07
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	01	16
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	09	00
	Majid-e-Khizra	26	05
	Total	131	96
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)		
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	49	01
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	50	00
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	47	03
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	72	05
	Total	218	09

Getting employment or having an earning opportunity as become a basic objective of each student in the modern world. Similarly, several critics of madrasa education argue that madrasa education cannot provide earning opportunities. In this situation, the worth of this question raises higher. In comparing both schools of thought, it is analyzed that 58% of students of Deoband madrasas and 96% of students of Shia madrasas agree that they will get employment opportunities after getting madrasa education. A big difference of 38 points between both ideologies shows that the students of Deoband madrasas are not much confident for their future than the students of Shia madrasas. This tendency also boosts the theory of Alberto Abadie about "Poverty, Political Freedom and the Roots of Terrorism" in which he describes that lack or absence of earning or employment opportunities is one of the big reasons of involvement in terrorist or militant activities (Abadie, 2004). While, western media, as well as western scholars, criticize the Deoband School of Thought a lot in this regard because the Taliban, Al-Qaida, Jesh-e-Muhammad, Sipah-e-Sahaba or ISIS (also called ISIL) are usually considered to be affiliated with this ideology.

On the other hand, 55 out of 115 (48%) students of Deoband madrasas and 146 out of 150 (97%) students of Shia madrasas in urban areas agree with the theme of the question while, 76 out of 112 (68%) students of Deoband madrasas and 72 out of 77 (94%) students of Shia madrasas in rural areas argue to have to earn opportunities after getting madrasa education.

Question No:05	Do you agree that you can compete the world through getting	madrasa educ	ation?
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)		
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	NO
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	47	01
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	10	02
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	00	06
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	06	00
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	10	00
	Jamia Sirajia	04	00
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	30	05
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	08	04
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	20	05
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	03	14
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	09	00
	Majid-e-Khizra	28	03
	Total	175	52
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)		
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	50	00
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	50	00
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	45	05
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	72	05
	Total	217	10

As the world has become globalized, the question is raised about madrasa education whether it has the quality of competing for the contemporary challenges of the modern world or not. For this purpose, the question is asked the students of madrasas who belong to both ideologies and evaluated their opinion. 77% of students of Deoband madrasas and 96% of students of Shia madrasas argue that they can compete the world by getting madrasa education. 19 points difference among opinions of both the ideologies is showing their trust over the quality of their education regarding delivering modern knowledge about facing contemporary challenges of the world.

Similarly, in urban madrasas, 80 out of 115 (70%) students of Deoband madrasas and 145 out of 150 (97%) students of Shia madrasas show their trust in madrasa education regarding delivering them awareness about competing for the world. On the other hand, 95 out of 112 (85%) students of Deoband madrasas and 72 out of 77 (94%) students of Shia madrasas in rural areas agree with the statement of the question.

Question No:06	Do you agree that you will get awareness about your socio-p after getting madrasa education?	olitical rights and	dutie
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)		
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	NC
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	40	08
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	07	05
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	05	0:
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	06	00
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	10	0
	Jamia Sirajia	04	0
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	10	2.
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	04	0
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	12	1
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	02	1
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	09	0
	Majid-e-Khizra	21	10
	Total	130	9
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)		
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	50	0
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	50	00
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	48	02
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	75	02
	Total	223	04

It is a common perception of the secular and liberal school of thought the students of madrasas have no awareness of their socio-political rights. Similarly, they argue that madrasas' students have no consciousness about their duties to the state and society. For confirming this perception, this question is asked to the students of both sects and evaluated that madrasas students reject this perception of secular and liberal school of thought.

According to collecting data from students of both ideologies, it is analyzed that 57% of students of Deoband madrasas and 98% of students of Shia madrasas express their opinion in favor of madrasa education that it delivers awareness about socio-political rights and duties to them. The 41 points difference in opinion shows unawareness in this regard.

Similarly, during evaluating the difference in opinion of madrasa students in urban and rural areas, it is judged that 74 out of 115 (64%) students of Deoband madrasas and 148 out of 150 (99%) students of Shia madrasas in urban areas agree with the myth of the question while, 56 out of 112 (50%) students from Deoband madrasas and 75 out of 77 (97%) reject the common argument of the secular or liberal school of thought and defend madrasa education regarding delivering them awareness about their socio-political rights and duties towards state and the society.

Question No:07	, 3		
	terrorism?		
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)		
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	NO
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	48	00
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	12	00
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	18	00
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	06	00
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	10	00
	Jamia Sirajia	04	00
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	35	00
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	12	00
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	25	00
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	17	00
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	09	00
	Majid-e-Khizra	31	00
	Total	227	00
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)		
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	50	00
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	50	00
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	50	00
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	77	00
_	Total	227	00

Western media continue to propagate that madrasas are involved in terrorism. Similarly, secular and liberal school of thought in Pakistan also considers madrasas' involvement in domestic sectarian violence like the Shia-Sunni conflict in Balochistan Province, Gilgit-Baltistan autonomous region and Southern Punjab, and, international terrorism like directly or indirectly participating in Afghanistan, Bahrain and Syria (How Madrassas fuel sectarianism, 2015).

However, when views about the involvement of madrasas' students in sectarian violence or terrorism were evaluated, results show a completely rejection of secular or liberal views. All the Deoband (N=227) and Shia (N=227) students said that the madrasas are not involved in sectarian violence or terrorism. Similarly, there is no difference in opinion of the students of Deoband or Shia madrasas in urban or rural areas regarding the myth of the question. All the 115 (100%) urban students of Deoband madrasas express that the madrasas are not involved in sectarian violence or terrorism. The same is the case with all the 150 (100%) urban students of Shia madrasas.

At the same time, results from rural areas are the same like urban areas. All the rural students of both ideologies rejected views of secular or liberal school of thought in this regard. In Deoband madrasas, all 112 (100%) rural students stated that there is no link between sectarian violence or terrorism with madrasas. Similarly, all 77 (100%) rural students of Shia madrasas said that madrasas are not involved in sectarian violence or terrorism.

Question No:08	Do you agree that madrasa students can rule the countr	y better than mod	ern
	politicians?		
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)		
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	NC
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	48	00
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	12	00
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	18	00
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	06	00
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	10	00
	Jamia Sirajia	04	00
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	35	00
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	12	00
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	25	00
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	17	00
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	09	00
	Majid-e-Khizra	31	00
	Total	227	00
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)		
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	50	00
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	50	00
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	50	00
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	77	00
	Total	227	00

In all the theo-dominant societies, religious segments claim to be the good policymakers than politicians. This tendency can be commonly observed in Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan. On different domestic or international socio-political issues, religious political parties (sometimes called right-wing parties) or sectarian groups show their sentiments against the political measures of the governments. Pakistan's involvement in War against terrorism (2001) and Saudi involvement in the Yemen conflict (2015) are the major examples in this regard (Religious Debate in Pakistan and The Society's Sectarian Politics, 2015).

Ideologically, both sects claim to be good rulers than politicians. Followers of Shia sect put an example of Iranian political system in this regard and claim that Imam Khomeini and other leaders of the revolution were the students of madrasas. Similarly, followers of the Deoband sect raise an example of the Taliban government of Afghanistan. They claim that five years government was the golden example of peaceful and well-organized governance by the Taliban. UN itself praised the policies of the Taliban Government regarding reducing crime rates and drug smuggling. In this situation, the worth of asking this question becomes higher (Puri, 2015).

During assessing the opinion regarding this, it is calculated that all the students of Shia (N=227) and Deoband (N=227) madrasas agree that they can rule the country better than modern politicians. Similarly, during judging the difference in opinion of students from rural and urban madrasas of both the ideologies, it is measured that all the 115 (100%) students of Deoband madrasas and all the 150 (100%) students of Shia madrasas in urban areas prefer madrasa students that can be proved as best ruler of the country

than the politicians. Same is the case with all the 112 (100%) Deoband and 77 (100%) Shia students in rural areas. All argue that the madrasa students can rule the country better than modern politicians.

Question No:09	Do you agree that versus about "Jehad" do not motivate madrasa militant activities for fulfilling their personal or community		o start
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)	uemanus:	
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	NO
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	45	03
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	11	01
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	05	01
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	06	00
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	10	00
	Jamia Sirajia	03	01
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	32	03
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	11	01
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	19	06
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	15	02
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	08	01
	Majid-e-Khizra	29	02
	Total	194	33
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)		
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	46	04
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	41	09
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	45	05
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	76	01
	Total	208	19

Non-Muslim critics often target the Quranic verses about Jehad. Similarly, secular or liberal school of thought in Pakistan usually argue that religious groups or political parties sometimes motivate or use madrasa students for fulfilling their personal, political or community interests on the base of Quranic versus. This tendency is also called as "Political Islam" by some social scientists. Major examples of this tendency are linked with Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi, Sipah-e-Sahaba, Jesh-e-Muhammad and Sipah-e-Muhammad at organizational bases and Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), Jamat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (F), Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (S), Jamiat Ulama-e-Ahl-e-Hadith and General Zia-ul-Haq Regime (1977-88) at political level by several scholars in Pakistan (Khan, 2015).

So, the ninth question of this questionnaire is designed for measuring that either Quranic versus about Jehad motivate madrasa students to fulfill their personal or community interests by force or not. The basic objective of this measurement is, if an individual can be motivated to use force for fulfilling its interests through reading or studying the Quranic verses about Jehad, then it is easy to be manipulated students by religious groups or religious political parties for their purposes on the so-called sake of religion. During judging orientations of the students in this regard, it is calculated that 85% of Deoband students and 92% Shia students defend their selves that Quranic verses about Jehad do not motivate them to start militant activities for fulfilling their interests or their sectarian community's demands. The 7 points difference shows militant orientations increment in Deoband students than the Shia students.

Similarly, during analyzing difference in opinion of the students of rural and urban madrasas, it is judged that 95 out of 115 (83%) Deoband students and 132 out of 150 (88%) Shia students in urban areas agree with the nature of question while, 99 out of 112 (88%) Deoband students and 76 out of 77 (99%) Shia students in rural areas consider that versus about Jehad do not motivate them to start militant activities regarding fulfilling their personal or community demands.

Question No:10	Do you agree that you should go for Jehad in Kashmir or Afghanista	an against	Indian
	or American violations of human rights respectively on your own v	vish witho	ut the
	Government of Pakistan's announcement?		
	Deoband School of Thought (N=227)		
Region	Name of Madrasa	YES	NO
Kehror Pakka	Jamia Islamia Baab-ul-Uloom	40	08
	Mufah-ul-Uloom	09	03
	Jamia Islamia Dar-ul-Quran	01	05
Lodhran	Jamia Islamia Siraj-ul-Uloom	06	00
	Jamia Madina-tul-Ilm	10	00
	Jamia Sirajia	04	00
Gogran	Jamia Khudam-ul-Islam	07	28
	Jamia Islamia Majeedia	05	07
Dhanot	Jamia Nasir-ul-Uloom	19	06
Dunyapur	Jamia Ali-ul-Murtaza	10	07
Basti Malook	Madrasa Al-Arbia	04	05
	Majid-e-Khizra	22	09
	Total	137	90
	Shia School of Thought (N=227)		
Bhakkar	Jamia Aal-e-Imran	00	50
	Jamia Imam Mehdi A.S	00	50
	Jamia Al-Hussain Shahani	00	50
Kotla Jaam	Jamia Baqir-ul-Uloom	00	77
	Total	00	227

It is common criticism on the Deoband School of Thought that its followers especially madrasa students are involved in militant activities against India in Kashmir and against the United States in Afghanistan. At the same time, it is joint criticism on this school of thought from the West and followers of Shia ideology that Deoband/Wahabi militants are involved in Bahrain against efforts for Shia revolution by the Shia majority population and against Bashar-ul-Asad Regime in Syria. On the other hand, followers of Shia ideology argue that Saudi Arab, United Arab Emirates and Qatar support Afghan Taliban, ISIS and Al-Qaida against Shia ideology in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Pakistan and Afghanistan (The Sunni-Shia Divide, 2015).

Similarly, a common perception in Pakistan prevails since the 1947 that government of Pakistan should give free hand to all the Jehadi organizations to play their role in Indian Held Kashmir. The same orientations were built during Zia regime in favor of Afghan Jehad as well which still exist (Ricks, 2015). In this situation, the last question is designed for measuring the tendency of the madrasa students that either they want to go for Jehad against human rights violations by India or the United States in Kashmir or Afghanistan respectively without permission of the Government of Pakistan or not. The results of both ideologies strengthen the criticism of the West because 40 % of Deoband students and all 100% of Shia

students said that they should not go for Jehad without permission of the Government of Pakistan but the 60 points difference in not a minor.

Similarly, in urban areas, 23 out of 115 (20%) Deoband students and all 150 (100%) Shia students do not want to go for Jehad without permission of the government. At the same time, 55 out of 112 (49%) Deoband students and all the 77 (100%) Shia students in rural areas do not want to go for Jehad without permission of the government even they observe human rights violations by Indian or American forces in Kashmir or Afghanistan respectively.

Results

During analyzing opinions from both schools of thought, a big difference in opinion is found on several questions which highlight major variation among ideas of both sects. For example, on the question of going for Jehad without permission of the government, all the students belonging to Shia school of thought from rural and urban areas said that they must not go but students belonging to Deoband school of thought have variation in this regard. Just 49% rural and 20% urban students of Deoband school thought to consider that they must not go. All the others showed their consensus to go without the permission of government. On the other hand, 85% of Deoband students and 92% of Shia students argued that Quranic verses about Jehad do not motivate them to initiate militant activities for fulfillment of their personal or community demands. At the same time, students of both the sects claimed to be proved as a good ruler than contemporary politicians. There is no difference in opinion at this stage among both communities. Such commonality is also shown at the question when asked about madrasas' involvement in terrorism, militant activities or sectarian violence. Students of both sects rejected this blame over madrasas.

About awareness of the socio-political rights of citizens, 57% of Deoband and 98% Shia students said that madrasa education delivers them an awareness about their socio-political rights. Similarly, 77% of Deoband and 96% of Shia students agreed with the statement that they can compete the world through getting a madrasa education. Likewise, 58% Deoband and 96% Shia students illustrate that they have earning opportunities after getting madrasa education while, 28% Deoband and 100% Shia students showed their agreement on the issue of affiliation of madrasas with Pakistan Madrasa Education Board (PMEB). At the same time, 87% of Deoband and 100% of Shia students expressed their views about getting school education parallel with madrasa education. During analyzing all these views, it is observed that there is a vast difference in opinion among Deoband and Shia students on several issues but, when we measured opinion regarding madrasa education as best than school education, the collected answers are amazing. 92% of Deoband and 83% Shia students considered madrasa education as best than school education. This shows a huge level of confusion among Deoband students who have a lack of trust in their madrasa education system on several issues highlighted in this questionnaire. On the other hand, Shia students showed a high-level trust over their madrasa educational system through this questionnaire.

Suggestions

To observe the findings of the study, some suggestions are given below in this regard;

1) The state must initiate several socio-cultural and religious programs to generate harmony among all the sects.

- Model Madrasa Scheme during the Pervez Musharraf regime must be promoted in all the regions
 of Pakistan as a fundamental pillar of educational policy like the establishment of other schools,
 colleges and universities.
- 3) West Bengal model is needed of Indian state to create religious harmony among Hindus and Muslims while Pakistan needs to deteriorate sectarian differences. So, there must be the establishment of state-controlled model madrasas that deliver comparative religious and comparative sectarian education along with modern subjects.
- 4) State must ban all those religious leaders along with groups or parties after judicial, criminal or intelligence investigations which are involved in the political use of religious or sectarian teachings.
- 5) There must be strict sectarian laws like the Islamic Republic of Iran that if any Shia or Sunni present a statement or writing against other sects, it will be punished for 10 years imprisonment without bail.
- 6) The state must discourage and ban all the militant organizations which motivate madrasa students and other segments of the society to go for Jehad without permission or consent of the government.
- 7) As it is a common perception of the madrasa students that their madrasas are not involved in militant activities or terrorism, a state must regulate all the madrasas without any discrimination and must check their activities. So, any national or international organization would not be able to target madrasas in Pakistan.
- 8) As madrasas are charity organizations, people should provide them with funds after judging their administrative, educational and organizational structure. Otherwise, their funds can be used against socio-religious or sectarian harmony.
- 9) Leaders of both the sects; Deoband and Shia must discourage and condemn terrorism of any sense at the Pakistani or international level whether it is in Afghanistan, Yemen, Syria, Iraq or in Kashmir.
- 10) The Independence movement of Kashmiris is supported by Pakistan but several militant organizations manipulate this movement for their personal interests. This tendency is falling the graph of Kashmir independence movement for amalgamation with Pakistan and helped India to propagate more against Kashmiri freedom fighters and Government of Pakistan. So, the government must discourage and ban such organizations.
- 11) Economics is a root cause of any socio-political or religious conflict. Critics of madrasa education claim that madrasa students are involved in terrorist activities due to poverty and lack of economic opportunities. Therefore, the state must encourage madrasa students for getting enrolment in Model Madrasas and the institutions like them, and, offer them better employment opportunities after completion of their education. Although, Zia Government announced a higher education policy for considering madras education equivalent to the master of Arabic and Islamic studies, but the actual myth of this policy was the involvement of the Pakistani state in Afghan Jehad. This policy is still continued by the Higher Education Commission Pakistan but it does not means that madrasas have adopted modern syllabus along with comparative religious and comparative sectarian education. So, the equivalent policy must be implemented for just those madrasas which offer harmonious religious and sectarian education along with modern subjects.

References

- Abadie, A. (2004, October). Poverty, Political Freedom and the Roots of Terrorism. *Harvard University and NBER*.
- Gishkori, Z. (n.d.). Recipient of foreign funds: Tough hunt for Punjab to identify madrassas. Retrieved April 17, 2015, from The Express Tribune: http://tribune.com.pk/story/831973/recipient-of-foreign-funds-tough-hunt-for-punjab-to-identify-madrassas/
- Gishkori, Z. (n.d.). Serious concerns: Over 8,000 seminaries operate without affiliation. Retrieved April 20, 2015, from The Express Tribune: http://tribune.com.pk/story/817868/serious-concerns-over-8000-seminaries-operate-without-affiliation/
- Goodenough, P. (n.d.). 4 Sunni Muslim Groups Responsible for 66% of All 17,958 Terror Killings in 2013. Retrieved April 18, 2015, from CNSNEWS.COM: http://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/patrick-goodenough/4-sunni-muslim-groups-responsible-66-all-17958-terror-killings-2013
- Hefner, R. W. (2007). Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education; The Culture and Political of Modern Muslim Education. Princeton University Press.
- How Madrassas fuel sectarianism. (n.d.). Retrieved April 20, 2015, from The Nation: http://nation.com.pk/columns/29-Nov-2013/how-madrassas-fuel-sectarianism
- Khan, L. (n.d.). *Political Islam in Pakistan*. Retrieved April 25, 2015, from In Defence of Marxism: http://www.marxist.com/political-islam-in-pakistan.htm
- Muslim Congressman: American Schools Should Be Modeled After Madrassas, 'Where The Foundation Is The Koran'. (n.d.). Retrieved 03 15, 2015, from Fox News Channal: http://nation.foxnews.com/andre-carson/2012/07/05/muslim-congressman-american-schools-should-be-modeled-after-madrassas-where-foundation-koran
- Puri, L. (n.d.). *THE PAST AND FUTURE OF DEOBANDI ISLAM*. Retrieved April 22, 2015, from Combating Terrorism Center: https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-past-and-future-of-deobandi-islam
- Qasmi, M. K. (2005). *Madrasa Education: Its Strength and Weakness*. New Delhi: Markazul Ma'arif Education and Research Centre (MMERC).
- Religious Debate in Pakistan and The Society's Sectarian Politics. (n.d.). Retrieved April 21, 2015, from Tabsirah.com: http://tabsirah.com/religious-debate-in-pakistan-and-the-societys-sectarian-politics/
- Ricks, T. E. (n.d.). Riedel: The war against the Soviets in Afghanistan was run by Zia, not by us. Retrieved May 06, 2015, from Foreign Policy: http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/14/riedel-the-war-against-the-soviets-in-afghanistan-was-run-by-zia-not-by-us/
- Salaam & Welcome to the Official Website of ARMM! (n.d.). Retrieved 04 16, 2015, from Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao: http://www.armm.gov.ph/?option=com_content&view=article&id=46&Itemid=64

- Salahadin. (n.d.). Radical Sunni-Deobandi groups main source of terror in Pakistan. Retrieved April 18, 2015, from Pakistan Defence: http://defence.pk/threads/radical-sunni-deobandi-groups-main-source-of-terror-in-pakistan.23432/
- Sareen, S. (2005). *The Jihad Factory: Pakistan's Islamic Revolution in the Making.* New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.
- Sikand, Y. (2008). *Bastions of the Believers: Madrasas and Islamic Education in India*. New Delhi: Penguin Books India.
- The Shia Factor For The Stabilization Of Afghanistan: Iran And The Hazara. (n.d.). Retrieved April 18, 2015, from Spotlight: http://www.stimson.org/spotlight/the-shia-factor-for-the-stabilization-of-afghanistan-iran-and-the-hazara/
- The Sunni-Shia Divide. (n.d.). Retrieved May 05, 2015, from Council on Foriegn Relations: http://www.cfr.org/peace-conflict-and-human-rights/sunni-shia-divide/p33176#!/
- Thobani, S. (2010). *Islam in the School Curriculum: Symbolic Pedagogy and Cultural Claims*. New York: A&C Black.
- West Bengal madrassas draw non-Muslim students. (n.d.). Retrieved April 16, 2015, from Talk Islam: http://talkislam.info/tag/madrassas/

Appendix

	, ė	مختف مدارس کے طلباءے مدرسراصلا حات کے موضوع پردائے عامدی بیائش کے لیے سوالنامہ ہے: یہ سوالنامہ صرف اور صرف یونیورٹی میں بی ایچ ڈی کلاس کی ایک جھیقی مثل کے طور پر تیار کیا گیا ہے۔اسکا کسی کلی اور جہ سے کی انسلن
	-04	عديد و حامد رف رو رف يعد و من في الله و المراه الكاكر كري _ في رائكا عبار بال يا مل من كي ايك نشان بروائر واكاكركري _
		مدر
تہیں	بإل	یا أب درسر کی تعلیم کوسکول کی تعلیم سے بہتر مجھتے ہیں؟
تہیں	بال	یا اُپ کو مدر سر کی تعلیم سکول کی تعلیم کے ساتھ ساتھ ساتھ کا کرتی جاہتے؟
تبيل	بال	يا أب بحية بن كه بإكتان على تمام مدارى كومدرسه المجركيين بوروف منظور شده موما جاسية؟
نہیں	بال	یا اُپ سجھتے میں کہ مدرسہ نے تعلیم حاصل کرنے کے بعد اُپ کوروز گا رکے بہتر مواقع مراہم ہو سکتے میں؟
نہیں	ېل	یا اُپ سجحتے میں کہ مدرسہ تعلیم حاصل کرنے کے بعد اپنے اُپ کو بین الاقوا می طور پر منوا کتے میں؟
تبيل	بال	یا اُپ بھتے میں کہ درسہ کی تعلیم اُپ کوائپ کے معاشرتی وسیائ حقوق افر انتف سے اُ گاہ کر رہی ہے؟
تبيل	بإل	يا أب مجمعة بين كهدارت الرقد وراندتشدوا وروبشت كردي عن لوث تبلن؟
تبيل	ېل	۔ یا آپ جھتے ہیں کہ مداری کے طالبعلمامور چکومت موجودہ سیاستدا نوں کی نسبت بہتر چلا سکتے ہیں؟
نبيل	بال	یا اُپ بیجتے میں کیقران عمل موجود جہا دے مطلق اُیات مداری کے طلبا مواہنے ذاتی یا ہے مکتبہ قرکے تعلق رکنے والے احباب کے مفاوات کے
نبيں	ہاں	ول کے لیے تر تصد کا روائوں رہیں اکسا تھی؟ با اُپ جھتے ہیں کدائپ کو حکومی باکستان کی اجازت کے بغیر کشمیر با افغانستان میں ہندوستان یا سریکہ کی جانب سے انسانی حقوق کی خلاف ورزیوں
		ویہ جہاور یا جا جا ہے؟