

Politics of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan The Case of Enlightened Moderation during General Musharraf Era

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Abstract

This paper aims to critically analyse the state-led madrassa reforms initiated in General Musharraf era under the banner of Enlightened Moderation. It does so by using Rosenfeld's tri-fold framework of analysis which suggests that the realm of Faith should be separated from the realm of Reason; assigns superior status to the dictates of Reason over Faith, and the advancement of liberty and equality for all. The paper explores that how Musharraf's Enlightened Moderation project in connection to madrassa reforms became controversial due to contrasting interpretations as well as the politics played around this project. The study focuses on two diverse scenarios: First, the religious scholars and ulama resisted accepting the utility of Reason while responding to the state's madrassa reform strategy; second, the policy makers preferred Reason at the cost of religion while framing madrassa reform policy under the Enlightened Moderation project. This paper highlights the gaps generated between the scholarly interpretation and policymakers' outlook regarding the state-led madrassa reforms. The study concludes that the interpretation of Enlightened Moderation by the ulama and religious scholars prevented the execution of such madrassa reform plans which could have been productive for the madrassa students while the interpretation of the same project by the state paved the way for the smooth entrance of some renowned figures of religious education institutions into the parliaments at the cost of liberal political forces. Some of the ulama also joined hands with the state to enjoy political powers in return for extending their support to the military regime while the students and teachers who were the real stakeholders of the reform plans were absolutely ignored by the ulama as well as the state.

Keywords: Enlightened Moderation, Madrassa Reform, General Musharraf, Pakistan, Ulama

Introduction:

The history of reforming madrassa has been a recurring phenomenon in the Muslim societies for the last few centuries. Muhammad Abduh (1849-1904) introduced reforms in Al-Azhar University. Similarly, Indonesian freedom fighters replicated the reforms of Al-Azhar University in religious education institutions in Indonesia.

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Following the same pattern Sheikh Ahmad al Hadi and Sheikh Tahir Jalaludin initiated reforms in madrassa in Malaysia. Likewise, in Bangladesh madrassa reform plans got a practical shape in 1979. The essence of entire reform plans in religious education institutions across the Muslim world largely sought modification of curriculum with a purpose to enrich the religious education to such an extent that it becomes adjustable to the contemporary world.¹ Similarly, in Pakistan four state-led madrassa reforms in Ayub, Bhutto, Zia and Musharraf era have been introduced since its inception. The conceived spirit of each of these reforms was integration of madrassa system with that of formal education system to bring madrassa graduates into mainstream national life. This paper deals with the madrassa reform projects initiated during General Pervez Musharraf Era under the banner of Enlightened Moderation project. *Enlightenment*, *Moderation* and *Madrassa Reforms* are the key debatable terms encompassing a dominant portion of the research paper. This section deals with introduction and elaboration of these key terms in order to portray a clear picture of how these concepts are used in the entire research paper.

The main reference point for Enlightenment is the West where this project was originated in the 16th Century. Revolutionary movements in philosophy and science were introduced in the West during that time. The contribution of Descartes, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Newton, Bayle and Spinoza prevented the term from being died down. It gained immense popularity in the 18th Century as thinkers such as Hume, Kant and Madison, Jefferson and Franklin contributed a lot in keeping the Movement alive². The most famous definition of Enlightenment comes from German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804):

Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-imposed immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's understanding without guidance from another. This immaturity is self-imposed when its cause lies not in lack of reason, but in lack of resolve and courage to use it without guidance from another. Sapere Aude! 'Have courage to use your own understanding!'—that is the motto of enlightenment³.

Rosenfeld has scratched the real essence of Enlightenment project as tri-fold: “the radical separation between the realm of Faith and that of Reason; entrusting the ruling of the public sphere exclusively to the dictates of the realm of Reason; and the promotion of liberty and equality for all.”⁴ The first and second folds are the means to achieve the third fold which is an end. This paper discusses the means of Enlightenment project presented by Rosenfeld.

Moderation is another key term used in the paper that needs to be discussed. Moderation in its literal sense is close to “justice, and means opting for a middle position between two extremes, often used interchangeably with average, core, standard and non-aligned”. The opposite of Moderation denotes “inclination toward the peripheries, extremism, radicalism and excess”. Wahbah al-Zuhayli defines

moderation as balance in “belief, morality and character, in the manner of treating others in the applied systems of socio-political order and governance.”⁵

President Musharraf’s Enlightened Moderation was more or less an accumulation of the above mentioned definitions of ‘Enlightenment’ and ‘Moderation’.

In the very beginning of his regime on October 17, 1999, President Musharraf urged ulama to present a true picture of Islam by curbing those elements that exploit religion for their pre-set interests. He claimed that he had made a very comprehensive strategy regarding madrassa that comprised of spurring their strength and eradicating their weaknesses. President Musharraf showed his will to introduce the modern subjects in madrassa under the Enlightened Moderation project in order to break the hurdles that had confined the learned at madrassa to just few religious and social activities. He showed his interest to improve the standard of education with such necessary alterations helpful for the students to adopt any of the professions they wanted.⁶

In order to propagate Enlightened Moderation project on a larger scale in the society President Musharraf motivated scholars like Ghamadi who openly favoured Musharraf’s plan on state-sponsored and other media to amend Hudood Ordinance arguing it misinterpretation of the Shariah by a limited circle of traditional Jurists. Ghamadi also declared that the Jihad backed by Organizations against Hindus, Jews and Christian as illegal. He advocated that Jihad is obligatory only when a Muslim state comes under unjust attack of the foreign country⁷.

The religious segment of the society strongly criticized Musharraf’s Enlightened Moderation project. Munawar Hassan the Jammat-i-Islami’s Central Secretary General interpreted Musharraf’s Enlightened Moderation as a measure to eradicate Islamic values and denounce Islamic traditions. He criticised that Musharraf under the Enlightened Moderation project wanted to promote un-Islamic ways of life and practices in the society. According to him, President Musharraf forgot the specific basic structure of the Muslim societies, their psychology, temperament and real dynamics, which was inherited from the Prophet. He asserted that the concept was cooked up at the behest of the West and the US⁸.

The 9/11 incident followed by the US administrations’ pre-mature responses⁹ set the stage for the policy making, academic and semi-academic circles of the world to criticize the Muslim world. In this connection, the debate on Pakistan’s madrassa became central in the wake of the US-led War on Terror (WoT). The military ruler General Musharraf who was seeking legitimacy and acceptability for his regime on the domestic as well as international levels launched the madrassa reforms under the notion of Enlightened Moderation in compliance with the demands of the international community. The scholarly, semi-scholarly and policy making circles brought forward a notable number of books, articles, policy papers, reports and documents covering diverse dimensions of the state-led madrassa reforms in General Musharraf era through policy perspectives¹⁰.

Review of key literature on the subject indicates at least two main streams of thinking regarding the critical appraisal of madrasa reforms initiated in Musharraf era. The first line of reasoning considers reforms as genuine effort to bring substantial changes into the madrasa system but questioned the intransigence of ulama as the sole cause of leading state-led madrasa reforms towards their wretched destination. Robert Looney and Masooda Bano are among the leading researchers counted in this stream. The second line of academic thinking consists of scholars such as Mumtaz Ahmad, Christopher Candland, and Saleem H. Ali. They are of the view that reforms were cosmetic as the formulation and implementation stages showed lack of commitment on the part of state which led them to failure of actualizing their conceived outcomes of bringing about substantial changes into madrasa system of Pakistan. Although, both streams have varied over the reasons of the failure of madrasa reforms in General Musharraf era but both have largely agreed that reforms did not bring any constructive and productive changes for the betterment of madrasa students. Keeping all this in view, this research paper investigates that to which extent the vacillation of the Enlightened Moderation between intellectual interpretations and policy making outlook resulted in some serious setbacks for the state-led madrasa reform plans in General Musharraf era.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section two of the paper describes President Musharraf's Enlightened Moderation project, its political and global context, and its aims and objectives as outlined in his speeches and policy papers. The last section presents a critical analysis of how and why the Enlightened Moderation Project became controversial and ended up without bringing any substantial changes in the madrasa system.

Contextual Debate of General Musharraf's Enlightened Moderation Project:

The real essence of Musharraf's Enlightened Moderation appeared in a refined form after 9/11 incident which asserted his project to be based on a two-pronged strategy:

*"The first part is for the Muslim world to shun militancy and extremism and adopt the path of socio-economic uplift. The second part is for the West and the US in particular, to seek to resolve all political disputes with justice and to aid in the socio-economic betterment of the deprived Muslim world."*¹¹

President Musharraf claimed that his Enlightened Moderation project aimed to eradicate the religious fundamentalism by introducing the vision of a moderate Islamic society, modern in nature and secular in essence.¹² His project was strongly welcomed by the West in the post-9/11 situation as it aimed to minimize the rift between the Muslim world and the West. Moreover, Musharraf was seeking public support for his regime after taking over power through coup d'état. In this connection, the Enlightened Moderation project also aimed to get support of the secular section of society to strengthen the military regime on the domestic level.¹³

President Musharraf's enlightenment was a reflection and a revival of Kantian philosophy (as it was solely preferring Reason over religion as discussed below) which got eclipsed since 1980's due to deprivatization of religion that involved two interlinked processes i.e "repoliticization of the private religious and

moral spheres” and the “renormativization of the public economic and political spheres”.¹⁴ The religious beliefs since then have become a matter of public debate rather than confining to just as personal matter. This has led to “disenchantment of Reason” which has resulted in retreat of modernism. The revival of religion including the spread of religious fundamentalism and postmodern subjectivism are observed as sources filling the space left by the retreat of Reason¹⁵. The Iranian Revolution led by Khomeini in 1979¹⁶ was a strong expression of reversal of Kantian philosophy in Iranian society as with the retreat of Reason and modernism religion appeared as a strong alternative to cater the political, economic and social needs of the society¹⁷. The Iranian Revolution gave a new impetus to the Islamic forces, especially Shias to play a dominant role in Pakistan’s politics¹⁸. In those situations, Zia promoted Sunni-based Islamization to counter Shia’s political activism in Pakistan¹⁹. Briefly, the Islamization program launched by General Zia-ul-Haq also partially emerged out of influence of Iranian Revolution which anchored the roots of mutilated picture of religious fundamentalism in Pakistan. Simultaneously, the impact of religion specifically religious fundamentalism got deepened in the entire Muslim world due to the proxy war of the USSR and USA in Afghanistan during the Cold War Era and Israel’s atrocities in Palestine, which resulted into emergence and growth of fundamentalist organizations and groups across the Muslim world such as Taliban and Al-Qaeda²⁰.

The term Moderation as defined by Wahbahal-Zuhayli is also not problematic for the Muslim world as Islam itself teaches moderation and says: “Thus We have made of you a community justly balanced that you might be witnesses over the people and the Messenger witness over yourselves” (2: 143). So, apparently neither Enlightened nor Moderation seems controversial. As former aims to eradicate mutilated fundamentalism (which is damaging the Muslim world itself) and latter is also a part of Islamic injunctions.

A Critical Analysis of Enlightened Moderation in Context to Madrassa Reforms:

The question that needs to be addressed is why was Musharraf’s Enlightened Moderation strategy became controversial in context to madrassa reforms if adopting moderation and curtailing mutilated picture of fundamentalism using enlightened approach were not controversial?

Four major factors are likely to be reasons of making his Enlightened Moderation project controversial in context to madrassa reforms.

Firstly, interpretations of Musharraf’s Enlightened Moderation in the light of the key tenets of enlightenment such as the radical separation between the realm of Faith and that of reason and entrusting the ruling of the public sphere exclusively to the dictates of the realm of Reason described by Rosenfeld raised questions on madrassa reforms initiatives²¹. In a broader spectrum, it is analyzed that by urging the Muslim world to ‘shun militancy and extremism’ in the first part of his Enlightened Moderation project, he suggested to separate realm of Faith and that of Reason. The militancy and extremism in the contemporary era were perceived to be emerging out as a reaction to the unjust policies of the US government towards the

Muslim world such as Iraq and Afghanistan.²² A perception was created in the entire world specifically among the Muslims that there prevailed a clash of civilization between the West and the Muslim world as projected by Samuel Huntington²³. In those critical junctures, opting Reason President Musharraf raised slogan of 'Pakistan First'²⁴. He adopted a policy of keeping the state at a distance from the affairs of other Muslim world specifically Afghanistan which came under attack of the US-led forces after the 9/11 incident. In an effort to separate the realm of Reason and Faith in Pakistani society, the state-led madrassa reforms demanded expulsion of foreign students from Pakistan's madrassas who had no Non-Objection Certificates from their respective governments²⁵. The purpose behind that demand was to stop Pakistani madrassa students' involvement in promoting militancy in the name of jihad across the world. This move was strongly taken by the religious segment of the society as detachment of Pakistan's madrassas with the rest of the Muslims of the world and was perceived by the Muslim scholars as the negation of the established concept of Ummah which is united beyond territorial constraints. Qari Hanif said in this connection that it was an honour for Pakistan that the foreign students after getting education from Pakistan's madrassas would serve in their countries as honorary ambassadors. It was the biased policy of the government to allow foreign students to get moderate education in formal education institutions and did not allow them access to madrassas for getting religious education²⁶. Over the matter of expulsion of foreign students,²⁷ the number of madrassas refused to obey and as a result, the government did not seem to be active to expel the students from the madrassa in reality²⁸.

On the other hand, President Musharraf's recommendation to the West to resolve political disputes with justice and provide aid in the socio-economic betterment of the Muslim world leads to the second fold of Enlightenment i.e. entrusting the ruling of the public sphere exclusively to the dictates of the realm of Reason. As using Reason, President Musharraf sought justice from the oppressors including the US which further led his Enlightened Moderation to controversies. Moreover the Madrassa Reform Project (2002-03—2007), was launched by the government at the cost of \$ 100 million aiming to facilitate 8,000 madrassas to teach modern subject²⁹ which received donation from the US. The project was suspected and rejected by the ulama as according to them using money the state wanted to bring changes into madrassa system on the demands of the US and West³⁰. There was an absolute lack of trust between madrassa and the state during Musharraf era as it was believed by a good number of religious scholars, intellectuals and ulama that the state-led madrassa reforms under the Enlightened Moderation project were introduced solely under the immense international pressure aiming to either eliminate madrassas from the society or to withhold their autonomy.³¹

Secondly, as soon as the reason has loosened its modernist grip, the conflict between Faith and Reason (an important tenet of Enlightenment) has been transformed into a conflict between two competing faiths in going far beyond just theoretical interest specifically since 1980's. With the retreat of Reason, religion has emerged as a force filling the void by projecting its truth "as absolute and exclusive"

while secularism has become vulnerable to being cast as yet one more (false) religion. For example, in 1980's the protestant fundamentalist parents in the US brought the cases in the federal courts against the curriculum taught in public schools claiming that it was imposing "religion" of "secular humanism" which was violation of Clause 19 of the Constitution.³² Although, the court rejected the claim but in fact one cannot deny because Kantian morality can neither be tested empirically or verified scientifically nor vulnerable to be proved normatively valid through an exclusive appeal to Reason. Moreover, if one uses ones rational capabilities they are not convincing unlike the propositions of logic. It means that his enlightened project is based on an act of Faith³³ and hence can plausibly be accused as "religion" of "secular humanism". Analyzing the state-led madrasa reforms in Musharraf era, it can be found that "the Government of Pakistan, through the Ministry of Education, has also implemented its somewhat 'secular' curriculum in the Qur'anic schools and madrasas in Pakistan."³⁴ Pakistan Madrasa Education Board Ordinance 2001 and Madrasa Reform Project (2002-3—2007-8) dominantly aimed to create uniformity of standard education through integration of formal and Deeni Madrasas education system to cater the demands of the modern age on one hand and infuse the spirit of Islam on the other hand.³⁵ The Madrasa Education Board Ordinance 2001 set a target of establishing Model Deeni Madaris where subjects of formal system of education would be added along with content imparting religious education. The Madrasa Reform Project (2002-03—2007) also aimed to teach English, Social Studies and General Science from Primary to Secondary level and Economics, English, Computer Science and Pakistan Studies at the Intermediate level in madrasas with a purpose to abridge the gulf between Madrasa Education and Formal Education systems.³⁶ Apparently, President Musharraf showed his will to introduce the modern subjects in madrasa in order to break the hurdles that had confined the learned at madrasa to just few religious and social activities. He showed his interest to improve the standard of education with such necessary alterations helpful for the students to adopt any of the professions they wanted.³⁷

But, according to ulama, the real asset of madaris was trust in God and they did not want to lose that valuable asset just at the cost of government's offer to provide materialistic support. They responded that neither ulama nor the madrasa graduates ever craved worldly jobs. They criticized that the government should utilize energies to provide jobs to the unemployed college and university degree holders of secular education instead of focusing on the future of madrasa degree holders. The madaris would make such necessary arrangements themselves to cope with the situation.³⁸ The Secretary General of Wafaq al Arabia Pakistan and convener of the alliance of all madrasa boards of different schools of thought in Pakistan, Qari Hanif Jallundhari conveyed the point of view of all wafaqs and said in this connection that the MRP was a part of "global conspiracy to deviate us from our basic purpose" of teaching Quran and Sunnah and was not a sincere offer to help the Islamic institutions.³⁹

Masooda Bano writes in this connection that the state-led reforms' initiatives in Musharraf era did not produce the expected outcomes due to the

resistance from ulama as they suspected the US backed reforms and onset of the US-led War on Terror had further strengthened their pre-established reflections towards reforms in Musharraf regime⁴⁰. These responses from the ulama deepened the demarcation of secular and Islamic education in Pakistan and here the case of madrasa reforms in Musharraf era under Enlightened Moderation project evoked echoes of the responses of the US protestant parents claiming curriculum in the US schools promote religion of 'secular humanism'. There are few reasons likely to be responsible for the ulama's responses and claims over religion and secular as separate entities.

Taking a glance at history, separation of religious and worldly life nurtured during colonial era with the establishment of Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband and Ali Garh Movement in which former protected religious values and teachings and latter managed to secure politics and economy of the Muslims of the sub-continent.⁴¹ Even in the contemporary era it can be found that the two systems of education are always believed to have different aims as in formal system of education the betterment of materialistic life seems dominant and modern nationalism is considered as the foremost task to achieve in order to retain the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state while religious education revolves around spiritual satisfaction and salvation in the eternal life and nationalism in Islam stretches beyond territorial limits as the concept of pan-Islamism replaces nationalism. So, absolute integration of the two systems under Enlightened Moderation seemed a far-fetched and exaggerated phenomenon.

For the above mentioned reasons, a tremendous majority of the madrasahs did not undergo any changes to their traditional curriculum and the Ministry of Education had also rightly accepted the failure of MRP as Dr. Muhammad Hanif, the project Coordinator revealed, "In the last five years we reached out to only 507 madrasahs."⁴²

Thirdly, with the revival of religion since 1980's, the post-modernists attack a key principle of Enlightenment that is the radical separation between the realm of Faith and that of Reason. The post modernists build their challenge on "disenchantment of reason" claiming that Reason when acts as a factor or means to establish justified rational order, it paves way to purely instrumental reason which focuses much on gaining interests of the powerful, nurturing colonialism and neo-colonialism, gaining more wealth etc. It means reduction of Reason to instrumental Reason has turned "means of enlightenment against its end" and a hurdle in attaining the third tenet of enlightenment "promotion of liberty and equality for all".⁴³ Apparently, Moderation introduced by Pervez Musharraf seems absolutely uncontroversial as justified above but as an adjective adds more meanings to noun so, addition of 'Enlightened' (which solely detaches realm of Faith and Reason and stresses more on utility of Reason) to the noun Moderation makes it controversial as moderation here in case of Musharraf's Enlightened Moderation project turns to be a rational approach derived out of the realm of Reason (instrumental Reason) keeping the Religion aside.

Reducing reason to instrumental Reason, President Musharraf contended the international community that he was working to curtail militancy in Pakistan through the state-led madrassa reforms. In June 2002, the cabinet approved a draft law for the registration and financial regulation of madrassa. Under this law, madrassas registration with the Pakistan Madrassa Education Board and provincial boards was made mandatory and it was declared that madrassas failing to comply with that condition would either be fined or closed.⁴⁴ All the wafaqs, Tanzeems and madrassa boards harshly criticised the proposed Ordinance so, despite cabinet's approval, General Pervez Musharraf using instrumental Reason did not sign the Ordinance. The PMEB Ordinance failed to achieve any remarkable outcomes as only three Model Deeni Madrassas were established⁴⁵ but the reforms successfully carved out opportunities for madrassas' high-ups to play roles in national affairs as their degrees were equalized to the formal system of education and they were allowed to contest 2002 elections. As a result, the religious segment of society who was known as anti-Musharraf made a political alliance MMA⁴⁶ and came up as the largest opposition in the National Assembly, formed government in NWFP and became a coalition partner in Baluchistan. They accepted controversial Legal Frame Order, helped to institutionalize the presence of Army in Pakistan's politics through the establishment of National Security Council. With the help of MMA, General Musharraf managed to get the 17th Amendment passed which legalized him to serve as the Chief of the Army Staff until December 2004. The MMA extended full support to President Musharraf throughout the tenure of the Assemblies.⁴⁷

Besides benefitted from madrassa reforms in the domestic politics, President Musharraf using instrumental Reason also managed to achieve legitimacy for his regime on the international level. In NWFP, the MMA's government passed Hasba Bill which showed that they wanted to enforce such sort of Shariah which could promote Talibanization in the province.⁴⁸ Additionally, Musharraf also deliberately lingered the reforms process and gave time to religious political parties to gain support from public and become a political power strong enough to make the US realized about the importance of Musharraf⁴⁹ as his disappearance from the powerful Chief Executive's office could have been replaced with madrassa based religious parties.⁵⁰ Briefly, reduction of Reason (a key tenet of Enlightenment) to instrumental Reason prevented the state-led madrassa reforms from achieving the outcomes beneficial for the madrassa graduates, students and teachers in the long run.

Fourthly, Musharraf's enlightened moderation project was perceived to promote few attributes of the First Wave of Secularization such as the instability of religious faith and retreat of religious beliefs, symbols and ideas from the public sphere. During the First Wave of Secularization, the Church's importance in the society was abolished by their replacements with some other secular institutions.⁵¹

Likewise, establishment of the Model Deeni Madrassas and modification in curriculum of the existed madrassas in Musharraf era was perceived as deviation from the Islamic beliefs, symbols and ideas from the public sphere. The history of

transformation of the Muslim societies following attributes of the First Wave of Secularization has not been a new practice. Iran under Reza Shah Pahlavi and Turkey under Kemal Ataturk headed towards achievement of modernization and secularization following the similar pattern. In Iran, the reforms were introduced in formal and religious education systems, judiciary and overall society which brought complete transformation of society under the Pahlavi's Dynasty while in Turkey after the fall of the Ottoman Empire Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his friends initiated a new series of socio-cultural reforms with a purpose to denounce religious dogmatism. Kemalist secularism was anti-clerical secularism in its true spirit as it propagated that Islam was hurdle in the way of development and progress which was basically positivists' ideas derived from the vision absorbed by them from France. They believed Islam to be a threat to modern Turkey as the Catholic Church was to French Republic.⁵²

In short, the Enlightened Moderation project of Pervez Musharraf was also perceived as continuation of the aforementioned practices as he announced Kemal Ataturk as his ideal on several occasions⁵³ and promoting secular subjects under the Enlightened Moderation project in religious education institutions was perceived as retreat of religious beliefs, symbols and ideas from the public spheres. Like the First wave of Secularization it was doubted by the ulama that Musharraf wanted to establish Model Deeni Madaris under Enlightened Moderation project just to abolish the traditional religious institutions imparting purely religious education. The extreme resistance from the ulama also contributed a lot in preventing the reform plans from attaining a workable shape. Moreover, the registration and regulation processes were suspected by the ulama as a threat to their autonomy. A noted leader of the religious parties Maulana Samiul Haq⁵⁴, chief of his own faction of the Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam, feared that Pakistan would become a secular state in case of dismantling the madrassa system. According to the ulama, the government should not obey the US and the West regarding the Madrassa system rather it should make an effort to uphold the freedom and character of the madrassas.⁵⁵ As a result, the government kept on shaping and re-shaping the madrassa reform plans till they became suitable for the madrassa administration as well as the regime.

Conclusion:

This study investigated the politics of madrassa reforms initiated under the banner of Enlightened Moderation in General Musharraf era. The study showed that apparently the intellectual interpretation of the Enlightened Moderation made the reforms unacceptable for the ulama. For them, the separation of realm of Reason and Faith was a misfit plan for the Pakistani society dominantly comprises of masses having faith in Islam. According to the ulama, a major portion of the society is a part of ummah which is believed to be stretched beyond territorial constraints. It was further analyzed that the contemporary circumstances where most of the Muslim countries are sufferings at the hands of the West created perceptions among ulama that madrassa reforms under Enlightened Moderation aimed to shackle the Islamic basis of the society as was experienced in history during colonial era, in Kemalian Turkey and Pahlavi's Iran. But, an in depth analysis using supportive arguments

draws two conclusions; firstly, intellectual interpretation of Enlightened Moderation specifically by the ulama prevented the success of just those madrasa reform plans that could have been beneficial for the madrasa students in the long run specifically in terms of providing them acceptability in employment in areas other than religious spheres in Musharraf era; secondly, on the policy implementation stages, Reason--the key tenet of Enlightenment was reduced to instrumental Reason by the state as reform plans were shaped and re-shaped several times till they became adjustable to serve the interests of the madrasa administration as well as the regime. Briefly, on state's interpretation, Enlightened Moderation project served as a vehicle for tracing out political benefits for few of the madrasahs' high-ups and the military regime while interpretation of the same project by the ulama served as a hurdle for the madrasa students to flourish in society through madrasa reforms.

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