

## Inequality, Education and Radicalization: Historical Narrative of Madrassas in the Khairpur District of Sindh, Pakistan

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### **Abstract**

Last two decades have brought madrassas to the focus of the international community. The general assumption about madrassas is that they are the source of radicalization and its expected outcome (terrorism). This study attempts to understand the role of madrassas in the radicalization of society at Khairpur district of Sindh, Pakistan. The primary focus of this study is to examine and investigate the relationship between poverty and madrassas growth; hence, a quantitative cross-sectional approach was adopted to examine the level of poverty. The researcher designed a questionnaire to collect information regarding madrassa students' family background related to family size, land ownership, annual income, and households to determine the level of poverty in the respondents. Khairpur district consists of eight administrative units having 275 madrassas. This study chose five madrassas from each administrative unit; In turn, twenty-five questionnaires were distributed to each madrassa. Thus, the researcher distributed one thousand questionnaires in forty madrassas. After the collection of data, the researcher used SPSS software to carry out statistical analysis. The participants' responses indicate that most families had large family size, and more than 60% of families own less than five acres of land. As the land is a significant income source in rural areas, the above percentage indicates very limited income. The results of the study indicate a high incidence of poverty in the participant's family backgrounds. Hence, it is the most viable rationale behind parents' choice of madrassas education at Khairpur district and growth in the number of madrassas.

**Keywords:** Inequality; Education; Poverty; Madrassas; Talpur Rule.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The madrassa, a centuries-old institution, has come under severe international criticism over the last two decades (from 2000 to 2020), suggesting that madrassas are the source of radicalization and acts of violence. However, madrassas have served for centuries as preservers of Islamic culture and knowledge and transferring the teachings of Quran and hadith (sayings of Prophet PBUH) and Sharia (Islamic law) to the future generations (Andrabi, 2005). During

the 1980's Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, madrassa students attracted international attention, hence they were encouraged and trained by the United States' Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to wage a jihad (holy war) against the Soviet occupiers (Hartman, 2002). The US encouragement and General Zia ul Haq's Sharia law were the two major factors that proved a turning point in the history of madrassas in Pakistan, consequently, these factors introduced the element of violence into the madrassas' centuries-old education system (Sultana, 2008). Resultantly, madrassas not only received the attention of the international community but also saw a free flow of funds, both from within and without, into the coffers these institutions (Hussain, 2015; Gul, 2016). As such, the madrassas not only began collecting donations from people in their respective vicinities but even followers of the same sect within the country and abroad. Such wealth and power allowed the religious clerics who controlled these madrassas to exert influence in the political arena. Thus, it paved the way for religious groups to participate in national politics and contest in elections. General Zia Ul Haq's Sharia law and participation of religious leaders in politics therefore allowed religious groups a greater say in Pakistan's political and religious matters (Arif et al, 2022; Burki, 2016). To achieve further control and representation at the national level, certain religious groups opted to open madrassas in every nook and corner of Pakistan, and the Khairpur district was no exception to these developments.

The madrassa education system in Khairpur district has a long history. Islam entered the Sindh province even before it spread to the rest of subcontinent. Therefore, Sindh is commonly referred to as the "door to Islam". Mohammad Bin Qasim's conquest in 712 AD (Gabrieli, 1965), opened the doors for invaders from the Arab and the Central Asian Muslim regions. This process was gradual, but the main factor for this slow progress was the language. The original and initial texts of the Qur'an, Hadith (Sayings of Prophet Muhammad) and Sharia Law (Islamic legal system) were in Arabic and Parsi (Persian). Most of the rulers who came after Muhammad bin Qasim were from central Asia and Persia (Iran), and due to that the influence of the Persian language began to grow in the region (Rajani, 2020).

The Arab conquest of Sindh in 8th Century AD paved the way for future rulers of central Asia and Persia. Consequently, in 1026 AD the Mahmood Ghaznavi empire captured Sindh and remained part of their empire, until Akbar (Mughal emperor) annexed it. However, Nadir Shah attacked Sindh in 1740 then the region came under Afghan rule. The assassination of Nadir Shah led to Durani rule and Sindh came under their sway.

During the power struggle between Mughal and Afghan, Noor Muhammad Kalhoro seized the opportunity and became ruler of Sindh. Ghulam Shah younger brother of Noor Muhammad succeeded him after his death. It was during his era that East India Company set foot in Sindh. Ghulam Shah and East India Company signed trade agreement in 1758, allowing east India company to set trading post's in Shah Bandar and Thatta. The official order from Ghulam shah allowed British east India Company to draw some trading benefits. This order was revised in 1761. After the death of his father Sarfraz Khan ascended the throne but during his rule the conflict between Kalhora's and Talpur dynasties intensified. Due to worsening law and order situation British East India Company shut down its factories and left in 1775. The hasty decision of Sarfraz Khan to assassinate three chieftains of Talpur tribe led to the downfall of Kalhora's rule in Sindh (Ahmed & Sultana, 2019). The Talpur Baloch tribes determined to avenge death of their leader revolted against Kalhora's and Abdul Nabi Kalhoro the last ruler of the dynasty was overthrown. This success of revolt lead to the Talpur era. Mir Fateh Ali Khan became the first ruler of Sindh. The rule of Talpur's was not without conspiracies, such as the brothers of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, Mir Sohrab and Mir Thora conspired against their brother and established their own rule in Khairpur and Shah Bander. Nevertheless, the Talpur rule continued in Sindh, particularly in Khairpur State until. The upper Sindh was ruled by Mir Soharab Khan until his death. The power was transferred from Mir Soharab Khan to his Son

Mir Rustum in 1830 AD and the Sher Muhammad Son of Thora became the ruler of Mirpur 1829, Until it was annexed by British East India Company (Lari, 1994; Ali & David, 2021). The British East India Company recognized the rule of Talpur ruler of Khairpur (Mir's) in 1832 and after the annexation of Sindh in 1843. The Talpur ruler of Khairpur State continued their economic, social and educational policies without British interference (Khera, 2009; Wong, 1997). As far as education was concerned, the ruler of Khairpur continued with the traditional Islamic way of the madrassa education system.

Since the early years of the Talpur era, while the Sindhi language was commonly used by the masses, Arabic and Persian languages were used for official communication both at local and regional levels by intellectuals, scholars and rulers. Similarly, the religious educational institutions or madrassas used Arabic and Persian languages as medium of instructions all course books were in the said languages. Therefore, it was almost impossible for the common people and madrassa students to understand the Quran, Hadith (Saying of Prophet PBUH) and Fiqh (Shariah Law). Due to the encouragement of the Talpur rulers and their positive attitude towards education, the scholars and intellectuals increased efforts at translating books into the Sindhi language from Arabic and Persian (Badawi, 1967). These efforts thus enabled the scholars to introduce syllabus in Sindhi at the primary education level, but Arabic and Persian languages were still used in the higher education institutions (Alana, 1970). Although Persian was the official language, the Talpur rulers undertook numerous efforts in encouraging the use of the Sindhi language. Table 1 below shows the details of madrassas opened from between 1843 to 1955.

Table 1. List of Madrassas in Khaipur from 1843 to 1955

<b>Name of Madrassa</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Caretaker</b>
Makhdom Madrassa	Kuhra	Makhdom Family
Pir Saleh Shah and Pir Ghulam Muhuddin Madrassa	Ranipur	Pir of Ranipur Family
Qazi Abdullah Madrassa	Ranipur	Qazi Abdullah Family
Pir Ibrahim Shah Jilani Madrassa	Gambat	Pir Shams-uddin & family
Mian Sahib Din Farooqui Madrassa	Daraza	Mian Abdul Haq & Family
Makhdom Muhammad Ibrahim madrassa	Piryalo	Syed Saleh Shah Sawai & family
Pir Abdul Rasheed Madrassa	Hingorja	Abu Atta shah & Nasir Shah
Syed Mehar shah Madrassa	Drib Mehar Shah	Mehar shah & Family
Syed Ibrahim Shah Madrassas	Dhohon	Ibrahim Shah & family
Madrassas Dar-ul-Irshad	Pir Jo Goth	Syed Sabgaullah Rashidi (Pir Pagaro) & family
Mohammad Chayar Sufi Madrassa	Tajal	Mohammad Chayar & family
Qazi Umar Daraz Abbasi Madrassa	Setharja	Qazi Umar Daraz & family
Qazi Bilawal Madrassa	Talpur Wada	Qazi Abdul Wahab & Qazi Abdullah

Source: Hami (1994)

The above list demonstrates that apart from religious and general education offered in the mosques, fourteen madrassas were established at major cities of the Khairpur State. They offered education in the Quran, Hadith (Saying of Prophet PBUH), Fiqh (Shariah Law) and general subjects in Arabic, Persian and Sindhi. During the Talpur dynasty, the education system was well organized, institutionalized and well managed in a controlled environment. The education system in Khairpur Mirs' during the Talpur dynasty has been referred to as one of the most progressive periods (Khera, 2009; Katori, 1967). Although, there was no separate department for education during their rule, the education system was run by the Syed's, the caretakers of Sufi saint shrines and scholars of that time (Hyder & Dr Azimushan, 1974; Daudpota, 1936). They were authorized to appoint scholars, intellectuals, and teachers to provide education to the people in the area. Accesses to education was given equally to the children of the poor and rich. As an incentive, the state provided vast lands (200 acres each) to these Syed's (Hami, 1994). The state also financially supported the madrassas through monthly stipend, besides allowing these institutions to collect donations. The wealthy in the state used to offer support to these small madrassas and mosques (Daudpota, 1936). The religious clerk and teacher appointed in the village were not offered any monthly stipend by the state but instead gifts, money, and grain/food by local landlords. In some villages, the landlords would offer his guest house for educational purposes, where his children and children of the poor people got education together (Hyder, 1974). During this era, there was a separate system of education for the Hindu community children, hence educational institutions for Hindu children were also established in some places where religious and general education was provided. After completing basic education, students could also pursue further knowledge in palmistry, the Vedas and magic. These were mainly children of the Hindu business community and religious clerks (Katori, 1967).

Since the independence of Pakistan in 1947, the princely states were invited to join Pakistan. Responding to the call, the state of the Khairpur surrendered its sovereign status in favor of Pakistan and she was given the status of district in the Sindh province of Pakistan.

As Pakistan was created in the name of religion, therefore there were no checks on religious education in the country. Religious education proceeded over everything and resulted in the opening of countless madrassas in different parts of the country. The main reason for enrolling children in madrassas was due to religious obligations. There is a common saying that when a family sends one child to the madrassa, ten members of the family will enter Jannah on the day of Judgment. Financial consideration too weight in as families sending their children to madrassas see financial benefits as well, in a way that after completing education at the madrassa, the child will be appointed to lead prayers in a mosque or appointed as a teacher in a madrassa. Family size is another reason why parents send their children to the madrassas especially for those with large families. This is because madrassas offer free education, clothing, medical expenses, and accommodation. In the last two decades (2001 to 2021), the occurrence of natural disasters namely flooding and its resultant effect on property and crop damage to have led to an increase in number of madrassas (Table 2).

Table 2. Total number of Madrassas before 2000 and after 2000 in Khaipur District

Sect Name	Madrassas before 2000	Madrassas opened between 2001 to 2017	Total number of Madrassas
Deobandi	50	119	169
Baralvi	21	60	81
Ahle Ta Shia	4	19	23
Ahle Hadees	0	2	2
<b>G. Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>275</b>

Source: Developed by author for this study

The above table 2 shows a significant increase in the number of Madrassas in Khairpur after 2000, which is three times higher than the previous number. The taluka-wise (administrative unit) increase in Khairpur district madrassas suggests that the Khairpur taluka has the highest number of 79 madrassas. Figure. 1 shows the taluka-wise intensity of madrassas.

## GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF THE KHAIPUR DISTRICT

Before its annexation to Pakistan in 1955, Khairpur was a princely state. Currently, it is a district of Sukkur division in the Sindh province. This district is located in central Sindh (upper or northern region) on the Indus River's left bank. It is situated between 26-11 and 27-44 latitude north and 68-12 and 7-11 longitude east. It is bordered by Sukkur and Shikarpur to the north, to the east by India, to the south by Nawabshah and Sanghar and to the west by Naushahro Feroze and Larkana. The Indus acts as natural boundary between the Khairpur and Larkana districts. The Khairpur district covers an area of 15,910 square miles and is the third largest district after Tharparkar and Thatta. This district makes up 11.3% and 1.8% respectively for Sindh and Pakistan (Shaw, 2015). Administratively, Khairpur is divided into eight administrative units (talukas), namely Nara, Faiz Ganj, Mirwah, Khairpur, Gambat, Kingri, Kot Digi and Sobhodero, with the Nara taluka being the biggest, comprising some 37% of the total area of this district.

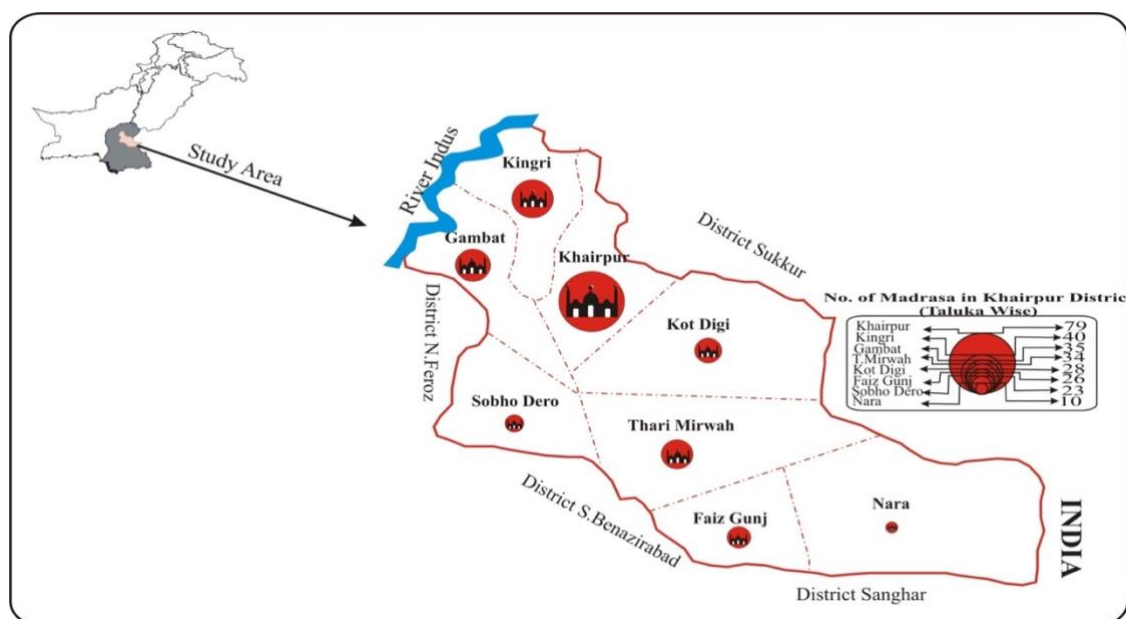


Figure 1: The Khairpur District and its Talukas (administrative units).

## Population of Khaipur

The Khairpur district, located on northwestern part of Sindh is the third biggest district in the province and fifth most populated (Sindhu, 2010). In the 1998 census, its total population was at 1.5 million: with the average household family size at 6.1%. The average annual growth of population rate in the district from 1981 to 1998 was 2.71%. However, since 1998, the population of Khairpur has significantly increased to 2.4 million, which shows a more than 50% increase in the last 20 years (Statistics, 2018). Further, 76% of its population live in rural areas, while the rest 24% are in urban areas. The primary source of income for people is agriculture (USAID, 2014).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Researchers in sociology, psychology and international relations believe that poverty leads to criminal behaviour and is the main source of all sorts of violence in society. Violence can be initiated for many reasons, such as religious, social, political, or financial. A study by (Ross, 2009; Hegghammer, 2010), collected data from 172 religious fighters endorses this fact. According to the data, individuals were mainly from the poor strata of society. However, studies by Sageman (2004) and Hegghammer (2010), also reveal that some participants belonged to stable families (middle class), while the rest were from the lower middle class.

Nevertheless, Margolin (1977) suggests that utter scarcity is not the main problem, but the challenge is relative deprivation, or the lack of openings related to opportunities. Students who study in madrassas live in a controlled environment, where they are supposed to do only whatever their teachers ask them to do. They have no option or choice because they are fed, clothed and sheltered by these madrassas. Besides, they are not allowed to frequently return to their families or even complain as most are from low-income family's background fear of severe punishment for complaining against the institution. These students live in an environment, where they have no contact with the outside world, whatever their teachers tell them or teach them is all they know. Such a controlled environment makes them vulnerable to be used in any way by their madrassa teachers. However, Lipset (1960) study suggested many ways or methods which can lead to violent radicalization. According to him, strict and dominant behaviour of family and education level develop an uncompromising attitude and set a perspective on world politics. Above all, economic uncertainty forces individuals to find an immediate answer to attain financial gains and they will not hesitate to use violent means to achieve these goals. He further says that poverty keeps poor people away from the complexities of politics, which in turn creates a society with forbearance. The absence of patience and tendency to find easy ways of solving poverty issues paves the way for violent ideologies, an indicator of radicalization.

On the other hand, the study by Buendia (2005) suggests that poverty in some countries is the best circumstantial and prospective recruiting ground for violent religious groups. Nonetheless, the study conducted by Neumann (2014) argues that the most effective strategy to reduce or stop terrorism is to take adequate steps and measures to decrease radicalization. Hence, the need of hour is to address the root causes of radicalization and instead of focusing on radicalization (Moskalenko, 2016). It is therefore, necessary to focus on worsening security conditions and take steps to avoid further deterioration of security situation (Hassan, 2015). He further argues that the rural regions of Sindh are becoming more and more vulnerable to violent radical groups, mainly due to the prevalent poverty and weakening of feudal structure, which has created a power vacuum. The UNDP status report on Sindh (2014) finds that organizations like Jaish-e-Muhammad, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Jamaat-ud-Dawa are on the recruiting drive in the district. In fact, 2010-11 floods and its subsequent damage provided a perfect opportunity for establishing their foothold in Sindh (UNDP, 2014). During the flood, relief camps were set up by the Falah-e-Insaniat foundation, which is an extended wing of Jamaat-ud-Dawa. They provided meals and shelter to the affected people (Imtiaz, 2011). The natural disaster created the opportunity for support to the Jamaat-ud-Dawa and paved the way for its deep penetration into Sindhi society by setting up madrassas. Groups like Jamaat ud Dawa and Falah-e-Insaniat established 13 relief camps and six medical camps for the flood-affected people, which in turn gave them popularity and influence with the local people (Bukhari, 2010). It is also evident enough that religious groups like the Al-Qaeda and TTP, which are determined to overthrow the democratic system and establish an Islamic state have setup their bases in the rural areas of Sindh (SATP, 2014). Madrassa students who mostly come from poor families or orphanages can be vulnerable to and become easy targets of such violent

groups. Hence, this study is an effort to examine the link between poverty and increased madrassa enrolment.

## METHODOLOGY

This research study applied quantitative cross-sectional approach using targeted random sampling method to examine the connection between poverty and madrassas' growth in the Khairpur district in Sindh. The targeted random sampling method was applied to data collection. The Khairpur district has eight administrative units (Taluka's) and 275 madrassas teaching from Hifiz to Mufti courses. Five madrassas were randomly selected from each unit and twenty-five questionnaires were distributed to each madrassa. A total of 1000 questionnaires were distributed to 40 madrassas in the district (Table 3). The collected data was then analysed through SPSS software 16.0. The survey questionnaire was developed to collect information about participants' (madrassa students) family background and demographic information, such as income, family size, agricultural lands, and household accessories. The questionnaires were personally administered by the author. The research objectives and importance were clearly defined to the participants for their understanding and for further clarity, the questionnaire was also translated into the local language. The researcher personally handed over every questionnaire to the respondents and collected back over a given time.

Table 3. Response rate from each administrative unit (Taluka)

Name of unit	Questionnaire distribute	Questionnaire returned
Gambat	125	114
Kingri	125	103
Kot Digi	125	95
Sobhodero	125	104
Khairpur	125	120
Nara	125	68
Mirwah	125	87
Faiz Ganj	125	89
<b>Total</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>780</b>

In all, 780 responses were returned out of 1,000 distributed questionnaires. The response rate for original sample size was 78.0%. However, 32 questionnaires were removed from analysis because 20 questionnaires were only 10% filled and 12 questionnaires had the same response for each item. Therefore, 748 valid responses were selected for this study and further analysis. Hence, the final response rate was at 74.8%. The data was then analysed through SPSS software.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Demographic and Age Profile of Respondents

Data from (table 4) about demographic characteristics of the survey participants reveal that 100% of the respondents were male. The main reason for this was because the author was only allowed access to male students. Although, there are a number of female madrassas in the Khairpur district, and the researcher was not allowed access. Therefore, the researcher was left with the only choice of male madrassas students. While the participants' age statistics revealed that 40.24% participants were between 21- and 25-years of age and 28.07% between 16 to 20 years, the lowest age participants aged between 10 to 15 years which made a total of 7.08% of

all those who participated in the survey. Madrassas normally enrol children aged 10-years and above. The findings suggest that the children enrolled at an early age and studying in the madrassa for the next 10 to 15 years were more vulnerable towards the tendencies of radicalization. The participants' income statistics were evaluated to understand whether the students were coming from a poor, medium or rich family background (see Table 4). The data analysis revealed that the monthly income of 64.84% was between 10 to 20 thousand rupees per month, while 19.65% of the participants' family income was between 20 to 30 thousand rupees per month. Whereas the minimum monthly wage fixed by the government of Sindh is 17,500 per month (*The News*, 2019). Eighty percent of the population of the Khairpur district are farmers, and very much dependent on agriculture. People living in urban areas (towns and cities) generally have greater opportunity to diversify their income when compared with those living in rural that are solely dependent on agriculture. The above statistics and fixed monthly wage indicate that majority of students enrolling in madrassas belong to poor and average income families. The low-income family background of the participants makes madrassa students vulnerable and an easy target of religiously motivated violent groups.

According to (Table 4), although the average family size in Sindh is 6.1 persons per house (Javed, 2018), the findings of survey respondents' family size reveal that most families consisted of members between 7-12 members. The data results demonstrate that 40.24% of families consisted of seven to nine members, whereas 33.16% families comprised 10 to 12 members. Only 6.68% families were found with three family members. The data findings reveal that family size of study participants is higher than overall the standard family size in the country. As a matter of fact, in rural areas of the Khairpur district in particular, and Sindh in general, many prefer to have a large family size because the larger the family, the longer the tenancy agreement that they can sign with the landlord.

Table 4. Demographic Profile

Variables	Frequency	%
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	748	100.0
Female	0	100.0
<b>Age</b>		
10-15	53	7.08
16-20	210	28.07
21-25	301	40.24
26-30	88	11.76
31-35	46	6.15
36-40	30	4.01
>40	20	2.68
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Family Income</b>		
10k-20k	485	64.84
21k-30k	147	19.65
31k-40	25	3.34
41k-50k	49	6.55
51-60k	17	2.27
61k-70k	22	2.94
>71	3	0.04
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>



<b>Family Size</b>		
1-3	50	6.68
4-6	125	16.71
7-9	301	40.24
10-12	248	33.16
>13	24	3.20
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The agricultural land results indicate that 61.09 percent of respondents' families own one to five acres of land, whereas 16.98 percent responded that they have no land for farming. Only 12.71 respondents owned between six to 10 acres land, while the families who owned land between 21 to 25 acres land amounted to 2.54 percent. Seventy-six percent of the population in Khairpur District live in rural areas, where the only source of income comes from farming (agricultural land Table. 5). Resultantly, the above results signify the level of acute poverty in the district especially with respect to the madrassa students. The other fact mentioned in the literature review section is that the religious clerics have replaced the traditional landlord culture as they now own vast lands and even provide loans to the former who owe them huge debts. Therefore, the religious cleric exerts significant influence over these poor people. These facts favour the rising tendencies of radicalization, which in turn can support religiously motivated violence and violent groups.

Table 5. Family-owned agricultural land

<b>Number of land</b>	<b>Acres</b>	<b>%</b>
1-5	457	61.09
6-10	95	12.71
11-15	32	4.28
16-20	17	2.27
21-25	19	2.54
>26	1	0.01
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>

According to (Table 6), family-owned house and day-to-day use accessories are considered the most essential aspects in evaluating any family's poverty levels. The nominal scale was used to collect information about the participant's families using the yes or no options. The findings for respondent family-owned accessories demonstrate that 93.71 percent families owned houses, whereas 6.28 percent families did not own house. Apart from their own house, milking animals are considered the most essential source of income for people living in rural areas and is the second major source of income after agriculture. The results of data reveal that 95.18 percent families owned milking animals, namely cows and water buffalos. The most significant advantage of living in rural areas is that people mostly own the house, which is either made of brick or wood.

The essential possession in rural areas for survival are animals that produce milk, namely cows and buffalos, it is considered a basic necessity. This study's results reveal that 95.18 percent owned milking animals, while only 4.81 percent reported that they had no livestock. It is thought to be a very positive sign for their survival to keep livestock at their homes. The results of data demonstrate that 53.60 percent respondents said that they had television in their house, while 46.39 percent said they had none. However, television, refrigerator, motorbike and car are considered luxury items. The refrigerator results suggest that 78.7 percent families had a refrigerator, while 21.26 percent did not. The people living in

the countryside live far away from the cities and personal transport facilities are considered very important, due to the limited access to local transport. The need to visit the city for day-to-day items compel them to have their own vehicle, and in this regard a motorbike is considered a convenient and cheap source of transportation in rural areas, such as the Khairpur district. The results findings reveal that 70.18 percent household owned a motorbike as opposed to 29.81 percent who did not. The car is considered an expensive commodity in the rural areas and people seldom possess it. Data suggests that only two percent of the families owned a car, while 97.99 percent replied that they could not afford it.

Table 6. Family-owned Assets

	Frequency	%
<b>Own House (Joint Family House)</b>		
Yes	701	93.71
No	47	6.28
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Own Milking Animals</b>		
Yes	712	95.18
No	26	4.81
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Own TV</b>		
Yes	401	53.60
No	347	46.39
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Own Refrigerator</b>		
Yes	589	78.74
No	159	21.26
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Own Motor Bike</b>		
Yes	525	70.18
No	223	29.81
<b>Own Car</b>		
Yes	15	2.00
No	733	97.99
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Madrassas are generally known for providing free education alongside free meals, clothing, and accommodation to its students as most come from low-income families or are orphaned children (see Table 7). However, children from the middle or upper class are supported financially by their own families. Apart from that, these families also offer donations to these madrassas. Past studies on madrassas by Blanchard, (2004), and Andrabi, (2005), highlight that free education as the greatest charity and humanitarian and social obligation performed by the madrassas in Pakistan. They argue that due to the government's failure to fulfil its responsibility, madrassas have taken it as a challenge. In this quest, they are feeding, clothing, and accommodating millions of poor children.

Table 7. The results of food, clothing, and accommodation at Madrassas

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Food</b>		
Yes	748	100.00
No	00	00
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Clothing</b>		
Yes	748	100.00
No	00	00
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Accommodation</b>		
Yes	748	100.00
No	00	00
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The data shown in (Table 8) reveals majority of the madrassas have oral rather than written exams. When asked about exam pattern in a madrassa, the majority of the participants replied that they mostly took oral exams, while a small number of respondents were in favour of mixed exam. It indicates the lack of significant skills in children studying in madrassas, which require focus and timely agreeable solution to these issues.

Table 8. Examination pattern in Madrassas

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Oral exam</b>		
Yes	748	100.00
No	00	00
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Written exam</b>		
Yes	00	00
No	748	100.00
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Both exam</b>		
Yes	00	00
No	748	100.00
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Social psychologists believe that children provided opportunities to participate in extracurricular activities can grow healthier, mentally and physically (Driessens, 2015). Whereas the results of this study indicate that the madrassa students do not participate in such activities (see Table 9). When asked about sports, tours and debating activities in a madrassa, the majority of students responded that there were no such activities. Past studies suggest that the absence of extracurricular activities can have adverse effects on children's psychology, such as stress, anger and behavioural problems. Consistent with these past studies findings, there can be similar effects on the madrassa students, which can lead them to violent trends and mentally disturbing behaviours (Hughes et al, 2016; Lagace-Segum and Case, 2010, Metsapelto and Pulkkinen, 2014; Oberle et al, 2014; Tanner, 2017). These trends suggest that the resultant effect of such practices will make the students weak mentally and physically. They will be more prone to violence and vulnerable to become part of violent radical groups. Usually occupy larger area with plenty of area for sport actively, however, majority of madrassas does not encourage or support their students for sports activities.

Table 9. Extracurricular activities in the Madrassas

	Frequency	%
<b>Sports</b>		
Yes	00	00
No	748	100.00
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Tour</b>		
Yes	00	00
No	748	100.00
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Debate</b>		
Yes	00	00
No	748	100.00
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>748</b>	<b>100.00</b>

## CONCLUSION

This research aimed to explore and evaluate the relationship between poverty, madrassa growth and radicalization (or religiously motivated violence). The last two decades have seen unparalleled growth of madrassas in the Khairpur district. With the offer of free education, accommodation, and food, madrassas have become the most viable option for society's poorer sections (Vestenskov, 2018; Yusuf, 2015). The most concerning fact about madrassa enrolment of students from poor class, refugee camps or orphan ages is that once these students are admitted to madrassa are completely dependent on for their survival. The madrassa use those students to gather funds, and force them to beg on roads and streets and in the city. On the admission to madrassa the doors to outside world are closed for those students, their world is limited to their madrassa, madrassa teachers and their sect. whatever they are taught their or whatever they are told to do or whatever they are told about other sects and religions is believed to be true by them. These facts turn them hard core religious fanatics. This is what makes them vulnerable to the radical ideologies, and terrorist groups. The terrorist groups find such areas as fertile ground for recruitment. The links of such madrassas with hard line ideology invite the attention of national, regional and international groups to increase funding of such madrassas. This fact was translated into the increased number of madrassas after 2000. Narrating the past growth of madrassas in the Khairpur district suggests that from 1843 to 2000, there were only 75 madrassas. However, from 2001 to 2017, this number reached 275. This reflects the increased level of poverty in the area, such that the parents' most preferable choice turns out to be getting their children admitted in madrassas. This increased trend of madrassas leads to religiously motivated violence. The primary data was collected to measure the level of poverty amongst madrassa students and understand the trend in the increase in the number of madrassas. The results of the participants income statistics were evaluated to understand whether the students were coming from a poor, medium or rich family. The results demonstrate that the monthly income of 64.84% participants is between 10 to 20 thousand rupees per month, while 19.65% participants' family income is between 20 to 30 thousand rupees per month. Whereas the minimum monthly wage fixed by the government of Sindh is Rs. 17,500 per month (The News, 2019). The 80% population of Khairpur is comprised of farmers (dependent on agriculture) which puts them in the worse situation. However, the people living in urban (Cities) areas can do jobs, business or labour work that can help them earn more income to make their living conditions better. The above statistics and fixed monthly wage indicate that majority of students coming to study in madrassas belong to poor and average income families.

The poor family background of participants makes madrassa students vulnerable and easy target of religiously motivated violent groups. The findings of the study conclude that majority of madrassa students come from the low-income family background.

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