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COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND BEHAVIORAL STUDIES

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DEPARTMENT OF CURRICULUM AND TEACHERS PROFESSIONAL

DEVELOPMENT

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION SYSTEM
IN ETHIOPIA:ITS FEATURES, RELEVANCE
AND INFLUENCE ON MUSLIM CULTURE
WITH REFERENCE TO
SOUTH WALLO**

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Ali Yassin Ali

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ABSTRACT

The prime purpose of this study was to understand the development of Islamic education system and its influence on Muslim culture in Ethiopia by taking the case of South Wallo. To achieve this objective, data were collected from South Wallo administrative Zone through the duration of two months of field observation in fiqh, mosque and madrasa schools. Data were also collected using interviews in an extended period of two successive years to understand how Islam (Islamic education) influenced the political, socio-cultural, educational and economic aspects of the people. The interview participants were sixty-four including Sheikhs, religious students, community elders, historians and teachers. Both Muslims and non-Muslims were included in the study. Moreover, data from textual analysis were included through direct quotations from the rich Islamic religious scriptures intertwined throughout the thesis. Data from spontaneous recordings were also included to reflect the views of divergent and current Islamic cultural movements as exhibited during Muslim holidays in 2012.

The participants were purposely selected using snowball sampling technique based on their knowledge, roles, concern, responsibility, willingness, and cooperativeness on a particular issue. Since the study was conducted from qualitative research perspective, the data were presented in narrative forms based on the participants' understanding and interpretation in addition to my own reflective analysis based on the voices of the participants and documentary evidences.

The conclusions of my study revealed that (1) Islam has got significant influence on the political aspect of the nation. That is assumed to reach its climax during the expansion and hegemony of the Muslim Sultanates in the sixteenth century particularly during the reign of Imam Ahmed, the Sultanate of Adal and the confrontation with the Christian Kings. The efforts to unify the country religiously resulted in twin failure from either side as attempted by the Imam and Yohannes. Other than such sporadic clashes between Christian rulers and Muslim Sultanates, however, the Christian Muslim encounter has been peaceful. *Cognizant of this, the Emperor included an article of religious freedom in the country's written constitution. The Shari'ah courts were also established and the translation of the Qur'an into Amharic was done by the will of Emperor Haile Silassie I. During the Socialist regime, the discriminatory phrase "Muslims who live in Ethiopia" was changed into full recognition of their citizenship as "Ethiopian Muslims" following an historical Muslims-demonstration at the downfall of the monarch. Following their protest and demands, the three grand Islamic holidays were recognized to be celebrated at national level. Then followed the foundation of the Mejlis in Ethiopia. During the FDRE Government, the federal political administrative system gave impetus for Muslims (just like the rest social groups) to practice and develop their cultural values. Hence, the public appearance of Islamic identities increased more than ever before. Madrasa schools and Islamic publication institutions proliferated. This, however, was not considered as healthy by different stakeholders. There is still unresolved tension between certain Muslim groups (who called themselves Salafis) and the Ethiopian government after the Muslim protests conducted nearly for the last two years confined in mosques before the crackdown by anti-riot police forces.*

Its influence on socio-cultural aspects of the life of the people especially on personal and family life of Muslims (like dietary, dressing, marriage, spiritual life, mourning practice, conflict resolution and healing practices) is significant. Especially the conflict resolution practice among Muslims in the region is proving how they are influenced by the Islamic values of forgiveness, mercifulness, and peacefulness contrary to their depiction on hate-mongering media. The Sheikhs and the elderly people are able to stop blood feuds and the practice of revenge, a practice that is difficult to enforce even in modern courts. It is fascinating to learn to live peacefully with a person who murdered your father or brother without any sense of revenge in your heart. A lot of lesson can be taken from this for peace education in this conflict torn world.

Islamic education also influenced the business practice of many Muslims since they were observed shunning away from selling alcoholic drinks and abstaining from saving in banks with interest rates. A few Pensions owned by certain Muslims were observed demanding any couple to show their marriage certificates which otherwise they could be prohibited from hiring beds. They did so in order not to permit prostitution in their business. That revealed the intra-faith influence.

There was also significant interfaith influence particularly through the practice of exogamy, healing tradition, neighborhood relations and cooperation in work and business life. This proved the age old religious coexistence, mutual respect and tolerance in Ethiopia despite sporadic clashes. The collaboration and mutual respect between

the two faith groups during the times of adversity and prosperity is so high that it could be described using terms beyond tolerance: "unity", "agreement" and "trust".

Consequently, the interfaith influence is significant and intolerance for the mainstream Muslims and non-Muslims is a myth. (2) Even so, there were (and still are) considerable misconceptions on Islam among both Muslims and non-Muslims, particularly the consideration of the meat served by either of the faith groups as a taboo which has no basis in the scriptures and foreign dietary traditions of same faith groups; the depiction of Islam as the cause of violence and terrorism by observing the evil agenda of al-Qaeda-related aggressors. Any aggression done by any person or group is not accepted in Islam;(3) there is also a misconception of addressing Muslims as "Islamoch", failing to differentiate the people from their faith. (4) There was (and still is) transformation within the Islamic tradition partly as a consequence of modern education and partly the global Islamic awakening. As a result, you may find young people who possessed certain knowledge of modern education rejecting certain acts like veneration of Saints and celebration of the Birthday of Prophet Muhammad. Such people equally reject certain traditions like the zar spirit, magic and fortune telling probably common among the traditional Sufis. This does not, however, mean that they are extremists or terrorists as long as they practice their faith according to the law of the land. Here lies the misunderstanding between the Muslim protests and other stakeholders. (5) Tradition and modernity are coexisting side by side and hence they are two sides of the same coin especially when faith and science are compatible. That is, as far as Islam (or Christianity?) is concerned, the revealed knowledge and the reasoned knowledge do not necessarily contradict one another especially in their description of experienced and objective knowledge that could be proved by the senses. The chasm between the two approaches of knowledge is created when dealing with issues beyond the senses. The use of traditional healing techniques and modern biomedical treatments side by side by the local people also proved how tradition and modernity coexist.

The future implications are (1) modern educational institutions should work beyond awarding certificates i.e. they should not evaluate graduates based on knowledge acquisition per se. Other important competences like moral intelligence and self-discipline should also be considered formally or informally as experienced in religious education. Character education should be designed separately from political education for developing values like honesty, love, patience, tolerance, equality, responsibility and the like among the school generation; (2) There is a need to balance the process of acculturation with enculturation. Ethiopian modern education is known for its Western or Eurocentric values from its inception. This has for long created problem of socialization. That kind of approach has also deprived the country of the opportunity to advance its cultural heritages. That has to be balanced if not reversed since tradition is as important as science; (3) There is a felt need to rethink the concept of development by considering the moral alternative along with the materialistic, individualistic, consumerist and western science and technology perspective. The normative dimension of education from different faith related values may serve to reduce the moral recession observed on the modern world. Violence, business fraud and the mistrust between and among peoples and even nations might all result from greedy motives which may be fixed by the values derived from world religions which have got age-old experience of self-transcendence, coexistence with, mutual respect and tolerance to the Other and recognition of other faiths; (4) There is a need to understand the culture of the self and the other for mutual respect and dialogue. This may facilitate the possibility of exerting efforts of peoples of different faiths towards common goals: peace, development and safeguarding the sovereignty of the country.

N.B. Key words include Islam, religion, culture, Islamic education, Qur'an, Sunnah, and Fiqh.

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to my father Sheikh Yassin Ali Imam Yassin, my mother Woizero Zewdie Seid Muhammed (both of whom died before my graduation even in my first Degree), my brothers Imam Yassin and Nurye Yassin (who died in their early twenties), my teachers Ustaz Abubakir Ahmed, Ustaz Yassin Nuru, Ustaz Ahmedin Jabal, Ustaz Bedir Hussein and their colleagues, Sheikh Ahmed Hussein (my childhood Qur'anic teacher), Professor Hussein Ahmed, Sheikh Muhammed Arab Ahmed Tuha amd Ato Hussein Abegaz. May Allah shower his mercy on all of them.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AIAI: Al-Ithihad Al-Islamiyya

EPRDF: Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front

FDRE: Federal Democratic Republic of the Ethiopian Government

MOFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MOE: Ministry of Education

OLF: The Oromo Liberation Front

ONLF: The Ogaden National Liberation Front

PCC: Population Census Commissions

TFG: The Transitional Federal Government of Ethiopia

TGE: The Transitional Government of Ethiopia

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

LIST OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER ONE: SETTING THE AGENDA: CONCEPTUALIZING ISLAMIC EDUCATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MUSLIM CULTURE

Wisdom is the lost property of believers. If you get it, hold it

(Prophet Muhammad, Tirmidhi, Hadith No. 216).

Introduction

This study attempts to explore Islamic education system and its influence on Muslim culture in South Wallo, Ethiopia. Critical investigations based on deeply theological issues date back in the 17th century Ethiopian philosopher Zar'a Ya'cob and his disciple Walda-Hiyot (Sumner, 1998: 331). Prophet Muhammad is also quoted saying ''Wisdom is the lost property of believers. If you get it, hold it'' (Tirmidhi, Hadith No. 216). The motto of AAU, deliberate freely on all matters and hold on the best, has been taken from the Bible. One can perceive the striking resemblance between the creeds of Church education and Muslim education from the two quotations. Hence, the pursuit of truth is a heritage of traditional education in Ethiopia (Amare, 2007: 1).

The culture of tolerance and equity were also entrenched in the ancient Axumite civilization in Ethiopia and that became evident when the then Christian Ethiopia tolerated and sheltered Muslim migrants while they were killed and tortured in Saudi Arabia in the 7th century (Najeebabadi, 2000: 114-116; Amare, 2007: 1-2). Of all the countries in the world, Ethiopia was selected by the Prophet for the hospitability of its people and "its just king who did not oppress any one in his kingdom'' (Ahmadin, 2011: 34).

As a result, it is assumed that Islamic education has been disseminated, directly or indirectly, ever since the Ethiopian Negus gave the Muslim migrants safe haven in the country (Amare, 2005: 5). Of course, much earlier before, Church education has been established from the 4th century A. D. after Emperor Ezana accepted Christianity (Amare, 2005: 3).

Like Judaism, both Christianity and Islam have their own origins in the Middle East. These three religions are called the Abrahamic faiths. Consequently, they possess considerable common features (as well as basic differences), not only because they are among the world great religions, but they claimed Divine Scriptures (Ahmadin, 2012: 25).

Traditional education used to be given for thousands of years before the introduction of modern education in 1908 when Menilek II School was inaugurated (Mekasha, 2005: 106; Girma, 1972;

Hailegebriel, 1969:68). The Christian highland exclusively used to disseminate Church education while the Muslim Sultanates used to teach Muslim education (Bairu, 1974: 11).

Even following the commencement of modern education ''gibregeb timirt'' (moral and value education) used to be given up until the outbreak of the Socialist revolution in 1974 (Amare, 2005). From that period onwards, the educational system of the country has been designed from secular perspective. The present FDRE government has also stipulated secular education in its constitution (Negarit Gazeta, 21st August, 1995, article 27 sub article 5) and education policy (TGE, 1994).

Consequently, all forms of religious education are confined as the sole responsibility of the respective faith institutions. This has been true ever since the modernization of Ethiopia which began mainly during the time of Emperor Menelik II by discarding traditionalism and advocating change-without-continuity (Amare, 2005: 8).

Rural Islamic school centers have long been established in different parts of Ethiopia. After the fall of the Socialist regime in 1991, urban Islamic education centers (such as Madrassas) proliferated in Ethiopia. As a result, it was in 1994 that the Ethiopian flag was raised high up in Saudi Arabia since Muslim students participated in the Yearly Qur'an Oral Recitation Competition in the world for the first time in history. They were rewarded first class prize. Graduates of Islamic education in Ethiopia have also international acceptance in Saudi Arabia. For example, some of the former graduates of Islamic education from the Ethiopian rural areas were licensed to teach hadith even in Mecca. Hajji Muhammad Rafe'e, an Islamic scholar who taught for more than eleven years in Mecca, is a case in point (Al-Islam Magazine, 2009, No. 9:10). That might be one of the indicators to show how the Muslim education was effective by producing competent students even at international level despite language difficulty.

That is why Mekasha (2005) concludes, next to the Orthodox Church education, ''the Kor'anic education'' also has had an important place in the socio-cultural history of Ethiopia (Mekasha, 2005: 106) despite the fact that it has not been ''explored by Ethiopian researchers'' (Amare, 2005: 6).

Unlike the Western phenomenon where religion is an external and specialized credo that one chooses to adopt or reject with little or no socially and culturally ostracized, in traditional culture like Africa in general and Ethiopian in particular, religion affects all social life pervasively (Hallen, 1998: 59). From

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this angle, this study tries to address Islamic education and its influence on Muslim culture from a holistic perspective.

The Statement of the Problem

The idea of Islamic education, although much contested by modern scholars (Merry, 2007: 1), is still widely regarded as a vital condition for the development of Muslim culture. Emphasizing the central role of Islam to Muslims, Unal (2007: 1467) asserts that Islam is ''an inclusive, all-embracing, all comprehensive way of thinking and living that covers all manifestations of life''. Similarly, Knowels (1977) explains,

> In the golden age of Islamic cultural and educational life, theology and dogma did not unduly undermine scholarship but allowed for search into almost every branch of knowledge (Knowels, 1977: 3530).

From the very commencement of modern education up to the present, many scholars (Hailegebriel, 1969; Amare, 1998; Teklehaimanot, 2000; Moges, 2012 etc) asserted that the imported-western style of education has had little synthesis with the indigenous cultures in Ethiopia. Consequently, the developmental vision of the country has remained still in question.

Of course, the present Ethiopian Government has articulated, in its education policy (TGE, 1994), the essence of education as the process by which human beings transmit their experiences, new findings, and values accumulated over the years, in their struggle for survival and development through generations.

By the same token, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia proclaimed that the Government shall have the duty to support, on the basis of equality, the growth and enrichment of cultures and traditions that are compatible with fundamental rights, human dignity, democratic norms and ideals (TGE, 1994). Such indisputable assertions imply that culture is the basis of education. Despite such claims on policy documents, we could hardly get school curriculum that synthesized modern thoughts with indigenous knowledge, for example, with religious wisdom and values. Especially, the notion that science and religion are incompatible is as equally prevalent in countries under the Judeo-Christian influence as in the world of Islam even with the lack of concrete evidence in the context of Islamic education that stifles science as long as its purpose is for the benefit of humanity (Buccaille, 1976; Ibrahim, 1997).

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Even the scantly available research studies on Ethiopian traditional education seldom addressed critical issues like whether or not advanced knowledge areas are available in the traditional teachings; whether or not, at least the secular aspects of content areas are compatible with the contemporary thinking; whether or not the indigenous knowledge (specifically religious education) might contribute to fill gaps, if any, of the modern school curricula copied from the western culture and so forth.

It appears that studies on the issue had limited depth to invite for the synthesis of the two cultural educations – the indigenous and the foreign ones. That is why national education and development policy makers hardly achieve the balance between the imported cultures and the local cultures (Amare, 1998). Education generally is considered to be the means for the transmission of cultural heritages, knowledge and skills from generation to generation and the transformation of such values (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989). This did not appear to be the case in the Ethiopian context. It is felt that the influence of the western modernity and of course our passivity might have, in the words of Nyerere (1966), made *"us to believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or what we did have was worthless – something of which we should be ashamed, instead of [being] a source of pride"* (Nyerere, 1966: 198).

Seeking to understand the influence of Islam on culture on the one hand, describing selected conceptual issues in Islamic education that are related with modern thoughts and showing the necessity of traditional education (with particular emphasis on Islamic education here) to reduce further social decadence and communal disharmony on the other hand, run through this thesis.

The Purpose of the Study
The study seeks to understand the influence of Islam on the social, political, economic and educational features in Ethiopia. That is, it attempts to describe the influence of Islamic education on Muslim culture (its internal influence) and on the overall Ethiopian culture (its external influence). It also depicts its relevance to the everyday life of the people. Moreover, the study describes how Islamic education curricula are organized and what teaching and learning strategies are employed both in rural and urban Islamic schools. In short, the study focuses on:

a) Describing the developmental trend of the types of Islamic education system in South Wallo (Ethiopia);

b) Illuminating concepts of Islamic-education traditions and its goals and purposes so as to reduce misunderstandings;

c) Examining the feature of curricular organizations of selected Islamic education courses;

d) Assessing the dominant methodological strategies employed in Muslim education;

e) Showing the relevance of Islamic education to the everyday life of Muslims and its implication to non-Muslims and

f) Scrutinizing the influence of Islamic education on the overall Muslim culture and derive values that may be useful to modern curriculum.

In some parts of the world such as the Middle East and North Africa, Islamic education is integrated with modern education just like the Bible study in Europe. In other places, such as Ghana, Islamic education is provided parallel with modern education, with the intention of integrating it with the formal education system (Education Development Centre, Ghana, 2007). Even in some Western countries such as the Netherlands, state funded Islamic schools function on the basis of certain requirements (Merry, 2007: 35). In other countries (such as Zimbabwe and India), the values of great world religions are taught in modern schools (Ndlovu, 2009; Raghuvansh, 2004). Further still, in other countries any form of religious education has no link with mainly state owned schools. Where might Islamic education in South Wallo (Ethiopia) stand? The study further seeks to describe Islamic knowledge, traditional knowledge and Western knowledge hoping to show the synthesis of all forms of knowledge.

Research Questions

How does Islamic study influence the Muslim culture? This is assumed to be the single overarching question from which the ensuing specific questions are derived.

i) What are the ultimate goals of Islamic education system? How were the types of Islamic education system developed in Wallo (Ethiopia)? What are the major schools? Where and how do religious scholars spread education? How are the curricular contents of the Islamic education organized? What are the major pedagogical methods of teaching employed? How are concepts related to education (such as teaching, learning and research) understood in Islamic education? Are they grounded in understanding or rote memory? How consistent and/or contradictory is Islamic education with modern science?

ii) How does Islam influence Ethiopian culture (political, social, economic and educational) aspects? How relevant is Islamic education to the everyday life of Muslims and what implications does it have to the life of non-Muslims?

iii) How is character education reflected in Muslim education? Does Islamic study instigate violence and war or peaceful co-existence and tolerance?

The Conceptual Framework of the Study

The conceptual framework represents four major interrelated components: Islamic Institutions, Political Issues, Socio-Cultural and Economic Issues and Educational Aspects.

(i) **Islamic Institutions/Values**: This refers to the fundamental and formal Islamic schools which mainly include Qur'anic, Fiqh and Mosque/Madrasa schools. In view of the pedagogical issues in Islamic education, the study tries to explore the manner of interactions between and among students and teachers during the instructional process to understand whether or not the learners are active or passive. The study also shows the intents and contents of the major Islamic texts. The study further describes the methods used by teachers and their roles in the overall process in selected rural and urban Islamic school centers in Wallo (Ethiopia). Moreover, the study describes the curricular organization in terms of their sequence, continuity and integration on the principles of modern curricular development (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004).

ii) **Political Issues**: The study shows the influence and interaction of Muslims and their institutions across different periods – the Medieval Period, the Period of Emperor Haile Sellasie I, the Socialist Regime and the FDRE (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) Government. The Italian invasion and Muslims response and the restoration of power are discussed during the imperial period. Concepts related to Islamic revival, establishment of Mejlis and repression of religion are explained during the era of the Socialist Derg. The issue of religious freedom, the second phase of revival of Islam, the visibility of Islamic cultural identity, the confrontation of Muslims and the State (Hussein, 2006), Sufi-Salafi "dichotomy" and why Muslims protest against the Mejlis are described with reference to the period of the Government of FDRE. The issue of whether or not Islam teaches violence is also addressed.

iii) **Socio-Cultural and Economic Aspects:** The issue of the influence of Islam on Muslims, cleanliness, marriage and family life, dietary issues, mourning practice, conflict resolution and healing practices are explained. Interfaith marriage and interfaith healing traditions are also discussed. Moreover, the description of lawful and unlawful means of earning income (*halal and haram*) is addressed briefly. The economic condition of the people in the region and their practice of collaboration in team work are also explained.

iv) **Educational Issues**: The influence of Islamic education on modern schooling is highlighted briefly. Schools dressing code and school prayers, two of recently contentious issues in modern schools are also explained. Islamic moral values, character education and the contradiction and/or consistency of

the faith and science is explained based on my textual analysis of the religious scriptures of Islam and the works of modern scientists in the field. This is done to pin down how Islamic education attracted (and influenced) the modern people especially the young who passed through modern education.

Rationales of the Study

Research in the field of traditional education in general and Islamic education in particular is inadequate. None of the available research reports really address issues related to the influence of Islamic education on Muslim and/or Ethiopian culture. Most of them dealt with the historical aspect of Islam in the region (e.g. Hussein, 2001; Trimingham, 1952) and other studies dealt with descriptions of traditional Muslim education (e.g. Hussein, 1988) and centers of traditional Muslim education (Ahmad, 2006) with little or no emphasis on methodological and curricular organizational aspects of Islamic education as such.

Others simply mention the levels of Islamic education that includes ''Tejwid'', mostly wrongly spelt as ''Tehaji'' or given improper nomenclature as ''Majlis''. ''Tejwid'' refers to ''Proper Qur'anic reading and recitation''. This level essentially involves teaching Arabic letters, and pronunciations. The next higher level includes Learning Islamic Law (Fiqh), Arabic Grammar (Nahw) and the Meanings, Translations and Commentaries of the Qur'an (Tafsir) (Seyoum, 1995; Abebe, 1995). This is the general style in which the scant research reports treat Islamic education and this shows how little attention indigenous researchers give to traditional education as a whole.

One of the most considerable research study was the one completed by Ahmad (2009) on ''Assessing the Pedagogical Principles of Traditional Islamic Fiqh Education''. The study tried to show student–teacher interaction aspects but hardly dealt with cultural aspects and curricular issues. Other prominent research works on Islamic education in particular and Islam in Ethiopia in general were done by Hussein (1988, 2001, and 2006). His emphasis was on the historical, political aspects and to some extent socio-cultural aspects, and hence I assume that there is still a room for investigating the possible contribution of the Muslim education for the modern education especially in areas of moral development.

Other than the scant research reports on the levels of the teachings of the Qur'an and Fiqh, there could hardly be any extensive research on the Islamic education system in Ethiopia. Even the scantly available researches on the issue exaggerated limitations of the traditional education without giving due emphasis to possible lessons, if any, to the so-called modern education. The focus of many research reports appeared to be marginalizing indigenous values and following the wind of the western culture of science and technology as it is.

Ethiopia is known to have been the defender of African independence and can enjoy a status of a modern state as it survived the aggression of its extinction. However, it is not different from the colonized as it paradoxically fall easy prey to the lure of westernization. Modern education in Ethiopia was introduced at the backdrop of indigenous and traditional education system of the Ethiopian church and mosque whose education were, and still are, the basis for moral values and code of conduct of their respective followers (Moges, 2012).

Without trying to accommodate such a cultural context, it was like the colonies in Africa modeled after the western schooling system. "Modernization then was", and still is "conceived as any movement from Ethiopian mannerism to that of the west" (ibid, 212).

Consequently, the Ethiopian child was, and still is, made to empty its mind of the experience at home and grasp headlong the trivial experience of the "other". This could create a mismatch in the mind of the educated people to understand and solve the problems of their own social reality.

There is a growing awareness of the richness of Ethiopia's own cultural inheritances, especially attached to traditional church and mosque/ zawuya education. In Africa, in general and in Ethiopia in particular there has been increasing recognition not only of the way in which Western culture and hegemony have led the marginalization of indigenous and undermining, but also of the consequential loss to the communities which resulted from this subordination (Bridges, 2012). A blanket respect for indigenous cultural practice in Ethiopia may be maintained by studying the influence of traditional education in the region.

Moreover, moral education which is not shared with many western countries should be seen as a top priority in Ethiopian education.

> In the contemporary Ethiopia, the schooled are characterized by high level of corruption, poor commitment, disengagement, poor self-confidence and negative way of looking at others (viewing others as threats). The youth spend more of their spare time in socially less useful places such as video, drugs such as 'chat' and alcohol (Amare, 2009:435).

The Civics and Ethics Education courses offered recently at all levels of the educational system appeared to be aimed at addressing the moral and ethical dimension of the education process. However, since they are offered in the context of cognitive (and skill) development, the normative dimension of the educational process that is conducive for the affective or character development

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appeared to be neglected (Amare, 2009). A serious misconception of curriculum planners for modern education is to confuse knowledge with morality. This misconception could arise from the idea of the philosopher king: "knowledge makes all people good". The commitment of the Jesuits to expand modern education (even here in Ethiopia) was grounded in the assumption of a correlation between knowledge and morality. Since to know the good is not to do the good, that is not the case (Amare, 2009: 437; Pring, 2007).

The problem with the Ethiopian education is that "it privileges utility and satisfaction of material need over other needs such as intellectual, moral and spiritual" (Dagnachew, 2012: 215). However, religious education in general and Islamic education in particular can engage the human body, mind and spirit on every level (Lewin, 2012). Religious education designed in the form of character development may permit us to dissolve the idol of objectivity that still haunts our conception of the modern curricula since such "forms of traditional pedagogy suggest some alternatives to the western individualistic conception of liberal education" (ibid, 163). I also believe that there is increasing act of violence, increasing sense of materialism, individualism, consumerism, alcoholism, prostitution and other social ills. Hence, the Ethiopian education system demands some sort of intervention to improve the moral development of its future generation. I assume that one of the mechanisms to approach such a grand purpose is to investigate the features, relevance and influence of religious education, in my case, Islamic education. I preferred to conduct the study related to Islamic education since I have had somewhat better understanding about Islam as I am a Muslim.

I selected the research topic and completed writing the proposal in 2009 and conducted a presentation for defending the research proposal on April 18/2010. Hence, my study has nothing to do with the 2011 Arab Spring as anyone may speculate so.

The study may also highlight how Islam is the integral part of the indigenous Ethiopian culture ever since its introduction in the seventh century.

Any research endeavor is carried out for its worthiness. Similarly, I hope that this study would contribute to:

a) Communicate with curriculum experts, education officials, development-policy agents and other stakeholders in education so that they may devise appropriate strategies about the need or

otherwise to re-synthesize our western-dominated education system with the indigenous knowledge values that are related with major Ethiopian religions.

b) Build up the awareness level of the educated people and elites on their intercultural communication competence so that they may successfully communicate with people from other cultures and faiths.

c) Open up discussion on how religion, each with its own traditions, forms and intellectual concepts, can contribute for improving human conduct and progress instead of violence.

d) Serve in the future as an input for cultural analysis in the process of curriculum design and development.

e) Contribute to the documentation of the dearth of Islamic literature especially in field of education in general and in the field of curriculum in particular.

f) Serve as a benchmark for indigenous and expatriate research community who may be fascinated and committed in conducting more intensive and critical investigation on Islamic education or another form of indigenous/religious education in Ethiopia (e.g. for studying comparative indigenous/religious knowledge systems).

All these necessitates the need for analyzing the issue of Islamic education (Islam) relatively more deeply than ever before in the Ethiopian context.

Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of my study is related to its qualitative nature i.e. as any other qualitative research, the case study cannot be generalized to the whole population in Ethiopia. Moreover, since some of the data were collected based on the oral traditions, my research participants might forget certain historical facts and this could lower the quality of the data. Further still, certain interpretation problems might creep into the study since what I considered as good or bad could be meant the reverse for other people (especially for other faith groups). Another related limitation of my study is the lack of the use of focus group discussion among the research participants due to the recent tension that erupted within the faith group right at the beginning of the research project. Due to the Muslim protests, people were suspicious to provide information especially with voice recorder despite my claim to be an insider. As a result, a few of my research participants declined from being recorded during the interview sessions in order not to be misinterpreted. The political tension created with the cultural group seemed to me aggravating that sort of fear.

My limited experience in conducting a multidisciplinary research project and my limited understanding on the socio-cultural foundation of education might also affect the study.

Besides, since this study was designed for investigating Islamic education system from socio-cultural and political as well as academic perspectives, issues related to rituals were not examined as such. The study also failed to address Islamic schools in other parts of Ethiopia.

However, I somehow managed the challenges with the help of my key informants. Being a resident in the local area from birth up to the present and being a Muslim helped me in producing many acquaintances. I also communicated the purpose of my research project clearly to the research participants. All that helped me to minimize further risks on my study. My prior experience in learning Muslim education (though limited it is) also helped me to overcome some of the problems. Consultations of literatures further assisted me to fill gaps of information on the part of my research participants. The relatively long period of research also helped me to understand this complex cultural study with the help of my advisor, of course. Finally, I hope that the fact that the study can hardly be generalized, however, cannot preclude the opportunity to learn from this research report.

General Research Context

The study is conducted in one of the eleven Administrative Zones in Amhara State in Ethiopia i. e. South Wallo. Ethiopia is located in the Horn of Africa. It has a total population of over 80 million people. There are over eighty different ethnic and linguistic groups in Ethiopia living in eight states and two City Administrations: Tigray State, Afar State, Amhara State, Oromia State, Benishangul-Gumz State, Ethiopian Somali State, Southern Peoples State, Harari State, Addis Ababa City Administration, and Dire Dawa City Administration.

According to the 2007 population census, 43.5 percent of the Ethiopian population is affiliated to Orthodox Union Christianity; 33.9 percent is Muslim; 18.6 percent Protestant; 2.6 percent is traditional belief; 0.7 percent is Chatholic while 0.6 percent belongs to others.

Before the FDRE Government, the region called Wallo used to include part of present day Afar, Tigray and Oromo zone. Since Muslims in South Wallo (Amharic speakers), Oromia zone and Argoba district share many things in common, I used the historical South Wallo that includes these ethnic groups.

Most of the people in South Wallo make their living on mixed agricultural living in rural areas. There are also merchants who live mainly in urban areas. Muslims and non-Muslims co-exist peacefully for millennia with mutual respect in similar neighborhood except sporadic clashes in the past regimes. The two faith groups have got even blood relation through marriage.

The Meaning of Key Terms in the Study

Since indigenous concepts have got so many terms that are not as such known by the modern academia as such, the meaning and definition of words are too bulky to include them here. Hence, I have attached the glossary of the words in Appendix 1. The definition of the most frequent and significant words are given here.

The Qur'an: refers to the Muslims' religious Holy Book. There is only one official copy throughout the world starting from the 7th century. The Qur'an has 114 Chapters. It contains a total of 6,236 verses in Arabic that are divided in 30 parts (Unal, 2007; Galwash, 1963).

Sunnah (Hadith): refers to communications, narrations, words or sayings of the Prophet Mohammad and his companions. As a term, it denotes the record of whatever the Prophet and Messenger Mohammed said, did, or tacitly approved. Despite the slight difference between the terms Sunnah and Hadith linguistically by the religious scholars, the two terms have almost similar meaning. Hence I used these terms alternatively.

Fiqh: refers to Islamic jurisprudence i.e. theory of law associated with the four schools of thoughts – Hanafi, Maliki, Shaf'i and Hanbali.

Islamic education: refers to the basic teachings of the tenets of Islam based on its basic curricular sources (the Qur'an, Hadith and Fiqh) as instructed both in the rural and urban Islamic schools. It sharply differs from education about Islam which includes lessons other than scriptural sources. I used the term Islamic education intercheangeably with the terms Muslim education and traditional education. However, I don not meant that traditional education is backward while the modern edcucation is advanced. I understand that there is no education that is backward. I am refering to the knowledge area that is aquired and known by the local people when I say "traditional education". It is also the feature of the living

literatures to demarcate the traditional and the modern keducation especially here in Ethiopia.

Islamic education-system: refers to any organized relationship (no matter how rudimentary) among the inputs of Islamic schools (new entrants with little or no religious knowledge and facilities), the processes (the interactions among religious teachers, the course materials and the students (commonly called 'darassa') and the outputs (students with religious knowledge).

Culture: The whole way of life of people including the personal, intellectual, social, economic and political aspects.

Muslim Culture: The way of life of Muslims i.e. the culture of the people who follow the religion called Islam.

Religion: refers to belief in one transcendental power which is personified as a supreme being usually perceived as the sender of Messengers and Prophets through the Angel Gabriel in order to teach humanity. From this perspective, religion is one of the factors that determine the world view of people that affects their whole ways of life.

Organization of the thesis

The thesis generally comprises the conventional theoretical and empirical issues though not in separate portions. As a whole there are Fifteen Chapters in this thesis.

Chapter One, this part of the thesis, deals with setting the agenda of the thesis i.e. the problem of the study, the objectives and the justifications why the study is conducted. Chapter Two covers methodology, design and methods of the study. As a qualitative research approach, the data collection methods include interviews, textual analysis and observation. Chapter Three gives the highlight on the concept of Islam. Chapter Four explores the introduction of Islam and its development in Ethiopia. Chapter Five deals with the Political influence of Islam and Muslims in Medieval Ethiopia and during nineteenth century Wallo. Chapter Six explores the trend of peaceful coexistence and confrontation in Muslim-Christian encounter during the reign of the Emperor, the Socialist regime and the FDRE Government. Chapter Seven deals with current Islamic cultural movements and extremism at national and international levels including Sufism, Salafism and radical groups like al-Qaeda. Chapter Eight explores types of curricular sources, structures, content organization, methods, and development of

Islamic education. Chapter Nine deals with the influence of Islamic education on Muslims' personal and social life in Wallo. Chapter Ten explores the influence of Islamic education on economic practice in the region. Chapter Eleven deals with the influence of Islamic schooling on modern education. Chapter Twelve deals with interfaith practices with reference to dietary practice, marriage and healing traditions. Chapter Thirteen explores Islamic moral and ethical values and the need for character education. Chapter Fourteen explores the compatibility of faith and science with reference to Islamic scriptures. Finally, Chapter Fifteen gives concluding remarks on the significant influence of Islam on culture and future implications.

If I were given the opportunity to do the research again, I would have studied the overall essence of Islamic education and church education to human development and civilization.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY, DESIGN AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter deals with descriptions of the dominant research paradigm of the study, research design, sampling strategy and methods of data collection. Data analysis mechanisms as well as issues of ''validation'' are addressed here.

Methodology

By "methodology" I mean the overall ontological (nature of reality), epistemological (study of knowledge), and methodical perspectives of the nature of research. As a result, I assumed that ontologically reality is not "out there" but within people. In that case, reality is multiple, not singular. Similarly, epistemologically knowledge is constructed by involved parties varying from context to context and from people to people according to the meanings and interpretations they associate to issues in their own context in their own language. It is also assumed that the methodical aspect of the study is not nomethetic (application of generalizable laws and standards based on objectivity) but rather idiosyncratic (subjective studies of individual cases). Likewise, axiologically, the study is assumed to be value-laden, instead of value-free (Mwanje, 2000: 85).

Demystifying the Dominant Paradigm

I designed the study in the form of cultural study which is commonly referred to as qualitative research in view of understanding the development of Islamic education system in South Wallo (Ethiopia) including its features of curricular organization, methodological issues and its influences on Muslim culture. Many researchers (Gall et al. 1996; Best and Kahn, 1999; Amare, 2004; LeCompte and Preissle, 1993) assert that qualitative research is an inquiry that is founded in the assumption that individuals construct social reality in the form of meanings and interpretations and these constructions tend to be transitory and situational. As in any other qualitative research, I attempted to invent these meanings and interpretations in natural settings by subjecting the resulting data to analytic induction. Gall et al (1996) further contend that qualitative researchers consider social reality as constructed by participants depending on local situations; are personally involved with research participants with caring attitudes; study cases; construct concepts or theories during and after data collection; generate verbal and pictorial data to represent social environment; use analytic induction to analyze data and

prepare interpretive reports that reflect researcher's constructions of data and an awareness that readers will form their own constructions and interpretations from what is reported.

By the same token, Amare (2008: 1) contends that the acceptance of qualitative research method as more appropriate to the study of "human nature, human action and thinking is first and foremost premised on the impossibility of attaining the more ambitious requirements of the natural science methods: objectivity, observability, measurability and replicability". Notwithstanding the underlying philosophical differences in qualitative and quantitative methods, appreciating a plurality of knowing, instead of the singularity of method, suffices to justify acceptance of qualitative research methods as means of understanding human process (Amare, 1998: 1). Amare also added,

> It is not also clear to me why social science researchers try to imitate the method of natural science when the latter had made it clear that the scientific methods are applicable only to propositional knowledge i.e. what can be proved or disproved to the exclusion of other forms of knowledge, such as, the good or bad or the right or wrong or what we might call tacit knowledge, which is more critical to the understanding of human values, actions and decisions (Amare, 2008: 1).

Consequently, I preferred to adopting the qualitative research paradigm for this study instead of the traditionally known quantitative one despite in some other cases both might be applied.

All these portray that this study accentuates the qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research paradigm is adopted since it enables for re-ontologizing and re-epistemologizing the Ethiopian or African thinking which is already de-ontologized and de-epistemologized (Abdi, 2009).

Research Design: Multiple Case Studies

Since it is naïve to try to recognize the specific traditions of qualitative designs without understanding the interpretive research paradigm first, I have attempted to demystify the general characteristics of qualitative research methodology as treated in the aforementioned section. Of all Creswell's (2007: 6-10) five traditions of qualitative research designs (a Biography, an Ethnography, a Case study, a Grounded theory and a Phenomenology), I have preferred designing this study based on multiple case studies perspective. All of these traditions of designs have common characteristics as any qualitative methods as depicted earlier. As a case study in a qualitative research approach, I focused on a unit of study known as bounded systems (which are Islamic schools) (Ray, et al, 2009: 426). I found the case study research design appropriate since I wanted to answer descriptive questions (e.g. what happened?) and explanatory questions (e.g. how or why did something happen?) (Ray, et.al, 2009: 427). Since my study addressed

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questions related to what Islamic education teaches and how students learn and teachers teach (in two rural Fiqh schools and two urban mosques) and how it influences the Muslim culture in South Wallo, I assumed that this study is multiple case studies type.

I preferred multi-site case studies since these allowed me to make claims that the events described at one site were not necessarily idiosyncratic to that site and thus contribute to my understanding about contextual variations, or lack thereof, across sites (Ray, et. al. 2009: 430). In case studies, specific issues are examined, often with the intent of examining the issues with the cases illustrating the complexity of the issues (Cresswell, 2007: 93).

Like a case study, my research focuses on traditional Islamic Education which is limited in place (the unit of analysis being Rural Islamic Schools and Urban Mosques in South Wallo (Ethiopia) and time (from February 15th, 2011 to January 30th, 2012 for conducting the interview in addition to a period of two months for observations). Its sub-cases - Imams (mosque leaders), Ulamas (religious intellectuals) and Ustazes (religious teachers) and students were studied "How they teach and learn the religious curricula". Implied in this study was the fact that it also shared the characteristics of ethnographic research since it dealt with groups of people with similar cultural perspective. As a researcher, I am also a member of this cultural group – studying   my own culture in my context. But I specifically have designed this study based on multiple case studies. These qualitative designs differ only in their areas of foci (Creswell, 2007; Amare, 2008).

My study could be characterized as multiple case studies since no case was selected for its distinctiveness. There was no an intrinsic case study type (Stake, 2005: 445).

I selected the form of instrumental case study type since the cases were examined mainly to provide insight into the issues. Here the case was of secondary interest, since it played a supportive role, and it facilitated our understanding of something else. The case still was looked at in-depth, its contexts scrutinized and ordinary activities detailed, but all because this helped me pursue the external interest (Stake, 2005: 445).

More specifically, since I was not interested in one particular case, I have attempted to study at least four cases jointly to investigate how the teaching learning process was conducted in two rural Islamic schools and two urban mosques (Madrassa). Hence, this study was designed from multiple case study perspective. Multiple or collective case study is instrumental study extended to several cases (Stake,

2005). The cases were chosen because I believed that understanding them will lead to better understanding, and perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases (Stake, 2005: 445-446). The cases were bounded by time (of fifteen days of observation each) and activity (the teaching learning process) and I, the researcher, collected detailed information (thick description) using a variety of data collection procedures over sustained period of time (Stake, 1995; Creswell, 2003; etc.). As an autho-ethnographic researcher, I narrated my own life experiences whenever possible in the thesis. The study was intended to answer both descriptive and process questions (Ray, et al., 2009:434).

Research participants for the interview were also selected from five towns: Dessie, Kombolcha, Degan, Harbu and Khamissie. These towns are located in three Waradas: Dessie, Qallu and Dawa Cheffe respectively.

The Research Setting: South Wallo

Islamic education is part of traditional education in Ethiopia, which includes mainly Church education as it is so for many other African countries as well. Organized Church education has been given in many learning centers such as Gondar, Lalibela (Wallo), Axum and the like which reached their climax at a time when many European colleges and universities started to appear as innovations during the 12th and 13th centuries (Amare, 2005:4). Islamic education has also got its own learning centers in Harar, Wallo, Arsi-Bale, Showa and Gondar (Al-Islam, August, 2009, No. 10: 3-19; Al-Islam, No. 9; July 2009: 3). Muslims have also contributed to the development of urban culture and trade and other crafts. For instance, Harar was the first and the only walled city in Africa built by Muslim Sultanates before ten centuries (Yemuslimoch Guday, Feb. 2011: 19). Consequently, different areas have been center of scholarship in Ethiopia until traditional education system started to regress when confronted with the modernization process in the 20th century (Amare, 2005: 4-5).

The situation of traditional education appeared the worst through the passage of time and reached its climax during the period of the Socialist regime (1974-1991). Paradoxically, however, the separation of the Church from the State has given better opportunity for Muslims and their education than pervious dictators (Al-Islam, 2008: 25). With better room for freedom of religion in its constitution, the EPRDF-led government has launched secular education in its education policy (TGE, 1994).

The earliest period of Islamization of Wallo falls between the foundation of the Sultanates of *Shawa* and the Sultanates of *Ifat* between the end of the 9th and the 12th /13th century (Hussein, 1988:95). The next period of Islamization of Wallo was during the conquest of Imam Ahmad (Gragn) in the first half of the 16th

century (Hussein, 1988:95). The expansion and settlement of the Oromo in the later 16th and 17th centuries temporarily slowed down the process of Islamization. Before the beginning of the Oromo expansion, the highland regions of Wallo were occupied by Christian *Amhara*. In the 17th century the Oromo settled permanently in Wallo and adopted Islam (Asnake, 1988:263). As a result of the gradual settlement and Islamization of the Oromo both in the highland and lowland areas of Wallo, the *Amhara* were pushed into the highland regions of *Sayint* bordering on Gojjam and Gondar to the West and north-west respectively. Consequently, the Oromo became the dominant inhabitants of Borana, Warra Ilu, Warra Himano, Qallu and Ambassal (Asnake, 1988:263). From the 17th to the 19th centuries, there were interactions between the Oromo and the Amhara living in the region. Because of these interactions, it was hardly possible to distinguish between the Amhara and Oromo settlers in the highland Wallo (Asnake, 1988:263). By the beginning of the 18th century, the Oromo had become patrons of Muslim clerics and campaigners of Islamic expansion. The establishment of a number of local dynasties like that of Warra Himano (from which Mohammad Ali, later baptized as Negus Michael belonged) played a decisive role in the further expansion and consolidation of Islam (Hussein, 1988: 96). Therefore, at the turn of the 19th and in the early 20th centuries, highland Wallo was predominantly inhabited by Muslims with the exception of Amhara Sayint and Wadla Dalanta (Asnake, 1988:263).

In both North and South Wallo, a total population of over 4 million lives in the area, the majority of which is rural residents (Amhara Regional State Statistical Year Book, 2006: 2). "Wallo" is formerly called "Beta Amhara" which means the "house of Amhara". During the period of Imam Ahmad, the Oromo expansion reached the "beta Amhara" and thereby the region started to be called "Wallo", probably in memory of the son of Karayoo (Kebede, 2007:14). In this regard, the people of beta Amhara has been integrated with Oromo people through marriage and by now people from this area are labeled "Walloyye" irrespective of ethnic and religious origin. Due to the peaceful co-existence of different ethnic and linguistic groups in Wallo (e.g. Amhara, Oromo, Tigre, Agew, Argoba, and even Afar), one of the informants called Wallo as "the archetypical of Mercator" (Ato Kebede, April, 20th 2011).

The central location of historical and contemporary Wallo as a point of contact and interaction between the Semitic-speaking north and northwest plateau, and the largely Kushitic southern and eastern plains, and its ecological, climatic and topographical diversity comprising the scorching wastes of the eastern lowlands and the cool highlands and fertile river valleys of its central massif, have had indelible and durable influence upon the ethnic configuration of its people and the historical evolution of their culture. Since the region commanded a pivotal strategic position in the north-south geographical axis, it has

served throughout the mediaeval and early modern periods as a natural route for population movements and military conquests as well as a line of retreat for regional and imperial troops (Hussein, 2001: 1-2). Wallo was also an attractive land for migration and settlement for both the sedentary population from the north and the pastoral communities from the east and the south east, beginning from the late Axumite period until the seventeenth century. Wallo has been a cultural melting pot where a process of constant intermingling and fusion of heterogeneous elements has been going on for quite a long time.

According to Hussein (2001), until the end of the 19th century, five historical currents or cultural layers have contributed to the diversity of the cultural heritage and geopolitical configuration of Wallo. The first of these waves was the early Christian Amhara as a territorial base for the rise to power of the legendarily ''restored'' Solomonic dynasty, which supplanted the Agaw Zagwe ruling house in 1270, was the political manifestation of the Christian predominance in the region. The second stratum was the military conquest and occupation of Wallo by the Muslim forces of Imam Ahmad bin Ibrahim who was killed in 1543. Besides that, Wallo embraces part of the Argoba areas from which Islam was disseminated starting from the second half of the 7th century in Ethiopia (Al-Islam, July, 2010: 25). The third current was the population movement and the permanent settlement of several clans of the Oromo in the eastern, central and western parts of the region beginning from the second half of the sixteenth century. The fourth element was the consolidation of Islam and the emergence of Muslim chiefdoms and principalities of varying territorial extent, resources and super structural complexity. Fifthly, the uneasy and precarious nature of the relationships and the resurgence of imperial power in the second half of the nineteenth century tended to upset the internal balance of power in Wallo and to undermine the process of political and cultural integration of its Muslim communities (Hussein, 2001: 2-3). The significance of the area for trade was also considerable. There are also prominent monasteries and churches in the area including Haik-Istifanos, Gishe-Mariam, Lalibela and many others.

The history of Islamic religious education in Ethiopia roughly dated back as early as the 7th century when Islam first came to this region with the first Muslim emigrants (Amare, 2005; Hussein, 2001). The earliest period of Islamization of Wallo falls between the establishment of the "Sultanate of Shawa" at the end of ninth century and that of the Sultanate of Ifat in the twelfth /thirteenth century (Hussein, 1988:95). Hussein also reported the introduction of Islam into Wallo linking to the arrival of Arab emigrants who settled in the periphery of southeastern Wallo bordering Ifat and Awsa. The incident was also associated with the existence of Argobba communities whose ancestors were thought to be the Arab refugees. Hussein (1988:95) contends that all these imply that "the penetration of Islam into Wallo long predates the wars of

Imam Ahmad b. Ibrahim (1506-1543)". The diffusion of Islam in the region was accelerated through conversion and by peaceful means through the works of Muslim scholars who accompanied the Imam and permanently settled in parts of Wallo; two of the early propagators of Islamic education were Sheikh Sabir and Sheikh Garad who lived near Kombolcha and Dessie towns, respectively. These scholars were credited for converting the surrounding Amhara communities. The villages of shashabir in Kombolcha and Garado (near Dessie) are believed to have been named after them (Hussein, 1988:95; Ahmed, 2009).

The Oromo expansion, which first halted the dissemination of Islam, later accelerated its expansion after the Oromo were converted in late 16th and early 17th centuries. Two of the dominant factors for the expansion of Islamic education in Wallo were: firstly the establishment of a number of local Muslim dynasties especially that of Wara Himano, which actively supported the propagation of Islam for both political and religious reasons. Even to these days, there is a saying "Religious students from Wora Himeno pursue their study until their "kalle" [i.e. a mat made of an animal's skin] is worn out while students from other areas remain only until their mothers who went for fetching water come back home" (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad, May, 11th 2012). Secondly, the introduction and dissemination of the mystical Sufi orders in Wallo contributed for the dissemination of Islamic education. The introduction and propagation of the Sufi orders was crucial for the revival of Islam and diffusion of classical education through the various centers of learning and local pilgrimages (Hussein, 1988:96).

The most influential rural Islamic schools in Wallo were Geta, Jema Negus, Turu-Sina, Aman Amba, Dana, Dabat and many others (Hussein, 2001). Most of these Islamic school centers were assumed to be established during the 18th and 19th centuries. Prominent Sheiks such as "Talaha Ja'far, Mufti Dawd, Muhammad Shafi", Hajji Said Bushira, and Ahmad Yassin, were a few of the renowned scholars that contributed for the establishment of Islamic education in the religion (Informant, Ahmadin, June, 16th 2012). For instance, "Mufti Dawud went to Yemen, Mecca and Medina to learn more and collect many Islamic books (even by handwriting)" and came to Ethiopia "loading 314 Islamic books on seven camels through Djibouti to Wallo (Daway) and established a famous Islamic teaching center" (Informant, Ahmadin, June, 16th 2012; Mohammed, 2007). However, most of these centers are contemporarily in a state of regression, while many new rural Islamic schools are emerging of which Jisir-Wodey, Zawuyoch, Agara-Chorie, Galdaba, Qola-Genfoch, Girar-Amba and Chellie Dama come to the fore. These are, at the moment, Shafi'l and Hanafi Fiqh schools found in South Wallo. Some of these institutions (e.g. Chellie Dama) have been serving as "Islamic Universities for more than a century and a half (Yemuslimoch

Guday, July 2011, (1)12:34). Many graduates of Islamic education from Wallo have also become prominent even at national and international levels (Al-Islam, 2010).

South Wallo is selected purposely as the research site. The purposes are (1) to understand how the Christians and Muslims co-exist peacefully; (2) to explore the rural Islamic centers (Zawuyas) in the region since they are found in abundance; (3) to learn more about not only the co-existence of Muslims and Christians but also Amhara and Oromo people since both ethnic groups are found in the region. Other justifications for selecting Wallo for my research site includes: the existence of Islamic scholars renowned at national and even international level in the region; availability of many Sheiks from Oromo, Tigray, and Afar and, of course Amhara ethnic groups; existence of modern madrasa that teach Qur'anic memorization and my familiarity with the language and customs of the area since I have been a resident there since I was born. Religious students and scholars also come to Wallo and go to other parts of Ethiopia. There is hardly any place in Ethiopia where religious people from Wollo were not found. All these facilitated my access to the research sites.

The study is conducted using observation in the natural settings where the major Islamic education, fiqh, is being conducted. For the sake of in-depth understanding I limited the observation in purposely selected rural Islamic Schools in Southern Wallo Administrative Zone, Amhara Regional State, Ethiopia. The population in South Wallo is expected to be 2, 519, and 450 (PCC, 2008: 63). There are numerous traditional Islamic schools in this zone. Two of the rural Islamic centers were purposely selected from Southern Wollo (one Shafi'I school from Qallu Warada, and another Hanafi school from Dessie Warada) based on the criteria of longer period of establishment; larger number of religious students; intellectual competence of the religious teachers and their commitment for the continuity of Islamic education; their exemplar practices and their willingness to participate in the study. Moreover, from the urban area, one mosque and one Madrassa (Hifz centre) were observed from Dessie town using the criteria mentioned.

The four cases of Islamic Schools

Zawuyoch Shafi'I Fiqh School: This is one of the multitudes of Shafi'I Fiqh School Centers in Wallo. It represents one of the four Islamic teaching centers studied in this project. It is a rural Islamic fiqh school situated in a small village called Zawuyoch. It is found in Kombolcha Warada, 375 km. north of Addis Ababa. It is located in the hillsides of north-east of Kombolcha town, approximately at a distance of seven kilometres. Formerly the village was under the Dessie Zuriya Warada but due to the

recent urban development program in the country, it is included within Kombolcha Warada. However, the place is far from any sign of urban life.

According to the head teacher of Zawuyoch, This institution was upgraded from a mere Zawuya/ Khalawa (seclusion room) in to Fiqh School by Sheikh Omar Tigre in 1933 and hence it has been teaching for the last eighty years. During the observation, there were over 350 religious students attending the Shafi'I School of Thought.

Girar Amba Hanafi Fiqh School: This is one of the Hanafi Fiqh School Centers in Wallo. It represents the second of the four Islamic teaching centers studied in this project. It is a rural Islamic fiqh school situated in a small village called Girar Amba. The village is located nearly six km south-west of Dessie along the main road from Addis via Dessie, nearly 393 km away from Addis Ababa. It is located in Dessie Zuriya Warada but recently, it is included within the Dessie Warada following the urban expansion project in the region. Unlike some parts of the village, this fiqh school is deprived of even the electric light service available to the others villages in the vicinity despite its proximity to Dessie town. The Fiqh institution was established during the Socialist period but it started teaching by the present Sheikh in 1992. During the observation, there were well over 150 students learning the Hanafi school of thought.

Umar Faruq Mosque: The third Islamic teaching centre studied was one of urban mosques located in Dessie called Umar Faruq Mosque, named after the commemoration of the second Islamic Caliph. It is located in Kebele 8 along the main road near Gabriel Church. It represents one of the numerous mosques found in Dessie.

Since it is located in the heart of Dessie town, it consists of most of the features of urban buildings, including electric light service, water closet, shower room, and of course unlike the rural Zawuyas, a minaret. This mosque was selected from the available 33 mosques in Dessie mainly due to the criteria mentioned earlier. Moreover, I have been a part-time religious student in this mosque for two years. My former religious teacher also teaches here since he has been appointed as the Imam of the Mosque by the nearby community members since 2005.

Tehfiz-al-Qur'an: The fourth and the last research site of this study is a kind of Madrasa, simply named Tehfiz-al-Qur'an; a nomenclature attributed to its function of teaching students to memorize the whole of the Qur'anic text. It is one of the first Madrassas in the country devoted exclusively for this

function since 1991. It is located in Dessie town in Kebele 8, just opposite to Dessie College of Teachers Education. There are also other Hifz centers established more recently for the same purpose.

There were at least thirty hifz (Qur'anic memorization) students during the period of observation. Most of them are orphans and socially deprived teenagers. This madrasa is a kind of boarding school where students study memorizing the Qur'an together with attending modern education built adjacent to the Mosque. The school has produced graduates that are serving as Imams and teachers in Dessie, Addis Ababa, Jimma, Senbatie, Adama (Nathreth) and other places in Ethiopia until they were banned by the Mejlis in certain areas recently.

Purposeful Sampling

My purpose in this interpretive study is to produce information-rich data from informants chosen for their ability to speak to the research issue (Patton, 1990) with particular reference to Islam and Muslims. My study emphasizes depth more than breadth, insight rather than overgeneralization, illuminating the meaning of the human issues raised in the research problem. The logic I used for purposive sampling is different from the logic of probability sampling in that the former focuses on in-depth understanding from small cases while the latter focuses on huge sample size representative of the larger population based on randomization (Patton, 1990). The challenge was, therefore, to select participants who would be able to provide the most meaningful information on the issues.

Of the available purposive strategies, I used snowball sampling since I used a technique of locating informants by asking others to identify individuals with special understanding of a phenomenon. As an investigator, I asked each research participant to suggest others with similar or better ability to address the issues, asking "Who knows a lot about the issue of the influence of Islam, its features and relevance to Muslim culture?" In this way, the number of research informants increased as the "snowball" grows as it rolls, collecting an information-rich pool of resources for exploring the research questions (Ulin et al; 2002:61). Since informants with special experts in the religion and about the religion Islam can likely identify other more knowledgeable people, this technique could be a valuable one since I did not know the field in-depth (Patton, 1990; Ulin et al, 2002; Frey, et al, 1991).

Research participants

In addition to observation of settings where religious scholars teach students the basic Islamic education curricula (Hifz, Hadith and Fiqh), the research involves interviews with Imams (mosque leaders) and

Ulamas/ Sheiks (religious intellectuals) who were directly involved in the propagation of the teachings of Islam. The participants were selected on the basis of purposive sampling. Specifically, I selected the research participants (particularly the religious leaders) on the basis of the following criteria: (a) firm command over classical Arabic including its vocabulary, grammar, metaphors and idioms; (b) command over authenticity of the Hadith literature; (c) knowledge of the rich Tefsir literature produced by the most reputed Muslim Scholars; (d) being exemplar religious person in words and deeds as witnessed by local key informants and (e) being accepted, respected and known for their tolerance and coexistence within the community.

These criteria were addressed during the selection of the Sheiks. Sheikhs from Sufis and Salafis were involved. Participants from the religious students were also selected based on their roles and responsibilities for their learning. It is assumed that these groups of people are important actors in the traditional Islamic education system. The inquiry could be sensitive to them due to their interest, responsibility, commitment, social position and other related factors.

Moreover, I included more influential and popular community members and official leaders (both Muslims and non-Muslims) who are more familiar with cultural influence of Islam such as historians, Civics and Ethical Education teachers and community elders.

Before starting my field work, I required religious heads for a formal permission to get access to the study sites. Consent was secured from participants orally as a result of a common understanding reached after describing the purpose and nature of the study in addition to my commitment in ethical principles and procedures (Appendix 2), which was negotiated with them orally and in written form.

The most relevant ethical issues with regard to the participants of this research might be confidentiality and anonymity, highly regarded requirement in the Ethiopian culture. The views people express in Ethiopia could easily be abused by distortion, attribution or even accusation (Amare, 2007) especially in matters of religion nowadays. Therefore, all needed care was taken to protect the participants and to maintain the security of the views of all my participants. Any information from them was used only when there is full consent. The recorded materials were played back to respective participants for any possible changes, including editing or total withdrawal, if they demanded so. This was done for the purpose of trustworthiness [validation] (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).

A total number of seventy-two participants were planned to be interviewed for the research purpose. However, six of them were jailed by the government (later released being innocent) and two of them left the region. This made the research participants only sixty-four. This included twenty Sheiks, ten religious students (darassas), five history teachers, five language teachers, three members of warada Islamic Council Affairs, five Christian community elders, five Muslim community elders, three Muslims and five Christians from the common people (who have neither religious specialization nor position) and three university students. There were twelve females and fifty-two males from both faith groups.

I did not use any form of pseudonyms to disguise the names of the research participants since there is no expected threat as such. I also avoided using initials of names since that sounds unnatural. Rather, instead of using participants' full names in the research report; I used only their own names without mentioning their fathers' names (except a few whenever their names are similar) since there could be tens of hundreds of men or women named by the same name as a matter of tradition in the region. If there is a real problem to hunt for research participants, I understand that the issue of any confidentiality measures remained in question no matter how it was done with sophistication.

Data Collection Strategies

Since no single research method can tap all dimensions of a complex research problem, I found it valuable to combine two or more methods, drawing conclusions from a synthesis of the results. Similar results from multiple method use which is also called triangulation could increase the credibility of the study whereas dissimilar results might raise questions about alternative interpretations and even further investigation. Given that reality is multiple, it is defined in many ways and in many contexts, different data collection tools may reveal a variety of perspectives, different ways that people conceptualize and evaluate the same situation (Ulin, et al; 2002:48-49). The dominant data collection strategies, I applied in the study, in order of importance, are in-depth interview, text analysis, and participant observation.

Conducting the Interview

Since the study of indigenous culture, like educational curriculum and communication, must not be mechanical, I attempted to explore the processes by and through which social actors mutually adjust lines of action on the basis of their interpretation of the world in which they live. I investigated actors' point of view, meanings and understandings concerning the Islamic education system. I used interview to get first-hand experiences by interacting with the research informants with their own language, on their own terms. I wanted to understand the viewpoints of indigenous Muslim religious intellectuals

(Sheiks), and community members about Islamic education and its influence on Muslim culture. The interview participants were selected from Qalu warada (Harbu and Kombolcha), Dessie warada (Dessie town) (South Wallo Administrative Zone) and Dawa Chefa Warada /Kemissie (Oromia Special Zone) using a semi-structured interview. Specifically an interview guide approach in which topics and issues to be covered were specified in advance in outline form. I decided the sequence and wording of questions in the course of the interview, of course. The questions were generated around themes related to the introduction of Islamic education in the specific site; its expansion and challenges, its aims and purposes, methods employed; assessment strategies used and its influences on the social culture and development of ethical characters. Moreover, issues related to marriage, healing tradition, income generation and many other social, political and educational issues were dealt (See Appendix 3). One of the advantages I got from this approach was that "the outline increases the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection somewhat systematic for each participant" (Ulin et al, 2002: 64).

Since in-depth understanding of human interaction requires near-native fluency in the language of the research participants, I used Amharic, which is the vernacular language of most of the participants and mine during the interview. The interview was conducted from February 15th 2011 to January 30th 2012 (on an on and off basis).

Conducting text analysis

One of the dominant methods employed in this study is text analysis. As a curricular and communication researcher, I used it to describe and interpret the characteristics and meanings of recorded or written or visual messages. Textual analysis in this study belongs to outputs of communication i.e. Islamic education curricula (the Qur'an, Hadith and Fiqh texts) and transcripts (from interview data) as well. I used text analysis to answer research questions like: How are the texts organized? What are the messages of the text? What do the messages in the text mean? What major issues are linked to the intent of the text? To answer such questions I described the contents, structures and functions of the messages contained in texts. I specifically examined the texts searching for the patterns of continuity, sequence and integration as well as their relevance to the everyday life of Muslims.

Studying transcripts and outputs of communication relies on indirect, rather than direct observation. I used direct observation to examine live communication behaviors and indirect observation to examine recordings of texts. The use of indirect observation in text analysis makes this a relatively non-reactive research methodology. That is, document/text analysis is a fairly 'clean' way of gathering data (free from

contamination by the research procedure) because generally it does not depend on using self-reports or direct observational measures. This type of text analysis largely depends on naturally occurring data (Perakyla, 2005). I believed that text analysis is more objective since it deals with the method of comparing and contrasting the selected issues of the text with established theories and principles as they are. Since I am a Muslim, the relatively objective feature of one of the dominant methods employed in the study may help to reduce any form of favoritism. Anyone can check the trustworthiness of the data by referring to the original texts used in Islamic education translated either by Muslims or non-Muslims or the Arabic versions.

As qualitative researchers who use written texts as their materials, I do not try to follow any predefined protocol in executing my analysis. By reading and rereading my empirical materials, I try to pin down my key themes and thereby, draw a picture of the presupposition and meanings that constitute the cultural world of which the textual material is a specimen. This is the informal approach to text analysis since it focuses on the "prepositional content" rather than the linguistic forms of texts. Later the themes developed during text analysis were weighed against established theories and principles from particular disciplines especially on issues related to religion and science.

Conducting participant observation

As an interpretive researcher, I wished to do investigations of a particular phenomenon by going out in to the natural field to observe people interacting as they ordinarily do while carrying out everyday activities. Consequently, I observed how the religious scholars taught the Qur'anic memorization, the Prophetic Sunnah, and Fiqh and how the religious students learn. Specifically I focused on the teacher-student interactions and their roles in the instructional process in two rural Islamic schools and two urban centers.

The observation in each of the four sites lasted for about fifteen successive days. That means it took me two months to complete the field observation that extended from April 1/2011 to May 30/2011 (I also observed events of Muslim protests on holidays conducted in 2012 as spontaneous recordings).

As a participant observer, I let people know they are being observed and I was involved in the social situation being studied as an "insider". I played the role of a religious student by studying some of the curricular contents for a period of time by creating intense social interaction between me and the research participants in the natural setting (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975 in Frey et al, 1991). Thus, unlike the positivist thinking that demands

for "researcher-proof" methods and techniques to be seemingly "neutral" but humanly unnatural, I was the major data collecting agent by being a sensitive observer, storyteller, and descriptive writer through recording as faithfully as possible the phenomena I saw, heard, felt and thought.

I kept field notes of my own after the completion of each learning session on a notepad. At the beginning, my plan of observation was limited to classroom interactions. However, as the research process was unfolding, I have come across spontaneous observation schedules i.e. as certain group of Muslims in the region conducted demonstrations during Friday and annual Holidays in 2012; I conducted spontaneous recordings on the incidents. This has benefited me to analyze the recent tensions within the faith group.

I also observed certain mourning practices, wedding ceremonies and supplication (wadajja) ceremonies in Dessie, Harbu, Khemissie and Kombolcha towns.

Data Analysis

I conducted the data analysis on the assumption that: (a) People differ in their experiences and understandings of the complex social reality; (b) A social phenomenon cannot be understood outside of its own context (the physical, historical, social, economic and political climates including individual characteristics need to be considered); (c) Theory both guides the research process and is a result of it. The conceptual framework in Chapter One included a set of general concepts and categories that could guide the research design; (d) In addition to seeking for common ground, the analysis should look for exceptional cases that yielded insight into a problem or new ideas that leads for further inquiry; (e) Understanding of human behavior emerged slowly and nonlinearly. The analysis process followed an iterative path that took numerous rounds of questioning, reflecting, rephrasing, and analyzing, theorizing, and verifying beginning from the first day of data collection in the field and continuing through and beyond the data collection period (Ulin et al, 2002; LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).

More explicitly the data analysis in this study consisted of categories, tabulating and testing to address the initial propositions of the study (Yin, 2003). It is the timing of analysis with other tasks that distinguishes a quality design from traditional positivist research (Merriam, 1998). Analysis in qualitative research is an on-going activity that takes place during data collection, devising of categories and the building of theory. Data that have been analyzed while being collected are both parsimonious and illuminating (Merriam, 1998). Breakthroughs in insight develop when the researcher is making sense of the data; while moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts; between inductive and deductive reasoning; and between descriptions and interpretations.

In my research analysis, I used units such as narratives, sentences, phrases and vignettes to create categories. I used interpretational analysis to develop themes, constructs and patterns based on my own and my participants' understandings of the issues of Islam (its curricular organization; methodology and its political, socio-cultural and economic influences). I also used structural analysis to scrutinize the patterns, messages and meanings inherent in the traditional Islamic education texts as they are (especially its moral and ethical lesson, its relevance to everyday life and the issue of faith and science). Further still I primarily employed reflective analysis using my tacit knowledge and insights or imaginations based on the overall research processes and experiences learned to develop the descriptions and interpretations of the narrative stories into new theories. In other words, I adopted the three types of data analysis in case study: interpretive analysis, structural analysis and reflective analysis (Tesch, 1990).

The major interrelated steps I conducted with the spirit of flexibility include: reading, coding, displaying, winnowing/data filtration, and interpreting. I believed that data analysis begins with immersion i.e. reading and rereading texts and reviewing notes. As I read, I sought for emerging themes and began to attach labels or codes to the chunks of text that represented those themes. Once my texts have been coded, I explored each thematic area, first displaying in detail the information relevant to each category and then winnowing this information to separate the 'chaff from the grains'. At each step, I searched for the core meaning of the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors described in my texts. That is, I interpreted the data. Finally, I provided an overall interpretation and reflection of the study, showing how thematic areas relate to one another, explaining how the network of concepts responded to my original study questions and suggesting what these conclusions meant beyond the specific context of my study i.e. developing new insights.

Transcription and translation

Some of the research participants were not voluntary to be recorded due to fear of accusation following the contemporary tension among the Muslim community. In that case, I declined recording and kept taking notes. I sometimes demanded the participants even to dictate me their ideas. Regarding the ideas recorded from the voluntary ones, I transcribed audiotapes as soon as possible after each interview session in order not to miss subtle and nonverbal points. As a qualitative researcher, I was the interviewer, transcriber and translator (from the vernacular language i.e. Amharic) to the English language. Although I knew from experience that good transcription is time-consuming, I transcribed

many of the data (but not all) first instead of cutting the data by summarizing and then translated the data. I used particularly expressive terms from the original languages to enrich the transcript and lead me to construct new concepts. Specifically, representative quotes; provocative quotes and native words were also used. Explanatory quotes were waved into my interpretation and documentary evidences /published and unpublished literature (Ulin et al, 2002:181-184).

Interpretation

By spending much time in the field, I tried to grasp the beliefs, understandings, and ideas of the participants, which lead to an honest representation of their views. I also used quotes from religious texts (documentary evidences) as directly as possible, whenever appropriate. My independent interpretations of the data depended on these evidences. I had no conflict of interest that misguided my interpretation that was not representational. I also believe that it is a professional taboo to make unwarranted interpretations that may lead to obstruction rather than illumination in an effort to understand society and us (Amare, 2007). The role my advisor played here to keep an eye on my "objectivity" was very immense. Moreover, text analysis is relatively objective since it deals with the method of curricular evaluation with selected issues of the text with established theories and/or principles as they are. Anyone can check the reliability of the quoted data by referring to the authentic curricular sources translated either by Muslims or non-Muslims. Any theory developed from this study, therefore, is based on my personal interpretations of the evidences that I collected rigorously.

Standards of Quality and Verification

The terms, standards and verification are used here only to deconstruct the positivist terms, validity, objectivity and reliability (Amare, 2007). Here, I am referring to the search for trustworthy data.

At the heart of the debate on research standards is the much used but often misunderstood concept of subjectivity. To a positivist scientist, data are facts that must be isolated from the personal or subjective values of the researcher. Since subjectivity refers to "distortion", the researcher must be neutral. Interpretive researchers, on the other hand, defend subjectivity as an important element in the research process. There are many ways of interpreting the social world. Access to the multiple worldviews is possible through the subjective experiences and understandings of the research participants. The researcher's use of self as a reflective partner in collecting and interpreting information (data) further strengthens the position that if subjectivity is applied systematically it is a positive element in the research process (Ulin et al. 2002: 30-31).

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The general procedures that were followed for maintaining standard in my study, among others, were effort, honesty, triangulation and ethical protocols (Amare, 2007).

Effort: I attempted to understand the Islamic education system; its curricular organization and its influence on Muslim culture in view of contemporary thoughts by making every effort in conducting textual (document) analysis, participant-observation, and in-depth interview by talking to the Ulamas (religious intellectuals), students, community members and officials spending as much time as possible in the field and search for justification to establish whatever truth-claims would be made by me. I also asked my research advisor and my critical colleagues to comment on my draft reports and made revisions accordingly.

Honesty: I have been motivated in traditional Islamic education system due to my inquisitiveness to understand its teachings; curricular organization and its influence on the Muslim culture especially starting from the first day I got the English and Amharic versions of the texts nearly before twenty years despite my experience to learn reading and writing in the Arabic language even before I joined formal primary school in grade one. I conducted a mini research report on "Contemporary Thoughts in the Qur'an and Sunnah Curricula" for course requirement using the method of text analysis on two selected themes: human rights issues and human biological development in 2009. I was highly surprised not only by the compatibility of the teaching of Qur'an and the Sunnah with the modern thoughts but by its advanced knowledge contents regarding equality of people irrespective of ethnicity, color, gender, religion, social status and so forth and even on issues linked to embryology (Moore, 1983) and sex education (Buccaille, 1973). I thought that this might have shown me the tip of the iceberg only. Consequently, I contended that I have little understanding of its basic teachings and cultural influences. I believed that the need for understanding the Islamic education system is intrinsic and with my qualitative research, I tried to understand as much as I could. I also demystified the local knowledge embedded in the traditional education.

Triangulation: In addition to bridging evidences through the use of text analysis and interviews, participant-observation is very helpful in assessing convergence of information. The use of three methods for analysis in the natural sites would help me for in-depth understanding of the issues in the study. I view verification as a process that occurs throughout the data collection, analysis and report writing of the study (Creswell, 1998).

Moreover, I played back recorded tapes for the participants to comment on them and I also read my field notes to the research participants to correct me on any misunderstandings. Similarly, I sought for further explanations from the religious scholars on any extract from the Islamic curricula in order not to misinterpret and misunderstand the religious texts. Furthermore, I also attempted to base all my conclusions and insights based on the narrative data. All these were done in reference to general criteria for validation of qualitative research.

In short, attempts were made to give accurate and complete description of issues and events as far as possible to reduce the incompleteness of the data. Attempts were also made to understand the perspectives of the people studied and the meanings they attach to their word and actions instead of imposingly my own framework alone. Efforts were still made to see the thesis as well as antithesis of any claimed propositions in order to reveal rival explanations, if any. All these were hoped to reduce the threat to valid description, the threat to valid interpretation and the threat to valid theory (Amare, 2007: 1-2; Maxwell, 1996: 89-90).

Ethics: Focusing only on quantity of knowledge that we produce is inadequate because truth is not all that counts (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Miles and Huberman argue that one needs to consider the rightness as well as wrongness of one's actions as a qualitative researcher in relation to people whose lives one is studying to his/her colleagues and to those who sponsor one's work. A qualitative researcher must give the fullest attention to moral and ethical considerations. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) outlined five major ethical considerations in qualitative research: (1).The relationship between what is observed (behavior, rituals, meanings) and the larger cultural, historical and organizational contexts within which the observations are made (the substance); (2) The relationship among the observer, the observed and the setting; (3) The issues of perspective (point of view), whether the observers or members used to render an interpretation of the ethnographic data (the interpretation); (4) The role of the reader in the final product (the audience); (5) The issue of representational, rhetorical or author(s) to render the description and interpretation (style). Thus I was abided by ethical decisions for the protection of my research participants.

I contended that all human research should begin with the informed consent of participants. By "informed consent" I mean that research participants understand: possible risks and benefits; voluntary participation; assurance of confidentiality and anonymity; the purpose of the research; how they were chosen to participate; data collection procedures; and whom to contact with questions and concerns

(Ulin et al; 2002: 61). I have also understood that potential harm to research participants is not just physical but can be psychological, social, economic or professional. In fact, as Williamson (1995) directly puts it, physical wounds may heal more quickly than wounds to a person's reputation or sense of security. Consequently, I strictly tried to respect the ethical principles as much as I can as indicated in Appendix 2 adapted from Amare (2007).

The reader: The primary reader of the research report would be the educational research community. Ethiopian higher education instructors, researchers, policy-makers, school leaders, teachers, governmental and non-governmental bodies, graduate and undergraduate students are also expected to be another group of significant audience of the document. Moreover, development agencies and professionals who are interested in indigenous knowledge and cultural wisdom are also the expected audience of this document. The document may provide useful knowledge that would contribute to the rethinking of the educational system of Ethiopia vis-à-vis its rich cultural heritages.

In addition to this, the general public readers may have some interest in reading. But the research community has a curiosity for knowledge that is convincing. I try to support all my truth claims with adequate evidence and provide vicarious experiences to the readers. Anecdotes and important documentary and spoken quotes or voices of the research participants, which I extensively used in the narratives, may enhance the readability of the material. I have made the research methodology and research context very explicit in order to arouse the interest of the reader. I have written the report with extensive use of nouns and pronouns as well as humors and metaphors by limiting the use of the third person, which could make reading dull.

The self: Despite the saying "Your neighbors talk about you", I contend that a brief description of my autobiography can help the reader to understand my subjectivity as a researcher as well as my acquaintance with the research context. My interest in research on the Islamic education system was initially triggered when I started to read the English language versions of the texts nearly before two decades. Of course, I have grown up listening to the recitations and interpretations of the religious texts starting from my early childhood as any Muslim family in Qallu, South Wallo, (Ethiopia), at a small town called Harbu (after I was born in Beke, Sheikh Ali Ganda), 345 km north of Addis Ababa. I learned the writing and recitation of the Qur'an at age five and completed it within two years with the help of my teacher, Sheik Ahmed Hussein, who was an Imam in one of the Mosques in Kombolcha town near Piazza until he died in 2010.

I was forbidden to continue learning the Fiqh or Sunnah at an early age. At this time, I happened to pass by a primary school which I have never seen before. My parents told me that only the children of Christians are "allowed to enter" there for "*aschola*". Within the same year, my aunt came and took me to Afar region and with that I interrupted my religious education at its inception and devoted myself to the modern education.

But I did not stop reading about my religion and even about others. During my study in Curriculum for MA degree in AAU, my interest towards culture and the traditional education was retriggered as I read about issues like "Culture and Development", "the African Development Syndromes", and "Education and Development" as course contents. All this enhanced my intrinsic motivation to understand Islam and the teachings of the Islamic education system. Once more, my experience in qualitative research paradigm has given me impetus to investigate on the issues further.

I restarted learning about the Qur'an and Sunnah in Dessie during my spare time. Sheikh Mohammed-Zein taught me some Hadith books which belong to intermediate level of the Sunnah Curricula. Another Sheikh, Indris, taught me the first three levels of Fiqh based on the teachings of Imam-al Shafie'e. I attempted to study the first level Nahwu (Arabic Grammar) and Sorf (Arabic morphology) as an attempt to improve my competence to understand original Arabic texts. All these are lower level at the pyramids of Islamic education which do not qualify a person as a religious scholar.

Regarding the Tefsir level, I did not start it except attending my peers who are learning whenever I got the chance on an irregular basis. I interrupted the lessons due to my chance to study for the present PhD program to be specialized in Curriculum Design and Development in AAU. I have also completed a distance course on Islamic History given in Amharic by the Culture Section of the Embassy of I.R. of Iran here in Ethiopia. Nonetheless, the Islamic history course was exclusively about the traditions of the Arabs and Iran. There was hardly any lesson associated to Islam in Ethiopia which is the first nation in the world to host the first Muslim migrants.

With the help of the English versions of the Sunnah, Fiqh and the Qur'an, I learned that such religious curricula could be valuable inputs for the common good if investigated in-depth, not superficially. Especially the issues of cleanliness and hygiene, the primacy of knowledge, and issues related to ethical and moral characters have impressed me very much and still I believe I have many issues to learn from the Islamic education. All these motivated me to scrutinize the Issues of Islamic education system further.

The lessons from my postgraduate programs help me to learn more about qualitative research including its methodologies and philosophical underpinnings. Since then, I read more on its ontological and epistemological frameworks. I feel convinced to conduct my present thesis in a thoroughly qualitative nature. I know that qualitative research emphasizes on understanding a particular context with the active involvements of research participants from an insider's perspective rather than as a neutral on-looker or an outsider.

My other personality in the context of this research is my involvement in teaching in Ethiopia at least in two different Secondary Schools for more than four years. I was employed as an English teacher after I received my first degree in Pedagogical Sciences (and English) from Bahir Dar Teachers College (now University). I have found the multidisciplinary courses given in the then Department of Pedagogy very helpful for the present multi-disciplinary research type.

I have also earned Postgraduate Certificate from the College of St. Marjon, affiliated to the University Of Exeter (UK) in the field of English Language Training conducted as part of the English Language Improvement Program (ELIP) in Ethiopia in 2004. I feel that this has helped me to improve my English language proficiency further to understand the English versions of the Islamic education texts since I lack proficiency in Arabic.

I have also worked in Dessie College of Teacher Education as an English language instructor. I served for about six years in the College and soon I was transferred in December 2007 to the newly established Wallo University in Dessie as a Lecturer in Curriculum and Instruction.

Dessie is the town where I completed both my Junior High School and Secondary School in Kidame Gebeya and Woizero Siheen Comprehensive, Technical and Vocational Schools, respectively. Starting from my primary school age, I know many Ulamas who are well versed in all the Islamic education. I have seen most of them still teaching in different Mosques. It is assumed that this would facilitate my entry into the research sites.

I believe huge strides have been made in terms of quantity of education almost along all the educational levels, from primary to the tertiary education in Ethiopia. Had it not been for the government intervention on the expansion of higher education, the establishment of the blossoming new universities might have been fantasy. The state has committed itself for the educational expansion which is promising. However, as the state is also cognizant of it, I feel that a lot remains in terms of quality of education, regional

disparity of school participation, and problems of equity related to gender participation and other issues. I contend that one of the reasons for failing to achieve quality of education and thereby dragging the nation out of its underdevelopment syndrome is lack of the synthesis of the imported western knowledge and the indigenous knowledge. This is one of my arguments that provoked me to conduct this study.

I appreciate the commitments being done on the part of the Ethiopian Government in educational expansion and other developmental agendas. I am also grateful to Wallo University in particular and the Ministry of Education (and the Addis Ababa University) in general for giving me the sponsorship for this program of study including the research fund.

I do not think the extreme interference of the Government on institutional autonomy is limiting academic freedom. Of course, I believe the state should not go to the extent of telling professors what to teach for their students, how and when and who to employ as what is being done in the newly established universities whose constructions are collapsing before beginning service in some cases.

Regarding the current politics in Ethiopia, I cannot be on the fence to it especially as an Ethiopian Muslim. Compared to the past regimes, the present Government has given the golden opportunity of freedom for all religions in the country. I would like to remind you here that it is only ever since the 1974 demonstration that the Muslims celebrated the first nationally recognized Holidays despite the introduction of Islam in the 7th century in Ethiopia.

Once more, I still contend that the human rights and democratic rights enshrined in the Federal Constitution shall be respected and safeguarded since it advocates equality of all persons before the Law. Had it not been for the relative freedom of expression as in the case of the Free Press, I hardly imagined getting ample English and Amharic versions of Islamic reference books for conducting my present research project. Moreover, the articulation of the commitment of the government in legal documents to develop indigenous cultures that are compatible with modern democratic and development notions has motivated me to pursue on this research project.

I support the EPRDF-led government since it advocates freedom for all of its citizens. I do so because I believe that education is all about freedom. I also favor the considerable room that the Government has given for the rise of multiparty political system for facilitating the budding democracy in the country. Indeed, I believe in the principle of self-determination since this enables defending political autonomy which is the prerequisite for defending culture.

In other words, the establishment of Ethiopian government on federalism has enabled member regional states of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia to have equal power and rights. This in turn creates the opportunity for the recognition and development of multiculturalism which is contrary to the 'mono-lingual', 'mono-religious' and 'mono-party' regimes of the past. Thus, federalism has created the opportunity for peoples, nations and nationalities to preserve, to develop and to practice their own languages, religions, and traditional values. In a nut-shell, federalism has created an unprecedented chance in the Ethiopian history for the transmission as well as transformation of the culture of all of it citizens. Thus, I believe that the political autonomy enshrined in its federalism form in the Ethiopian constitution has also paved the way for the development of the cultural autonomy of all peoples.

At present, there may be several types of political opposition parties that still advocate a unitary state with mono-party system just like the previous Ethiopian regimes that had lived for several millennia. This is unproductive in Ethiopia. It is also unfortunate for opposition parties not to win considerable parliament seats during the last national election. The present Government believes that Ethiopia is multi-cultural and multi-ethnic country that has legitimacy for independent development and autonomous governance. I favor such type of Federal Governance so long as there is unity within diversity and agreement with disagreement. I contend that any type of political measure that deprives the Ethiopian peoples of their present rights may end up with endless conflict and disintegration. Thus, I wish the present day type of wise political governance to continue to maintain stable and united Ethiopia since I believe that democracy, good governance and equality is a priority for peaceful co-existence and national development.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CONCEPT OF ISLAM

Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to demystify the religion called Islam and other related concepts that are contested in many cases. First, I deal with descriptions of three of the universal religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Then, the concept of Islam is highlighted in details including Islam as a way of life, the meaning and purpose of the Shari'ah, the views of atheists, apostates and apologists and the personality of Prophet Muhammad and his teachings briefly. Finally, the spread of Islam and concept of war and the status of women in Islam are discussed.

Brief Descriptions of Universal Religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam

A universal religion is one in which beliefs are offered to all humanity. Each universal religion views itself as possessing the full truth about reality, knowledge and values; therefore its adherents have a sense of mission to all humanity. Among other world religions, the three common universal religions originating in the Middle East are Judaism, Christianity and Islam (Forman, 1993; Smith, 1991).

Judaism: Judaism is the religion of the Jews. It is the complex phenomenon of a total way of life for the Jewish people, comprising theology, law, and innumerable cultural traditions. Judaism is one of the oldest of the world's living religions. Its scriptures are regarded as holy by Christianity and Islam as well as by Judaism. The most cherished writings of the Jews are the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud (the primary written sources of Jewish oral law and tradition). Torah sometimes refers to the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Bible), to the entire Hebrew Bible or to the entire content of Judaism (Neusner, 1992; Freedman, 1993). Some of the beliefs central in Judaism include belief in the personal One, Only, and Holy God; human nature is understood as basically good, made in the image of God; all human beings have the capacity to choose other gods (idolatry) and therefore sin; the one true God has chosen Israel to be His servant to bring all persons to a true knowledge of God and loving obedience to God's will is the ethical comprehensiveness of Judaism (Greenberg, 2009).

Christianity: At the very least, Christianity is the faith tradition that focuses on the figure of Jesus Christ. As a tradition, Christianity is more than a system of religious belief. It also has generated a culture, a set of ideas and ways of life, practices, and artifacts that have been handed down from generation to generation since Jesus first became the object of faith. Christianity is thus both a living

tradition of faith and the culture that the faith leaves behind. The agent of Christianity is the church, the community of people who make up the body of believers (Marty: 2009).

The New Testament constitutes the five beliefs of Judaism concerning (1) God, (2) the universe, (3) human nature, (4) revelation and (5) ethical consequences for daily life. However, the writers of the New Testament amplified some of these beliefs. Jesus of Nazareth was believed to be the resurrected Messiah, who embodied and revealed God's ultimate purposes for humanity. There was considerable reluctance to accept Jesus as the Messiah, because those awaiting God's ''Anointed One'' (the meaning of Messiah and its Greek equivalent Christ) believed that political peace would be established for the Jews when the true Messiah came. Jesus' followers, however, believed that the inner peace preached by Jesus was primary and had precedence over political liberation. The witness to Jesus' presence after his resurrection became central to Christianity. The heart of Jesus' teaching is that the love of God, neighbor and self should be elevated above all ritual observances and customs; his own life is reported in the New Testament as having exemplified fully that ideal – an ideal for which he has eventually "executed and resurrected". This is done to save people from the Original Sin of humanity. His teaching of love is augmented by his insistence that the Kingdom of God is at hand. By ''Kingdom of God,'' Jesus meant that God, not humanity, is sovereign. The present reality of the Kingdom is seen in Jesus' person and ministry; the messianic age has begun. The complete fulfillment or consummation of the Kingdom, however, is yet to come (Marty, 2009; Forman, 1993).

There are different sects in Christianity including Catholic Church, Orthodox Union Church and Protestantism. All of these are present in Ethiopia with varied degree of population.

Islam: Jews and Christians view Islam as the latest of the world religions; they often call this heritage "Muhmmadanism". From a Muslim stand point, this view and nomenclature is a distortion (Philips, 2007:79) since Muhammad did not have the role of Christ in Christianity (e.g. in Trinity) and Buddha in Buddhism. Adherents of Islam understand their religion as the ''final religion'' and the ''primal religion''. As the ''final'' religion, Islam is God's final revelation of prophetic religion, in fulfillment of all that had preceded it. According to Islamic teachings, Moses (Moosa) was given the law (Torah); David (Dawood) the Psalms (Zebur); Jesus (Isa) was given the Gospel (Injeel). To Muhammad (570-632), God revealed the Qur'an (Nasr, 2002; Esposito, 1992). As the ''Seal of the Prophets'', the apostle of Allah (which means ''the God'' in Arabic), Muhammad is not the focal point of Islam; hence, the religion should not be called by his name unlike Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism which are named after

Christ, Judah, Buddha, and Zoroaster respectively (Philips, 2007:79) since Muslims do not worship Muhammad.

As the '' Primal'' religion, Islam is the real religion of Adam, of Abraham, of Ishmael, of Isaac, of Jacob, of Joseph, of Noah, of Job, of David, of Solomon, of Lot, of Moses, of Jesus, of Muhammad, of humanity (Nasr, 2002: 18; Qur'an 6:84-90). For Muslims, Islam is not younger than Judaism and Christianity; it preceded both. Not only is it the religion of the Qur'an, it is as well the religion of the very fabric of the universe itself. According to the Muslim faith, every person is born a Muslim, and distortions of his or her environment lead a person astray from the natural religion. To be born human means to be Muslim. That is the belief of Muslims. The doctrines underlying the outlook of Islamic faith, and those accepted by orthodox Muslims, usually are stated as follows:

(1) Belief in One Absolute and transcendent God; (2) Belief in Angels; (3) Belief in the Four Revealed Books: the Torah, the Psalms, the Gospel and the Qur'an (Nasr, 2002: 27); (4) Belief in the Prophets of Allah, of whom Muhammad is the last and the greatest and the one commissioned to deliver Allah's message to humanity. Abraham, Moses and Jesus of Nazareth are also recognized prophets together with as many as 24,000 prophets (Nasr, 2002:17); (5) Belief in Qadaa and Qadar (Allah's Plan and His Execution of the Plan): Qadaa and Qadar mean the Timeless Knowledge of Allah and His power to plan and execute His plans; (6) Belief in a time of judgment when all people will be judged for their deeds (Nasr, 2002; Esposito, 1992).

Islamic Sects: Sunnism and Shi'ism

Before dealing with the two major aspects of Islam, it is necessary to highlight on the prevalence of Muslims in the world. Samovar and Porter (2004) explain:

> Some 1.3 billion human beings – one person in five – heed Islam's call in the modern world, embracing the religion at a rate that makes it the fastest growing on Earth, with 80 per cent believers now outside the Arab world. (Samovar and Porter, 2004:98)

Only twenty per cent of the world Muslim population lives within the overheard Arab world. Today about eighty-seven per cent of all Muslims are Sunnis and about thirteen per cent are Shi'ite. Surprisingly the Shi'ite population is located almost completely in the heartland of Islam in such countries like Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, and Islamic Lebanon. These countries have majority Shi'ite populations (Nasr, 2002). India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, the Persian Gulf states consist of dominantly

Sunni Muslims despite the presence of Shi'ite minority. Especially at the contemporary world, the accord or disaccord between Sunnism and Shi'ism is one of the most important factors in Islamic societies.

The word Sunni in Arabic comes from the term ''ahl al-Sunna wa'l-jama'ah'', that is, people who followed the Sunnah of the Prophet and the majority, Shi'ism comes from the Arabic term Shiite 'Ali, meaning partisans of Ali bin Abi Talib, the forth Sunni Caliph in the history of Islam. After the death of the Prophet, the community gathered and chose Abu Bakr as the Prophet's successor, not in his prophetic function but as ruler of the newly established Islamic community. He was thereby given the title of Caliph of the Messenger of God. A number of people thought that 'Ali should have become the Prophet's successor and rallied around him, forming the first nucleus of Shi'ism despite Ali's support for Abu-Bakr and his two successors, Umar and Uthman, until he himself became the fourth of the caliph of Sunni Islam (Nasr, 2002; Roy, 2004; Goodman, 2003). It was only after his death at the hands of members of the Khawarij, an extremist group that rejected the claims of Mu'awiyya, who has contested the caliphate of Ali and Ali himself that Shi'ism became organized religious-political movement in Iraq.

The major point of disputation between Sunnism and Shi'ism was not only the question of who should succeed the Prophet, but the question of what the qualification of such a person had to be. For Sunnism, the function of the caliph was to protect the borders of Islam, keep security and peace, appoint judges and so forth. For the Shi'ism, such a person also had to have the deepest knowledge in Islamic Law as well as esoteric knowledge of the Qur'an and Prophetic teachings. He could therefore ''not be elected but had to be chosen by the Prophet through Divine command'' (Nasr, 2002: 66). The major difference between the two sects is basically more of political than faith related issues despite considerable ritual differences.

Exploring the Concept of Islam Further

Islam is derived from the Arabic root "salima" or "silm" which means peace, purity, submission and obedience. In the religious sense, Islam means submission to the will of God and obedience to His law (Maududi in Quraishi, 1984:12). From Islamic perspective, everything and every phenomenon in the world, other than man is administered totally by God-made laws i.e. they are obedient to God and submissive to His laws i.e. they are in the state of Islam. Man possesses the quality of intelligence and choice, thus he is invited to submit to the good will of God and obey His law i.e. become a Muslim. Human beings are given the freedom to believe in or rebel against God (Qur'an, al-Kahf, 29; Nasr, 2002: 15) and thereby receive the consequences. Submission to the good will of God, together with obedience

to His beneficial law, i.e. becoming a Muslim is the best safeguard for man's peace and harmony from Islamic point of view.

The word Allah in the Arabic language means God, or more accurately The One and Only Eternal God, Creator of the Universe, Lord of all lords, King of all kings, Most Compassionate, Most Merciful (Nasr, 2002: 5). The word Allah to mean God is also used by Arabic speaking Jews and Christians. The term "Allah" is preferable since it does not have any plural form as is the case for "gods" and "goddesses". The term does not also refer to gender differences. Nasr, (2002:3) asserts, "Allah is beyond duality and relationality, beyond the differences of gender and all qualities that distinguish beings from each other in this world". For Muslims, the power and greatness of Allah is beyond the human imagination. For instance, the Qur'an (39:67) states,

> They made not a just estimate of Allah such as is due to Him. And on the Day of Resurrection the whole of the earth will be grasped by His hand and the heavens will be rolled up in His right hand" [and a hadith reads,] ...and then he will say, 'I am the King. Where are the kings of the earth? (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 6:336).

God creates in man the mind to understand, the soul and conscience to be good and righteous, the feelings and sentiments to be kind and humane – Muslims believe so.

The Purpose of Life from Islamic Perspective

A Muslim believes that the purpose of life is to worship Allah (Qur'an, 51: 56). Worshipping Allah does not mean Muslims spend their entire lives in constant seclusion and absolute meditation. Even during Islamic holidays Muslims are ordered to work hard for worldly gains as well (Qur'an, 62:10). "Do work! Allah will see your works" reads the Qur'an (9:105). To worship Allah is to live life according to His commands, not to run away from it. In the real sense of the teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, there is no monasticism in Islam (Hassen, 2010: 282). To worship Allah is to know Him, to love Him, to obey His commands, to practice His laws in every aspect of life, to serve His cause by doing right and shunning evil and to be just to Him, to ourselves and to our fellow human beings (Hassen, 2011:13-292; Philips, 2005). It is imperative to mention the fact that in Islam the concept of "worship" includes performing all acts that are lawful at personal, interpersonal and at larger social levels. For instance, eating lawful foods is part of worship while eating unlawful foods is sinful. Bringing up decent children by feeding, dressing and educating them well, removing harmful things from roads, and all other major and minor good deeds are all acts of worship in the Muslim culture (Hassen, 2011:163).

The Status of Human Being in Islam

A Muslim believes that human being enjoys an especially high ranking status in the hierarchy of all known creatures (Qur'an, al-Isra'e: 70). Man occupies this distinguished position because he alone is gifted with rational faculties and spiritual aspirations (insights) as well as powers of action. Man is not a condemned race from birth to death, but a dignified being potentially capable of good and noble achievements. As a sign of honor and respect for humanity, Angeles were ordered to prostrate to the father of humanity – Adam – and they did so except Satan who was cursed due to his pride (Qur'an, 2:34). Allah also describes in the Qur'an that He has subjected all things in the heavens and on earth to human beings' use (Qur'an, 31:20).

From materialists' perspective, a human being is no more than blood and bones that constitute his/her body just like a guerilla or rat. From this point of view, a certain researcher measured and calculated the overall constituents of the human body (water, calcium, phosphorous, iron, carbon and so forth) and estimated the total price to be not more than approximately 60 birr (nearly 3 Dollars). This is the material price of the human body (Al-Ghazali in Al-Qardawi, 2010: 62-63). Conversely, in Islam, a human being is so precious and honored that even the cutting of his/her single organ (e.g. tongue) alone can cost one hundred camels in the Islamic Law of penalty – a total sum to be paid for the injured one of which forty of the camels should be pregnant ones (Shakeir, 2004: 967).

Muslims wonder how a certain law of the modern human rights which is based on the theory of evolution may function as a foundation for the honor and dignity of human beings above other creatures. Moreover, in Islam every person is born free from sin. When the person reaches the age of maturity and if the person is sane, s/he becomes accountable for all his deeds and intentions. Man is free from sin until he commits sin. Contrary to the teachings of Christianity, there is no inherited sin, no original sin in Islam. Adam committed the first sin, he prayed to Allah for pardon and Allah granted Adam pardon (Nasr, 2002; Siddiqi, 1972).

The Pillars of Islam

God has laid down for a Muslim four major exercises of faith, some are daily, some weekly, some monthly, some annually and some are required as a minimum of once in a lifetime. These exercises of faith are to serve man's spiritual purposes, satisfy his human needs and to mark his whole life with a Divine touch. These major exercises of faith are:

Saying the "Shahadatain (witnessing that there is no god save Allah to be Worshiped truly, and Muhammad is His last Messenger); Prayer (Salah); Fasting during the month of "Ramadan"; *Charity Giving (Zakah)*; performing *the Pilgrimage (Hajj)*. Other than being acts of worship, such Islamic compulsory practices have their own personal and social significances (Shakeir, 2004:483).

Islam as a Way of Life

According to Subh (2000:15), "Islam is an integrated way of life that has its own principles covering family issues (such as marriage, divorce and inheritance); work and business affairs; foreign and internal political issues and other aspects of life. Al-Fahim (1988) further asserts:

Islam is a complete religion that addresses all aspects of life. [The Qur'an and] the Prophetic Hadith deal with common and useful issues such as business transactions, good manners, war and peace, work and labor, travel, agriculture, the pursuit of knowledge, health and medicine, leisure time, lunar and solar eclipses, debts, blood-money, the rights of families, and relatives, the rights of neighbors, marriage and divorce, religious observations – prayers, fasting, pilgrimage, almsgiving and so forth (Al-Fahim 1988: 41).

Spiritual Life: This refers to the points indicated above: Prayer (salah), fasting, charity giving (zakah), pilgrimage (hajj), love for Allah and His Messenger, love for truth and humanity for the sake of Allah, hope and trust in Allah at all times and doing good for the sake of Allah (Shakeir, 2004:77-479).

Intellectual Life: True knowledge is based on clear proof and indisputable evidence acquired by experience and/or experiment and insight. The Qur'an points to the rich sources of knowledge in the whole universe. Islam demands faith in Allah on the basis of knowledge and research and leaves wide open all field of thought before the intellect to penetrate as far as it can reach (Hassen, 2011:42-47).

Personal Life: purity and cleanliness, a healthy diet, proper clothing (Hassen, 2011:33-41; Shakeir, 2004:1-37), proper character (Hassen, 2011:159), and good healthy sexual relations within marriage are strongly addressed (Shakeir, 2004:699-737).

Family Life: A family is a human social group whose members are bound together by the bond of blood ties and/or marital relationship and nothing else (adoption, mutual alliance, common law, trial marriage...etc.). "Monasticism" as a way of life is "severely criticized by the Qur'an" (Encyclopedia, Britannica, Vol. 22: 36). Consequently, marriage is a religious duty on all who are capable of meeting its responsibilities. Each member of the family has rights and obligations (Shakeir, 2004:769-777).

Social Life: Man is ordained by Allah to extend his utmost help and kindness to other family members, relations, servants and neighbors and humanity in general (Hassen, 2011:168). No superiority on account of class, color, origin or wealth, ethnicity or language. Humanity represents one family springing from the one and the same father (Adam) and mother (Eve, "Hawa"). The unity of the humanity is not only in its origin but also in its ultimate aims. This strengthens universal human fraternity (Qur'an, 4:1; Subh, 2000; Hassen, 2001:151-269).

Economical Life: Earning one's living through decent labor is not only a duty but a great virtue as well (Shakeir, 2004:1009-1018). The Qur'an (28:77) states: "…forget not your portion of lawful enjoyment in this world; and do good…." Earning is man's private possession. The individual is responsible for the prosperity of the state and the state is responsible for the security of the individual. The Islamic economic system is not based on arithmetical calculations alone but also on moral and ethical principles. Man comes to this world empty-handed and departs empty-handed. The real owner of things is Allah alone. Man is simply a trustee from Islamic perspective.

Political Life: The sovereignty in the Islamic State belongs to Allah; the people exercise it by trust from Him to enforce His laws. The ruler is only an acting executive chosen by the people to serve them according to Allah's law. The State is to administer justice and provide security for all citizens. Rulers and administrators must be chosen from the best qualified citizens. If an administration betrays the trust of Allah and the people, it has to be replaced. Non-Muslims can administer their personal life of marriage, divorce, foods and inheritance according to the Islamic law or to their own religious teachings. It is recalled that one of the oldest synagogues and one of the oldest churches in the worlds is found in Muslim countries. They do not pay Zakah but a different tax tribute "Jizyah". They are entitled to full protection and security of the State including freedom of religion. During the first Islamic constitution in the 7th century in Medina, Jews were given freedom of religion. They were also protected from any foreign aggression by the covenant of Madinah (Safi, 2003:39). Safi (2003) further argues as follows:

> The Covenant established the first pluralistic political order in which the equal autonomy of multi-religious society were recognized, including the freedom of religion, movement, association, etc. The Covenant makes it abundantly clear that Islamic morality and code of law are not to be imposed on non-Muslim communities, and that the binding principles for a multi-religious society must recognize the common interests of all (Safi, 2003:39).

Islamic teachings assert the basic freedom and equality of all peoples. Islam stresses the importance of mutual help and respect and directs Muslims to extend friendship and goodwill to all, regardless of their religious, ethnic or racial background (Safi, 2003: 1).

International Life: Man has a common origin, human status and aim. Other people's interests and right to life, honor and property are respected as long as the rights of Muslim are intact. Transgression is forbidden. War is only justified if the state security is endangered. During war, destruction of crops, animals and homes, killing non-fighting women, children and aged people are forbidden (Maududi in Quraishi, 1984: 12-14).

The Meanings, Sources and Purposes of the Shari'ah

It is hardly possible to understand Islam without deciphering what the Shari'ah is to Muslim societies. The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam (1989) defines the term "Shar'iah" as follows:

> [It is] Revealed Law; also called al-Shari'ah. The canonical law of Islam as put forth in the Koran and the Sunnah and elaborated by the analytical principles of the four orthodox schools …, the Shafi'I, Hanbali, Hanafi, and Maliki, together with that of the Shi'ites …. (The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam, 1989: 361).

This definition, despite its clarity, lacks to convey the social and political significance of the term to Muslims. Manzoor (1988) defines the term giving this insight:

> The unity of Islam as a world civilization derives in large measure from its possession of a sacred law, the Shari'ah. This law is an essential expression of Islam that supplies the vital link between its faith and the socio-political order (Manzoor, 1988:1).

Manzoor (1988) further elaborates the role of the Shari'ah in Muslim societies:

> Any revival of Islamic thought, it goes without saying, is contingent upon the Muslim effort to revive the methodological framework of the Shari'ah. Only a creative reinterpretation of the Shari'ah legacy that enables it to work under modern conditions and yet be in consonance with the Islamic conscience, would lend meaning and cogency to the moral and civilization aspirations of Muslims today. For submerged beneath all the cross-currents of political activism and resurgence lies the bedrock of Islamic conscience that serves as the moral foundation of the Muslim's historical search for justice and equity (Manzoor,1988:1).

In stressing the role of the Shari'ah in Muslim society, Esposito (1988) concludes:

> Islamic law has remained central to Muslim identity and practice for it constitutes the ideal social blueprint for the good society. The Shari'ah has been a source of law and moral guidance, the basis for both law and ethics (Esposito, 1988:75).

Having said that about the meaning and role of the Shari'ah in Muslim society, it is imperative to identify what constitutes the Shari'ah. The sources of Islamic law (usul-al-fiqh) in Islamic terminology are broadly divided into two categories. The primary sources include the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The other sources include human judgment in several forms, including ijma' (the consensus of Islamic scholars), and qiyas (analogical reasoning) (Abdelkader, 2000: 45). These are recognized as the four official sources of the Shari'ah (Esposito, 1988:79). Moreover, there are also other sources designated as subsidiary principles of law. Among these are custom ('urf), public interest (istislah) and jurist preference or equity. In this way, some remnant of the inductive, human input that characterize the actual methods of the law schools in their attempt to realize the Shari'ah's primary concern with human welfare, justice and equity are also acknowledged (Esposito, 1988; Abdelkader, 2000: 46). Regarding the inclusiveness and its nature of in-built mechanisms of the Shari'ah for adaptability as long as innovations do not contradict the revealed law, Sardar (1985) posits:

> The Shari'ah is completely open: it can be developed and shaped according to the needs of society and time by any number of its other sources: Ijma' [consensus of the Muslim scholars], *qiyas/ijtihad* [analogical reasoning] and *istislah* [public interest and public good]. The sources of the Shari'ah that supplement the Qur'an and the Sunnah are problem-solving tools; they provide a methodology for adjusting to change (Sardar, 1985:114-115).

Now let us see the end goals of the Islamic law briefly. Any issue that is not explained by the Shari'ah through the texts (Qur'an and Sunnah) should be considered in light of *maslahah* (public welfare), keeping in mind its degree of importance whether it is a necessity, a need or an amenity (Abdelkader, 2000:57). Abdelkader (2000:58) further adds, *al-maslahah* means the protection of what is beneficial and the avoidance of all corruption which in turn means the protection of those end goals. The end goals and purposes of the Shari'ah are summarized in five issues: the protection of religion, the protection of life, the protection of the mind, the protection of posterity/progeny and the protection of property/resource (Abdelkader, 2000:58; Al-Hageel, 1999). The authors argue that preserving these five elements is part of every faith and every legal statute that observes the wellbeing of humankind irrespective of any cultural differences.

Despite the fact that the Islamic Shari'ah is unprecedented in declaring the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights (Al-Hageel, 1999:91), ever since early 7th century, it is criticized by secularists for using harsh punishments for practices of adultery (fornication), accusation of being unchaste, theft, drinking alcohols, armed robbery, rebellion and apostasy (Al-Hageel, 1999:124-127). It is worth reminding here that the Shari'ah also addresses important human right issues that are ignored

completely or neglected by the UDHR (1948). These rights include: Rights of orphans, rights of people with special needs (especially people with mental retardation), the right to inheritance, the right to self-defense and the right for amnesty (forgiveness) (Al-Hageel, 1999:93-101). From Islamic perspective, these rights are Divine given not to be granted or denied by worldly power.

Islam in the Eyes of Atheists, Apostates and Apologists

The issues of criticism include the morality of the life of Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, both in his public and personal life (Warraq, 2003). Issues relating to the authenticity and morality of the Qur'an, the Islamic holy book, are also discussed by critics (Spencer, 2003). Other criticisms focus on the question of human rights in modern Islamic nations, and the treatment of women in Islamic law and practice (Ash, 2006).

Moreover, critics argue that (a) Muhammad's claim of prophethood is a mere fabrication (Badawi,nd.:6);(b) Islam is compiled from Judaism, Christianity or both (Badawi, nd.: 14; Warraq, 2003, Hamar magazine, 2007); (c) the Qur'an contains verses which are difficult to understand (Tobby, 1999); (d) the Qur'an contains incorrect cosmological explanations; (e) critics claim that violence is implicit in the Qur'anic text, and that Islam itself promotes terrorism (Till, 2001; Harris, 2004: 251); (f) the Qur'an is criticized for advocating the death penalty (Koinange, 2004; Lewis, 1998) and so forth.

In engineering the clash of civilizations, Huntington (1996: 263) perceives Islam as a violent religion, ''a religion of the sword…glorifying military virtues''. He argues that the Koran and other statements of Muslim beliefs contain few prohibitions on violence, and a concept of non-violence is absent from Muslim doctrine and practice. Payne (1989:121-122) also asserts: "The emphasis on non-violence is not the pattern in the Muslim culture". Another western scholar named Mushkat (1987), discourses that Islamic law enjoins Muslims to maintain a state of permanent aggression with all non-believers. All these claims result from interpretations of Islamic texts out of their context.

Muslim apologists counter argue the above and many other criticisms. For instance, Rehman (2007: 79) argues that several western jurists and statespersons have adopted a negative stance towards Islam, Islamic values and Islamic civilizations.

Regarding the human rights violation of Islam, Al-Maududi (1976) argues that respect for human rights has always been enshrined in Shari'ah law (indeed that the roots of these rights are to be found in Islamic doctrine) and criticizes Western notions that there is an inherent contradiction between the two

(Al-Maududi, 1976:13). Western scholars have, for the most part, rejected Al-Maududi's analysis (Bielefeld, 2000: 104; Carle, 2005).

Critics of Islam also point out that under Shari'ah law, men are favored over women. Men are able to practice polygamy, as prescribed by the Qur'an (4:3). Another example of men being favored over women is that in a Shari'ah court, a woman's testimony is worth half that of the man (Qur'an:2:282). But that is regarding complicated business issues that involve mathematical agenda. In the rest cases, for example in murder cases, the witness of a woman can be taken equal to that of a man (al-Qaradawi in Hassan, 2007: 15).

Women under Shari'ah also receive half the inheritance a male receives (Qur'an 4:11). But there are also instances of family cases when a woman inherits greater and even doubled than that of a man (Ahmadin, 2007; al-Qaradawi in Hassan, 2007:19). However, most Muslim nations insist that such laws are necessary to preserve Islamic morality and virtue (Maududi, 1976). Moreover, such inheritance law was established well over 1400 years while the women in Britain have got the right for inheritance only ever since the 20th century (Subh, 2000).

Watt (1961) discourses Muhammad's alleged "moral failings". He claims that "Of all the world's great men none has been so much maligned as Muhammad" (Watt, 1961: 229). The Prophet Muhammad is "for the West the most misunderstood reality within the Islamic universe" (Nasr, 2002: 27). Nasr contends that "for over one millennium he has been maligned in various European sources as an apostate, a pretender, and even the Antichrist" and one has had to wait until the twentieth century to see fair treatment of the Prophet in European languages (Nasr, 2002: 27) although this has now eclipsed after the obscured September 11 tragic incident once again.

An Overview of the Personality of Prophet Muhammad and His Teachings

According to Unal (2007), before he became a prophet at the age of forty, Muhammad was called "the truthful and the trustworthy" because he was the most moral and trustworthy person among the people. He was known for the following qualities: tolerance, patience, justice, modesty, generosity, integrity and bravery. He never told a lie during his life. He used to talk politely and never used obscene or abusive language. He had a charming personality and excellent manners with which he captivated the hearts of those who came into contact with him. He never deceived anyone and never broke his promise. He remained engaged in trade and commerce for years, but he never entered into any dishonest transaction. Those who dealt with him in business had full confidence in his integrity (Unal, 2007:1478).

Born and bred among a people who regarded drunkenness and gambling as virtues, he never touched alcohol and never indulged in gambling. Surrounded by heartless people, he himself had a heart overflowing with the milk of human kindness. He would help orphans, widows, and the poor; he was hospitable to travelers. He harmed no one; rather he exposed himself to hardship for the sake of others. He kept aloof from the feuds in the tribe, and was foremost in bringing about reconciliation. He did not bow before any other created thing and did not partake of the offerings made to idols, even in his childhood (Al-Fahimi, 1988).

For forty years before his Prophethood, he lived as an ordinary individual amongst his people. In that long period, he was not known as a statesman, a preacher, or an orator; none had heard him imparting wisdom or knowledge, as he began to do thereafter. He had never been seen discoursing upon the principles of metaphysics, ethics, law, politics, economy or sociology. Not only was he not a general, he was not even known as an ordinary soldier. He had uttered no words about God, the Angeles, the revealed Books, the early Prophets, the bygone nations, the Day of Judgment, life after death, Hell or Heaven. No doubt he possessed an excellent character and charming manners and he was well-behaved. He was known among his acquaintances as a sober, calm, and gentle and trustworthy citizen of good nature, but when he appeared with the new message, he was completely transformed (Unal, 2007: 1480). In 610 A.D., when Muhammad was forty years old, revelation from God was sent down to him through the Angle Gabriel. Gabriel inspired Muhammad with the first chapter of the holy Koran. Thus, Mohammed was proclaimed a Prophet when he was forty (Nasr, 2002: 30). Muslims believe that because he was transformed by the Power of the revelation, the Prophet began addressing his people in the following strain as asserted by Unal (2007):

> Worship Allah alone and obey His commands. Theft and plunder, murder and rapine, injustice and cruelty – all the vice in which you indulge are crimes in the eye of God. Leave your evil ways. Speak the truth. Be just. Do not kill any one; whoever slays a soul unjustly, it will be as if he had slain all of humanity; and whoever saves the life of one, it will be as if he had saved the life of all of humanity.

> Do not steal from anyone. Take your lawful share. Give that which is due to others in a just manner…. Give your kinsfolk their rights and give to the needy and the traveler and never squander. Do not slay your children from fear of poverty or other reasons. Do not approach adultery…. Do not approach the property of orphans and the weak. Fulfill the covenant, because it will be questioned. Fill up the measure when you measure and weigh with a true balance [when selling something….] Be modest in your dealing and subdue your voice. Let not some people deride another people, who may be better than they are in God's sight. And do not find fault with one another, nor revile one another with nicknames. Shun most

suspicion, for suspicion is a sin. And do not spy, nor backbite other people.... Be steadfast witness for God in equity, and do not let your hatred of any people seduce you so that you do not deal justly. Restrain your rage and pardon offences of your fellow-people. The good deed and the evil deed are not alike, so repel the evil deed with the one which is good, then the person with whom you have enmity will become as though a loyal friend. The recompense for evil committed wittingly is like evil; but whosoever pardons and makes amends with the evil-doer with kindness and love, their reward falls upon God....(Unal, 2007:1478-1480).

Before he died, Prophet Muhammad made a pilgrimage to Mecca and delivered his famous farewell speech telling his followers to consider life and property as sacred. He also told the believers that all people are equal before Allah since they are descendants of the same father, Adam. He told them that no one is better than another unless he [or she] is more righteous. No Arab is superior to a non-Arab, and no white is superior to the black unless he [or she] is more righteous (Al-Fahim, 1988: 24-25).

Regarding those who accuse the Prophet Muhammad as forging the basic teachings of the religion Islam, a non-Muslim, named Carlyle (1840) argued otherwise:

A false man found a religion? Why, a false man cannot build [even] a brick house! If he does not know and follow truly the properties of mortar, burnt clay and what else he works in, it is no house that he makes, but a rubbish heap, it will not stand for twelve [now nearly fifteen] centuries to lodge [more than one billion people], it will fall straightaway (Carlyle, 1840: 58).

This is how the Prophet is understood by unbiased non-Muslim and Muslim authors despite the proliferation of negative depictions of the Prophet, Islam and Muslims by orientalists.

The Spread of Islam and the Issue of War

Some have criticized Islam (e.g. Huntington, 1996; Payne, 1989) because it recognizes war and even commands it in order to put an end to the domination of injustice and tyranny, to rescue the oppressed and to establish a tolerant social-political environment where Islam can be practiced freely and everyone is free to practice his/her own religion (Unal, 2007: 1463; Safi, 2003; Shakeir, 2004: 55). The criticism is wholly unjust insofar as it seems to be arguing that Islam introduced war into human history. Other world religions are not free from the blame. The driving forces behind the ''modern secularized world,'' which allow and even promote war in the service of individual rulers, nations and even commercial interests – rather than God – have also caused more bloodshed and destruction in the last one hundred years than the religious conflicts combined, throughout the whole of human history before it (Unal, 2007:1463).

Deedat (1993: 28) further asserts that Christian missionaries repeatedly speak and write about the spread of Islam through the use of the sword. However, even in the absence of the so called "Jihad", of all the world major religions in the world, Islam is still one of the fastest spreading religions. For

example, according to ''the Readers Digest'' (1985) report, the survey from the year 1934 – 1984 showed that Christianity increased 47 per cent in its number of followers while Islam increased by 235 per cent in its number of followers (Deedat, 1993: 28). The point here is during this period of half a century, there was no ''Jihad'' that could employ the sword for the expansion of Islam in the world.

Islam does not permit war for motives such as conquest or plunder or to quench a lust for revenge or for the sake of some material advantage or to satisfy racist persuasion. Islam does not seek to compel anyone to change his/her faith. On the contrary, it seeks an environment where all are free to accept faith freely. Islam has also set limitations on the conduct of relations before, during and after conflict. For example, (a) Do not betray any agreements you have entered into; (b) Do not plunder; (c) Do not commit injustice or do not use torture; (d) Do not harm the children, the womenfolk, the elderly, or other non-combatants of the enemy; (e) Do not destroy orchards or tilled lands; (f) Do not kill livestock; (g) Treat with respect the religious persons who live in hermitages or convents and spear their edifices (Unal, 2007: 1464); (h) Do not kill a captive nor run after a fleeing one; (i) Never deform the corpse of a dead person, etc. (Shakeir, 2004:56).

When considered together with other relevant verses of the Qur'an, Verses 1-6 in Surah 9 presents significant additional principles concerned with the Islamic view of war. The issue was summarized by Unal (2007) as follows: a) The purpose of war is not to kill people. On the contrary, Islam, which attaches great value to life and regards the killing of one innocent person as being the same as killing all of humankind, and the saving of the life of one person as being the same as saving the lives of all humankind, aims at the survival of humanity and at helping everyone to find truth through education; b) Even in warfare, Islam is ready to make peace and a treaty with the opposing side; c) A Muslim government must remain faithful to any treaty it has made until the end of its terms; d) If the opposing side betrays the agreement, the Muslim government must publicly and officially declare to the other side that the agreement is no longer valid. Even though it can declare war as soon as the agreement loses its validity, it should grant them respite so that a new evaluation of the situation can be made; e) If the opposing side continues its hostilities and does not change its attitude, even after the end of the term granted, this means that a state of war has begun; f) In order to force the enemy to cease hostilities or to defeat them in war, Muslims must be powerful and remain steadfast. However, Muslims must always observe the rules of war that are mentioned earlier; g) It should be borne in mind that the expressions in the Qur'an (9: 5) are aimed at people who employ violence and who, as can also be inferred from the

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conclusion of that verse, do not recognize any rule of law and do not understand any language other than war. The verse also aims at removing from Mecca and Medinah the violent, polytheist outlaws and therefore is significant with respect to the security of the centre of Islam; h) It is never the goal of Islam to kill people or conquer lands through war. Therefore, when the enemy side is inclined toward peace and making a treaty, the Muslims should also be inclined to peace as well. They should also give asylum to those who seek it and, without harming in any way the wealth or persons of the asylum seekers, convey them to a place of safety; i) War is a legal matter between nations.

> Whenever an individual or a group of persons at war with Muslims profess faith, the state of war must end. No one is compelled to believe. One who professes faith and lives in a Muslim society is expected to see the truth and become a sincere believer. That is why, even if we know that one who professes faith is, in fact, a hypocrite, that person must be treated as a Muslim as long as he or she does not declare unbelief; j) Islam will never apologize to any other religion, ideology or system for granting such permission to fight. On the contrary, all other religions, ideologies and systems have a debt of apology and gratitude to Islam. Islam, aiming at universal peace and accepting the reality of human history, realizes that ensuring peace sometimes requires fighting. As declared in the Qur'an,'' though killing is something you feel aversion to disorder rooted in rebellion against God and recognizing no laws is worse than killing (2: 191). And disorder (coming from rebellion to God and recognizing no laws) is even more grave and more sinful than killing (2:217). The conditions that give rise to war and disorder are more grievous than killing itself and therefore war, although not inherently a good thing is permissible if it will remove these conditions (ibid, 1465).

Conquered Christians and Jews were allowed to persist in their beliefs since Islamic law opposes compelled conversions (Qur'an, 2: 256; Rehman, 2007: 85). Another historian, O'Leary (1923) defended such criticisms as follows:

> History makes it clear, however, that the legend of fanatical Muslims sweeping through the world and forcing Islam at the point of the sword upon conquered races is one of the most fantastically absurd myths that historians have ever repeated (O'Leary, 1923: 8).

Deedat (1993) and Naik (2007) further still contend that they want to know what the critiques of Islam would say the spread of Islam to countries where there were no Muslim soldiers sent to such countries as Indonesia, Malaysia and most of the eastern coast of African countries. These are the opinions of Muslim apologetics. Non-Muslims, For example, Carlyle (1840), once more argues the false charges of Muhammad in spreading Islam by the sword:

> The sword indeed; but where will you get your sword! Every new opinion, at its starting, is precisely in a minority of one. In one man's head alone, there it dwells as yet. One man alone, of the whole world believes it; there is one man against all men [and all men against

one man]. That he takes a sword, and try to propagate with that, will do little for him (Carlyle, 1840: 80).

Unal (2007) further argues:

> That as for the modern times, we only want to mention some facts to clarify the point: Islam has never had the least part in tens of millions of deaths in the communist revolution; the suppression of freedom movements in several parts of the world at the cost of millions of lives; and in the adventures in several poor countries, costing more than millions of lives during the wars and many more indirectly since. It is not Islam which caused the death of more than 70 million people, mainly civilians, and forced countless millions more to remain homeless, widowed and orphaned, and handicapped during and after the two World Wars. It is not Islam which gave rise to totalitarian regimes such as Communism, Fascism, and Nazism and raised war-mongers like Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini. Islam is not responsible for using scientific knowledge to make nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Islam was not responsible for the extermination of tens of millions of natives in many parts of the world, for world-wide colonialism which lasted centuries, and for the slave trade, which cost the lives of tens of millions of people. It is not Islam, nor Muslim peoples even, that are responsible for the establishment of the despotic governments that rule over some Muslim countries and for their oppression, injustice and bloody regimes. Nor is it Islam which is responsible for modern terrorism, mafia organizations, and for the worldwide smuggling of weapons and drugs (Unal, 2007: 1471-1472).

The claim that Islam is a religion of sword has been consistently refuted by Western unbiased scholarly researchers who have solidly rejected such arguments as simply the result of cultural prejudice (Ezzati, 1978:86-89). Hassen (2010:137) also asserts that during the life time of Prophet Muhammad the number of people killed in various battles was 756 only. This number included from both Muslim and non-Muslim sides. You can compare this limited human loss with million of deaths in Iraq, Afghan and other countries.

The Status of Women in Islam

One of the controversial issues in the contemporary world is the claim that Islam is oppressive for women. However, Islam teaches that the rights and responsibilities of a woman are equal to those of a man but they are not identical with them. Unal (2007) and Ahmadin (2007) argue that equality and identity are not the same and should not be confused. They further claim that no two people, leaving aside gender differences, are the same. For there to be justice, those differences need to be recognized and affirmed without being made into a pretext for improper discrimination.

Human beings are not created identical but they are created equal. With that distinction in mind, there is no excuse for any argument that would represent woman as inferior to man. There is no ground for the

presumption that she is less important because her rights are not in every respect identical to those of the man. However, the woman is not a duplicate of the man, and accordingly there is a difference in rights and responsibilities (Unal, 2007; Ahmadin, 2007). The fact that Islamic law gives to the woman equal – but not identical – rights shows that it recognizes the woman's being a woman, with proper respect for both the difference in constitution and personality and the sameness of her need for social and political dignity.

It is worth summarizing the rights of woman under Islamic law. Unal (2007:1473-1476) posits as follows: First, the woman is recognized as a full and equal partner with the man in the procreation of humankind. He is the father and she is the mother, and both are essential for life. Her role is not any less vital than his. Within the partnership she has an equal share of respect and dignity. Indeed, as a mother, she gets greater respect and care from the children, in accordance with the Prophet's injunction: "Paradise is under the feet of mothers" (An-Nessa'i recorded it). This represents the need for serving one's mother. Second, an adult woman is equal to an adult man in carrying responsibilities, some individuals and some shared with others, and she is equal in the recompense due for her actions. She is acknowledged as an independent legal personality, in possession of moral and intellectual qualities, and the spiritual aspirations, that are characteristic of all human beings. The woman's human nature is neither inferior to nor different from that of a man. Third, she is equal to a man in the seeking of education, of knowledge. The seeking of knowledge is enjoined upon Muslim as such, without distinction of gender. Almost fourteen centuries ago, the Prophet Muhammad declared that the pursuit of knowledge (necessary for every believer) is incumbent on every Muslim (male and female). Fourth, she is entitled to the same freedom of express as man. Her sound opinions are taken into consideration and may not be disregarded merely because she is a woman. It is reported in the Qur'an that women not only expressed their opinion freely but also argued and participated in various discussions with the Prophet himself (e.g. Qur'an, 58:1-4; 60: 10-12). There are also many hadiths that record similar occasions, in subsequent history, we know that women objected in public to what Caliphs declared from the pulpit in the mosque. Historical records show that women participated in public life with the early Muslims, especially in times of emergencies. Fifth, a woman has equal rights in law to enter into contracts, to initiate and run commercial enterprises and to earn and possess wealth independently. Her life, her property, and her honor are as sacred as those of a man. If she commits any offence, her penalty is neither less nor more than a man's in a similar case. If she is wronged or harmed, she gets due compensation equal to what a man in the same situation would get (Qur'an, 2:178; 4: 92-93). Sixth, the law and religion of Islam

envisaged the measures necessary to safeguard these rights and put them into practice as integrated articles of faith. The faith does not tolerate those who are inclined to prejudice against women or discrimination unjustly on the basis of the differences between men and women. Again and again, the Qur'an reproaches those who used to believe a woman to be inferior to man: Qur'an, 16: 57-59, 62; 42: 49-50; 43: 15-19; 53: 21-23. Seventh, apart from the recognition of woman as an independent human being, acknowledged as equally essential for the survival of humanity. Islamic law derived from the Qur'an has stipulated a share of inheritance for female heirs. This point needs to be explained further.

According to the Islamic law of inheritance, with the exception of the father and the mother and in some cases, the brothers and sisters, a son receives twice as much as a daughter (sister) and a husband twice as much as a wife. Unal (2007) and Ahmadin (2007) assert that in order to understand the rationale behind why Islam in some cases gives women half the share of men, one must take into account the fact that the financial obligations of men in Islam far exceed those of women. A bridegroom must provide his bride with a marriage gift. This gift becomes her exclusive property and remains so even if she is later divorced. The bride is under no obligation to present any gift to her husband. Moreover, the Muslim husband is charged with the maintenance of his wife and children. The wife, on the other hand, is not obliged to help him in this regard. Her property and earnings are for her use alone, except what she may voluntarily offer her husband. Moreover, one has to realize that Islam strongly advocates family life. It positively encourages young people to get married and discourages divorce. Therefore, in a truly Islamic society, family life is the norm, while single life is the rare exception. That is, almost all women and men of a marriageable age will be married in an Islamic society. In light of these facts, one can appreciate that Muslim men, in general, have greater financial burden than Muslim women, and the inheritance rule take account of this reality (Unal, 2007:203). Surprisingly, there are instances where the woman inherits more than the man in the Islamic law. But no one ever criticized the religious law for the unequal treatment of the man with the woman (Ahmadin, 2007).

Eighth, the woman enjoys certain privileges of which man is deprived. She is exempt within the household from all financial liabilities. As a mother she enjoys more recognition and higher honor in the sight of God (31: 14-15; 46: 15); as a wife she is entitled to demand of her prospect husband a suitable dowry that will be her own (as discussed above). She is entitled to support and maintenance by the husband. She does not have to work or share with her husband the family expenses even if her income is much higher than her husband. She is free to retain, after marriage, whatever she possessed before marriage. As a daughter or sister she is entitled to support and maintenance by her father and brother

respectively. That is her privilege. If she wishes to work or be self-supporting and to participate in handling the family responsibilities, she is free to do so, provided her integrity and honor are safeguarded. Ninth, Islam does not differentiate between men and women as far as their relationship to God are concerned. Both are promised the same reward for good conduct and the same punishment for evil conduct. There is no precondition for any Muslim-women not to enter to any holy places in Islam due to biological factors. There is also no concept of ''Original Sin'' in Islam; nor is the woman an instrument of Devil while Adam and Eve were withdrawn from paradise (in the language of religions) since both were responsible before God (Subh, 2005; Naik, 2007). Finally, there is no significance in the fact that the Qur'an usually uses masculine pronouns when addressing or referring to the community. The same question was raised by the women during the life time of the Prophet and Allah responded in the Qur'an (33: 35). Ernst (2004: 145) concludes, ''It would be hard to find another example of a major scripture that addresses the issue of gender language so specifically.''

Ahmadin (2007) contends that Islam allows women to make earnings such as trading, working as a teacher, a doctor or any other business provided that the ethics of the religion are respected. In this way, whatever income she earns, she should give charity if her annual budget mounts up to the minimum amount for the request.

According to Naik (2007: 2-12), one of the most frequent criticisms on Islam from non-Muslims is related to its permission for a man to marry a maximum number of four spouses at a time (a kind of polygamy called polygyny). Islam does not allow the woman to marry more than one husband (a type of polygamy called polyandry). What the religion permits for both sexes indiscriminately is monogamy. Polygyny is allowed on strict preconditions which all men hardly fulfill. Naik (2007: 3) contends that the limit that states, 'marry only one' is mentioned only in the Qur'an among all world scriptures. The other entire world religions do not limit number of spouses during marriage until recently due to external pressure. The authors argue that that is why we read in the Holy Bible Abraham was married to two spouses while Solomon was married up to one hundred spouses at a time. Regarding marriage issues, the Qur'an (An-nisa 4: 3) states,

> …marry woman of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly [with them], then marry only one …. That is nearer to prevent you from doing injustice. Moreover, Islam warns that it is extremely challenging to treat spouses justly (4: 129).

Some of the reasons for the permission of polygyny include: First, in our world the number of women is greater than the number of men due to the involvement of men in wars more often and due to the greater resistance of young females to disease. For instance, in USA the number of women is greater than men by 7.8 million. In England there are 4 million more women than men. In German there are 5 million more women. In Russia there are 9 million more women than men (Naik, 2007: 6-8). The author believes that in some countries where the number of men is found to be greater than women (such as India and its neighbors) is due to female feticide and infanticide. Second, it is difficult to forbid all men not to marry more than one wife due to cultural, work condition and economic factors. Third, by the principle of choosing the lesser evil, it is more preferable to sharing a husband than becoming a spouseless or prostitute – a wife for all. Muslims also wonder why polygyny is not approved if prostitution is approved. Fourth, once again, by the principle of the lesser evil, if the spouse of a man is infertile or sick for long years, it is not advisable to divorce the woman in such adversities. Hence, polygyny is allowed in Islam in such and many other demanding conditions (Naik, 2007; Ahmedin, 2007).

Conclusions

Despite the negligence and rejection of world religions in the modern world, religious adherence and religious groups do not disappear from the face of the earth. We are rather experiencing the co-existence of modernity and religion. Religion is also an influential factor in the everyday life of people especially in developing nations. Nonetheless, modernity alone has brought the problem of individualism, materialism and consumerism together with benefits from its science and technology. At some point, religious ignorance and fanatical groups are causing violence in different parts of the world. The demonization of certain religious groups (mainly Muslims) by the mainstream media is a public secrete. We believe that such unjust generalizations will rather bring about more violence than peace. Hence, any attempt to avoid violence and terror from the world shall be based on real understanding of the culture of others as well as that of ours instead of categorizing "us better than theirs".

Islam is one of the three Abrahamic faiths, next to Judaism and Christianity. Despite the dominant assertion of non-Muslims, the expansion of Islam is not mainly done at the tip of the sward. Certain non-Muslims witnessed that reality. Among other causes, its comprehensive way of live and teaching that does not compartmentalize the spirit from the body as well as the individual from the community, contributes for winning the hearts and minds of new adherents. Moreover, the concept of Jihad, which is

also misunderstood by Muslim fanatic groups and many westerners, does not represent mass killings of non-combatant civilians, nor it is done as provocative war, It has its own code of war unlike the war of aggressors.

Another area of contention regarding Islam is outlook regarding women. There is no time in history that Islam and Muslims question the full human status of women. Women have rights to education, work and marriage of their own choice. Before wedlock is made, a woman has the right to break the marriage contract if it is non-monogamy. Women have also the right to property and inheritance since the seventh century, well before the "modern" women are given that sort of right.

In sum, the crux of Islam, like other world religions, is love, peace compassion, hospitability, helpfulness and world brotherhood in humanity. Such and other related traditional values have to be defended instead of being destroyed by the materialistic scientific paradigm. This might be done through dialogue of civilizations instead of focusing on clash of civilizations. One of the mechanisms for such understanding may be investigating the teachings and influences of religion in detail as it is attempted to show the highlights of Islam in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE INTRODUCTION OF ISLAM IN ETHIOPIA AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

We have discussed in Chapter Three the basic concept of Islam as a world monotheistic religion, like in many cases, the other two Abrahamic faiths. At its inception, the humane personality of the Prophet Muhammad played significant role in attracting the people around him even by forgiving the worst of his own enemies while conquering Mecca. Muslim expansionists also followed him as their role model while spreading Islam outside of the present day Saudi Arabia.

Contrary to the claim of many westerners, Islam spread across the world not mainly through war but through winning the hearts and minds of new adherents. From Islamic perspective, the theory of jihad as a provocative and war of aggression is not acceptable in the Shari'ah. War is permitted as a self defense mechanism i.e. whenever the faith and the Islamic territory are at risk. Even during such battles, Muslim warriors are warned to save non-combatants, working men, women and children. Islam attaches great value to life asserting that whosoever kills a person without any justification is as if the person kills the whole of humanity while if a person saves the live of another person, it is as if he/she saves the whole of mankind. This rule applies for all people irrespective of differences in region, religion, gender, ethnicity or any other social stratification. The claim that Islam is a religion of sword has been consistently refuted by Western unbiased scholarly researchers who have solidly rejected such arguments as simply the result of cultural prejudice. Certain Muslim fanatics (and biased non-Muslims) who are marring the image of Islam are committing deadly mistakes.

Muslims believe that the inclusiveness of the Shari'ah and its nature of in-built mechanisms for adaptability contributed for the survival of Islam and Muslims. The Shari'ah is completely open: it can be developed and shaped according to the needs of society and time by any number of its other sources: Ijma' [consensus of the Muslim scholars], *qiyas/ijtihad* [analogical reasoning] and *istislah* [public interest and public good]. The sources of the Shari'ah that supplement the Qur'an and the Sunnah are problem-solving tools; they provide a methodology for adjusting to change. In that way, Islam encompasses the material as well as the spiritual/moral dimension of humanity addressing all walks of life: social, economic, intellectual, political, and spiritual sides of human nature.

This section deals with how Islam was introduced into Ethiopia and how it was propagated in the country. It is recalled that Islam was introduced in Ethiopia just at its budding stage. From as early as

615, Islam has been propagated and integrated into the mainstream culture in the country. Peaceful co-existence characterizes followers of Christianity and Islam despite sporadic conflicts. Causes of Islamization and its dissemination agents and related issues are addressed in this part briefly.

The Introduction of Islam in Ethiopia

The relationship between Abyssinia and Arabia dates back from the advent of Islam through trade and political relations. Bairu (1974:4) further contends that "some of the ancient peoples of Ethiopia also came from Arabia".

Historians such as Abraham (1972), Taddesse (1972), Hussein (2001) and Teshome (2008, 2012) asserted that the introduction of Islam to Ethiopia was associated with arrival of the first Muslim refugees right from the inception of the religion itself during the seventh century, specifically in 615. The migration to the then Abyssinia was done by the order of Prophet Muhammad himself in order to keep some of his handful followers safe from the torture and tyranny of his own tribe called the Quraysh (Muhammad-Sani 1989: 47 - 49). The Prophet advised some of his companions to flee as refugees to Ethiopia saying, "Abyssinia is a truthful country with a just King where no one is mistreated unjustly. Thus go there until Allah gives us our own mechanism to safeguard ourselves'' (Muhammad-Sani, 1989:47-48; Ibn Yusuf, 2007). Based on his advice, a total of 117 Muslims (other than small children) migrated to Ethiopia. They migrated twice. During the first migration 12 men and 4 women participated including the Prophet's own daughter, Ruqiya, and his nephew Jaefar ibn Abutalib. The number of Muslim migrants increased to 83 men and 18 women, although their total number varied slightly from report to report during the second migration. The exact number of migrants was expected to be 130 including men, women and children (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:75-79) comprising the migrants from Yemen as well. The author mentions all the names of the migrants together with twenty children who were born in Ethiopia (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:80-83) and fifteen Muslims who died and were buried in Ethiopia (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:84-85).

When disbelievers noticed that the Makkans after being converted to Islam went for Abyssinia and started living there in peace, they feared that they be organized outside Makkah could one day, pose a great danger to the Makkans. They dispatched a delegation of two responsible persons, Amr and Abdullah to Negus, King of Abyssinia, with costly gifts, i.e. bribes. The delegates requested the king to hand over some of their slaves who had come to his country after joining a new faith which was against the faith of their ancestors. The king promised to look into their demands only after investigating the matter. The King then sent for the Muslims to come to his court and inquired about their new faith. On

behalf of the Muslims, Ja'far bin Abutalib moved forward to explain to Negus the truth about the new faith in a remarkable speech delivered before the king and his courtiers:

> O King, we were people plunged in ignorance. We worshipped idols, we ate [any] dead animals, and we committed abominations. We broke natural kinship ties, we ill-treated our neighbors and our strong devour the weak. We lived like this until Allah, the Almighty, raised among us a prophet of whose noble birth and linage, truthfulness, honesty and purity we all were aware. He invited us to acknowledge the Oneness of Allah and to worship Him alone. He enjoined us to speak the truth, to redeem our pledges, to be kind and considerate to our relatives and neighbors. He forbade us every vice, bloodshed, shamelessness, lies and deceit. He asked us not to encroach upon the belongings of our orphans and not to vilify chaste woman. He ordered us to offer prayers. We acknowledged the Messenger…and believed in him. Because of this, our people were estranged and they persecuted us. So when they tortured us and tormented us under their tyranny, we fled to your country. We have come here, O King, to your country seeking your protection and we do hope that we shall not be dealt with unjustly (Najeebabadi, 2000:115).

Najeebabadi (2000) further contends that after the Negus listened to Ja'far patiently, he asked him if he has brought something from his Prophet as a proof of being sent from God as it is true for all other Prophets. There upon Ja'far recited the opening verses of Surat Mariayam (Mary) from The Qur'an. ''Tears started rolling from the eyes of the Negus and his courtiers [priests].'' The recitation being over, Negus remarked, ''this and the Torah of Musa [Moses]... are radiations from the same Heavenly Light.'' Then the envoys of the Quraish flung their last attempt and said, '' O king, they are opponents of Jesus too.'' By this they wanted the Christian king to grow angry at the Muslim migrants. Then the reply comes from Ja'far, ''Not at all; the fact is rather he is the Slave of Allah and His messenger, born by Allah's will from the Virgin Marry''. Negus then said this belief is correct to the core and the Gospel also means the same'' (Najeebabadi, 2000:115).

Negus sent the envoys back empty-handed and refused point-blank to give the Muslims up to them. Along with this he returned their gold gifts, thus rubbing salt in their wounds and thereby justice prevailed. The King allowed the Muslim migrants to leave peacefully. This event happened during the sixth year of the Prophethood (Najeebabadi, 2000: 115) and launched the beginning of the direct peaceful contact between Islam and Ethiopia. The Muslims lived for about sixteen years in Ethiopia (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:20).

This incident further depicts the maturity of the then King to allow for religious plurality, justice and the act of fighting corruption; and allowing freedom of religion despite our failure to appreciate and develop

such humane activities further which could have led us to be the foremost champions in the contemporary world.

Ethiopian Muslims believe that the migration of the first Muslim generation to Abyssinia and the hospitable treatment of King Asaham Ibn Abhar (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:7) boost up their sense of Muslim identity established even prior to the people of Mecca and Medina. Ethiopian Muslims, like the rest of the Muslim people in the world, further believe that the then King accepted Islam and Prophet Muhammad performed distant prayer (Salat-al-Ghaib) for the first time in Muslims history for him when he died as stipulated in the Prophetic Sunnah (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:20; Sahih Al-Bukhari, 2:403-404). When Negus died, the Prophet said, "Today a pious man has died. So get up and offer the funeral prayer for your brother Ashama" (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 5:217).

 Negus has also sent a letter to the Prophet in response to his initiation to Islam positively and that letter is preserved in Egypt that starts saying "In the name of Allah, the Most Merciful and the Most Compassionate; to the Messenger of Allah; from Negus Asahama" (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:31-32). Ever since that scenario of distant prayer, this practice has become common in all Muslim societies. The Qur'an states this fact (28:52-53).

Nonetheless, non-Muslims do not buy such narrations from the Muslims side even though the Muslims scriptures approve the incident unanimously. Consequently, there are several Qur'anic verses revealed in relation to the people of Abyssinia (e.g. Qur'an, 5:83-85; 3:199; 26:52-54). After the death of Negus, another Negus was replaced and the Prophet wrote him a letter inviting him to Islam. However, there is no evidence whether he accepted Islam or not (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:102-103).

Moreover, there were many Muslim personalities who were Ethiopians (such as Bilal Ibn Rabah, Ummu Ayman, and Wahshiyi) who played major roles in the development of Islam together with the other companions of the Prophet (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:92-94).

Trimingham (1952: xiv) posited that the history of the development of Islam in north east Africa "was shaped by the presence of a predominant Christian culture and state which supposedly acted as a barrier against the expansion of the religion in to the rest of Africa". While the soundness of the second part of his hypothesis could be open to question, there is no doubt that "the history of Islam in Ethiopia is intimately connected with that of an initially accommodating, but progressively hostile, Christian kingdom" (Hussein, 2001:30-31). Hussein (2001) further depicted that in spite of this potential

antagonism and occasional friction, Islam succeeded in gradually establishing itself in the region and in becoming an integral part of Ethiopian culture since the seventh century.

The collapse of Aksumite effective control over the Red Sea coast and its trade, starting from the middle of the eighth century, provided Islam with an opportunity for its expansion into the Ethiopian region (Trimingham, 1952; Taddesse, 1972 and Hussein, 2001). That is to say, one way or another, the history of the introduction of Islam can be followed in the context of the history of Aksum. However, this does not dismiss the existence of Muslims as individuals or groups following the pre-eighth-century emigration into the country.

Dombrowski (1983) suggested that the expansion of Islam in northeast Africa occurred later, and was slower, than in North Africa. However, critiques such as Hussein (2001:31) assert that his interpretation does not take into account the significant and well established role of the Red Sea as a channel of communication and route of migration for Semitic-speaking peoples from southwest and south Arabia to the African coast, beginning from pre-Christian times. Dombrowski's suggestion does not also take into account the expansion of Islam, both as a religion and cultural system, need not be accompanied or preceded by military conquest or the establishment of a Muslim state. Historically, the expansion of Muslim military power has speeded up the process of the diffusion of the faith in many parts of the world, and this applies to certain periods of Ethiopian history itself, but it is not a necessary condition for the expansion of Islam (Hussein, 2001:32; Peel, 1977:112).

Nevertheless, Dombrowski (1983) seems to subscribe to the view that the spread of Islam in Africa was achieved largely through military conquest and the formation of Islamic states. Thus, he has brought forward the period when Islam secured a foot hold in the interior of Ethiopia and the Horn to the tenth and eleventh centuries since he wrote that the Horn had ''escaped the first waves of Islamic conquest'' (Dombrowski,1983:59). According to Hussein (2001:32), this shows one of the ''major shortcoming of many commentators on Islam in Ethiopia'' since they fail to distinguish between the rise of Islam as ''a political factor'' which as Taddesse (1972: 50) remarked, ''was post tenth century development'' from its ''earlier and largely pacific penetration and entrenchment as a religion and a culture''.

However, Dombrowski (1983) does not seem to have considered cultural diffusion and migration ''as part of a continuous process that started well before the eleventh century'' (Hussein, 2001:32). Dombrowski (1983) also suggests that it was the power vacuum created by the fall of Aksum that allowed Islam to expand into the Horn of Africa. However, according to Hussein (2001), this is the

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reverse of the widely held notion that the rise of Islam caused the decline of Aksum, and that the raids of the Beja in the north and the attack on Aksum by the pagan queen of Damot (Yodit) merely hastened Aksum's fall.

Recent scholarship confirmed that the situation in the Aksumite kingdom after, and despite, the collapse of its maritime power was not as precarious as had long been believed (Taddesse, 1972; Bairu, 1974; Hussein, 2001). According to Hussein, it is likely that the increasing influence of Islam on the Red Sea coastal of Africa and the decline of Aksum as a naval and commercial power in the Horn were ''two parallel developments, instead of one directly affecting the other'' (Hussein, 2001: 33). Consequently, the penetration of Islam into the Ethiopian region most probably preceded the collapse of the Aksumite state and certainly outlived it.

Taddesse (1972: 43) posits that ''Islam gained access to Ethiopia especially through the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden coastal areas'' which were remote from any direct and effective control of the Aksumite state and indirectly, through the Horn. Hussein (2001:33) expounds further that the earliest contact between Islam and the Ethiopian vicinity was ''forged by traders from the coastal and the nomadic elements of the interior''. Throughout the centuries the two groups continued to play the role of carriers of Islam. Nevertheless, the task of establishing Islam firmly and nurturing Islamic culture and institutions fell on the more enterprising sections of the sedentary communities domiciled in the ecological zone that marked the transition from the barren lowlands to the fertile plateau (Hussien,2001; Muhammad,1994).

The development of trade and the proliferation of commercial routes, both along the northern axis of the Aksumite domain in the direction of the Dahlak islands, and in that part of the vicinity facing the eastern coastal in the south, and the activities of Muslim traders who were officially tolerated by the Christian state all prepared the ground for the establishment of small trading settlements which also served as centers for the diffusion of Islam (Trimingham, 1952:138; Hussein, 2001:33-34). It would be implausible to suggest that the activities of the Muslim residents of such centers had no impact on the local population.

Taddesse (1972) also suggests a connection between the emergence of Fatimid power in Egypt, especially their methods of proselytization and the increasing military of Muslims in Ethiopia and the Horn at about the same time. He finally concluded that the Egyptian-Fatimid claim to be the natural protectors of the interests of Ethiopian Muslims was largely a fiction and played no crucial role in the expansion of Islam in Ethiopia. Rather it was the influence of indigenous Muslims, through their control

of medium of trade and long-distance commerce and through other activities that brought about the consolidation of Islam as a political factor in the region after the tenth century (Taddesse, 1972: 50).

One of the earliest commentators on the emergence of Islam in Ethiopia was Guerinot (1917/18). While discussing the progress of Islam in Abyssinia, he suggested three factors that determine the pace of Islamization. These include (a) The country's potential as of exotic and exportable goods which attracted foreign and Muslim merchants; (b) Conquest by warlike people which applies from the period of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries and (c) The arrival of immigrants seeking asylum.

Another historian, Cerulli (1961 in Hussein 2001), has suggested a number of hypothetical phases of Islamization. The most interesting of the situations he postulated is an early period of Islamic influence during which the budding indigenous Muslim community consisted of two social groups. The first one was an elite of religious scholars trained in the Arab heartland in Islamic jurisprudence and other related fields of study, the second one was the mass of the population whose conversion to Islam was more politically and nationally motivated, and whose Islam was, consequently, superficial (Cerulli in Hussein, 2001).

However, his model fails to explain certain crucial issues as commented by Hussein (2001:35). Firstly, the sources upon which it is constructed were compiled after the thirteenth century and as a result cannot fully explain conditions before that period. Of course, there is a substantial corpus of archaeological and documentary evidence which strongly suggests the establishment of Islam and the formation of Muslim communities and states prior to the thirteenth century. Secondly, while this part of Cerulli's model might throw light on the social consequences of the advent of Islam for the indigenous society, it does not make clear the nature of the earliest encounter between Islam and the local people, nor does it offer readers a true picture of the modes of Islamization (Hussein, 2001:35-36).

In analyzing the mechanisms of Islamic diffusion in southern and south-western Ethiopia during the nineteenth century, Cerulli posited the importance of two elements, namely trade and the mystical Sufi orders. The attention he paid to the latter was a very important step forward in the study of the internal factors of Islamization in Ethiopia. He recognized the fact that the establishment and the increase in the number and influence of trading stations intensified the expansion of Islam since they also operated as centers of Islamic teaching and propagation. Even more interesting was his discussion of the case of the Warjih to show how a Muslim group, whose typical members were traders by profession, and was able

to extend its activities into the Oromo regions, and how its gradual linguistic assimilation into the indigenous culture paved the way for the dissemination of Islam.

Regarding the religious brotherhoods, i.e. the mystical orders, Cerulli in Hussein (2001) underlined the crucial role which they played in the further expansion of Islam through the establishment of educational institutions and the founding of shrines. The leaders of the mystical brotherhoods kept a low profile while carrying out their preaching in order to ally suspicions that might entertain political ambitions, and this was one of the keys to their rapid success (Hussein, 2001: 36). Nevertheless, Cerulli did not discuss the fact that the same two carriers of Islam i.e. religious scholars and traders were also active in the north and central Ethiopia as well. The poems that he cited from the pagan Oromo as a reflection of resisting the Muslim preachers in the nineteenth century also demonstrates the presence of traditional-non-Muslim and non-Christian-beliefs and practices among the local communities (Cerulli in Hussein, 2001:37).

In an earlier study, on Islam in East Africa, Cerulli identified, several zones of Islamic expansion, each having its own distinct feature: a) the northern and central highlands where the Christian kingdom resisted for centuries the raids of the Muslim states; b) western Ethiopia where Islam was super imposed on paganism; and c) Somalia whose Islam was connected to migratory and commercial currents from the basin of the Indian Ocean. However, his classification does not take into account the long presence of Islam and Muslim communities in the north (Hussein, 2001: 37).

At the beginning of his observation, Cerulli (in Hussein, 2001) analyzed considerably a sixteenth century polemical work whose author was an apostate from Islam and abbot of the monastery of Dabra Libanos in northern Shawa. In so doing, he has attempted to refute some of the central doctrines of Islam (Donzel, 1969). At the end of his analysis, Cerulli (1937 in Hussein 2001) stated that the existence and polemical character of the work reflecting the pluralistic and syncretistic nature of the religious culture of Ethiopia.

This characterization of the religious culture as it then existed was also based on his study of the chronology of a local Arabic account of the earliest Muslim sheikdom in eastern Shawa which had enabled him to date to the first half of the seventh century the arrival of Arab emigrants consisting of both traders and men of religion. Having overcome the local, they were able to establish dynasties of their own and to impose their rule upon the indigenous populations (Cerulli in Hussein, 2001: 37). According to Hussein (2001), this is in conformity with the oral traditions about the origin of Muslim

communities in the area, and this reinforces the argument that emphasizes the role of trader together with religious men in the diffusion of Islam. Hence, one may say that the only serious problem with Cerulli' approach is his tendency to apply his model only to the development of Islam in southern Ethiopia, and his reluctance to conceive of a similar process in the north (Hussein, 2001:37-38). However, the earliest Muslim state, the Sultanate of Shawa, had a closer geographical, ethnic and cultural similarity with its northern and north-western neighbors than with the southwest.

According to Cerulli, there are two factors that might be acted as barriers against the expansion of Islam from eastern Shawa to the north and west. The first one is a political factor in relation to the Christian kingdom. The second one is the Christian areas settled by the Amhara communities. But although the Christian Amhara might have been an obstacle, there were also the Muslim Amhara and the Argobba, the latter being the predominant element within the Muslim community of eastern Shawa and Wallo and who were speakers of a South Ethio-Semitic language closely related to Amharic (Taddesse, 1972; Hussein, 2001).

According to Trimingham (1952), outside the various settlements and commercial centers of the coastal belt, Islam established itself in northern Ethiopia at a very early date. Hussein (2001: 38) explains, ''Epigraphic evidence helps to substantiate this. Funeral inscriptions in southern Tegray strongly hint at the existence of local Muslim communities in the early eleventh century''. He further asserted that even though very little is known about the process by which these communities came into existence, there establishment at such an early date is an indication that Islam spread from the coast into the Ethiopian hinterland not only from Zeila and from other points further north, through the Harare plateau and southern Afar territory to Ifat (Trimingham, 1952: 66) but also from several points on the Red Sea coast towards the northern and central plateau (Hussein, 2001:39; Taddesse, 1972; Yitateku, 1974) . It might also indicate that the Dahlak islands were an important centre of diffusion of Islam. According to Hussein (2001), this might go against received views which maintain that the open propagation of Islam was very restricted in the north and that the external and internal trade with and through the islands, although very advantageous from the strictly economic perspective (Taddesse, 1972; Trimingham, 1952), was nevertheless of minimal worth for the spread of Islam. Taddesse (1972) challenges such received views. He especially mentions the Dahlak islands and other coastal settlements in connection with trade and dates the beginning of this trade from the eighth and ninth centuries. He also denotes to market villages and conversions to Islam in increasing number in the important commercial centers from an earlier date (Taddesse, 1972: 44). Hussein (2001: 39) asserts, ''It is in this context that the presence

of the Muslim communities be seen, although, due to the paucity of sources, it is difficult to follow either their development or their apparent decline in subsequent centuries".

Causes of Islamisation

As it is true elsewhere in Muslim Africa, the conventional view is that the primary agent for the cultivation and diffusion of Islam in Ethiopia were traders and other categories of travelers as well as pastoral groups. Trimingham (1952:139) asserts, "Arab traders, artisans and adventurers were the chief medium of Islamic expansion; and coming as they did as individuals and not as tribes they naturally lived in close touch with the natives, adopted their language instead of imposing Arabic, and intermarried with them." This is the position held by current scholarship on the Islamization process in the region (Hussein, 2001:39). According to Hussein (2001), this may explain the earlier stages of the process of the introduction of Islam, it rarely satisfies the historian's desire to know precisely how and by whom Islam spread amongst the local people, nor the wish one has to know exactly what methods of preaching the new faith were adopted by traders and other social elements which resulted in the spread of Islam.

Levtzion (1979 in Hussein 2001) claimed that the material on the experience of conversion to Islam is thin since Muslim historiography developed "only after Islam had been established in a region and a class of literati had emerged" (Levtzion, 1979: 2). However, information on the experience of Islamization as lived by those who were converted is presented or represented in the Ethiopian case, at least by oral tradition and by a few scattered references in written documents of local and foreign authorship. Regarding the spatial and chronological patterns of the process of conversion, and the legal allegiances of the early propagation of Islam, certain clues are provided by the present distribution of the Sunni Islamic legal schools and mystical orders and by the characterization of contemporary Muslim practices (Hussein, 2001: 40).

According to Horton (1971), the transition from African traditional religion to Islam and Christianity was as much a consequence of developments which were taking place within the indigenous belief system as it was a result of the impact of external factors. Therefore, acceptance of Islam or Christianity was highly conditional and selective and both Islam and Christianity merely accelerated the process of an already on-going process (Horton, 1971:103-104; Hussein, 2001: 40-41). Horton (1975) further argued that traditional African societies responded favorably to Islam or Christianity when either one presented itself with some element likely to bring about a positive response such as the development of long-

distance trade which was in harmony with a need already felt in the social life of the communities on the receiving end (Horton, 1975: 220).

According to Hussein (2001:48-49), indigenous oral traditions about the agents of Islamization do not disregard the importance of traders. However, they also revealed the significance of religious scholars. The author mentioned three mechanisms by which the doctrines of early Islam penetrated deep into the Ethiopian hinterland from the coast, namely, trade, conquest and preaching, by placing the emphasis on the last. He also mentioned the possibility of a variety of mechanisms for the propagation of the faith: through the teachings of the Qur'an and theology, the holding of the anniversary celebration of the Prophet's birth day, pilgrimage to local shrine, and through intermarriage between Muslim Arab immigrants and the local people. Moreover, Hussein (2001) described the position of traders vis-à-vis Islamization as the traders were the patrons, rather than the direct agents, of the dissemination of Islam by financing the construction of mosques, covering expenses incurred during the pilgrimage to Mecca, purchasing religious texts and allying themselves with the religious families through marriage (Hussein, 2001:49). He also added the presence of cultivators among the early converts, among those who supported the preservation of Islamic education.

Supporting the evidences for the prominent part played by religious scholars in Islamization also comes from south-western Ethiopia where Islam, during the first half of the nineteenth century, was first introduced and cultivated among the members of the ruling classes of the Gibe states through the agency of Muslim Ulama from Wallo and Gondar (Guluma, 1993).

Hussein (2001:50) further contends that the history of the conversion to Islam of communities in northern, central and eastern Ethiopia reveals a similar pattern, with factors other than commerce playing an important role. He believes that in these three regions the roles of religious scholar propaganda, and the sixteenth-century impact under Imam Ahmed, seem to have been considerable.

The sixteenth century saw the rise of Imam Ahmed (commonly called Gragn to refer to his left-handedness) and the successful launching of his campaign into much of north and central Ethiopia. This helped to refresh the pre-existing Muslim communities and led to conversion through coercive means. Lapiso (Africa Satellite TV, Nov. 16/2011) argues that Imam Ahmed has also played considerable role in the unification of Ethiopia even by extending its territory from Zaila to the Sudan border and from southern to Northern Ethiopia just like the attempts of the kings of the Solomonic dynasty (Muhammad, 1994).

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The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Ethiopia witnessed the revival and further advance of Islam through the activities of mystics and the patronage of both chief and traders, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. In some areas of Wallo, there were attempts to introduce reforms in certain practices within the local Islam and some militant ulamas undertook the jihad as an instrument of renewal. However, these movements were locally oriented and their leaders lacked a wider vision and the resources for mobilizing their communities politically and socially contrary to the Muslim reformers of West Africa. Regarding Islam in central Ethiopia, the second half of the nineteenth century was also a period of reverses because the revived Christian monarchy attempted to bring about religious uniformity through a policy of coercion and persecution of the indigenous Muslim communities (Hussein, 2001: 58; Crummey, 2000). It is during this period that some Muslim scholars tried to open jihad.

The progress of Islam in Ethiopia discussed briefly so far, is summarized by Hussein (2001: 58-59) in the following chronological and thematic scheme. (i) The Early phase (from the 7th to the 11th centuries): This is characterized by the arrival of continuous Muslim immigrants, including traders, preachers and other professional groups. They immigrated to Ethiopia, of course as individuals and families, not as whole tribes. This is verified by inscriptions found in the Dahlak islands dating from the middle of the ninth century; fragments of Arabic chronicles which testify to the establishment of a local Muslim dynasty in eastern Shawa in the late ninth century; and inscriptions from southern Tegray, one of which has been dated to 1006 AD. The results of this early penetration of Islam were: firstly, the establishment of Islamic bridgeheads along the coast; secondly, the conversion of the coastal populations and the pastoral and sedentary groups of the plains; thirdly, the supplanting of the Byzantine traders by Ethiopian Muslims (Taddesse, 1972: 43), which implies that there was a considerable rate of local conversion to Islam; and finally, the emergence of Islam as a political factor in the Horn of Africa from the tenth century. (ii) The period of expansion and consolidation (from 12th to 15th centuries): During this period a number of Muslim states were established in the Ethiopian hinterland, mainly in the areas south of the Awash basin. This period also encountered the earliest outbreak of conflicts with the mediaeval Christian kingdom over the control of trade and access to the coast. This coincided with or was triggered off by a demographic factor i.e. movements of pastoral/sedentary populations from south-eastern Ethiopia and the expansion of both the reconstituted Christian kingdom and the Muslim states. (iii) The period of confrontation (the 16th century Imam Ahmad episode): This was not simply a clash between Islam and Christianity but the climax of the centuries-old expansions of sedentary and pastoral populations. It eventually resulted in the collapse of Muslim power in the highlands and the decline of

Islam as a political factor in the region. The Oromo expansion also temporarily arrested the progress of Islam although later it facilitated its nationwide expansion (Crummey, 2000). (iv) The period of steady expansion (17th to 18th centuries): Islam made remarkable progress in the north and central plateau while the Christian state was faced with internal problems, mainly through the decline of the central authority of the monarchy. During this time Islam regained political ascendancy under regional dynasty, particularly in Yejju, Warra Himano and other parts of Wallo (Bairu, 1974). (v)The period of revival and internal reverses (the 19th century): The first half of this century saw the coming and expansion of the mystical Sufi order both in central and southern Ethiopia. The second half was a time of crisis resulting from the attempt of revived Christian monarchy to control the progress of Islam and undermine it as political and cultural factor in central Ethiopia (Hussein, 2001:58-59).

Distribution of Islam in Ethiopia

Until recently, Ethiopian Muslims are predominantly Ahlul Sunnah wal Jama'a with Sufi type of theology. Out of the four predominant Fiqh School of Thoughts, Shafi'iyaa and Hanafiyaa are common in Ethiopia. Malikiyya Schools are also found along the Western peripheries. The Hanbali School of Thought is also proliferating in the country as it is overheard following the Salafi movement mainly in urban areas.

Sunni Islam

Orthodox Islam as a broad religious concept with its emphasis on a sense of solidarity amongst diverse Muslim groups and on a spirit of belonging to a universal religious community (ummah) is confined mainly to scholars well-versed in the classical Islamic sciences, and to the modern elites trained at a higher Islamic institutions in the Middle East. As a basis of the belief and practices of ordinary Muslims and as a general principle governing their daily behavior through the medium of the Shari'ah, the divine law, Sunni Islam is wide spread throughout those areas of Ethiopia where numerically significant Muslim communities had been well-established, whether in towns or in the countryside (Trimingham, 1952: 227; Hussein, 2001: 63).

Trimingham (1952) and Markakis (1974) suggest that there seems to have been little interaction between the various Muslim communities of Ethiopia, owing to geographical and cultural barriers which inhibited closer contacts and consequently, each tended to be introspective and much concerned with its own activities and aspirations. According to Hussein (2001: 64), both writers have overlooked another important and more crucial factor that had kept them apart, i.e. the general attitude and specific policies

which the Christian monarchy, nobility and clergy adopted towards indigenous Muslim suppression. Under such circumstances, therefore, there was limited opportunity to nurture and develop a corporate sense of belonging to a national Islamic community transcending ethnic and regional loyalties and interests. However, there has been much interaction at the level of personal contacts between members of various groups and even a stronger link through trade, the observance of communal and religious festivals such as the annual anniversary celebrations of the Prophet's birthday, visits to local shrines and the pilgrimage to Mecca and through the diffusion of Islamic education offered at well-known Sufi centers in eastern Wallo, Harare and other places such as Gondar, Southern Shawa and the Gibe region of southwest Ethiopia. There are also other unifying factors such as one universally accepted version of the Holy Qur'an, the Prophetic Hadith and the Shari'ah as a whole (Nasr, 2002).

Trimingham (1952) also assert that apart from Harare, there had been no Islamic educational centers despite the region's proximity to the Islamic heartland. This is far from the reality. Hussein (2001) argues:

> Both in the rural areas, amongst predominantly peasant communities, and in and near the towns, there were important centers of Islamic education and Sufi teaching, especially in Wallo, whose influence was quite extensive and whose activities gave an impetus to the revival of Islam in the region in the nineteenth century (Hussein 2001:64-65).

One of the most interesting and perhaps unique features of Islam in Ethiopia is the existence of three of the four Sunni canonical schools of Islamic jurisprudence (Shafi'i, Hanafi, and Maliki) and several of the major mystical Sufi orders (Levtzion, 1971; Teshome, 2006). There peaceful coexistence and lack of political aspirations can be accounted for by the fact that the introduction and expansion of any of them was not associated with a particular regional or local ruling dynasty. It is also an additional testimony to the peaceful mode of the diffusion of Islam in Ethiopia (Hussein, 2001: 65).

The different schools of Islamic law were introduced at various times and from several Muslim regions mainly through the agency of indigenous Muslim scholars who had received their formal religious training in Fiqh (Islamic law) in the Hijaz and Yemen. But it is difficult to present a coherent chronological account about their distribution in Ethiopia due to the paucity of written sources.

However, Hussein (2001) asserts that based on oral traditions, the earliest period proposed for the dominant Islamic law (madhhab) i.e. the Shafi'iyya, is the twelfth century A.D. and is associated with the ancestors of the Argoba of Ifat. This school is founded by Imam al-Shafi'I whose full name is Abu

Abdallah Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi'I (767-820). The Muslims of Ifat, Harar, Bale, and Arsi and most of Wallo are predominantly followers of this school. The Afar and the Oromo of southwest Ethiopia Muslim communities also follow similar School of thought. The schools dominant position is a consequence of its being the first to be introduced into the country (Hussein, 2001: 65).

The second strongest school of thought is the Hanafiyya founded by the theologian of Kufa named Imam Abu Hanifa al-Nu'man b. Thabit (699-767). He is also known as Imam Al-A'zam. This school has many adherents in Wallo and amongst the Muslims on the costal, Shoa, those in Gonder and Gojjam, and some in Jimma and Harar.

The school of thought with the smallest number of followers is the Malikiyya founded by the Medina jurist named Imam Malik b. Anas (d. 795). Its influence is mainly concentrated in north-western Eritrea and those areas bordering on the western frontiers with the Sudan.

The Hanbali school of thought which was founded by Imam Ahmed bin Hanbali (780-855) was not represented in the country. It has mainly been concentrated in Saudi Arabia. However, more recently the Hanbali School of Thought is spreading more rapidly in different parts of the world including Ethiopia (especially in urban areas). As a result, the Salafi theology is beginning to spread recently parallel to the dominant theology of Sufis.

The Mystical Sufi Orders in Ethiopia

According to Trimingham (1952: 106-107), ''the mystical ideal was achieved by union with the spirit of'' the Prophet through the ''recitation of dhikr''. But the first part of this hypothesis is not approved by authentic Islamic sources. The pre-nineteenth century history of Sufism in Ethiopia is obscured due to lack of reliable evidences. However, historians like Taddesse (1972) and Hussein (2001) assert that whenever the local 'Ulama' are faced with internal stress and upheavals within the Muslim communities and also in times of active hostile measures taken against them by Christian secular and religious authorities, the Ulamas tended to reviving and establishing the mystical orders.

Two specific aspect need to be explained for the revival of Sufism. One was the new impetus to pilgrimage undertaken by indigenous Muslims. This was possible by the emergence of the port of Tajura and the opening of new inland trade route. The new route became the preferred pilgrim route and the local 'Ulama' were in a position to maintain much closer links with the Arabian centers of Islamic

learning and pilgrimage in order to acquire texts on the traditional disciplines of Muslim scholarship and on contemporary intellectual trends and political events and to travel in order to receive advanced training and acquire new ideas about the reviving mystical orders and Sunni Islam.

The second aspect was the opportunity by the new trade route which created prosperous trading families and communities who were able to support an increasingly articulate religious class for whom they procured theological and instructional texts and whose pilgrimage they often sponsored (Hussein, 2001).

Traders also played the role of consolidating Islam through generous and regular allowances in the form of provisions and shelter, through covering the expenses incurred on the purchase of reading and teaching texts and through financing pilgrimages, rather than in the conventional and vague sense that "The caravans served as a vehicle by which the principles of Islam and Muslim ulama from Arabia reached the remotest corners in the highlands" (Abir, 1964; Hussein, 2001: 77).

The development and diffusion of Sufism in the region did not pass through all the various stages often postulated in the modern scholarly literature on the subject, namely, ''natural asceticism, mysticism, scholarly Sufism and the expansion of spiritual influence of eminent Sufis'' which are believed to have led to the emergence of the tariqa (Jenkins, 1979: 43). Rather, according to Hussein (2001), it seems to have bypassed the first three phases and began to take root and flourish in Ethiopia as a whole beginning from the fourth stage.

The common Sufi mystical order in Ethiopia include ''the Qadirriyy, Ahmadiyya, Mirghaniyya/Khatmiyya, Tijaniyya, Sammaniyya and Shadhiliyya'' among others (Trimingham, 1951: 234). Other than these, Teshome (2006: 263-265) lists such Sufi orders as Arrafi'iyya, Almawlawiyya, Alnaqishbandi, Albukhtashy, Medewiyya, Jarrahiyya, Bakhtasi and still others. But he did not mention whether such mystical orders are established in Ethiopia or not. Even so he has indicated the prevalence of such mystical orders as Qadirriyya, Shadhiliyya, Sammaniyya, and Naqishbandi. Nasr (2002: 66) contends that Sufism became organized orders usually named after their founders. There is hardly any Islamic country in which Sufi orders are not to be found. Teshome (2006: 268) states that one Sufi Sheikh can have Qadirriyya, Sammaniyya and Shadhiliyya at the same time. This shows ''the peaceful coexistence of many orders represented in Ethiopia'' (Hussein, 2001: 78).

The mystical orders give a new impetus to the further dissemination and revival of Islam in the region. First, the Sufi centers contributed a great deal to the development of literacy and scholarship as they were not only retreats for spiritual insights and reflection, and the venue for religious gatherings, but also educational establishments. This role was further enhanced by the very background of the first propagators of the orders since initiation into a particular order was in all cases preceded by a thorough grounding in the classical Islamic subjects. This prohibited the danger of these centers degenerating into mere centers of rituals and popular festivals (despite the fact that a few of the Sufi centers did not escape from some sort of deterioration). To the life of piety and sanctity and the power to transmit 'baraka' (blessings), attributed to the Sufi scholars, was consequently added their reputation as reformers and defenders of orthodox Sunni Islam through offering standard Islamic education. Only in the time of succeeding generations did the scholarly dimension of local Sufism begin to be overshadowed, and eventually eclipsed, by the popular features with which it later came to be identified. Local centers of pilgrimage proliferated and the reformist and scholarly features of the "mother centers" started to give way to the ritualistic, thaumaturgy and para-liturgical aspects of religious veneration. This was the result of the resurgence of elements of traditional belief and practice that began to undermine the orthodox and reformist foundations established by the first generation of religious scholars (Hussein, 2001: 80). At the present, despite the presence of some mystical Sufi centers both as educational and ritual centers, the majority of Rural Islamic educational centers are established independently named as 'Harima' for their academic function known by the local people, especially in Wallo.

Second, the mystical orders in Ethiopia also set a high standard of Islamic morality and devotion in their behavior and imparted a sense of fraternity, identity and solidarity to members of the scholarly and lay communities through regularly-held religious gatherings called "hadra". Thus they preserved a collective spirit of belonging to a wider community cutting across occupational, ethnic and regional particularism (Hussein, 2001; Teshome, 2008; 2012).

Brief Descriptions of Prominent Muslim Scholars and their Contributions to the Islamic Intellectual Development in South Wallo

In its long tradition, Wallo is known for serving as the site of Islamic education like Harar. Islamic scholars in the region call it the Ahzar University of Habesha for its prominenet influence in the production of Islamic scholars and dissemination of the Islamic creeds. In this subsection, I will discuss some of the prominent scholars in the region.

Sheikh Ahmed Sheikh Siraj

Sheikh Ahmad was born at Qori-Sokokke village which is 38 kilometers South of Khemissie town. Sheikh Ahmed lived during the times of the two outstanding ulama of the epoch, Jamalu al-Din Muhammed al-Anni of Rayya (d. 1879) and Mufti Kabir Ahmed bin Abdul Rahman of Dawwe (1873-1969).

Sheikh Ahmed was endowed with speech and poetry. He moved from place to place searching for famous scholars. He studied Islamic sciences and hadra as well. He wrote manzumat in Arabic and Afan-Oromo. He was a poet, singer and soloist (Muhammed, 2007:19). He wrote "Birille Safa" (ajami-Oromo) which is "zujajatu al-Safa" in Arabic which means "The Cleanest Flask" with which he got greater reputation all over the Oromo people in Ethiopia (Muhammed, 2007:22).

Sheikh Ahmed passed away nearly before a century but left an unforgettable memory within the people. His poems are still being memorized by people whenever they want to learn more about aqida (belief), ibadat (worship), mu'amalat (socio-economic interactions), akhlaq (Good Character) and other numerous issues along with Fiqh books. He died without even marrying a wife in his life (Muhammed, 2007:37). It is reported that he used to say "My books are my children".

The major contents of his poem include: the birth of the Prophet, the miracles of the Prophet and the life of the Rightly Guided Caliphates (Muhammed, 2007:38).

Mufti Dawud bin Abi Bakr

Mufti Dawud was born on 11th September 1743 A.D in a village called Sibiqqil in the district of Dawwey in South Wallo. His full name is Dawud ibn Abi Bakr ibn Husayn ibn Abi Bakr ibn Adham al-Hashim. He started his learning in his native locality. Then he traveled to the Hijaz and then to Yemen at the age of 23. He studied Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), Usul al-Din (the Fundamentals of the Religion), al-Tafsir (exegesis), al-aqida (the fundamentals of the faith), and mulhatul I'rab (Arabic Grammar).

The title Mufti al-Am (literally means the jurist of the entire Muslim Umma) was given to him by the ulama of the epoch as a mark of recognition of his excellence in learning, high moral quality and intellectual pursuit (Mohammed, 2007).

Mufti Dawud returned home at age forty-one in 1784 from abroad after fifteen years of advanced learning in Zabid, Yemen. He lived in teaching and writing until he died in 1819. He trained a large number of famous ulama who came to influence the subsequent development of Islamic history in Ethiopia. By the time Mufti Dawud returned to Ethiopia, the level of Islamic learning had declined in the country due to the downfall of the Muslim Sultanates in the region.

Beginning from 1196 A.H, he was fully engaged in copying important Islamic books which were necessary for advanced learning to overcome the severe shortage of books in his home land. Mufti Dawud copied over three hundred books some of which were several volumes including different commentaries on the meaning of the Holy Qur'an and the well-known Fathul-Bari, which is the commentary of Sahih al-Bukhari (ibid: 23).

He also brought several other books on three different disciplines that he introduced for the first time into Ethiopia: ilm al-hisab (mathematics), ilm-al-miqat (spatial knowledge) and ilm-al-masaha. Consequently, he deserved to be credited for enhancing the level of scientific knowledge among the local Muslims. Moreover, his level of practical commitment to copying and bringing literary works which included rare and precious classical books on Islam to the country is unprecedented achievement in the overall intellectual and religious history (ibid: 24).

In addition to building up a great collection of reference books, mufti Dawud had secured ijaza (the grant of permission to teach) from his Sheikh in Zabid (Yemen). Then, he established his own center of teaching and learning at Gaddo in Dawway. He introduced the curriculum used in Zabid for teaching according to the Shafi'I School of Law which has remained applicable almost everywhere in Ethiopia until today and even to the far future.

Moreover, Mufti Dawud used to teach Tafsir and the Six Books of Hadith (Kutub al-Sita), ilm al-hisab, ilm-al-miqat, ilm-al-masaha and logic which contributed cultural and intellectual renaissance in the country. His commitment in teaching the hadith curricula before nearly two hundred years rebuffs those people who claim hadith education to be a recent inclusion in Ethiopian Muslim education.

Further still, Mufti Dawud promoted a system through which his students came to enjoy permanent public support from the wider society. Through the system of qalabi, sadaqa, and zakah, the Mufti sustained the local Islamic learning centers that were not supported at all by the rulers of the era. This tradition still exists. Thus, the survival of the local Islamic traditions could therefore be attributed to that precedent laid down by the great 18th century local Islamic scholar, Mufti Dawud Abi Bakr.

After his death, one of his students, Sayyid Faqih bin Zubair, had handed over Mufti Dawud's huge collection of Islamic books to Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Anni symbolizing the succession of the intellectual leadership (Muhammed, 2007: 27).

Sheikh Jawhar Hayder (Shonkey)

The scholar, Sheikh Jawhar Hayder, also commonly called Abbayye Shonkey was born in 1819 in a rural village outside Kombolcha town called Danya in Wallo province (Bedru, 2008:11). He was so devoted to his religious conviction that he always covered his face with cloth so that he could see nothing that might be tempting to the heart – a practice that certain devoted Muslim scholars perform. He was known to be very God-fearing, pious, warm-hearted and bright-minded. He was so famous that people from all regions of Ethiopia used to come to him to pay their respect. He used to spend most of his time praying and preaching through teaching basic Islamic education. He hated selfishness, disloyalty, theft and other improper behaviors. After looking at people behaving very badly to one another, he was so disgusted that he left the area to live somewhere.

When he reached school age, he left for Yifat which was then known to be the center of Islamic education and one of the first places to host Islamic missionaries from Arabia. He studied interpretation of the Holy Qur'an, Islamic Jurisprudence, prophetic traditions and Arabic grammar. He met Sheikh Getty and Sheikh Anni, two of the most highly respected intellectuals by then. They gave him recognition as being qualified to the job of teaching. Islamic preaching and education flourished at Shonkey village by his efforts. Tahfiz-al-Qur'an is still taught to this day in Shonkey. This also challenges contemporary discourse which maligns memorization of the holy Qur'an as if it were a recent inclusion in Ethiopian Islamic education.

Later, as the number of students declined, he moved to another village called Boqoqe where he stayed teaching up until his death. He was considered a fountain of Islamic education who created and enhanced the awareness of the people about their Islamic creed and principles. His mosque is known by the Muslim community as Shonkey's Mosque. It is found at a distance of 20 kms from Khemissie town eastward. A modern mosque is also established in Addis Ababa (near the French Embassy) for his commemoration by the help of Hajji Bashir Dawud.

Sheikh Jawhar studied under the Guidance of Anni since he gave him the Ijaza. Sheikh Gettey also taught him (ibid). He has written different texts and books which are more than one hundred and twenty. They set a general guide in economics, social and religious spheres. The texts also contributed in spreading the Arabic language in different parts of Ethiopia. He also taught Arabic grammar and other Islamic sciences for more than forty years. Further still, he taught people to be orderly by building the sense of brotherhood and respect, love and unity. "He taught good manners to his fellows. He was considered as the torch bearer of Islam" (ibid: 33). His texts focus on explanations on Islamic creed (aqida), good manners (adab), rules and regulations about students, faith (iman), repentance (tawbah) and prayers (salat).

Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq

Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq lived from 1897-1977. He was born in a village called Gojjam in Tauladare district 56 Km south east of Dessie in South Wallo Administrative Zone. He had up to five hundred students at a time. He was known as Shafi'I Sani (the second Shafi'I) for his expertise in Fiqh education (Endris, 2007: 14). Eighty famous Islamic scholars and teachers graduated under his tutelage. When he died thirty thousands of people attended his funeral procession. the genealogy in his book, manhalu al-at'shan fi tarikh al-khubshan, A Spring for the Thirsty for the History of Ethiopia, lists his ancestors individually all the way back to the Prophet Muhammed. Sheikh Abadir of Harar also appears with genealogical record (Gori, 2005:8). This habit of recording genealogy is common in the Wallo Muslims clerical establishment since it is the subject matter of a special discipline called 'ilm al-nasab – the Science of genealogy.

As a child, Sheikh Seid learned to read and write the Qur'an at Halaqu near a village called Bati. He studied Fiqh up to Minhaj al-Talibin under the martyred Sheikh Hajji Warraq and Sheikh Sharafadin

Gata along the Shafi'I School of Thought. He also studied Qur'anic Commentaries and Arabic Grammar under Sheikh Tamam Wadie and Hajji Ali Branzil respectively. Hajji Jawhar bin Hayder (d.1919) also taught him theology at Shonkey. He also studied balagha (eloquence) with Hajji Kabir and Sheikh Ibrahim Abduraxaq of Yejju (Endris, 2007: 18). He was also educated in the secular modern schools as a certificate issued by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts testified.

His mastery of the literary of the Amharic language can be observed from his contribution in the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Amharic together with Sheikh Muhammed Sani Habib. He was also a multilingual person speaking Amharic, Oromo, Arabic and some Geez and Harari languages. He also reads French. That is why he participated in translating the Qur'an form French to Amharic. I wonder why the committee was forced to conduct the translation from French text while the scholars were proficient enough to translate the original Arabic Qur'anic text.

Sheikh Seid Suwadiq spent much of his life teaching, writing and reading although most of his works disappeared.

According to Gori (2005:84), Sheikh Seid began his teaching service in 1934 and served until 1937 at the school established by the Nadi al-Ittifaqi al-Islami, Islamic concord Association in Addis Ababa. Sheikh Seid also served as a teacher in Dessie teaching Arabic, Fundamentals of Islam and Geography from 1943 to 1958 in a mosque school reestablished and administered by him. He was serving on a full time basis before he joined the Elementary and Secondary government school. He joined Woyzaro Sihin School in Dessie in 1946 teaching Ethics and mathematics.

Sheikh Seid faced many challenges from the local ulama and mainstream Muslims since he introduced the teaching of Amharic into a Muslim school as they believed that Amharic literacy would challenge the integrity of the Muslim faith. Consequently, Sheikh Seid was a pioneer and an agent of modern education among the Muslim community (Endris, 2007: 23).

His life career was closely related to justice and its institutions. He was involved in the Shari'ah courts to serve his fellow Muslims established after the Italian occupation. He also setup the waqf (endowment) committee in Dessie (Gori, 2005; Endris, 2007). Sheik Seid also facilitated the construction of the Arab Ganda mosque and especially the Shewa Ber Mosque in Dessie. He also worked in the Ministry of

Interior, Public Security Department from September 1958 to May 8 1964 as an editor, analyst and translator of Arabic texts in Ethiopia/Arabic Press (Endris, 2007).

Sheikh Seid was also an active participant in the patriotic struggle against the Italian invasion despite his open criticism on the monarch.

He advocated educating not only males but also females by being an exemplar in the society by sending his daughters to the modern schools. He was even labeled by his opponents a mu'tazila, (deviant rationalist) for the simple reason that he initiated a new wave of public awareness fighting for modern education and Amharic literacy (Endris, 2007:29). Sheikh Seid was also very critical about the ossification of intellectual life in the cover of Arabic grammar and Fiqh with no attention to the world and what was going on the daily life of the people, which he considered the fundamental social basis of Islamic education.

Sheikh Seid had a great appetite for books and amassed a huge collection in his own library. Unfortunately, only about 250 books were retained as a legacy in the house of one of his daughters Endris, 2007:29).

Sheikh Seid was the author of letters, articles, manuscripts and a book on topics ranging from religion to politics and science. His only book is published recently entitled Manhalul al-at'shan fi tarikh al-khubshan (in Arabic) which means A Spring for the Thirsty for the History of the Ethiopian. It was compiled in 1969 but published posthumously in 2001.

Sheikh Talha Jafar

Sheikh Talha was born in the village of Dinsar in Argoba although others assert that he was born in Dodota (Qallu) near Dawwey in the present South Wallo, Oromia Zone. Dodota is the place where his grand father, Yusuf Elias Aba Asiya (d.1835/36) who was named after his daughter, Asiya, used to live and it is still a center where local pilgrims come to visit his mosque and tomb. The mother of Sheikh Talha was Sitty Abdellah. He married different wives from Amhara, Oromo, and Tigray ethnic groups (Kemal, 2007:10). He was also married to a lady named Madina after being given to him as his wife by King Abba Jifar of Jimma.

He studied the teachings of Islam with different scholars in Argoba and Wallo. Hajji Bashir, Sheikh Isa and Hajji Warraq taught him different Islamic sciences. He belongs to the Mahdi Sufi order. For his graduate students, he distributed his ajami manuscripts and then sent them to their respective areas in order to teach and preach Islam. He has written so many manuscripts of which most of them were lost. His "Tewhid inna Fiqih" manuscript was the first Islamic work to be printed in Ethiopia using the Amharic syllabary in 1951 E.C, ten years before the first translation of the Holy Qur'an into Amharic (Kemal, 2007: 13). Some of his manuscripts were translated from Arabic. He also composed a lot by himself. He was inspired by Muslim figures like Sheikh Hussein Jibril (d.1914?) of Warra Himano, in whose poetry and claims to foretell the future he found a weapon for waging passive resistance to the mass conversion of the Wallo Muslims, Sheikh Ali Adem, who fought several battles against Yohannes' army wherein the Sheikh lost his own life.

Sheikh Talaha was also closely associated with Sheikh Said Bushra of Gata. His popularity was further enhanced by his early unpublished translation of the Holy Qur'an into Amharic, along with some Arabic poems. He was also skillful in military defense. That is why one of his themes of the manuscripts is Jihad (Kemal, 2007: 13-14). Sheikh Talha was strict adherent of the creeds of Islam as reflected in his manuscripts and early daily life.

Sheikh Talha was one of the most respected leaders of the Muslims of East Africa (Bekeley, 1969). He was also famous for his resistance and revolt against the aggression of the Christian monarchs. On 15th May 1818, there was a government council held at Boru Meda (South Wallo) which declared a mass conversion of the predominantly Muslim Wallo to Christianity. Consequently, in Bakie district (South Wallo) about 20, 000 prominent Muslim religious leaders from all over Qallu were brought together and commanded to adopt Christianity. But they agreed unanimously to remain true to their Islamic faith and, as a result, a massacre is done (Hussein 2001). It was after narrowly escaping from this massacre that Sheikh Talha, at age 32, began his struggle against Yohannes' policy for seventeen successive years. He made Argoba the base of his resistance which also extended Garfa, Reqqe, Dawwe, Qallu and even Raya (Kemal, 2007).

Jamaluldin al-Anni swore allegiance to Sheikh Talha. In his later life, Talha fled to Yeju and met another teacher, Daniyul Awol and then his Sheikh facilitated the amnesty which was given to Talha by Emperor Menelik II. Henceforth the idiom "Religion is a private matter while the country is public" was declared to

each province in Ethiopia. Sheikh Talha was finally granted land in Rasa, Yifat and lived there for twenty years (from 1896 to 1916). Later he was forced to live in Argoba (Areflibbe) after being suspected of organizing another revolt with Oromo and Wallo Muslims in the region. Then after, he left for Harare (Chercher). There he was appointed as governor of Waddessa in Harar by Lij Iyyasu. But Talha and Lij Iyyasu were encircled by the army of Shoa wherein the Sheikh fled to Gursum (South East of Harar) to hide. It is recalled that the reign of Lij Iyyasu was short lived for his policy that favored Muslims.

Sheikh Talha Jafar breathed his last in 1936 and was buried at a place called Goru near Chiro (Asabe Teferi) while teaching small children how to read the Qur'an.

Other Prominent Islamic Scholars in the Region (Wallo)

According to Sheikh Muhammed Wole (2004:35), Wallo province consists of large Muslim population along with other faith groups. The region is assumed to be named after its conqueror, Wallo, the son of Karrayu. The region was part of the territory of the Sultanate of Ifat that extended from Wallo to Zeila (Mogadishu, Somalia). The region produced many Islamic scholars many of whom migrated to other parts of Ethiopia duet to draught, ethnic conflict and political dissident. The scholars devoted their lives for the dissemination of Islam and the Muslim culture at local and national levels. Many scholars were also famous in the Muslim world especially in Sudan, Egypt, Yemen and Saudi Arabia. One of the historical scholars is named Sheikh Umar Hadramiye al-Ayjawiye al-Marsiye. His kinship includes ras Gugsa, ras Wole, ras Imam, ras Bitul, ras Ali the Great, ras Ali Ghazi, Empress Taytu (wife of Emperor Menelik II) and many others (Sheikh Muhammed Wole, 2004:35).

Some of the outstanding Islamic scholars in Wallo include Sheikh Ahmed Dabatiy, Sheikh Hajji Abdul Hamidal-Nahwiy, Hajji Ali Wujigraw (in a village called Kon), Sheik Muhammed Arab (in Shamitu), Sheikh Bashir (in Wogidi), Sheikh Yusuf Ali (in Makafta), Sheikh Hassen Borenja, Sheikh Ahmed Dibiq (in Magured), Sheikh Muhammed Hassen (in Gulellie), Sheikh Bushira Khairiy, Sheikh Yehya (in Mutariy), Woliy Ibrahim Qallu (in Gawranji), Sheikh Yusuf Nahwiy (in Warra Wayu), Sheikh Mustafa (in Tantiga, Chaqata). From Ganetie, the famous scholars were Sheikh Kamal, Sheikh Busairy, Sheikh Mumie and others. From Gafarsa, Sheikh Hassen Hamid Gawly came to the fore. From Garwa, Sheikh Muhammed Bada, Sheikh Bushira Wallo (at Bibisa), Sheikh Hussein Gafarsa (in Taya), Sheikh Hajji Abdul Basit Nahwiy and his father, Sheikh Muhammed Hakima (in Anas), Sheikh Muhidin (in Bahat),

Sheikh Ibrahim (in Warafi), Sheikh Ali (in Dagar), Woliyu Shrafadin (in Dagiy), Sheikh Idris (in Harawo), Woliy Aba Bariy and his son Sheikh Hassen (in Agamsa).

In the vicinity of Lagahida, the scholars were Sheikh Ali Adem (in Talanta), Sheikh Seid Hussein (in Assil), Sheikh Ibrahim Abba Billa (in Martaqus), Sheikh Buseiry (in Gawre), Sheikh Kamal (in Tawba) and Sheikh Hassen Sa'id (in Washat).

In Warra Himano, their were scholars like Sheikh Umar Surur (in Logot), Sheikh Seid Yahya (in Zaw), Sheikh Seid Hussein (in Bahuj), Sheikh Muhammed Hajji (in Badadi), Sheikh Abdul Majid, Sheikh Aliy Mahmud, Sheikh Aliy Faris, Waliy Sheikh Siraj (in Taqussa, Gassa) and Woliy Ahmed Leslasse. In the vicinity of Albuko, there were scholars like Sheikh Mujahid al Kabir Sheikh Muhammed Shafi bin Sheikh Muhammed Asqari al-Nigus (commonly called Jama Nigus).

In the vicinity of Chaffa Sheikh Ahmed bin Adem (in Dana, Yeju), Sheikh Faqih Zubair (Gagur), Sheikh Abdul Wahab, Sheikh Mustafa (Warra Babbo, Oda), Sheikh Ibrahim Waladi, (Sheikh Seid (in Challe), Sheikh Ahmed Qallu, Sheikh Kamallaw, Sheikh Aliy Umar, Sheikh Bushira al-Karim, Sheikh Mustafa Bakie, Sheikh Kabir al-Hajji Bushira (in Gata), Sheikh, Ali Biru (in Garagy, Dawey) Sheikh Kabir Ahmed (in Gado), Sheikh Mufti Muhammed Aman (in Jille), Sheikh Muhmud (in Aman Anba and others were very famous (Sheikh Muhammed Wole, 2004: 35-37).

Some of my informants also mentioned me more than two hundred rural Islamic schools in the region that are functioning nowadays through teaching ranging from Fiqh to Tefsir and Nahw. Consequently, many Muslims consider Wallo as the site of "Azhar al-Habasha [University of Azhar of Ethiopia] with no doubt" (Sheikh Muhammed Wole., 2004: 15) despite the fact that many of such Islamic centers function in a very rudimentary huts unlike the contemporary Madrassa.

Abyssinians in the Eyes of Muslims
The word "habesha" in Arabic refers to the Ethiopian people in its singular form. Its plural form is "Ahbash" (Su'yutiyi,2007). "Habesha" mean people of different ethnic origins living together (Su'yutiyi, 2007:15). The history of Negus As-hama is told both in the Qur'an and the Prophetic Hadith (e.g. Sahih Al-Bukhari, 2:403-404). The Qur'an (4: 164) also implies that there were prophets from Abyssinia. In one of the verses, it states, "Ruined were the people of the ditch (they were tyrants who dug deep ditches to

burn alive those believers who refused to renounce their Religion). This also refers to ancient Abyssinian people who were committed to their religion even while they were burnt alive.

The Qur'an also narrates about a saint in Abyssinia named Luqman: "We surely granted wisdom to Luqman" (Qur'an, 31:12). Unal (2007:966) asserts "Some traditions say that he [Luqman] was from Abyssinia and lived in Egypt". Some Muslims also assert that Luqman was "one of God's Prophets" while the majorities believe that he was "a very knowledgeable, wise, honest and intelligent person possessing wisdom" (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:2007: 97).

The basic characteristics of Abyssinians in the eyes of Muslims include: heroic, trustful, honest, patient and hospitable. After they returned to Arabia, the Muslim migrants reported: "We have experienced the sweetness of peace, freedom, security and worship in Abyssinia" (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:92).

Ibn Yusuf (2007) also reported that Abyssinians were so rich that they requested the Prophet Muhammad to bring money and related aids from their country. Negus also presented to the Prophet a mule, three spears, perfume, golden ring, dress and shoes (Ibn Yusuf. 2007:35). Wiping over one's shoes (for prayer without washing the feet repeatedly) was practiced by the Prophet using the shoes from Abyssinia.

There were so many Abyssinia who were the companions of the Prophet. Bilal, Wahshiy, Umu Aymman, the niece and nephew of Nigus and many other persons were among the companions of the Prophet from Abyssinia. The story of Bilal tells us that he was the master of the call for prayer during the life time of the Prophet. He was also the first black person who performed the call for prayer standing on the top roof of the Ka'ba (the symbol for the direction of prayer for all Muslims in the world). Two other Abyssinians were also known for fighting and killing two false prophets in Arabia. Some Abyssinians also participated in two of the prominent battles (the battles of Badr and Uhud). The first martyred person during the battle of Badr was an Abyssinian (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:93). Some forty persons also participated in the Battle of Uhud in support of Muslims. Despite the defeat of the Muslims (wherein the Prophet was also wounded), no one was killed from the Ethiopian side. When the Prophet died, two Abyssinians added water on his body for bathing. The person who spread the towel in the grave of the Prophet was also an Abyssinian.

All Muslims in the world also recognize that Umu Ayman (also named Baraka) was an Abyssinian lady who served babysitting while the Prophet was born and she was alive even long after the death of the

Prophet. She nursed the Prophet even by breastfeeding (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:100). Consequently, the Prophet witnessed for her saying "My mother after my mother" i.e. "She is my second mother" (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:9).

It is also recorded that the Prophet said: "Do not fight Ethiopians unless they fight you [first] (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:103). As a result, no military measure was taken on Ethiopia. Even Muslim Sultanates supported Yekunoamlak to come to power in 699 hijjra (ibn Yusuf, 2007:104). However, after Yekonoanlak broke his promise and started fighting Muslims and burning mosques and sacred books, Abyssinia, which had been the land of promise for long "turned to be the territory of war" (Ibn Yusuf, 2007:104).

Generally speaking, Ethiopians are perceived by Muslims in general and Ethiopian Muslims in particular as courageous, truthful and religious. If one compares how Ethiopian Muslims are perceived by their own non-Muslim countrymen, one may find similar views. However, it is unfortunate and disgusting to learn that Islam and Muslims are depicted as "aliens" and "threats" to the nation while Christianity and Christians are portrayed as "native" and "patriotic" in Ethiopian novels written over three decades prior to the fall of the Derg regime in 1974 (Muhammad, 2012:54-63). That depicts how the Ethiopian elites were unjust and biased in treating people of other faiths which is still relapsing after a period of recession following the establishment of the FDRE government paradoxically.

Conclusions

The expansion of Islam in Ethiopia was predominantly through peaceful mechanisms such as trade and missionary activities of local Islamic scholars mainly by the Sufi order. There was also conflict between Muslims and Christians sporadically mainly associated to political and economic reasons rather than religion per se. However, the result of the conflicts were devastating to both sides in terms of material as well as human loses. Mainstream religious groups, Christians and Muslims, have long been used to live peacefully in the nation.

Moreover, Ethiopian Muslims have never been in conflict with one another since they all belong to Ahlal-Sunnah wal Jema'a (Sunni Group) despite the existence of different Fiqh School of Thoughts in the country unlike the scenario of the Sunni-Shi'a sects in the Arab world. Any attempt to disturb such long-lasting peaceful co-existence by any party will result in harmful consequences for all sides. Hence, all people should respect the nation's secular principle that states "the State shall not interfere in religion and religion shall not interfere in the affairs of the State" as it is enshrined in the Ethiopian constitution.

But this should not create intellectual barricade that forbids from learning and studying religious values together with modern science and technology.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF ISLAM DURING THE MEDIEVAL TIME AND NINETEENTH CENTURY ETHIOPIA

Introduction

Islam was first introduced into Ethiopia when it served as a safe haven for the first Muslim generation while a handful followers of the Prophet, who were oppressed and tortured since there was no freedom of faith in their homeland. Cognizant of the justice, benevolence, hospitability and generosity of the Abyssinian King and his Christian subjects, as the Prophet learned this from Ummu Ayman, an Abyssinian woman who breast-fed himself, he encouraged his followers to spare their life by migrating to Abyssinia since he believed the king as a just ruler wherein no one is oppressed in his kingdom. That sort of diplomatic relation enabled the Prophet to perceive Ethiopia and its peoples as friendly, respectful and courageous. He even passed an edict-like statement never to wage war against Ethiopians unless they attacked Muslims first. Hence, right from its inception in the region, Islam began to spread in Ethiopia peacefully for many centuries.

The development of trade and the proliferation of commercial routes, both along the northern axis of the Aksumite domain in the direction of the Dahlak islands, and in that part of the vicinity facing the eastern coastal in the south, and the activities of Muslim traders who were officially tolerated by the Christian state all prepared the ground for the establishment of small trading settlements which also served as centers for the diffusion of Islam.

The dissemination of Islam which was introduced first by migrants and later by foreign Muslim preachers was later overtaken by indigenous scholars supported by rich merchants and farmers. This practice still continues even to these days. The peaceful expansion of Islam, however, was at times disturbed by conflicts. We mentioned the sixteenth century incident which was the rise of Imam Ahmed (commonly called Gragn to refer to his left-handedness) and the successful launching of his campaign into much of north and central Ethiopia. This helped to refresh the pre-existing Muslim communities and led to conversion through coercive means.

The purpose of this Chapter is to explain the political influence of Islam and Muslims during the medieval Ethiopia by referring to the hegemony of both Christian kings and Muslim Sultanates. It also highlights the political feature of Islam during the nineteenth century in Wallo. The features of the Muslim

Sultanates, the war of expansion and the conflict between the Christian kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal, and the Imamate of Wallo are discussed briefly among other related issues in the region.

Common Features of the Medieval Muslim Sultanates

There were many Muslim states in Ethiopian region and the horn of Africa up to 1529. These include the sultanate of Shewa established around 897; the sultanate of Dahlak established around 702 comprising a group of Islands in the Red Sea; the sultanate of Ifat located in the lowlands of the Shewan plateau and emerged at the end of the 13th century; the sultanate of Adal established around Harar and emerged in the 16th century; the sultanate of Hadya; the sultanate of Bali in the 14th century; the sultanate of Sharka (present day Arsi); the sultanate of Dawaro; the sultanate of Dera; the sultanate of Fatagar (present day Debre Zeit, Bisheftu, and Zeway) and the sultanate of Arababini (MOE, 2006).

Trade and Islam were the main factors for the emergence of the Muslim sultanates. One problem in the history of the medieval Muslim sultanates is lack of information on the ethnic identity of their population. The sultanates had many common features. These features include: (a) their population consisted of Muslim communities; (b) their rulers exercised both religious and political power; (c) Islam and trade were the main factors for their emergence; (d) most of the sultanates were located in the southeastern lowland of the Ethiopian region; (e) although some the communities practiced mixed farming, the economy of the sultanates depended on trade and (f) sooner or later, the sultanates became tributes of the Christian kingdom at different times (Ahmedin, 2011; Huntingford, 1989).

The War between the Christian Kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal

From 1270-1529 the Christian Kingdom was in constant war particularly with the Muslim Sultanates. The conflict arose over the control of the trade routes along which the long distance trade of the region was conducted. This trade was totally monopolized by Muslim traders who sometimes acted as agents of the Christian kings. But it was difficult for the Christian kings to depend on them since the traders were not under the sovereign power of the kings. On the other hand, the trade routes passed through the territories of the Muslim Sultanates. Therefore, the Christian kings could not ensure safe passage for their traders and other subjects to the coast. This created constant threat to the economic interest of the kingdom. The only way to safeguard this economic interest was by the extension of the power of the Christian Kingdom to these territories along which the trade routes passed (Johnston, 1849; Hussein,

2009). "In fact this was a root cause for the conflict and consequent wars between the Christian Kingdom and the Muslim Sultanates" (MOE, 2001:117).

The War of Expansion

The war of expansion was initiated by Amde Tsion (1314-1344). His initial campaigns prepared the ground for major war against the Muslim Sultanates. Among the sultanates, Ifat was the most powerful state. At the time Ifat had extended its hegemony over the sultanates between the highland and the Red Sea coast, the territory along which the trade routes passed. From this strategic position, Ifat threatened the economic interest of the Christian Kingdom and other travelers in the region. Amde Tsion attacked Ifat while Sultan Haqqedin arrested a certain subject of the Christian Kingdom at the end of 1325. As a result, many villages including the town of Ifat were plundered and burnt to the ground (Pankhurst, 1997; Merid, 1974).

Earlier than that, Amde Tsion had conquered the Sultanate of Hadya around 1317. After the conquest, Hadya paid annual tribute to the Christian Kingdom. The conquest of Hadya seriously damaged the economic interest of the Muslim merchants who traded in slaves. This affected the Muslim Sultanates between Hadya and the Red Sea coast. The Muslims reunited under the Sultan of Ifat called Sabreddin who launched an attack in 1332 which was soon defeated. One branch of the Walasma family left and moved further east to the coast where it established a new sultanate called Adal. It took the Walasma sultans more than forty years to consolidate their power in their new location. This was attained during the reign of Sultan Haqqeddin II who extended his power over many of the Sultanates from the new center of Adal in Harar. During the first years of the reign of King Dawit (1382-1413), Haqqeddin opened a massive offensive against the Christian Kingdom and scored a series of victories at the beginning. However, the Christian army defeated the army of Adal in 1387 and the sultan was killed. The struggle continued during the time of the next sultan called Sa'adaddin. Again the army of Adal faced another defeat. Sa'adaddin succeeded to escape from the battle field but he was pursued and killed in 1403. Thus, the territory of the Christian Kingdom extended to the Red Sea coast (Merid, 1974; Teshome, 2012).

For the next thirty years, the Christian kingdom did not face any challenge from Adal. The sultans were exiled to Arabia. They returned from exile and the sultanate again revived under Ahmed Badlay who was one of the most powerful sultans of Adal. Unfortunately, he faced an equally powerful Christian

king, Zar'a Ya'eqob (1434-1468). Sultan Badlay organized a united Muslim front against Zar'a Ya'eqob. But the army of Adal was defeated in 1445 and the Sultan was killed (Ahmedin, 2011; Pankhurst, 1997). This marked the peak of the dominance of the Christian Kingdom in the Ethiopian region and the Horn of Africa.

The dominance of the Christian power began to decline during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The successor of Zar'a Ya'eqob, Ba'ada Mariyam (1468-1478) was not powerful enough to push back the mounting pressure from Adal and Hadya. As a result, the Christian army faced its first serious defeat. "The defeat marked the end of the dominance of the Christian Kingdom in the Ethiopian region and the Horn of Africa" (MOE, 2001: 120).

Conflict between the Christian Kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal

After Zar'a Ya'eqob's victory over the army of Adal in 1445, the Sultanate of Adal was reduced to a tributary status. However, his successors were not strong enough to keep Adal under control. Meanwhile, in Adal there was strong opposition against the status of dependency. From the very beginning various emirs, Imams, Sheikhs and powerful merchants put strong pressure on Sultan Muhammad Badlay to lead a revolt against the Christian Kingdom. However, the sultan continued to pay annual tribute to the Christian state. After the death of the sultan in 1470, they formed a strong opposition and challenged the power of the reigning sultan. Subsequently, a civil war broke out in Adal which lasted for a half century (1470-1520).

During the years of the civil war, the sultans lost their power. Actual power was held by emirs or Imams who completely dominate Sultans. The emirs and imams fought for power. Only few imams held power for long years. Mahfuz was one the powerful emirs who strengthened the sultanate and launched a series of attacks on the Christian Kingdom. Mahfuz's attacks continued throughout the reign of Eskindir (1478-1494) and Na'od (1494-1508). Finally, he was killed in a battle with the army of Libna Dingil (1508-1540) in 1517 (Ahmedin, 2011:185). After the death of Mahfuz, various emirs fought each other. This led to a bloody civil war, which came to an end with the rise of another powerful Imam called Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi in 1527.

According to his chronicles, Imam Ahmad was born to a clan called Balaw in Hubat, a place located between Harar and jijjiga near present-day Babile. In 1524, at the age of eighteen Ahmad Ibrahim

served as a cavalry man in the army of Garad Abun, one of the strongest warlords of the sultanate. Ahmad participated in the power struggle in Adal. He was an energetic and a very tactful man. As such, he systematically got ride of his opponents one by one. Finally, he became the imam of Adal by killing Sultan Abu Bakr in 1527 (Ahmedin, 2011). As soon as his power was consolidated, the Imam made preparation for a war against the Christian Kingdom. He recruited warriors from among the Somali. In 1528 the imam opened hostilities by a military offensive on Fatagar, the tributary of the Christian Kingdom, near Addis Ababa. The Christian army led by Libna Dingil suffered a crushing defeat in 1529 at a place called Shimbra Kure, near Debre Zeit and Dukam (Yilma, 2009; Teshome, 2012).

Whenever the different sultanates in the region had the power, they used to attack each other to control the trade routes. They also carried out raids on the borders of the Christian kingdom. Beyond this, they rarely attempted to extend their hegemony over the Christian Kingdom. However, the Imam wanted to change this. His ambition was to build a big empire in the horn of Africa. To this end, he fought and defeated the Christian army in the first phase of his campaigns. After three months of rest in Harar, he resumed his campaign and led the Adal army to Dawaro and Bali. The rulers of the two sultanates were easily defeated and were annexed to Adal.

In the beginning of 1530, Imam Ahmed made preparation for a large-scale campaign. He imported seven canons and employed some Arab mercenaries. The aim of the campaign was to force the retreating King Libna Dingil to surrender. From 1530 to 1532, no part of the kingdom was left untouched. But the Imam could not capture the king who fled from one place to another with a small group of his followers. After two years of campaign, the Imam gave up the idea of pursuing the king. Instead, he prepared for another major campaign to control the states and peoples in the southern, southwestern and western parts of the Ethiopian region. The campaign took a little more than a year and was completed in the middle of 1533. This campaign put almost all states and peoples of the southern half of the Ethiopian region under the hegemony of Adal. Welayta was the only state which successfully resisted the Imam's army led by Wazir ibn Mujahid (Yilma, 2009; Merid, 1980).

During the last phase of the Imam's campaign, the northern half of the Ethiopian region was attacked. When the campaign was completed in 1535, the present regional state of Tigray and the adjoining settlements (including the present day Eritrea) along the Red Sea coast were under the rule of Imam Ahmed. Finally, the Sultanate of Adal established its hegemony over the Ethiopian region and a large

part of the Horn of Africa. The territory was divided into provinces which were ruled by governors appointed by Imam Ahmed under the Shari'ah law. At first, the Imam established his center in Aksum. Later, the center shifted to Dambia near Lake Tana. From this center, the Imam ruled the empire until his defeat and death in 1543 (Tekletsadik, 1974:702).

The Defeat and Death of Imam Ahmed

Since the 1529 battle of Shimbra Kure, Libna Dingil had lived in a fugitive. However, he remained optimistic about defeating the Imam one day despite the continuous defeat of the Christian Army. Finally, Libna Dingil lost any hope of defeating the Imam by himself. Therefore, he decided to ask the Portuguese for military assistance giving two letters to a Portuguese named Bermudez addressed to the Pope of Rome and the king of Portugal. It took Bermudez six years to accomplish his mission. In 1541, Bermudez arrived with 400 solders led by Christopher da Gama, the son of the famous sailor, Vasco da Gama (Siegbert, et al. 2003:157). Libna Dingil did not live alive to see the arrival of the military assistance. He died in 1540 in the monastery of Debre Damo in Tigray and was succeeded by his son named Gelawdewos (1540-1559).

The Portuguese army disembarked at Massawa and took control of the town of Arkiko which was governed by an appointee of Imam Ahmed. At that time, Gelawdewos was in the southern part of the kingdom. The Portuguese headed south to meet the king. On the way, the Portuguese fought their first major battle in which they defeated the Adal army. The Imam moved from Dembiya to the Simen Mountains and established a new command center in order to stop the Portuguese from joining forces with the army of Galawdewos in the south. On the basis of this strategy, the Imam first led his army to attack the Portuguese in Seharti. With the help of their canon, they defeated the Imam's army. The Imam himself was seriously wounded and narrowly escaped capture. In the meantime, the defeated Imam realized that he could not prevent his final defeat and downfall. To avoid this, he turned to the Othman Turks, the rival of the Portuguese, for military assistance. The Ottomans responded immediately by sending 900 infantry men armed with muskets and ten canons. As soon as the military assistance arrived, the Imam marched against the Portuguese who were still awaiting the king. In the battle that followed, the Portuguese suffered crushing defeat. The wounded commander, Christopher da Gama, was captured and killed (Teshome, 2012).

The defeated and demoralized Portuguese army retreated to the northwest and met with Gelawdewos towards the end of 1542. Meanwhile, the victorious Imam returned to his former center in Dembiya and sent back most of the Ottoman troops. By doing so, the Imam committed a fatal mistake. Immediately, Galawdewos led the Army of the Portuguese and the Christian army combined against the army of the Imam. The decisive battle was fought in February 1543 at a place called Wayna Daga, near Lake Tana. In the course of the battle, the Imam was shot by one of the Portuguese soldiers. A little later, the Imam died on 22nd February 1543 at age 37 and his army retreated to Adal (Ahmedin, 2011). The battle of Wayna Daga brought to an end the dominance of the Sultanate of Adal in the region extending from Somaliland to Southern Ethiopia, Western Ethiopia and Northern Ethiopia (Eritrea included). Ultimately the war weakened both fighting sides. Indeed, the war has exhausted both the Christian Kingdom and the Sultanate of Adal.

The military conflict which lasted for about two decades caused much destruction. Several churches, monasteries and mosques were looted and burnt to the ground. Invaluable documents were destroyed. A large number of men died on both sides. As a result, there was a severe population reduction. Above all, "the war undermined the power of the Christian kings. Subsequently, their authority was challenged by regional lords who became more powerful than the king" (MOE, 2001:157).

Trade took a very important place of economy after the conquest of the Muslim Sultanates. The ports of Zeila and Dahlak served as centers of trade of the region. Most of the trade items came from the western and southwestern parts of the Ethiopian region. Among the trade items were slaves, ivory and gold. Cereals and fruits of the highland were also highly demanded in the lowlands on both sides of the Red Sea. The trade of the region was still controlled by Muslim merchants. Revenues collected from export and import trade became a source of income for the Christian kings. The Christian kings also took part in the trade. They organized and financed caravan traders who were led by the agent of the kings. Trade also facilitated the spread of Islam in different parts of the Ethiopian region. By this time, Islam was strongly established in the southeastern lowlands of the region, the territory occupied by most of the Muslim sultanates. From this strong base, Islam spread to the central and southwestern parts of the Ethiopian region through Muslim merchants and scholars.

Islam in Wallo: Containment and Reaction in the 19th Century

The opening of the second half of the 19th century was a defining moment "not only in the political history of north-central Ethiopia in general, and of Wallo in particular, but also marked the onset of reverses for Islam within the region" especially from 1850-1890 (Hussein, 2001:160). The revival and reconstitution of imperial power, and the ascendancy of centralized authority, which was a culmination of the long drawn-out struggle between the forces of regionalism and the monarchy, inaugurated a new phase in the relationship between the Christian court and Islam and Muslims. Two of the most outstanding emperors during the period 1850-1890, Tewodros II and Yohannes IV, perceived Islam, especially Islam in Wallo, as an internal source of direct challenge to their policy of unification and centralization and, allegedly, as a domestic ally of external expansion powers, Egypt and (for Yohannes IV) the Mahdist Sudan. It also appears that two monarchs were alarmed by the progress and revival of Islam in the region. In their overall perception of Ethiopian Islam, they did not therefore show any departure from the old mediaeval Christian view which identified Islam as a force of disintegration and a threat to the survival of the Christian state and society. It was only in the specific policies which they adopted towards Muslims, and in the intensity and ruthlessness with which they attempted to implement them, that they differed radically from their predecessors (ibid).

The political and cultural history of Wallo

The early history of Wallo refers to the existence of Amharic speaking Christian communities in northern and western highland Wallo; the Agaw ethnic group which is Kushitic speaking community which, during the period of the Christian Zagwe dynasty (from the mid-twelfth to the late thirteenth century), wielded and exercised political power over a good part of north and north-central Ethiopia, in the northwest; and finally the Kushitic semi-nomadic Oromo groups on Wallo's long eastern frontier. During the Zagwe period, the region was an administrative unit within the kingdom. Later on, it became an integral part of the Christian state under the "restored" Solomonic dynasty and its significance for trade is believed to have been considerable. The region is also traditionally called "Bate Amhara" which means "the Abode of the Amhara" which is misleading. By the late sixteenth century, the Wallo clans of the Oromo had occupied eastern and southern Amhara.

The modern region of Wallo is much larger than in size than its historical precursor with a total area of 79, 000 square meters. It includes the southern part of the present day Tigray National Regional State, Afar National Regional State and Oromia National Zone. There are also Semitic-speaking Argobba

ethnic group. There are also Yeju Oromos in north Wallo who were first Muslims then converted to Christianity (Merid, 1974).

Nomadic pastoralist activity was the principal mode of life of the various groups inhabiting the region although some lived as cultivators or guides for the caravan traders. The main source of cultural influence was the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden coast which also provided a commercial outlet for the hinterland and one of the points of entry for Islam. There are strong traditions about the crucial role which this zone has played not only as a channel of communication between the plateau communities and the outside world since the post-Axumite period but also together with Ifat in the south, as a center of diffusion of Islam into the rest of Wallo and Shawa (Taddese, 1972).

Relations between the migrant pastoralists of the eastern periphery and the sedentary populations on the edge of the escarpment and beyond have been, in most cases, peaceful, despite the periodic irruptions and raids of the former and the largely defensive counter-raids of the latter (Merid, 1974). The highlanders need to keep the trade-routes safe and accessible while the lowlanders depend on the cultivators for supply of grain and related commodities. Immediate economic interests and the need for mutual coexistence were therefore a far more important feature of their relationship than the incidental outbreaks of armed clashes which occurred only by a combination of demographic and economic pressures. The threat of raids into the territories of the Christian kingdom by the nomads of the lowlands remained a perennial source of anxiety for the medieval rulers. Generally, however, the two modes of subsistence (pastoral and sedentary agriculture) complement each other (Crummey, 1983; Hussein, 2001).

Immediately to the west of this arid strip is the river valley system, an area which is rich in cereal agriculture based on the plough and livestock breeding. It has been the home of settled communities engaged in trading and crafts such as weaving which depend on the cultivation of cotton from the lowland area. The region is characterized by ethnic and cultural diversity: both Kushitic-speaking communities such as the Oromo and Semitic elements like the Amhara, the Tegrayans and the Argoba are represented. At the present FDRE government, these communities are ruled under different Regional states: Tigray Regional State; Amhara Regional State and Afar Regional State. Since the Amhara Regional State includes other ethnic zones like Oromo zone, the South Wallo Administrative zone in this study refers to both Amharic and Oromo speaking communities and Argobas.

The Episode of Imam Ahmed b. Ibrahim in Wallo

Like other parts of central and northern Ethiopia (and even the Horn of Africa) Amhara and its environs were subjected to several campaigns launched by the forces of Imam Ahmed b. Ibrahim in the early 1530s. There was looting and burning down of the old churches by the Muslim army. There was also one Amir appointed as a governor in the region. But the most important impact was felt in the well-documented conversion (either voluntarily or through the imposition of tribute and other forms of coercion) of large numbers of the local people than "the stimulus it gave to the already-established indigenous Muslim communities" (Abir, 1980:92) through the Imam's dramatic military successes and the influx of military clerics and also through the founding of new Muslim settlements in the region after the end of the wars.

Another consequence of the Muslim victories was the weakening of the frontier defenses on the southern and eastern flanks of "the Christian kingdom which proved incapable of withstanding the pressures and raids of the Oromo and their infiltration into the core Ethiopian highlands" (Abir, 1980:100).

> It should be born in mind that the Wallo region was a theatre of several engagements between the Christian and Muslim forces and served as a base for the latter's incursions into the north. It was also, for the Muslim armies, a supply route from their center in the southeast and from the cost. The social dislocation and material depredation which the march of large armies and movements of peoples caused to the indigenous communities of the area must have been immense (Hussein, 2001:13-14).

Consequently, in both its positive and negative aspects, the episode of the Imam was one of the most important factors which contributed to the shaping of the demographic and cultural shapes of the Wallo region.

The Oromo Settlement and its Influence on Wallo

According to Abir (1968), the so called the seven clans of Eastern Kushitic-speaking Oromo who penetrated and settled in northern, northeastern and southeastern Amhara from the last quarter of the 16th century were the five major fractions of the Baraytuma (Warra Daya, Marawwa, Karrayyu, Akkachu and Warantisha) and the Tulama.

According to a long-established tradition, the Wallo were a clan of the Karrayyu branch of the Baraytuma Oromo. The term "Wallo" is said to have been derived from the name of their putative

eponymous ancestor who is believed to have been the second son of Karrayyu. There are conflicting traditions about the names of the various clans and sub-clans of the Wallo. One of such traditions mentions the following as making up the Wallo: Warra Himano, Warra Qallu, Laga Gora, Tahuledere, Borana, Laga Ambo, Laga Hida and Warra Ilu.

In the middle of the 18th century, the ruling dynasty of Yejju Oromo which was called Warra Sheikh and converted to Islam claiming Arab descent became a dominant force in Gondar politics up to the middle of the 19th century (Levine, 1974) after being converted to Christianity.

In Wallo region, it was the Argobba and Afar domiciled along the approaches of the eastern route taken by the Oromo bands, as well as the Amhara and other smaller groups in the province who bore the burnt of the Oromo thrust in the second half of the 16th century and during the 17th century. The Oromo became influential in the region in two ways: "by setting up independent political enclaves and by joining the mainstream of the Amhara life and court politics" (Levine, 1974: 82).

The Oromo expansion, rather than being directly motivated by the urge to extend political domination, to collect tribute or to impose a national religious culture occurred as the culmination of ritually prescribed military expeditions and in search of land (Markakis, 1974). They tended gradually to adopt certain aspects of the host culture or even to become fully integrated into those cultures. They also introduced some elements of their own culture into the social and religious life of the people whom they came to contact. The new settlers did not remain for long as distinct groups. They gradually began to intermarry and to adopt either Christianity or Islam.

For the indigenous Muslim communities in Wallo, the first consequence of the Oromo raids and eventual settlement in their midst in the 16th century was the disruption of the process of Islamization until it is revived during the period of Imam Ahmed. On the other hand, the long-term outcome of the Oromo settlement was their early conversion to Islam and their active role in the subsequent consolidation and expansion of Islam not only within their own territory but also in other areas such as Gondar. Thus, they helped in transforming the status of local Islam from that of a religion of disparate communities to that of a dynastic and regional ideology (Abir, 1968; Hussein, 2001).

Another crucial aspect of Islam in Wallo was its being heavily influenced by the culture of the Oromo. Many of the features of traditional belief system and practice which are recognizable in the 19th century

Islam in the region and which contemporary Muslim reformers attempted to eradicate (such as the zar practices) were largely of Oromo origin.

The Imamate of Warra Himano

It is believed the eponymous ancestors of the ruling family of Warra Himano hailed from Arsi around the turn of the 18th c. and settled at a place called Mammad in Garfa. Among the settlers was a certain Godana Babbo, a Muslim Oromo cleric who was able to extend his influence slowly over Tahuladare in the northwest. There is no reason to doubt the Muslim Oromo Origin of the founders of the ruling house, "although its genealogy might have been influenced by the need to buttress its legitimacy by linking it with a well-known pre-sixteenth-century mystic, Shaykh Nur Husayn of Bale" (Hussein, 2001:116-117).
The history of the principality of Warra Himano from the early decades of the 18th c. is one of rapid territorial expansion from its nucleus in Garfa which then shifted towards Warra Himano, western part of South Wallo. It also demonstrates that its rulers adopted and pursued a vigorous policy aimed at the consolidation and expansion of Islam. The ruling dynasty was called the Mammadoch, a term whose origin has been explained differently: a claim to Sharifiyan ancestry a derivation from Mammad, the site in Garfa where they first settled; or even from the name of the ruler who is associated with the establishment the principality on a firm basis.

The first member and founder of the dynasty was Godana, not Ali, who was his son and successor. Godana's success in wielding power and establishing a hereditary and autonomous enclave is an exceptional case of a Muslim cleric exploiting his credentials as a religious notable to achieve a political objective. It also explains why his later successors inherited his religious fervor and commitment. It thus demonstrates that Islam was effectively used as an ideology for building up a local power base and for pursuing a policy of territorial expansion.

The reign of Muhammad Ali Godana (1771-1785) was important in two respects: the further expansion of the domain of Mammadoch and the consolidation of Islam. Muhammad was an astute and ambitious potentate who succeeded in establishing his position in Warra Himano and in making an attempt, the first of its kind in the history of the region, at bringing the various petty Oromo chiefdoms under his central authority. Thus, his activities can be regarded as an exercise in effecting a regional political integration out of the disparate and warring district enclaves which had been in existence in Wallo for the preceding one hundred years. There were also other members of the Warra Himano local dynasty

who were devoted to the expansion of Islam in the region of which only two of the imams were converted to Christianity for safeguarding their authority and land.

Other Muslim Chiefdoms in Wallo

Although not territorially as extensive and politically as influential as the principality of Warra Himano, there were a number of local dynasties in southern, southwestern and eastern Wallo. One of the biggest was Qallu whose rulers claimed control over the upper basin of the Borkanna River. On its northwestern and eastern frontiers were the smaller chiefdoms of Garfa and the western distinct of the territory of the Southern Afar. Its northern and often hostile neighbors were Warra Babbo and Tahuladre. On the west, the Qallu rulers claimed control over Albuko and Artumma in the south was considered to be within its influence. Its claim of over-lordship over Dawway, although bitterly contested by the Reqqe hereditary nobility remained effective for a long time (Harris, 1898).

Emperor Tewodros II and Wallo

When Kasa Haylu was crowned as king of Kings of Ethiopia in 1855 and assumed the throne-name Tewodros II, after having succeeded in breaking the military power of most of the warlords of northern and central Ethiopia , and in terminating the predominance of the Yejju ruling dynasty (in north Wallo), he was still paradoxically confronted with old and tenacious challenge to his authority from the new representatives of the provincial hereditary aristocracies of Tegray, in the north, Gojjam in the west, Wallo in the center, and Shawa in the south.

Beginning from the time of Amade Liben who died in 1825, there emerged in Wallo a number of competing local political entities each of which was strong enough to resist being over empowered by the other, and over which the Wara Himano dynasts (called Mammadoch) had attempted to establish their dominance. By the time that Tewodros came to the imperial throne, there were three local contenders for the control of Wallo: Liben Amade, the representative of the Mammadoch dynasty of Warra Himano; Warqitu, who was tutoring the young Amade Ali; and Amade Bashir with his center at Koreb (Asnake, 1988).

Soon after his coronation on 11 February 1855, Tewodros and his army marched south to Wallo. Amade Ali fled to the plains of southern Warra Himano but was captured later, and the emperor took possession of the strategic fortress of Maqdala on 22 September 1855.

In 1858 Tewodros led a campaign to Wallo for a third time in two years, this time to put down a rebellion led by a powerful contender for the over-lordship of Wallo and his own appointee: Amade Bashir, who had proclaimed himself imam and transferred his base of operation from Koreb in the west to Feyyal Amba in Tahuladare in the east. Amade died in 1861 having ruled on overlord of Wallo for seven years.

In 1860 Tewodros was once again in Wallo for the fourth time, and yet again in 1862/63 for the fifth and last of his campaigns. In 1865, following Menilek's escape from captivity at Meqdala, Tewodros executed Amade Ali as revenge against Warqitu who had helped Menilek in gaining his freedom. What accounts for Tewodros's repeated and repressive campaign to Wallo? Several writers have stressed the political objective: the breaking of the power of Wallo regional dynasts once and for all, although they did not ignore the emperor's two other aims: to weaken and neutralize Islam, which was identified as a basis of regional political and cultural identity, and to convert the Muslims to Christianity (Rubenson, 1966; Crummey in Ogot, 1972). According to Crummey, what distinguished Tewodros's policy towards Wallo from that which he adopted towards other rebellious provinces such as Tegray, Gojjam and Shawa, was the severity of the measures he took to put down the Wallo uprisings, the terrorism he unleashed and the ruthless devastation his troops caused in Wallo.

What intensified the frequent insurrections and tenacious resistance of Wallo Muslims were "firstly Tewodros's policy of indiscriminate devastation and destruction of the land and the deportation of some of the people; and secondly, his clearly anti-Islamic, and even anti-Oromo, stance" (Hussein, 2001: 166). The leaders of the rebellions perceived Tewodros's objectives and activities as being aimed not only at their destruction as a ruling class, but also at undermining the social, economic and cultural foundation of the Muslim communities themselves. As Rubenson rightly noted, Tewodros made no efforts to "accommodate his Muslim subjects" (Rubenson, 1966:79. In this respect, Fekadu's argument that Islam was for the Wallo Muslims a source of inspiration and a basis for the formation of a political unit outside the organizational framework of Christian Ethiopia which was not willing to permit religious diversity is both persuasive and substantial (Fekadu, 1972). Nevertheless, the available written and oral evidences equally reveal that Tewodros did not impose and enforce a policy of religious coercion involving mass conversion comparable to that adopted in the time of his successor.

His effort and ambition of modernizing the nation severly hurts the church more than any other institution since the king limited the number of clergymen serving in a church to five (two priests and three deacons) only (Mesele, 2012).

Emperor Yohannes IV and Wallo

Emperor Yohannes IV inherited not only Tewodros's noble objectives of national reunification and modernization through a vigorous foreign policy but also his commitment to reinforce imperial power with the support of a revived church, to weaken Islam and to institute a religiously homogeneous society. Since he had fewer internal problems – although faced with threats and several campaigns of invasion by external powers – "he carried through the anti-Muslim policy initiated by his predecessor through the wholesale baptism of the Wallo Muslims by official decree" (Hussein, 2001: 167). Areas inhabited by those who refused conversion were devastated in the course of several campaigns launched particularly against Wallo and the adjacent regions (Darkwah, 1975).

The period following the death of Tewodros II at Maqdala in 1868 was dominated by two major developments: the intense and inconclusive struggle for power among the rival factions of the Wallo hereditary dynasties, especially among the descendants of Amade Liben who died in 1825 of Warra Himano and the territorial encroachment emanating from Shawa under Menilek who wanted to annex Wallo and whose intervention aggravated the political crisis which engulfed the region (Darkwah, 1975: 87-90). At first the struggle was between Warqitu and Mastawot. But the death of her son (Imam Amade Ali) robbed Warqitu of her basis for claiming over-lordship over Wallo and therefore she was obliged to share power with her rival Mastawot (Ibid, 87). Amade Bashir had also proclaimed himself imam at this time. Eventually the struggle came to revolve around two young representatives of the rival faction of Warra Himano ruling family: Muhammad Ali, brother of the executed prince and Amade Liben, who had been made imam by acclamation.

Menilek undertook several campaigns to Wallo from 1868 to 1876 and succeeded in subjugating Wallo as far as the natural stronghold of Maqdala (Darkwah, 1975). Imam Amade Liban attempted to block Menilek's advance but to no avail. On the other hand, Muhammad Ali often shifted his allegiance and was at different times a vassal of Takla Giyorgis and Menilek and of Yohannes from 1877. In his struggle against Menilek, Imam Amede Liben (Abba Wataw, his horse name) had unsuccessfully appealed to Yohannes for help; therefore, he became Menilek's client. This unstable and changing

alliances and clientships were symptomatic of the political decline of the Wallo dynasts, which coincided with the rising power of Yohannes in the north and Menilek in the south.

In the discussion of Yohannes's policy towards Wallo, especially the religious aspect, the starting point is the Council of Boru Meda which took place in May, 1878 near Dessie town (South Wallo). Ostensibly convened by the emperor in order to reestablish orthodoxy, and publicly to expose and condemn the adherents of Christian heretical sects within the Church, the meeting concluded its deliberations by issuing a comprehensive edict which called for conformity to the officially-recognized doctrine and enjoined Ethiopian Muslims to embrace the Christian faith, because "There was no room for Islam in his [Yohannes's] ideological world" (Bahru, 1991: 48).

According to Hussein (2001), the precise circumstances under which the injunction concerning the Muslims was introduced in the course of the discussions and debates at the synod and the specific factors which actually prompted Yohannes to issue the proclamation, cannot be established as the available sources simply mention it as part of the edict. The wording of the injunction suggests that it had been thought-out well in advance. It contains an explicit reference to a historical fact: the devastation of Christian territory by the Muslim forces of Imam Ahmad Gragn and an allegation: that he or his officers had forcibly converted the local Christians to Islam. Hence, a spirit of Christian vengeance can be seen lurking behind the conception of the edict. It also contains a promise to honor the life and property of those who scrupulously met the obligation imposed by the new decree. The edict further enjoined the recalcitrant to leave the land since "Muslims have no land". That is why informants report, "ya islam ageru Mecca; ya wof ageru warka" which means "the country of Muslims is Mecca while the home of birds is the oak-tree" (Informant: Ato Yimer December 29th 2012).

The second important event after the conclusion of the religious council of Boru Meda was the conversion of the two rivals of the Mammadoch dynasty: Muhammad Ali and Amade Liban. Muhammad Ali "took the baptismal name, Mikael, with Yohannes as his godfather. He was also given the title of ras and the governorship of a substantial part of the central highlands of Wallo". Amade Liban was "converted by Menilek and given the baptismal name Hayla Maryam and was appointed as Dajjazmach to rule over Tahuladare, Qallu, Garfa, Albukko and Borana" (Hussein, 2001: 174). This event marked a turning-point in the long history of Wallo resistance against the imperial policy of subjugation which had been led by the hereditary chiefs of the Muslims in the region. From the time of the conversion of the

two principal representatives of the Warra Himano ruling family, the opposition was to be primarily led by Muslim militant clerics (Fekadu, 1972: 43).

In 1880/81 Yohannes ravaged Yejju and Garfa in Warra Babbo and marched towards Qallu where his troops committed more atrocities than in any other places. The main reason for this severity was that Qallu was renowned as an active center of Islamic learning and propagation and as the home of famous Muslim scholars. In 1880, Yohannes founded new churches and ordered the mass baptism of the Wallo and Yejju Muslims. Many Islamic books were also collected and burnt especially by the forces of Menilek. Many Ulamas were killed in the course of the resistance against the imperial campaign. "In early 1886 about 20,000 men and women who had refused to renounce Islam were massacred on the plains of Bakke in Qallu" (Hussein, 2001:176).

The Resistance of Militant Muslim Clerics in Wallo

Even though relatively weak in its organizational capacity and material and manpower resources, open armed resistance to Yohannes's edict and his coercive measures was organized and sustained over a number of years by some of the local Muslim religious leaders. "The resistance both preceded and outlived the essentially politically-motivated Wallo rebellions of the mid 1880s (Zewde, 1975:195). Islam played a crucial role in the new development: as a source of inspiration and ideology for the leadership of the opposition and as a means for recruiting followers and soliciting assistance from local sources.

According to Hussein (2001:176), "The earliest militant cleric remembered in Wallo as a leader of armed opposition against the policy of forcible conversion was Shaykh Ali Adam, popularly known as Shaykh Ali Jerru". He was a disciple of Sheikh Muhammad Shafi of Jama Negus, who is believed to have given him the permission to fight for the cause of Islam. Sheikh Ali's shrine on the southern outskirt of Dessie at a place called Bilan, where he was born and buried, later became a center of local pilgrimage. Sheikh Ali also inherited the spirit of militancy from his own father, Sheikh Adam, who has been renowned for his jihad activities in Reqqe, now at Oromia Special Zone (Ibid.). Sheikh Ali had a force of five hundred horsemen under his command armed with spears and shields. He fought with the emperor's contingent at Wahelo to the northwest of Lake Hayq. His zealous warriors were defeated and he himself died in the course of the fighting.

Although the resistance led by Sheikh Ali was no more than a show of defiance by a militant cleric and did not affect the course of subsequent events in Wallo, it traditionally represents the earliest manifestation of local, cleric-led armed opposition to a policy perceived to be inimical to Islam and the interest of the Muslim communities. It was, of course, the first organized attempt made to prevent the implementation of that policy.

The most famous cleric and militant leader in Wallo in the 1880s was Sheikh Talha b. Ja'far. Sheikh Talha was the grand son of the famous Dawway saint named Sheikh Yusuf alias Abba Assiyya. Sheikh Talha was born at Arera Fura/Doddota in Argoba (eastern Qallu) around 1850 (Kemal, 2007; Seid, 1958/59). He is regarded as the first indigenous Muslim cleric to have employed the Amharic language in the teaching of Islam and the writing of religious texts (Drewes, 1976)

The immediate causes which led Sheikh Talha to declare a jihad in 1884 were: firstly, the increasing harshness with which the proclamation on forcible conversion of Muslims to Christianity was being carried out and, secondly, the ban imposed on Islamic worship and preaching. "However, he continued openly to propagate and practice Islam in spite of the decree" (Caulk, 1978: 33). Therefore, his movement was clearly one of protest and defiance against the emperor's policy. Sheikh Talha recruited and mobilized his followers from among the Muslims of Qallu, Argoba and Riqqe (Oromo tribes). He also won the allegiance of the disaffected Ulamas and hereditary rulers of Albukko and Borana.

In November 1884 Menilek led a campaign to Argoba to quell the revolt of Sheikh Talha, who eluded capture (Mondon, 1974). In January 1886, Yohannes and Menilek set out on a joint expedition and ravaged areas like Cheffa, Reqqe, Artuma, Garfa, Qallu and Wara Babbo. "For the Wallo dissidents of both the religious and the political the unifying factor was Islam" (Caulk, 1978: 34).

The counter-offensive led by the followers of Sheikh Talha was directed against the Christian inhabitants of Reqqe and led to the burning down of churches, which the local Muslims had been compelled to build, and to the expulsion of priests who had been sent to give instruction to the new converts from Islam (Ibid.). "The political dissidents also proclaimed an emirate in southeastern Wallo in 1885" (Fekadu, 1972: 47). In the beginning, Sheikh "Talha achieved spectacular success by inflicting devastating defeats upon the forces of Yohannes's commanders leading to losses in men and property" (Hussein, 2001:179). Yohannes sent his troops to apprehend Sheikh Talha while he led minor military

operations in Artuma but he was never caught. Gradually, the number of his followers increased and began to recruit disaffected elements from amongst the Asawurta and Rayya people from northern Ethiopia, especially as he grew suspicious of the loyalty of his original followers from his native district (Ibid.).

A bloody encounter between Sheikh Talha men and the newly baptized Ras Michael's contingents resulted in the defeat of the latter losing three hundred troops. The Sheikh also conducted a surprise night attack against some of his followers plotting against him while they were assembled for a religious function. After the death of Yohannes in 1889 at Metama while fighting the Mahdist from Sudan, Sheikh Talha continued to defy Menilek even after the edict of 1878 had been officially canceled by him. Sheikh Talha "died in 1936 after a remarkable though turbulent life" (Hussein, 1989: 29-30).

The official religious policy towards indigenous Islam pursued by Yohannes and implemented by his principal vassal in Wallo, Ras Mika'el, and by Menilek, was a serious though only a temporary, setback to Islam not only as a religion, but also as a basis of social organization and integration of the Muslim communities of the region. Its injustice and the arbitrariness and harshness with which it was enforced, triggered off stiff resistance from the militant Islamic scholars that inspired political opposition to the new administrative hierarchy set up by Emperor Yohannes IV from which some of the members of the old ruling class were excluded. The magnitude of devastation to the social dislocation, loss of human lives and material destruction of eastern Wallo from 1880 to 1888 was assumed to be high.

As for the extent of forced conversion, Arnold (1913: 120) estimated that "as many as 50,000 Muslims were baptized" but all sources are agreed that the conversions were only nominal and a step taken out of desperation and hopelessness rather than out of conviction and as a last attempt to preserve life and property. According to Hussein (2001), it is possible to postulate three ways in which the Muslims of Wallo reacted to the decree which called on them to convert to Christianity.

> Firstly, at the level of both the ordinary people and some of the ulama, there was the option of an outward pretence of acquiescence. This led to the phenomenon of being seen as a practicing Christian while remaining loyal to Islam: 'Christian by day and Muslim by night'. Secondly, the enforcement of the edict by violent means caused an exodus of a large number of people, mostly the dispossessed elements of the population to southeast and southwest Ethiopia and to the Sudan and Arabia. Thirdly, there was Militant opposition led first by religious elite but later strengthened by local political dissidents who were not happy with the newly established administrative structure in Wallo in which they were placed in a subordinate

position, at best, and from which they were excluded altogether, at worst (Hussein, 2001: 182).

For Muslims, the period was one of extreme hardship and struggle for survival and for the preservation of life, property and culture. For others, the period was considered as an ideal of political unification or national integration which apparently did not include indigenous Ethiopian Muslim. This kind of ideology is questionable since the Emperor's "vision of strong Ethiopia also include the Muslims" (Zewde, 1975: 251). There were sources which suggest that the tremendous loss of life and wanton destruction of property created a sense of exasperation and defiance amongst the ordinary people, especially the peasantry. According to Zewde (1975: 97), they had to bear a new form of economic burden "by being ordered to build new churches and to maintain a Christian clerical hierarchy through the payment of tithes and to quarter imperial armies".

There is no doubt that the military superiority of the forces of Yohannes, Menilek and Mika'el was a major factor which enabled the edict to be implemented as long as it did. However, the frequency and severity of the campaigns launched and the devastation and disintegration of the Muslim communities which they unleashed suggest that the resistance must have been stiff and of long duration. Although there was nominal conformity to the injunctions of the decree, it was brought about at the price of numerous and costly military campaigns and the conversions were superficial. Thus, the resistance can be said to have played some role not only in tying down the forces of the Christian rulers who were determined to put the edict into practice but also in harassing the Christian garrisons and clergy sent to look after the new converts and in encouraging covert opposition among the ordinary people against the policy, thus minimizing the likelihood of a thorough conversion. Consequently, the militant opposition also directly influenced the policy of Yohannes's successor, Menilek, who in 1889 "restored freedom of worship" (Trimingham, 1952:123).

That Islam played a crucial role at a unifying ideology cutting across ethnic, regional and political particularism is evident from the fact the opposition led by Sheikh Talha included the Muslims of Qallu, Rayya and southeastern Tegray as well as disaffected elements of the Wallo hereditary dynasty. The moment was not, however, "a politically subversive one directed against the Ethiopian state under the Emperor but only a reaction directed against a specific policy initiated by him and implemented by his subordinates" (Hussein, 2001:188). The Wallo Muslim resistance is significant from the point of view of

the present study in two respects. Firstly, it shows that indigenous Islam, given the necessary stimulus, was capable not only of inspiring a wide cross-section of the Muslim community to organize and mobilize its manpower and material resources and to launch an armed opposition against a direct threat to its very existence, but also sustaining the opposition lasted over a long period of time. Secondly, the opposition shows the direct influence of Islamic education (Qur'anic, Hadith and Fiqh) since it assert that:

> whenever Islam and Muslims are endangered, those who are able to combat are allowed to defend themselves and their faith by fighting; those who cannot fight but are able to escape are allowed to live in exile and those who are unable to do either of the above alternatives are allowed to pretend conversion though not permitted to accept other faiths wholeheartedly (Informant Sheikh Muhammad-Zein, June, 29, 2012).

Influenced by such Islamic lessons, Muslims in the region performed all the three alternatives. There were also many helpless Muslims (mainly religious clerics) who preferred execution to conversion without the slightest attempt to fight or flee (despite the fact that the edict gave them an alternative to leave the country). Many others also accepted the conversion, of course. The resistance of the Wallo Muslims is also an evidence of the divisive character, impracticability and bankruptcy of a policy of religious coercion as an instrument of building a nation of diverse religious and cultural elements.

Conclusions

Contrary to the widely-held view that Islam can only be defined as an external threat to the Ethiopian polity, it should be understood that throughout the centuries, it has constituted the basis of the cultural identity of a sizable part of the Ethiopian population, thereby functioning as an additional basis for the integration of diverse communities into the overall Ethiopian society, which has always had ethnic heterogeneity as its principal characteristics.

The medieval political and military conflicts between the Christian state and the Muslim sultanates, which have provided the context for the perceptions of Islam in Ethiopia among scholars, do not necessarily reflect antagonistic relationship between the Christian and Muslim communities. The wars should not also be seen as the outcome of attempts at national integration by either Christian dynasts or Muslim emirs. They are best conceived and interpreted as periodic clashes between opposing forces of expansion, triggered off by demographic, economic and political motives. Moreover, a "national integration" achieved through the elimination of Islam or Christianity would have hardly deserved its

name. In the long history of the coexistence and interaction between the Christian and Muslim communities, those episodes should not be privileged at the expense of the rest.

After the collapse of the leadership of Libne Dingil, the jihad led by Imam Ahmed was supported by (other than Muslims) Christians, Jewish as well as pagans. These groups fought not only with disbelievers but also with those who believe in the Torah, the Gospel and the Quran (those Muslims who supported Libe Dingl).

After the death of the Imam, Galawdiyos continued his revenge and oppression just like the previous jihadist and Christian kings instead of attempting to establish peaceful coexistence through minimizing hatred. After the defeat of the Imam, the establishment and expansion of Islamic education and Muslim cultural centers were thwarted. Moreover, attempts were also made to ban Muslims from participating in Ethiopian politics and history. Muslims were forbidden from participating in public institutions. The only open field for many Muslims was trading and hence in many respects Muslims were considered second-class citizens (Oyvid, 2000).

We know that war is destructive but, paradoxically, the Imam contributed for the unification of the country as the rest Christian kings did: his reign lasted for sixteen years in governing his large empire in the Horn of Africa extending from coast of the Indian Ocean in Somaliya to the Red Sea in Eritrea including southern, central, western and northern Ethiopia plus Kasala part of present-day Sudan. His troops and administration included different ethnic and linguistic groups: Oromo, Somalia, Tigray, Amhara, Hadiya, Sidama, Guragie, Afar and the like. He marched from Harare to Bale-Arsi, Sidamo, Arba-Minch, Showa, Wallo, Tigray, Eritria, Gondar, Gijjam, Assossa and hence created social, economic and political unity that could not be easily visible. Thus, it could be argued that the Imam had contributed for the integration of the social, economic and political aspects for the present-day Ethiopia despite his destructive role just like any ruler during that period. From Muslims perspective, the dissemination of Islam was given impetus during his period; Qur'anic and Fiqh schools were opened; new mosques were constructed; he established the Shari'ah law based on the Qur'an and the Hadith collections. In that way, he introduced law and order based on organized texts for the first time in the region (Teshome, 2012). He exercised the Shar'ah law and banned gambling, music, banditry, and other related social ills.

The two significant sixteenth-century events, namely, the military conquest led by Imam Ahmed and the settlement of the Oromo influenced Islam and Muslims in the region. While the Imam episode gave a temporary impetus to pre-existing Islam and left behind enclaves of Muslim converts which later became the vehicle for further Islamic diffusion, it was in fact the Oromo settlement pattern that mostly shaped the demographic and political history and, to some extent the culture of the local communities. At a later stage, such a pattern played an important role in the consolidation of Islam. Of the several cultural currents which influenced the historical development of Wallo, the establishment and consolidation of Islam and the settlement of the Oromo, were the most pervasive and of far-reaching consequences. Imam Ahmed's efforts at religious unification failed as did the attempt made by Christian rulers in collaboration with the church. This double failure should probably be seen as a central and telling feature of Ethiopian history.

The Oromo people played a role in the development of historical and present-day Wallo, not only in bringing ethnic diversity but also in influencing the emergence of local political institutions further strengthening of Islam.

The tradition of revival and renewal of Islam in Wallo was best embodied in the careers of Wallo Muslim scholar-saints such as Sheikh Muhammad Shafi of Jama Negus and Sheikh Talha Jafar. While Sheikh Muhammad Shafi and other scholars had direct personal experiences of training in the mystical way and intellectual exposure to new ideas emanating from outside their own communities and possessed a higher level of intellectual sophistication and scholarly accomplishment, Sheikh Talha Jafar's aspirations and activities were circumscribed within the framework of his immediate social and cultural environment.

Sheikh Muhammad Shafi's militancy had three objectives: to push the frontier of Islam forward through conversion of the neighboring Christian communities; to defend his own community against the attacks by the surrounding Christian chiefs and to provide assistance to local Muslim potentates whose political position was under external threat and whose allegiance to Islam was in danger.

Sheikh Talha Jafar embodied another and more typical aspect of the vitality of influence of Islam in the region. The dominant feature of his career was his attempt to introduce a fundamental reform of the prevailing religious and social practices. He waged his struggle on several fronts: against the representatives of traditional belief as well as specific Muslim practices which he perceived to be

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contrary to the Shari'ah; against Muslim religious officials whom he accused of misappropriating pious funds and of enforcing non-canonical rules of succession to the office of the qadi and against the secular chiefs because of their violation of the sacred law and ostentatious life style. Hence, the antagonism between Sheikh Talha Jafar, on the one hand, and the members of the local religious and political establishment, on the other, reflected the struggle between an active Muslim reformer and those who were determined to safeguard their vested interests in the status qua.

Early Islamic reformers in Wallo had the following common features: firstly, they all had a deep awareness of the need for reform and a commitment to stamp out the vestiges of traditional belief; secondly, they possessed an exceptional quality of charismatic leadership and a critical attitude towards established authority, whether secular or religious; thirdly, their vision of reform was confined to changing the prevailing religious and customary practices and did not encompass and envisage the formation of an Islamic form of government; fourthly, they lacked a sufficiently viable base of material and human resources which could have facilitated the rapid spread of their messages and influence beyond their immediate localities and therefore, their movements of reform and renewal did not persist into the time of their successors.

Three categories of clerics can be identified in terms of their relationships with chiefs. Those who were strongly opposed; those who were friendly towards, but not too closely associated with, the local authorities; and those clerics who had no dealings with the chiefs at all. As for the chiefs, some were generous and sympathetic towards the local Ulama; others were more active supporters of the clerics and their causes and still others were either openly hostile or indifferent to the clerics. Whatever the nature of relationship between Muslim scholars and chiefs, Islam constituted an important factor for the founding of dynasties in Wallo. It also provided legitimacy for the rulers of Wara Himano and served as an ideology for strengthening internal cultural integration, resisting external encroachment and launching campaigns of territorial expansion. The history of the principality of Warra Himano gives insight into this aspect of local Islam. Founded, by a Muslim cleric, the dynasty owed its further expansion and the consolidation of its power over a large part of southern Wallo, to vigorous policy of firm commitment to Islam pursued by its rulers. The career of Muhammad Ali illustrates the way in which a hereditary ruler was able to reinforce his power through a policy of active support for local Ulama. His son, Amade, and his successor, Liban, were more aware of a pro-Muslim commitment. In short, the most prominent

feature of the reigns of the Warra Himano princes, from the time of Muhammad Ali in the 1770s and 1780s to that of Amade Liban (d.1838) was their religious conviction and commitment.

The role of Islam as a basis for political integration at the regional level began to decline from the 1840s, as the old petty chiefdoms of Wallo were unable to reassert their former power. A period of intense but inconclusive rivalry for supremacy ensued. However, Islam continued to serve as a basis of cultural identity. We also discussed the position of Islam in Wallo especially its relationship with the reconstituted Christian kingdom under Tewodros II and Yohannes IV. This marked a watershed in the history of the region and Islam because of new pressures to which Muslims living there were subjected: the attempts of the Christian monarchs to secure the submission of the Wallo hereditary rulers and to contain Islam.

The three principal features of Tewodros's policy towards Wallo were: firstly, the apparent contradiction between, on the one hand, his ideal of building a politically-reunified Ethiopia, which has rightly been considered by many writers as the most noble aspect of his reign and probably his most enduring legacy, and on the other hand, his determination to destroy the very elements that were an integral part of Ethiopia. His vision of a united Ethiopia seems not to have been broad enough to accommodate the Muslim communities of Wallo. The second aspect was the increasing repression and terror that led to further rebellion and violent resistance; and the third feature was the apparent intensity of his own personal commitment to deal severely with the Wallo problem.

The resistance of the Wallo hereditary chiefs was at times divided but was nevertheless, formidable. During the first decade following the death of Tewodros in 1868, Wallo was engulfed in an internecine struggle for power among the rival factions of the Warra Himano dynasty. It also gradually fell within the sphere of Shawa and Menilek.

When Yohannes came to power, he was confronted with the old problem of how to integrate Wallo into his empire. While being more prepared to accommodate the local rulers of Wallo and other provinces than Tewodros was, he openly adopted a new policy which was apparently far more extreme than Tewodros's: the overt imposition of a single religion as the basis of political unification. Motivated by the medieval ideal of a Christian Ethiopia, and the alleged danger which the presence of Islam posed to the fulfillment of that ideal, he attempted to bring about the conversion of the Wallo Muslims by forceful means. His 1878 edict also threatened to deprive the Muslims of their status as Ethiopian citizens if

they did not conform to the edict's conditions. New social and economic burdens were imposed on those who resisted conversion.

The resistance to the new policy was pre-emptively led by militant clerics because of – despite – the conversion to Christianity of the region's two powerful political rivals: Muhammad Ali and Amade Liban. That Islam was a unifying factor in the resistance is evident from, firstly, the fact that it was led by Muslim clerics and secondly, from the fact that in the mid-1880s the Wallo political dissidents, though recent converts to Christianity, joined forces with the Muslim religious opposition. Underlying the political revolts and clerical dissidence was a general disaffection on a very broad basis: a reaction to nearly three decades of continuous devastation and punitive expeditions and to a policy which was inimical to the Muslim culture of the indigenous people.

In discussing the local response to religious coercion, there were three types of reactions: nominal conversion to Christianity or dissimulation, open resistance by militant clerics and migration leading to the breakdown of social life.

The account of the resistance led by the Muslim clerics and chiefs of the 1880s illustrates a number of broad themes. Firstly, it shows that Islam was a crucial influencing factor that unified the various rebellions as well as being an essential part of the indigenous culture. Secondly, the resistance was not inspired and sustained by foreign Muslim powers but was only a local reaction to an Ethiopian internal problem. The alleged conspiratorial link between Islam within and outside of Wallo is hardly substantial. Thirdly, Yohannes's policy of religious unification was essentially negative since it deprived the indigenous Muslims of the freedom of worship and right of citizenship; divisive because it led to the alienation of a significant section of the Ethiopian population and destructive since it caused the Muslims of Wallo much loss of lives and cultural heritage.

We should, therefore, leaving aside the destructive side of the period of previous warmongers, take that opportunity as a means for the social as well as political unification of nations and nationalities of Ethiopia in particular and the Horn of Africa in general.

Ethiopia in general and Wallo region in particular experienced the fact that there were vanguard priests born from Muslim families while there were also prominent Sheikhs born from Christian families. That facilitated the coexistence of different religious and cultural groups peacefully. But because of politicized religion, both Christians and Muslims societies have lost many lives and cultural heritages due to civil

war. As a result, the country remained underdeveloped for millennia. Religions have also been used for violence and civil war instead of development and peace.

At the present we live in a different social, economic and political context. In order to lead Ethiopia into the "peak of its lost and historical civilization", its people need to reunite for its renaissance with a new spirit irrespective of differences in ethnicity, region, religion, gender and political outlook.

CHAPTER SIX: THE TREND OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND CONFRONTATION IN MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN ENCOUNTER: THE CASE OF THE EMPEROR, THE SOCIALIST DERG AND FDRE GOVERNMENTS

Introduction

I discussed the influence of Islam on Ethiopian Politics particularly during the medieval period and I also highlighted the Muslim dynasty in Wallo region in Chapter Five. There were many Muslim states in Ethiopian region and the horn of Africa up to 1529. From 1270-1529 the Christian Kingdom was in constant war with the Muslim Sultanates. The clash arose over the control of the trade routes along which the long distance trade of the region was conducted. This trade was totally monopolized by Muslim traders who sometimes acted as agents of the Christian kings. But it was difficult for the Christian kings to depend on them since the traders were not under the sovereign power of the kings. On the other hand, the trade routes passed through the territories of the Muslim Sultanates. Therefore, the Christian kings could not ensure safe passage for their traders and other subjects to the coast. This created constant threat to the economic interest of the kingdom. The only way to safeguard this economic interest was by the extension of the power of the Christian Kingdom to these territories along which the trade routes passed. In fact this was a root cause for the conflict and consequent wars between the Christian Kingdom and the Muslim Sultanates. The dominance of the Christian power began to decline during the last quarter of the fifteenth century after being defeated by the Sultanate of Adal which was led by Imam Ahmed whose ambition was to create an Islamic empire in the horn of Africa. A lot of human and material destruction was made. Many churches were burned as there were many mosques turned into debris.

The expansion of the hegemony of the Sultanate of Adal was assumed to create a unified Ethiopia (like the efforts of Emperor Tewodros and Menilek II) since the Imam encompassed different ethnic groups including Somali, Afar, Harari, Oromo, Amhara, Tigrai, Hadiya, and other peoples and nationalities during his sixteen years of reign.

Coercive measures were taken to convert Christians into Islam by the hegemony of the Sultanate of Adal as the Christian Kings attempted to convert Muslim forcefully especially in Wallo. The account of the resistance led by the Muslim clerics and chiefs of the 1880s illustrates a number of broad themes. Firstly, it shows that Islam was a fundamental influencing factor that unified the various rebellions as

well as being an essential part of the indigenous culture. Secondly, the resistance was not inspired and sustained by foreign Muslim powers but was only a local reaction to an Ethiopian domestic problem. The alleged conspiratorial link between Islam within and outside of Wallo is hardly substantial. Thirdly, Yohannes's policy of religious unification was essentially negative since it deprived the indigenous Muslims of the freedom of worship and right of citizenship; divisive because it led to the alienation of a significant section of the Ethiopian population and destructive since it caused the Muslims of Wallo much loss of lives and cultural heritage.

Imam Ahmed's efforts at religious unification failed as did the attempt made by Christian rulers in collaboration with the church. This double failure should probably be seen as a central and telling feature of Ethiopian history.

The hegemony of the two religious groups seemingly recedes across times. The present Chapter is an extension of Chapter Five with the aim of describing the Christian-Muslim encounter briefly during the reign of the Emperor, the Socialist System and the current FDRE governments.

Islam and Muslims during Emperor Haile Sellasie I (1930 – 74)

Ras Tafari was crowned *negus* (king) in 1928. Following the death of Empress Zauditu, he was crowned emperor on November 2, 1930, as Haile Selassie I. As emperor, Haile Selassie continued and expanded the modernizing reforms under Menelik II. One of his first acts was to introduce Ethiopia's first written constitution in 1931. The constitution established a parliament but limited it to an advisory role; since the emperor retained near-absolute power.

Regarding the emperor's attitude towards Muslims and Islam, he was not different from his predecessors. Even he acted pitilessly towards, for example, the Muslim Province of Jimma. While all the Muslim-Oromo states in the Gibe region were destroyed, only Jimma of Abba Jiffar escaped their fate by paying 300, 000 Maria Theresa thalers in cash or in kind annually to Menelik II.

> In 1930, ase Haile Selassie increased this, so that Abbaa Joobir, the new king, was unable to pay it. Haile Selassie using this as an excuse, appointed the first Amhara [Christian] governor of Jimma in 1930. After the death of Abba Jifaar in 1932, Haile Selassie abolished the kingdom and with that the century long history of Jimma came to an end (Muhammad, in Verlag, (1)2003:15).

In that manner, Jimma, one of the best centers of Islamic learning for all Oromo in Ethiopia was affected negatively. Verification for the thwarting predisposition of the Emperor toward Islam and Muslim is also found on his constitution itself. The preamble of the 1931 Imperial Constitution reads:

> The Ethiopian government… is surrounded by disbelievers and Islam which attempted to compel and change its religion and since she has got firm zeal to [Orthodox] Christianity, in response, she is forced to leave out her coastal territories and seaports and remained on the mountainous parts of the country to defend the rest (The 1931 Imperial Constitution p.1).

While the preamble of the constitution reiterates hostility towards other religious groups, and subsequent articles of the constitution approved Orthodox Christianity as the State religion, "the constitution mentioned nothing about Ethiopian Muslims" except the official speech of the Emperor depicted "ሃይማኖት የግል ነው፤ አገር የጋራ ነው" i.e. "Religion is a private matter; the country is a public" (Muhammad, 1995:43). Although this was no doubt a healthy principle in state affairs, he himself did not follow it since Orthodox Christianity was kept as the virtual state religion (Abbink, 2013). He also discouraged any political expression of Ethiopian Muslims as Muslims but allowed them to freely practice their religion (Abbink, 2007). "Although Muslims were allowed to work on 'inferior' jobs like trading [weaver, basketry, pottery, and blacksmith], they were excluded from major political and social life" (Muhammad, 1995:43).

The second constitution of the state written in 1955 gave relatively better rhetoric which states under Article 22: "There will be no discrimination among Ethiopians based on kinship, wealth, religion, ethnicity, language, sex and political affiliation". Regardless of such claims, however, there was no religious freedom especially in urban areas since mosque construction and observance of Muslim holidays at national level were all unrecognized. Muslim students were also tempted to sing the religious anthem contrary to their faith. Religious freedom at official level was meant only for the Orthodox Christianity since it was the State religion as enshrined in the constitution. "During the reign of the Emperor, Muslim-Arabs who used to live in Ethiopia were expelled once and for all from the country" (Informant, Ato Belachew, April, 2011).

The Role of Muslims during the Italian Invasion

The Italians invaded Ethiopia and occupied it for five years (Hussein, 2006:8). The Fascist government's declared pro-Islamic policy further exacerbated the tension between Christians and Muslims (Hussein, 2006:8-9).

In order to secure the loyalty of Ethiopian Muslims, the Italians took a number of concrete steps boldly to promote Islam: the construction of over two scores of new mosques (including the Grand Anwar Mosque

in Addis Ababa and the Arab Ganda Mosque in Dessie), the restoration of over a dozen of old mosques, the financing of the pilgrimage to Mecca and allowed the teaching of Arabic in Islamic schools. Because of such tantalizing opportunities provided by the Fascists but denied by ruthless monarchs, a considerable number of Muslims might have shown support to the Italians as it is embedded in the existing literature. However, that shows the half-truth per se.

> There were some Ethiopian Muslims like Shaykh Sayid Muhammad Sadiq (d.1977) [in South Wallo] who questioned the sincerity of the Italian claim of sympathy for Islam (perhaps aware of the Italian repression of the Muslim anti-colonial movements in Libya [where Omar Mukhtar was executed] and Italian Somaliland) and refused to recognize Italian rule and cooperate with Fascist authorities, and consequently suffered hardship and imprisonment (Hussein, 2006:9).

Another incident contrary to the mainstream discourse mainly written by outsiders is the role of "Dejazmach Omar Sematar", a Muslim partisan who fought against Italia (Mesfin, 2012:174). Oral traditions in the region also support the participation of Muslims in fighting the Italian force. One of my research participants reports:

> Because of the oppressive nature of the then Chrisman government on Muslims and the permission and support given by the Italians to construct mosques, it is natural that they showed support to the invaders [as the Catholic Christians did]. However, this does not mean that Muslims are hundred percent supporters of the Fascist. After the people in Borana (western part of South Wallo) discussed over the matter, all the people in the area promised to fight the Italians and defend their country leaving aside internal differences and conflicts. All the partisans went to the Muslim-Graveyard called Dimmā (located near Makāna Salām) to use it as a shelter to attack the enemy soldiers. The graveyard became a battlefield. A Muslim-partisan, named Debalqe Kadam shot and killed one of the Italian military leader and cut his head off the body. People who lived in Borana including his villagers in Awolingot sang for him for his bravery (Informant: Ato Gashaw, a Christian, and Lecturer in History in Wallo University, 29/11/2012).

The Italian warplanes bombed the surrounding areas including the Shrine of Sheikh Dabat. Fortunately, none of the bombs dropped on the Shrine exploded and all of the partisans were saved miraculously. After such an attempt of the destruction of the mosque, Sheikh Dabat, was forced to live in exile least he would be killed (Endris, 2003:32-33).

I felt that the Ethiopian Muslims were in a state of approach-avoidance conflict, which is the most difficult type of conflict experienced by people. On the one hand, the Muslims want their freedom of religion given in an unprecedented manner, on the other hand, the Fascist is colonizing their beloved country, the nation that gave asylum to the first Muslim migrants during the life time of their Prophet – and hence, approach-avoidance conflict. Muslims love their faith and yet they hate the Italian invasion. The oral

tradition in the region revealed that. The story of a gunsmith, Feleke Endiro, who was a Muslim, depicted this reality unequivocally. There was a renowned gunsmith who was a Muslim. His name was Feleke Endiro. The Italians wanted his skill of making and mending guns. Consequently, the Italians approached him and developed close relationship with him. As usual, he continued making and mending guns. He started to serve the Italians by day by repairing and renewing guns for the Fascist.

> However, he did not open his heart for them. When night falls, Feleke was busy repairing and renewing guns for the Ethiopian partisans. He used to do this hidden on a fake-storey attached to the roof of his house, which was unrecognized for outsiders. In the meantime, a certain person from the partisans betrayed and joined the Italians. Then, he exposed the secret of Feleke. 'You Italians trust the gunsmith, Feleke, but he has been deceiving you for long. He is busy mending and repairing guns for Ethiopian partisans'. The Italians could not believe this report. 'If you do not believe me, the man reported, I can show you how he was used to do that hidden under the roof.' When night falls, the Italian solders furiously asked the man to show them the hidden secret. The man led them to the hidden corner of the roof and found Feleke busy making the guns for the partisans. He was caught 'red-handed'. All the guns and the accessories were found in his house. Then after, the Fascist solders asked Feleke only to expose the partisans who visit him for getting guns repaired. If Feleke declines to disclose the names of the partisans, he is told to be killed torched with fire. Feleke, who is a hero, refused to name names in favor of his country and villagers. They tied his hands and legs. They kindled fire with charcoal; put his two legs on the fire and started burning him with the bellows. His two legs started to be burnt just like two logs of iron. 'I will never do it. I would rather die than expose the partisans of my country', he screamed every time they asked him amidst the burn. In this way he breathed his last in the fire. Eventually, they hang the body on a tree in Tulu Sakoru (at present Arogew Safar in Makana Salam town) in a crucified position to frighten others and thereby not to repeat his mistake (Informant: Ato Gashaw, 29/11/2012).

This scenario has got a huge implication contradicting the existing literature. Other informants also told a different but related argument. Indeed, some Muslims were supporters of the Italians. However, they were not the exceptions. Those who supported the Italians belonged to both faith groups (Christians and Muslims). For instance; even some people who were around the circles of the palace and families of the king in Shewa as well as Gojjam were supporting the Italians. Ras Hailu and Afework Gebreyessus were two of the top officials who were against the Ethiopian partisans (Informant: Yimer, November, 30th 2012). Muslims in Wallo region had also fought the invaders standing hand-in hand with the Christians in order to obtain land based on taxation.

In short, Muslims during the Italian invasions also served as partisans despite the fact that some of them supported the invaders just like what some people from other faith groups did (Mesfin, 2012:3). Hence,

Muslims should not be painted with the same brush as "the threat" for the national unity since there were Muslims who were burnt alive and killed by the Italian Fascists just like the Christian partisans.

The Restoration of Power by the Monarchy

The re-establishment of the monarchy in 1941 was followed by harsh measures taken by the state against Muslim leaders who were accused of sedition on account of their collaboration with the enemy "although they had nothing to do with the coming of the invaders in the first place" (Hussein, 2006:9). In fact, some Muslim clerics had also resisted the occupation from its inception (Hussein, 2006:9); other Muslim clerics also refused to be appointed as a qadi (lawyer) (Gashaw, 1994:7); many Muslim partisans were killed alongside their Christian brothers and some Islamic Shrines were also bombed by Italian warplanes while mosques were serving for sheltering partisans (Endris, 2003:33). Moreover, the pro-Italian stance of native Muslims was justified since the Italians promised and granted a greater measure of freedom of worship than did the previous Ethiopian regimes (Hussein, 2006:9).

After 1941, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church launched an aggressive missionary policy to undermine Islam in Southern Ethiopia. "A conversion of nearly 20,000 people took place in Arsi at a time" (Braukamper, 2002:159). Even though in 1944/45 Emperor Haile Sellassie declared religious equality, political, socio-economic and cultural discriminations against Muslims continued (Braukamper, 2002:160; Hussein, 2006).

Furthermore, although the emperor allowed Muslim courts to function after 1944, they were granted jurisdiction only over personal matters such as marriage, divorce, inheritance and endowments (Abbink, 2006). He also excluded from the Civil Code of 1960 provisions relating to Muslims. The qadi courts were not mentioned in the courts declaration of 1962 and the Civil Procedure Code of 1965, even if they continued to operate (Hussein, 2006:10).

Muslims' Reaction to Repressive Conditions

The commoners who were Muslims do not as such experience exile and persecution so long as they live peacefully within the community. However, the pinch of subjugation on Islam and Muslims was sternly felt among Muslim rulers and Islamic scholars. Muslim scholars usually seek asylums in far off areas to save their lives. However, many of the Muslim rulers devised different strategies to accommodate both their religion and political position.

> Whenever such people who remained in power pretending to be Christians passed away, their family members performed the burial ceremony in an orchestrated and concealed fashion to enable the body of their family buried in one of the Islamic Shrines like Jama Negus or Gata. Their bodies were never sent to churches (Informant: Sheikh Hussein, Dec. 15th 2012).

Observing such acts of the Muslims, there is a saying about the people in Wallo: they were Christian by day and Muslims by night. All these reveal how Muslims opted to live with their religion and buried with it.

It may be inappropriate to close this subsection without discussing certain positive aspects of the era of the King regarding Muslims and Islam. The first contribution of this era was, as mentioned earlier, the inclusion of "the freedom of practicing religious rites" (at least theoretically) in the imperial constitution (Informant: Asfaw, 22/11/2012). The second one was the formation of parliament that constituted up to "forty Muslims from Eritrea and other Muslim dominated regions" (Abdellah, 2005:49). The inauguration of the Islamic Shari'ah Courts was also done during the emperor. Finally, the translation of the Holy Qur'an (from French) into Amharic was done by two top Islamic scholars in 1961 E.C under the permission of the King.

The road to peaceful coexistence, especially with the power holders, was not full of a bed of roses, however. The discrimination of Muslims continued in a variety of forms. For example, whenever there was parliamentary meeting, a feast was prepared for both Christians and Muslims. Once upon a time, Muslim-Parliament members were deprived of such a service due to fabrications from the people around the circles of the Emperor. The clergymen falsely claimed that the meat slaughtered by Muslims is very impure that it cannot be purified even with holy water and hence, Muslims were banned to bring meat into the palace (Abdellah, 2005:69). Such accusations are baseless even religiously since whenever the king and his convoy went for visits in Arab countries, they used to eat the meat served from their host nations since there was (and still is) no label of Christian and Muslim butchery (Abdellah, 2005:70) since Judaism, Christianity and Islam are all heavenly revelations (Qur'an 5:5).

Another area of prejudice towards Muslims during the royal period was banning them from any office employment including the military service (Informant: Sheikh Endris, Feb.13th 2011).

In the decades between the restoration of the monarchy in 1941 and the eruption of the revolution in 1974, Islam continued to be a marginalized religion in the country of its own first-host in the 7th century and Ethiopian Muslims remained to be second-class citizens (Abbink, 2008; Hussein, 2006;

Muhammad, 1995:43).   Contrary to the speculation of the monarchy, its demise came from its own military squad, not from the Muslims side.

Historical Ethiopian-Orthodox dominance was maintained, implying restrictions on Islamic self-expression and self-organization (Abbink, 2007). While Muslim publications appeared in this period, no major religious polemical literature came out; at least, none caused uproar in the public domain. But on the local level, polemical works and preaching by both sides must have been produced regularly, as the example of an unpublished critique of the Orthodox faith by one Sheikh Sa'id Ahmäd of Däbat in Boräna-Wällo reveals (Abbink, 2008; Endris, 2003).

All in all, Islam and Muslims have got considerable influence even under repressive regimes from defending external envisions to inclusion of their rights in the Ethiopian constitutions to serving as members of the parliament during the reign of the Emperor despite their very small number as Ministers (Muhammad, 1995: 58).

Islam and Muslims in the Era of the Socialist Government (1974 – 1991)

In February 1974 students, workers, and soldiers began a series of strikes and demonstrations that culminated on September 12, 1974, with the deposition of Haile Selassie by members of the armed forces. Chief among the coup leaders was Major Mengistu Haile Mariam. A group called the Provisional Military Administrative Council, known as the Derg, was established to run the country, with Mengistu serving as chairman. In late 1974, the Derg issued a program for the establishment of a state-controlled socialist economy. In early 1975, all agricultural land in Ethiopia was nationalized, with much of it then parceled out in small plots to individuals. In March 1975, the monarchy was abolished, and Ethiopia became a republic. This gave greater opportunity for Muslim farmers to possess land equally with other peasants in the country (Keller, 2008).

By 1975, it was clear that Mengistu intended to consolidate his hold on power. This led to criticism from the civilian left, particularly after several top leaders of the Derg were killed in early 1977. Chief among opponents was the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), which by the beginning of 1977 had launched a systematic campaign to undermine the military regime. The EPRP conducted urban guerrilla warfare against the regime, referred to as the "White Terror." The government responded with its own "Red Terror" campaign. The government provided peasants, workers, public officials, and students considered loyal to the government with arms to help government security forces root out the so-called enemies of the revolution. Between 1977 and 1978 thousands of people (both Christians and Muslims)

suspected of being enemies of the government were killed or disappeared in the name of the Red Terror. One of the sons of Hajji Muhammad Sani, the then head of the Mejlis, was killed suspected of the White Terror (Isaac, 2012). As one of my instructors in Bahir Dar University said it: "ሁሉም ነገር ለሰፊው ህዝብ የሚለው ቀርቶ ሁሉም ነገር ለአብዮቱ ተባለ፡፡" i.e. the slogan "Everything belongs to the general public" was replaced by "Everything belongs to the revolution". It was also said "*abiyot lijuwan tibelalech*" i.e. 'the revolution devours its own children". In that way, what was intended for the benefit of the mass soon turned to be a monster. Even so, it could be said that Muslims enjoyed apparently better 'religious freedom' since the concept of state-religion was abolished by the atheist socialism (Abbink, 2008).

The First Period of Islamic Revival

After 1974 the Derg regime recognized Islam and accorded equal rights to it. It attacked the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) as a 'bastion of feudalism', expropriated its land property including most of its urban real estate, and ended its receipt of government subsidies. Muslims made significant gains, including recognition of their religious holidays, less job discrimination, more mosque building, and a higher hajj quota. However, the Derg, in its Marxist vein, saw both religions as things of the past, a brake on 'development', and suppressed their public manifestation and institutional growth. Both Orthodox Christianity and Islam were forced to restrict their public activities and foreign contacts (Abbink, 2006).

Even though the rebirth of Islam in Ethiopia in 1970s was part of the worldwide revival of Islam, one of the most decisive domestic factor that contributed to the former was the outburst of the popular revolution that deposed the Ethiopian monarchy in 1974 and created favorable conditions for disadvantaged and oppressed communities such as Ethiopian Muslims to demand a radical change in the state's policy towards them (Hussein, 2006:10).

The spectacular and massive Muslim demonstration of 20 April 1974, stimulated by a series of protest movements against imperial order in February, was a manifestation of a long-simmering dissatisfaction and injustice over the discriminatory policy towards Muslims pursued by the preceding Ethiopian regimes (Hussein, 2006:10). Contrary to the assertions of certain foreign observers, the demonstration was an act of Muslim solidarity with the struggle of other sections of the Ethiopian population against the old order. It was neither instigated by the Arab League as claimed by Lefort (1983:63), nor did it indicate a threat to national unity' as suggested by Clapham (1998).

The demonstration called for the separation of religion from politics, openly denounced the notion that Ethiopia was an island of Christianity surrounded and besieged by Islam, and declared that it was the home of the adherents of other faiths, including Islam.

The military government later issued an official decree as a response to the demands of the demonstration that the three Islamic festivals would be observed as public holidays for the first time in the history of the country (Informant: Asfaw, a Lecturer of History in Wollo University 22/11/2012) and declared the separation of religion from politics. This is meant Orthodox Christianity lost its status as the state religion. The relationship between Ethiopian Muslims and the government, however, gradually deteriorated because of its economic and anti-religious policies that were inspired by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism (Hussein. 2007:486).

While the command economy undermined the financial position of Ethiopian Muslims, the official hostility against organized religion aroused the opposition of the pious among both Muslims and Christians.

The honeymoon between mainstream Ethiopian Islam, noted for its tolerance and abhorrence for extremism and military, and a radical, ruthless and godless regime, did not last even a year (Hussein, 2003). One of my informants described antireligious policy of the Socialist regime:

> Renowned Islamic school centers which were crowded with so many religious students were emptied and so were the churches due to economic grievance. The practice of favoring and supporting one religion at the expense of another seized to exist. Consequently, both Christianity and Islam were suppressed by the military junta (Informant: Ato Yimer, Nov. 30th 2012).

Even worse still, the Derg used to take religious students to the war fronts from their learning centers. One of the informants, who was an ex-soldier, adds: "*darasoch* (Islamic religious students) were taken en masse from mosques, *Zawuyas*, and *khalawas* to the warfronts after they were given military training, of course" (Informant: Ato Endris, an ex-soldier, Dec. 14th 2012).

In that manner, the prolonged civil war in the country stirred up every corner of the country and "even religious students could not attend their schooling moving from place to place in search of food and better academic centers" (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Zein, May 3rd 2011).

The Establishment of the Islamic Council

The Ethiopian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs was formally established in 1976 in the aftermaths of the revolutionary changes that had been unfolding in the country since 1974. Initially, the *Mejlis* constituted seventy-five members. The major objectives of the institution were: to organize Ethiopian Muslims spiritually; to disseminate religious education and institutions; to interpret Islamic literature into indigenous languages; to manage endowments and devise strategies for getting new financial sources; and to participate actively in the national development plan (Yemuslimoch Guday, April 2012; Isaac, 2012:161).

Nonetheless, throughout the period of the military rule, it only functioned as a de facto, not de jure, organization. Attempts to secure a legal personality and a license for the council, one of the demands put afterward at the time of the huge Muslim demonstration in April 1974, failed partly because of the traditional hostility, and suspicion of, Islam as a potential ally of anti-Ethiopian forces and partly because of the incompetence, corruption (financial, administrative and electoral) and enmity within the leadership of the council (Isaac, 2012). This greatly undermined its credibility and claims to represent the Ethiopian Muslim community.

The Mejlis, however, used to be led by scholarly and charismatic Ulemas, such as Hajji Muhammad Sani who were known for their tolerance in accommodation of differences of thoughts (Hussein, 2007: 487) unlike the recent ones who attempted to exaggerate minor intra-religious differences as observed in 2012.

The Conflict over the Construction of Mosques

The building of major mosques in the urban areas of the country was invariably preceded by resistance from the Christian residents and churches of the areas in which the mosques were intended to be built, and by a protracted legal battle with the government departments responsible for granting the plots of land, issuing the essential title deeds and the authorization for construction (Hussein, 2006:12).

The history of smaller and bigger mosques built between 1941 and 1974 and those constructed subsequently, reflects a similar pattern of Christian popular protest, bureaucratic obstruction and delay, and frustration and sometimes violent reaction on the part of the Muslims (Informant: Sheikh Yusuf, Dec. 22nd 2012).

Such confrontations were not uncommon in Dessie even in the recent past. Before five years, there was a confrontation between Muslims and Christians following the construction of a mosque in an area called Robit.

> The major reason for opposing the construction of the mosque was the claim that the sound from the caller of the minaret could disturb the church and the *abun* located nearby. Convincing the political officials and the clergymen of the church, the Bilal mosque was built in Robit, Dessie (Informant: Muhammad, Feb. 11th 2012).

Of course, there are so many mosques built close to churches in other parts of the country (e.g. Raguel Church and Anwar Mosque in Addis). That could be the symbol of tolerance and coexistence. However, I agree with the resistance of the Christians because of the disturbing sound coming from the mosque. Such sound pollutions are commonly done by churches as well as mosques. If you compare the duration of the sound pollution done by the two faith groups, you will find astounding differences. What I would like to advise both faith groups is that 'please, reduce your voice by avoiding the megaphones from your institutions since you are not praying to a deaf god. If the faith you claim is not found in your hearts during silent contemplation, you cannot get it through shouting'.

Christian-Muslim Coexistence and Cooperation
Ethiopian Muslims and Christians have also cooperated and supported each other in times of national crises and contributed both materially and financially during emergencies such as famines (1973/74 and 1984) and provided manpower for military operations (in Eritrea and Somalia).

> In1990/91, on the eve of the collapse of the military government, the Muslims of Addis Ababa, who had gathered at the Anwar Mosque for the daily prayers, reciprocated the solidarity shown by Christian residents of the capital during the 1974 mass Muslim demonstration by successfully preventing, in collaboration with the Christians, the removal, on the order of the government, of the *tabot* (the symbol of the Ark of the Covenant) from the St. Raguel Church located adjacent to the [Anwar] Mosque. Faced with the opposition of both Christians and Muslims, the attempt to relocate the *tabot* was abandoned (Hussein, 2006:14).

A similar incident was reported by my research participants in Wallo region.

> In a small rural village called Ligo situated just opposite to the Harago Mountain along Mekelle-Addis Ababa road, there is still a Church called Ligo Georgis. It is located nearly half distance between Dessie and Kombolcha towns [though nearer to Kombolcha]. All the people around it and in the village are Muslims. Although there are Christians around the Church, they were very few. Once upon a time, there faced severe economic problem to support the Church and the clergymen decided to demolish the Church and evacuate and relocate it in other areas where there are Christians. This transfer of the *tabot* was heard among the Muslim residents of the area. They were all dissatisfied with the decisions of the Christians. 'We will support you in

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all matters including food, fencing and guarding the compound of the Church. Hence, do not evacuate from this area. After all it is after the erection of the tabot that we started living in fortunes and good conditions'. Consequently, Christians agreed and the Church still exists in the village. The Muslims of the village also celebrate preparing bread, injera and tela [local beer] to serve the people who visited it during the yearly holiday (Informant: W/o Zewdie, a Christian, December 16th 2012).

I know different stories of this kind that imply the coexistence of the two dominate faith groups in the region. This could be given different meanings from religious perspective. What I just wanted here is to underline the fact that the Christian-Muslim encounter in the region and in Ethiopia (by extension) is not all filled with war and conflict.

Despite political constraints, Ethiopian peoples, nations and nationalities used to live peacefully as they have done it throughout ages. What is most striking about the social life in Ethiopian is the stress on neighborhoods, friends, voluntary associations and mutual support irrespective of religious affiliations especially here in Wallo region. "Daily life and economic cooperation, mutual aid in times of trouble are all carried out above all with fellow members of the community and co-members of voluntary associations, such as *iddir*, the burial and mutual aid of society" (Informant: Sheikh Seid Dec. 2nd 2012). I will deal with the issue of peaceful coexistence among the two faith groups in detail in the later part of the thesis.

Islam in the Current FDRE Government: the Second Islamic Revival in the Region
In May 1991, the military autocracy, which had ruled the country ever since 1974 under the iron-fist rule, was overthrown and Islam witnessed not only institutional rehabilitation and religious and cultural revival, but also visibility and prominence in the public sphere. The current government introduced far-reaching reforms which went someway to satisfying the aspirations of Ethiopian Muslims (and other faith groups as well) because of its fedral and democratic leadership (Hussein. 2006: 15; Abbink, 2006).

Other equally significant indications of Islamic religious, institutional and cultural revival included: a manifold increase in the number of Ethiopian pilgrims traveling to Mecca and Medina, an end to the ban on the import and circulation of Islamic literature, the holding of election at district, provincial and national level for the re-invigorated, though still internally divided, council; a considerable program of mosque construction (with single as well as double long minarets) largely financed by local contributions and foreign assistance (the latter provoking hostile remarks about outside Arab Islamic influence) even in conventionally Christian areas; the visibility of Muslims as reflected in the extensive use of Islamic forms of address and greetings, exhibition of Islamic discipline and the wearing of the veil (*hijab*) in

urban and even certain rural areas; the emergence of a new and dynamic forms of Islamic preaching (*da'wa* movement); and the opening of Islamic Schools and Colleges, bookshops and travel agencies in the capital, as well as regional cities, the latter catering to those traveling on the lesser and regular pilgrimage (the *Umra* and *Hajj*, respectively) and the adjustment of office hours to Friday prayers. These expressions of Islamic identity aroused subtle and popular reactions from some Christian quarters (Abbink, 2006; Hussein, 2006:16-17, Abdellah, 2005).

The Inception of the Downturn of State-Muslim Relations

In November 1993, the Transitional Islamic Affairs Supreme Council conducted its first conference and one of its foremost agendum was banning the Islamic organizations in the country. In the conference, the Mejlis accused the Islamic organizations that were established following the fall of the socialist regime saying "these organizations are doing no more than role duplication of the Mejlis and thereby passed a decree to close all Islamic organizations" (Yemuslimoch Guday, 2012 (2)16:5). Some of the major Islamic organizations include Ethiopian Ulemas Association, Ethiopian Answar-al-Sunnah Association, Ethiopian Muslim Youth Organization (Munazamat-al-Shebab), Ethiopian Da'wa and Knowledge Association and the Holy Qur'an Association. The Holy Qur'an Association has accomplished considerable Islamic activities ever since 1991 including teaching 40,000 Qur'anic students in 157 madrasas found all over the country. "This has created a threat for the State and the church" (Yemuslimoch Guday, 2012 (2)16:6). Of course, there are different groups (mainly Christian apologists) who attempted to kindle fire in their attempt to thwart the Islamic revival (Abdella, 2005:102).

Indeed, the federal system of governance facilitates the equality of nations, nationalities and peoples allowing developing native languages and culture. Islam and Muslims are not the exceptions here.

The exclusion of certain groups from the general Muslim society has for long been simmering. This exclusionist strategy has been catalyzed by the frequently changing members of the Mejlis. For the accomplishment of such hidden agenda, "there has been no free and fair election in the Mejlis for the last twelve years" (Yemuslimoch Guday, 2012, (2)17:8). The relations between the State and some sects of the Muslim community came under open strain in February 1995 when a violent incident broke out in and around the Grand Anwar Mosque of Addis Ababa as a consequence of a conflict between, on the one hand, the then vice-Chairman of the Islamic council (widely believed to have been favored by the government) and his supporters (Sufis) and on the other hand, those demanding his resignation and formation of a new council (Salafis).

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> The police intervened to keep law and order, and in the course of the clashes that followed between the partisans of the two factions some [ten] individuals were killed and some about forty prominent members of the Muslim community arrested and jailed for up to two and a half years. All of them have been released subsequently (Hussein, 2006:17).

That was the inception of the downturn of State-Muslim relations. In 2001, there were violent incidents in Kamisse (Wallo) "especially between Muslims and Protestants" (Informant: Meqdes, Jan, 20th 2011) and Harar involving the local Christians and Muslims (Hussein, 2006:17). Related incidents were also reported in Jimma wherein troops from regional capitals arrived in all towns to restore order. "For the first time in Ethiopian Muslims, government forces shot dead unarmed Muslims in Anwar Mosque. From that day onwards the relation between Muslims and the state began to deter" (Informant: Omar, 17/7/2012). Following the Anwar Mosque violence, the Ethiopian Muslim Youth Organization (Munazamat-al-Shebab) was closed within twenty-four hours. Its members were sued for "for enforcing the dissemination of Islam in the nation and training young people for the acts of terrorism" and they were jailed for three years and released in October 1998 (Yemuslimoch Guday, 2012 (2)16:7).

Over one hundred and forty Qur'anic schools were closed by the Mejlis due to the crisis in Anwar Mosque (Yemuslimoch Guday, 2012 (2)16:8). Mejlis, which demanded the abolishing of any other Islamic organizations other than itself, is still categorizing Muslims and Islamic institutions, which oppose its ideology, as terrorists and hence many Islamic scholars are forced to put their heads down and many others are forced to flee form the country for exile. Islam and Muslims in Ethiopia are, therefore, moving back to the 20th and 19th century instead of the 21st century.

The Demands of the Muslim Protest

The Muslim movement, which was first started by students demanding administrative freedom in Awoliya School, has lasted for two year. This peaceful and legal protest, which was first considered as "የህጻናት ጩኸት" i.e. "the cry of children" was aggravated demanding "Mejlis to be deposed" – "ashe'b yurid isqat-al-Mejlis!" which means "the people demand toppling the Mejlis!" And this was soon followed by another demand: "Stop imposing Ahbash on us!" (Addis Times Dec. 2012 (2)11:2). Such demands expanded from Adama and Addis Ababa to Wallo and Dire Dawa and many other big cities and small towns all over the nation. For some times, the protests were not as such heard since they were done confined in mosques during Fridays only in a non-violent manner. Instead of giving legal responses to the Friday protests conducted on legal and peaceful manners, the state has preferred subjugation. Peaceful activists, who were represented by the protesting Muslims (as demanded by the state officials)

in order to present their demands to the government officials, "have been jailed, tortured and physically injured and…" (Addis Times Dec. 2012 (2)11:2).

The Ethiopian government agrees on the demands of the Muslims on the conduction of election of the Mejlis. Accordingly, the election was done in October 2012. However, since it was done in political institutions, outside religious ones for the first time in the history of Ethiopian Muslims (Yegna Press Oct.1st 2005 E.C), members of the newly elected Mejlis could not be different from their predecessors and hence, the demands of the Muslims is strengthened day after day (Addis Times Dec. 2012 (2)11:2). I have also observed two major defects on the election: first it was done after prominent Salafi scholars and preachers were imprisoned suspected of extremism, terrorism and even through an act of attempting to establish an Islamic state in Ethiopia. A huge number of Muslims were jailed from the rural villages to capital cities (by now most of them are released innocent). Second, there are many towns and villages that did not conduct free and fair election. "For example, in Wallo, there was no election in Harbu, Degan, Geraba and Kemissie towns. Instead, selected people were assigned in such towns" (Informant: Ato Kedir, December, 12th 2012)

The election process I observed in Kebele ten in Dessie city Administration was also questionable. By the time members of the "electoral board" entered the hall, certain criteria about the election was given. The most emphasized criterion above all was that "all candidates to be elected to be members of the Kebele Mejlis should be free from any act of extremism and terrorism plus he has to complete at most Grade 7 in modern education". Whenever a person was proposed to be a candidate, the strengths and then the weaknesses of the person was explained. As a result, at least four persons were proposed but all of them failed to pass even as candidates because they were suspected of extremism and terrorism. This is phony accusations since I was told that these "suspects" are, in reality, peaceful people. But they are practicing Muslims, not Muslims by lip-service. Nor do they advocate saint and shrine venerations. They have grown short beards and they have shortened their trousers not to be spoiled by soil. That is all. That is the only "crime" they committed. The accusation of these people as "terrorists" without even insulting, lying, stealing, and kicking other people proved to me the extent of interference of the Kebele officials in religious matters. One of the Muslim activists said:

> The most important issue here is that we are not the kind of persons they accused of us to be. Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds. We are not terrorists! We are not extremists! We are not anti-peace! We are not anti-development! We are not intolerant for coexistence! We are not all what they labeled us (Ustaz Bedir; 14/9/2012).

Any person who has got a single functioning cell of brain can understand the peaceful demands of the Muslim-protesters. This was evident from the behavior of the protesters: whenever I visited them on Fridays in Furqan Mosque (in Dessie), young boys and veiled girls often surrounded the compound of the mosque for the purpose of checking every man and woman entering the mosque. They checked me from the tip of my hair to the tip of my shoes. They even took away my pen once up on a time and at that moment I was so offended murmuring "this is not Islamic". The boy who snatched my pen replied politely, "Oh Allah! Forgive me!" All these were done to prevent violent-mongers and any external body that might ignite violence. After the performance of the prayers, the crowd repeated the usual slogans: "Down with the Mejlis! Down with Ahbash!" "We are not terrorists!" "We are not Wahabiyyas!" "Let the government reply our demands!" "The Care Taker Transitional Mejlis in Dessie does not represent us!" "The ban imposed on the bank account of Furqan Mosque should be lifted soon"; (and so forth).

After completing their slogans, one of the leaders of the group always reminded the crowd not to utter any slogan out of the compound of the mosque, nor to quarrel with any one along the street even if attacked. In this way, more than sixteen weeks passed with peaceful protests. Astoundingly, if there was any crucial meeting and/or business bazaar in the town, the Friday protests were skipped in order not to stifle the development projects of the government. This is a clear evidence for the peacefulness of the Muslim protests. The activists were also appreciated by governmental bodies from Warada to Zonal and Regional to Federal levels for their non-violent and democratic demands of their rights. Sooner than later, the avalanche of good adjectives were changed into bad ones:

> At the beginning, our peaceful demands were appreciated by most of the governmental and non-governmental stakeholders. Almost all officials including the [late] Prime Minister and the Minister of the Federal Affairs used to applaud the demands of the peaceful protests. Muslims were also waiting patiently for the frequently postponed appointments to get solutions for their demands. Officials also demanded us to stop any sign of protesting until international conferences were conducted in Addis Ababa. We agreed with them since our purpose is not anti-development. All of a sudden, the Ministry of Federal Affairs and then all the rest State apparatus made a U-turn and started categorizing us as 'a few extremists, a few terrorists, certain Wahabiyas who attempted to establish a Shari'ah state and so forth'. Even though our protest has not brought the demanded results, we are exercising peaceful protesting and we will continue to demand our rights in peaceful manners only (Ustaz Abdullah, 14/9/2012).

Ever since a letter was written by the Federal Mejlis for Awoliya School banning fifty teachers, two Imams of the mosque, and thirty-six Arabic students, students of the campus demanded the return of the dismissed teachers, Imams and students. These demands were pushed away by the Mejlis deliberately. Then, the demands of the students shifted from the problems to the cause of the problems:

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"the Mejlis does not represent us" and next to "*Ahbash* should not be imposed on us". Then after, a seventeen members of Muslims representatives approved by over half a million people's signatures was organized in order to present the three demands of the Muslims: (1) members of the Mejlis should be replaced by elected bodies by the Muslim society; (2) stop forcefully baptizing Muslims with *Ahbash* and (3) *Awoliya* institution should be administered by a neutral board system, not by the Mejlis (Yemuslimoch Guday, Feb. 2012(2)17:6; Addis Times, Dec. 2012 (2)11).

That committee was established to seek for solutions negotiating with the state and other stakeholders through following legal and peaceful strategies per se. The Muslim-commoners showed their protest and support to the representative committee on every Friday and yearly holidays (Arafa and Eid al-Fitir) from Wallo to Addis Ababa, to Dire Dawa, Harare and Jimma. The State linked this scenario with the "agenda of establishing an Islamic state" and consequently, sued the members of the committee as terrorists (Addis Times, Dec. 2012 (2)11:18).

During Eid al-Arafa in 2012, tens of thousands of people were gathered in Furqan Mosque in Dessie. The slogans I heard from the demonstrators were very demanding and forceful:

> Islam is peace! Ahbash is a drunkard! Ahbash is naughty! We are not illegal! We are not threats to the nation! Respect our rights! Our voice should be heard! The [Mejlis] election is illegal! Our election should be in our mosques! The election is for the cadres! The election is [only] for Ahbash! The constitution should be respected! Respond to our demands! Ahbash and sugar are [sold] in the Kebeles! Stop the oppression! Stop the killings! Release our detained brothers! No election without the release of the detainees! እኛ አሸባሪወች አይደለንም! አክራሪዎች አይደለንም! ወሀብዮች አይደለንም! ሰላም ወዳድ ነን! ልማት ወዳድ ነን! ሀገር ወዳድ ነን! ከክርስቲያን ወንድሞቻችን ጋር አብሮ የመኖር ችግር የለብንም i.e. we are not terrorists! We are not extremists! We are not Wahhabis! We are peaceful! We love national development! We love our country! We do not have problems of coexistence with our Christian brothers! (Taken from the slogans of Muslim protesters on Eid al-Adha, Dessie, 26/10/2012).

The males and the females usually exchange their slogans on an intermittent basis. They even demanded the protection of the Ethiopian constitution. The protesters reminded that if the constitution is not protected, "it would be only decoration of papers". I was very moved by the peacefulness of the Muslim protesters since I was amidst them recording with my mobile phone and observing the whole incident. Following the Salafi protest, the Sufi Muslims from the urban and suburb areas of Dessie conducted demonstration after a door to door call by local and provincial bodies. There was also a handout of Muslim-male-headscarves bought by the municipality for attracting more number of Muslim protesters (Informant: Ato Osman, 24/12/2012). During the demonstration, these group of Muslims

uttered slogans as well: "We oppose terrorists! We oppose extremists! The development plan of the country cannot be stifled by the extremists…." I understand that those young Muslim protesters who are considered to be Salafis are perceived as "extremists and terrorists". I have equally heard the Salafis confessing that they are neither extremists nor terrorists. The meaning the protestors gave to the concept "terrorism" was also extraordinary:

> The word 'terror' is very simple to pronounce but it is horrifying to hear it. It is used by power holders frequently. Dictators commonly trade-off using the term 'terrorism' for their own vested interests, and hence, it is called 'power-prolonging quinine'. For the dictators, terrorism is propaganda to threaten their own people; and to snatch the rights of the people. But for democrats, it is a weapon to safeguard the general public. More often than not, the term is used as a tag for people who seek for peace, justice, freedom and democracy. Hence, in the name of terrorism, freedom seekers are killed; they are cut with swords; they are pierced with spears; they are frightened with ammunition; they are demolished with tanks; they are burned with missiles; they are jailed on onshore for life; they are snatched their country and faith; Prophet Muhammad was forced to exile because of terrorism; Ethiopia was invaded by Italy because of terrorism; Ethiopian Muslims were oppressed by the monarchs because of terrorism; even Libyans and Egyptians were oppressed by Qadafi and Hosni Mubarak respectively, because of terrorism. The term, therefore, is used for propaganda purpose more often than not. … Consequently, please, do not terrorize us (Informant: Muhammad, Quoted from a Muslim activist's presentation in Dessie, Furqan Mosque, 01/07/2012).

In this poetic-like presentation, it is implied that "terrorism" could be manipulated by certain groups who have got vested interests. The protesters blamed not only the oppressive regimes but also the fascist Italians and the toppled dictators in North Africa as well. As time is elapsed, the demands of the protests were increasing until the crackdown was done on the Eid al-Fatir holyday in 2013 by the anti-riot police firing tear gas and kicking protestors with buttons. Mainstream Muslims (especially Sufis) considered the act of protesters (Salafis) on Fridays and yearly holidays as the act of fundamentalists, extremists and terrorists as portrayed on the mass media since certain Sufis want the de-legitimization of "Wahhabis".

Why Protesting Against the Mejlis?

For the last two decades, the Muslim population opposed to the Mejlis in two different perspectives. The first opposition to the Mejlis is linked to its institutional structure: it fails to conduct elections for the last twelve years; it comprises religiously and academically incompetent, and corrupted leaders; it does not facilitate Muslims to practice their religious obligations; it rather even contradicts the rights and interests of Muslims; it causes to ban religious prayers in universities; it causes the banning of 'niqab' for Muslim women in schools; it causes different Islamic teaching centers to be banned through accusing them of centers of proliferation of extremists who strive for establishing an Islamic state (Addis Times, Dec. 2012

(2)11; Isaac, 2012:162-192). The second cause for protesting against the Mejlis is related to its importation of a sect called *Ahbash* to be imposed on Ethiopian Muslims. The first attempt of baptizing Muslims took place in a conference conducted in Haromaya University given for about 600 Muslims. During the conference, certain Ahbash scholars, invited from Beirut, were observed presenting lectures against Wahhabism. Sooner than later, the Mejlis wrote its support for Ahbash stating "Wahhabiyya is an education system for disbelief and Khawarij is the military wing of Wahhabism" (Addis Times, Dec. 2012 (2)11:18). Another limitation of the Mejlis was its limited role compared to sister organizations. A case in point, among others, is the absence of representatives from the Mejlis while discussion was done on the issue of the River Abbay between the Patriarch and other clergymen of the church (Isaac, 2012:240).

Whenever the issue of the Nile River is discussed, what comes to my mind is the "International" Islamic Law of rivers: "the land nearest to the source of the water has the right to be irrigated before the one that is farther away" (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 3:548-550). This Hadith Book, which is the second most authentic source of Islamic teachings (next to the Qur'an), implies that countries that are found at the upper courses of international rivers have more priority to utilize the water for irrigation, dame construction and any other related purposes than the countries at the lower course of the rivers. This is their natural right. However, Islam also forbids withholding superfluous water for whatever reasons (e.g. Sahih Al-Bukhari, 3:547). I was expecting both the Mejlis and other third parties to raise such Islamic rulings to solve any possible disputes on this agenda. To my dismay, Muslims and Islam who have possessed such golden rules since the 7th century are either marginalized from such political agenda or suspected of even as threats to the nation. This has to be corrected.

During all these undemocratic practices of the Mejlis, the State repeatedly echoed "its non-interference" in religious matters. Sooner than later, the Minister of the Federal Affairs announced "Wahhabiyya is an extremist group and it aims at establishing an Islamic state, hence, from now onwards, the State denounced its teachings". This was the first openly told evidence for the interference of the State in Muslims religious affairs (Addis Times, Dec. 2012 (2)11:18).

I understand that such accusation of Muslims is not different from the Western propaganda of demonizing the faith groups and their religion. This also depicts the double standard in dealing with Muslims and Islam: whenever Muslims participate in charitable activities, research and other social development projects, it is considered as if they were expanding extremism and terrorism (Emerson,

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2004) whereas whenever non-Islamic faith groups do that even tantalizing sick and destitute people, that is for genuine development agenda. I am afraid that such slanted outlooks may rather erode the concept of coexistence and tolerance more quickly than even the Afghan Talibans.

Whenever Ethiopian Muslims demanded their religious rights, there had been internal patriots who associated such peaceful demands with "extremism", "political Islam", "intolerance", "threats to the state" and thereby caused exclusion of commoners and Muslim scholars (Yemuslimoch Guday, 2012(1)11:14).

> The comprehensive problems, other than causing Muslims to collide with the Mejlis, have caused Muslims to be in frictions with the State. Whenever the institution works contrary to democratic principles, the state apparatus kept quiet, and hence the Muslims claimed, the state did not accomplish what has been expected of it (Isaac, 2012:193).

Indubitably, such crises of the Mejlis, which are more probably done with the green lights given by the third party, may have grave consequences not only on the interests of Muslims but also on the interests of the country as a whole. I am afraid that certain factions may manipulate the matter into nationalistic propaganda. Terrorist groups like OLF, ONLF and Al-Ithiad al-Islamiyya may use the situation to recruit sympathizers to aggravate their aggression.

Abyssinia, the present day Ethiopia, is known by Muslims as the "country of truth and justice" (Addis Guday, March, 2012 (6)110:7). That experience of justice and truth which has just begun its budding stage in the FDRE government should be protected and developed further.

One of the reasons for the subjugation of Muslims in Ethiopia is attributed to the limited roles of the faith groups in politics of the country. "It was found out that of all the political parties of the EPRDF, at Federal level only 14.2 percent was Muslims. 85.5 percent of them who hold the top leadership were non-Muslims" (Isaac, 2012:347-48). I understand that even that amount of participation of Muslims is good enough since the general tendency at the present is to sling out the faith groups under the banner of "threats to the nation". I participated in the Ethiopian Higher Education Teachers Conference conducted in September, 2012 in Wallo University. It was publicly announced that 'Muslim extremists are inflicting the leadership of FDRE pretending supporters of the government. They join the political membership from Kebele to Warada and other levels of the government halfheartedly to accomplish their agenda of establishing an Islamic state. The chairperson said that they will be dismissed not only from the membership of the political party but also from any public service institutions'. This was said while the Muslims protest was continued demanding their rights.

Features of Ethiopian Salafi

Contrary to the accusation of the mainstream mass media, "Ethiopian young Muslims are far from extremism and terrorism" (Yemuslimoch Guday, Feb, 2012 (2)17:16). Ostebo (2007) also concludes "the Salafi reform enabled the people to retain their basic Muslim identity; it accommodated religious perceptions and practices, which in turn could be seen as a continued process of Islamization" (Ostebo, 2007: 472-73). Of course, there are many Sufis who are antagonistic to the Salafi ideology. Ostebo adds further:

> The most ardent opponents to the Salafis were the guardians of the shrines and fuqras who clearly saw the proposed reforms as a direct threat to their income [but not to Islam]. Similarly, the resistance from the Ulama can be seen from the same perspective. Although critical to certain aspects of the rituals, the celebration of *mawlid* and the time of pilgrimage were important occasions where they received extra gifts in cash or kind (Ostebo, 2007:473).

The protests prove that Salafism has got strong hold almost in all major towns in both South and North Wallo. The most radicalized "Sufis who advocated even slaughtering the Wahhabis" following the contemporary intra-religious tension are certain Ulamas who are the residents of Kombolcha town (Informant: Muhammad, October, 23rd 2011).

Despite the resistance from shrine caretakers and certain Ulemas who are affiliated with such Sufi sites, many Sufis Ulemas support the teachings of Salafism in Wallo. As a result, two of my former Sheiks have been elected for the Mejlis in Dessie. Thus, I understand that any attempt to split Ethiopian Muslims into Sufi-Salafi can hardly be successful since this falls within the inbuilt strategy of Islam accommodating different schools of thoughts. That is why even the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, which comprises dominantly Sufi activists, works hand in hand with Salafis after the down fall of the Mubarak regime until it is overthrown by the military coup.

"Wahhabism" is given multiple meanings, and the followers of the Hanbalis (one of the four Fiqh Schools) are being demonized (Isaac, 2012:300). "Wahhabiya" is coined with the 18th century Islamic scholar, Sheikh Muhammad Abdul-Wahab. It is also associated with the Saudi Arabia based Salafi thoughts. Many politicians, certain Jews scholars and native half-baked Ulemas blame constantly the Wahabiya Islamic thinking to be destructive to Ethiopia. They assert that the indigenous, localized Sufi Islam is more suitable for Ethiopia for coexistence. However, more competent and more reliable researches revealed the opposite. According to Ostebo (2007), Salafism in Ethiopia is native and healthy and it is hybridized with the realities of the country and it is peaceful, localized Salafi.

For sure such puritan version of Islam, which appears to be free from any superstitions, attracted many people living in the modern world, especially young Muslims who have attended modern education. I understand that these young people who have learnt a considerable level of science education are more attracted to reasoned knowledge than myth. They also know at least the theoretical principles of human rights and thus they are, as observed in the Ethiopian context for the last two years, demanding their rights in peaceful and only peaceful manners despite imprisonments, torture and hassles… I have also witnessed this nonviolent demonstration in Dessie May 5th 2012 "wherein nearly sixty thousand Muslims participated" in Furqan Mosque (Salafiyya News Paper, Miazia 26th 2004 E. C). The peacefulness of the Ethiopian Salafis is witnessed through their peaceful protests that lasted nearly for two years (Fact Magazine, January 2014, 2 (29):33). The protests are interrupted for unlimited period according to activists but the mass media asserted that the FDRE government has controlled and abolished those extremists and terrorists who used to protest on Fridays in order to establish an Islamic State in Ethiopia.

Initially, however, there were certain young Muslims with little or no religious knowledge who, in the name of rebuffing superstititions, behaved aggressively by even breaking the coffee-pots and coffee-cups of their parents and showed disrespect to the local Sufi shrines and certain ulemas. There were also a few hate monger preachers who asserted that "Muslims should not have to be intimate friends with the non-Muslims" (Informan: Ato Endris, January 15th 2012). That was receding overtimes throught negotiations. However, it should also be clear that certain religiously illetrate Muslims are not the only hate-mongers in the region. There are also certain Christians from all sects who attempted to marginalize and delegitimize all Muslims from their Ethiopian citizenship through echoing "Ethiopia is the Island of Christianity" printing on t-shirts and newspapers. The hate-mongers also uploaded a film that states "እፀድቅ ብዬ ባዝላት ተንጠልጥላ ቀረች" which means, "if I carry her for getting the blessing from God, she remained on my back". This quotation is intended to devalue the the hospitality of the seventh century Ethiopian king. There was also other intolerant approaches observed between certain extremist groups from either faith who dared to say, "I will not allow you to rent my house if you are of a different religion" (Informan: Ato Endris, January 15th 2012). This has to be eclipsed before instigating violence. Except such exceptionally rare cases, observing the general peacefulness of Ethiopians even at a time of open systemic violence, one informant states, "Ethiopian, both Muslims and non-Muslims, are like Angeles when I compare them with other peoples in the world" (Informant: Suleiman, May 20th, 2012).

Conclusions

During the reign of the Christian monarchy, parallel to its obstacles and discrimination on Muslims, there was a proclamation enshrined in its constitutional decree for religious freedom especially at the later phase of the reign of the emperor. The Shari'ah courts were also recognized by proclamation earlier than the constitutional decree. But Ethiopian Muslims had been prevented from taking part in national affairs and discriminated against in education, administration and the army during the era of the monarch. Ethiopian Muslims were used to be considered second-class citizen since neither their citizenship nor their religious holydays were recognized at national level. Even so, there were certain Muslim Parliament members especially from Muslim dominant areas.

Muslims were also participating in defending the nation against the Italian aggression especially here in Wallo despite the dominant rhetoric that the Muslims were in favor of the Italian invasion. Of course, there were certain Muslim clerics who might have supported the Italian force for the sake of the freedom given to them by the invader. This could not rule out those Muslims who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of defending their country. After all, there were also other faith groups who were favoring the colonialist power more than the few Muslim clerics did.

The domination of the church came to an end following the collapse of the monarch in 1974 by the military junta that was extremely inimical to all sorts of faiths. However, out of the dozen demands, the military junta responded to three of the age old demands of Muslims: full legal recognition of Ethiopian Muslims rather that than the derogatory label of "Muslims living in Ethiopia", the establishment of Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Council and the observance of the three Muslim Holidays: Eid al-Fatir, Eid al-Adha and Mawlid (the Birthday of the Prophet). Out of a dozen demands, the transitional military junta responded to these ones following the demonstration conducted in Addis Ababa in 1974.

Consequently, this period was considered as the first phase of Islamic revival in the history of Ethiopian Muslims despite the progressive animosity of the political system towards all faith institutions. Even religious students were taken to warfronts during the Derg system just like students in the modern schools. Despite its ruthless repression, Muslims still recognize the favor it did to the recognition of the identity and status of Ethiopian Islam and Muslims.

More religious freedom is given at the constitutional decree during the FDRE. This should apply for all peaceful citizens in the country. Freedom of expression and criticizing weaknesses of social, economic, political practices for early correction is also given constitutional protection. All the freedoms granted in

the constitution should be protected both by the government and the general public. If there is any disagreement among intra-and/or-interfaith groups, the ruling party of the country should play an act of arbitration instead of fanning differences in favor of one faith or sect. If there appears a new religious faction that is not supported by all/some members of a particular faith groups, this intruding faith should be allowed to establish its separate faith institutions as enshrined in the constitution instead of creating chaos with peaceful faith groups who demanded their religious freedom by labeling with terms like "extremism" and "terrorism".

The tendency of using superficial behaviors including growing beard, shortening trousers, frequently going to the mosque, wearing veils/hijab, learning the Qur'an and hadith at early ages, abstaining veneration of saints and shrines, abstinence from chewing chat, and so forth as the yardstick to judge whether or not someone is an extremist (or by extension a terrorist), is misleading and undemocratic and only exacerbates the problem. Stakeholders have to know that terrorism is far more complex and dangerous to be characterized by the above harmless features. The most important issue here is to differentiate those groups who believe in provocative jihad and defensive jihad. Extremists in general and terrorists in particular twist the meaning of jihad for their own agenda even killing noncombatant civilians for their evil cause, an act which is not allowed in Islam at all. Ethiopian Salafis are believed to be peaceful and this is being proved by their peaceful demonstrations mainly bound in mosques on weekly basis until the crackdown was done.

Generally speaking, Islam and Muslims used to influence Ethiopian politics in the past and they are still influencing politics from demanding their freedom of religion to the inclusion of their rights as constitutional decrees. The contemporary confrontation between the ruling party and certain sects of the Muslim society that openly started in early 2012 through huge demonstration in Ethiopian big cities in an unprecedented manner in history revealed how Islam and Muslims are influencing the socio-political scenario in Ethiopia. Friday protests, although confined in mosques, were not interrupted up until the draft of this paper was written. The protests stopped in the mid-2013 after the anti-riot police crackdown on Eid Al-Fatir (in South Wallo). Activists have so far clung to their peaceful demonstrations so long as their voices are heard even long after the Mejlis members were elected in early October 2012. Limiting the protest in mosques is also one of the proofs for their peacefulness. Ethiopia (and Wallo in particular) comprises a society in which coexistence and mutual tolerance are the dominant modes of inter-communal and intra-and inter-religious relations. These golden cultural practices should be safeguarded and enhanced further by all genuine peace-seekers including the fundamental teachings of Islam that

has fifteen hundred–years of experience of tolerance and mutual respect. Thus, Islam and Muslims have the potential, like others, if utilized properly, for enhancing the developmental vision of the country by suggesting ideal solutions from, for instance, the debate on how to utilize the River Abbay to how to tackle problems of terrorism.

Consequently, marginalization of any peaceful social group (e.g. Salafi Muslims) from participating in the political (economic and social as well as educational) agendas of the country without any substantial evidence will harm not only Muslims but also the whole peoples, nations and nationalities in the country. Muslims should also participate in the political arena and prove their peacefulness to others including the mass media in order to neutralize the demonization of the religion and the fellow faith groups by working hand-in-hand with other faith groups for the prosperity of the nation. Stakeholders should also know that Ethiopian Muslims have never had civil war due to intra-faith differences since they are abided by the general principle of Islam – accommodation of minor differences observed due to variation of the Four School of Thoughts.

To sum up, despite the on and off confrontations of Muslims with the political power holders, the general Muslim and Christian population have for ages lived with peace and collaboration in times of both adversity and prosperity. This tradition of peaceful coexistence, mutual tolerance and respect has been the legacy of Ethiopian Christians and Muslims that need to be preserved despite variations of political orders.

We should, however, be aware that any sort of intrafaith conflicts should be treated carefully based on the principle of dialogue and mutual respect. Otherwise, chasing one of the sects away from its faith institutions with the intension of de-legitimizing that particular sect may eventually lead to the proliferation of extremists and terrorists which could drag the whole nation into civil war as experienced in certain Arab nations.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CURRENT ISLAMIC CULTURAL MOVEMENTS AND RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

Introduction

During the reign of the Christian monarchy, there was a proclamation enshrined in its constitutional decree for religious freedom especially at the later phase of the reign of the emperor despite attempts of marginalizing Muslims. The Shari'ah courts were also recognized by proclamation earlier than the constitutional decree. But Ethiopian Muslims had been prevented from taking part in national affairs and discriminated against in education, administration and the army during the era of the monarch. No Muslim holidays were observed at national level. But Muslims were participating in defending the sovereignty of the country against the Italian aggression despite the dominant rhetoric that the Muslims were in favor of the Italian invasion. The role of Muslims during the invasion should not be considered differently from that of the other faith groups: some supported the aggressors tantalized by the religious freedom while the majorities were fighting the invader hand-in-hand with their non-Muslim neighbors.

The domination of the church came to an end following the end of the monarch in 1974 by the military force that was extremely hostile to all sorts of faiths. However, full legal recognition of Ethiopian Muslims rather than the derogatory label of "Muslims living in Ethiopia", the establishment of Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Council and the observance of the three Muslim Holidays: Eid al-Fatir, Eid al-Adha and Mawlid (the Birthday of the Prophet) were realized following an historical protest conducted in Addis Ababa in 1974 right at the inception of the Socialist leadership. Despite its ruthless repression, Muslims still recognize the favor it did to the recognition of the identity and status of Ethiopian Islam and Muslims.

More religious freedom is given at the constitutional decree during the FDRE in an unprecedented manner in Ethiopian history. However, certain sects like the Salafis claim that the FDRE is meddling with their religious freedom by denying their rights to Mejlis election and jailing their representatives accusing them of terrorism and even intending to establish an Islamic state.

We should be aware that any sort of intra-faith/interfaith conflicts should be treated carefully based on the principle of dialogue and mutual respect. Otherwise, chasing one of the sects away from its faith institutions with the intension of de-legitimizing that particular sect may eventually lead to the proliferation of extremists and terrorists that could drag the whole nation into civil war as experienced in certain parts of the world. We need to understand aspects of certain Islamic factions for appropriate

intervention by different stakeholders. The purpose of this Chapter is to explore some of the Islamic cultural movements felt within the Muslim communities.

One may experience different nomenclatures regarding Muslim societies ranging from liberals, (neo-) fundamentalists, conservatives, Sufis, Salafis, radicalists or Islamists and so forth (Roy, 2004:6). These and other related terminologies refer to models of transmission of Islam to the general public rather than sects. While almost all advocate adherence to the Qur'an, the Sunnah and the scholarly consensus, they may differ in their level of religiosity, interpretation of religious scriptures and in their adaptation of lenient or otherwise mechanisms for achieving their purposes. In this section, I highlight features of Khawarije, Jama'at Tekfir, Shi'a, Sufism (liberal, popular or traditional Islam) and Salafism as Islamic cultural dissemination mechanisms. It is recalled that the two dominant sects in Islam are Sunnites and Shiites.

The concept of Jihad is also discussed from religious and radicalists' perspective. Moreover, the issue of terrorism at international and national level is also addressed by taking the case of terrorist groups in the horn of Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular.

Radical and Moderate Islamic Cultural Movements

Mainstream Muslims are peaceful and non-violent. These include Sufis and Salafis in particular and Ahlal Sunnah Wal-Jama'ah in general. Radical and extremist groups include Khawarij and Jema'at-al-Tekfir. Recently, however, Salafis are also considered as radical Islamic activists.

The Khawarij

The Khawarij is the earliest Islamic sect, which traces its beginning to a religio-political controversy over the Caliphate. During the reign of the third caliph, Othman, certain rebellious groups accused the Caliph of nepotism and misrule, and the resulting discontent led to his assassination. The rebels then recognized the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, Ali, as ruler but later deserted him and fought against him, accusing him of having committed a grave sin in submitting his claim to the caliphate to arbitration (Rahman, 2009). Repudiating not only the existing caliph candidates but all Muslims who did not accept their views, the Khawarijites engaged in campaigns of harassment and terror. One of the major principles that flowed from their aggressive idealism was militancy, or *jihad*, which the Khawarij considered to be among the cardinal principles, or pillars, of Islam.

The placing of such principles made the Khawarij highly inflammable fanatics, intolerant of almost any established political authority. They incessantly resorted to rebellion and as a result were virtually wiped out during the first two centuries of Islam despite the existence of its remnants to these days (Rahman, 2009).

Although Khawarij is now essentially a story of the past, it has left a permanent influence on Islam, because of reaction against it. It forced the religious leadership of the community to formulate a bulwark against religious intolerance and fanaticism (Rahman, 2009). More recently, the off-shoots of the Khawarij (like ISIS and Boko Haram) are creating chaos in Africa and in the Middle East.

Jama'at-al-Takfir wa-al-Hijra

This is a group that calls itself "Jama'at-al-Muslimeen" (The Community of Muslims) which others call it "Jama'at- al –Takfir wal-Hijra" (Hassen, 2002:2-3). According to the author, this group was established in 1950's and 1960's in prisons in Egypt by those people experiencing torches and execution of some members of the Muslim Brotherhood which was formed in 1928. Young members of the Muslim Brotherhood detached themselves from the parent organization and labeled both the government and those who supported its system '*Kafir*' i.e. disbelievers. This group accused of the Muslim Brotherhood as "a group straying away from Islam". Just like the Khawarij departed itself from the Companions of the Prophet, Jama'at-al Takfir also parted away from the Muslim Brotherhood. However, it is imperative to remind here the fact that this extreme Islamist group has no strong establishment in Ethiopia (Hassen, 2002: vii). I understand that its institutional base is almost non-existent except at individual level "detected by their refusal to join local Muslims in mosques, funerals and other similar social gatherings" (Informant Zulaykha, Kemmisiie, April 20th 2012). This group like other extremist ones has deviated from the golden mean rule (Middle Way) and easiness of Islam (Qur'an, 2:143; A'eraf:157) contrasting Ahlal-Sunnah wal-Jama'a.

For mainstream Muslims, this group is considered extremist because it violates common practices of Muslims such as learning in modern institutions, paying taxes for a secular state, cooperating with Muslims and non-Muslims in different social issues such as marriage, idir and other social gatherings. This contradicts the law of the land and the group should have been checked by the government. However, in Ethiopia and other parts of the world, many secular states neglect this radical group and keep their eyes on Salafis (until Boko haram in Nigeria and ISIS in Syria –Iraq erupted in 2013).

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The "Birth" of Shi'a

The history of Islam in Ethiopia has been exclusively the history of Sunnis (Hussein, 2001). Previous Ulemas and the common Muslims have successfully passed Islam to the present generation overcoming the challenges of the period. Recently, due to the efforts of Muslim preachers, and Ulemas and intellectuals, the work of the missionaries in converting Muslims is receding. Contemporarily, a new stage is inaugurated by "baptizing" Muslims with the ideology of "Ahbash" (Hassen, 2012: 19). Although the term "Ahbash" linguistically represents the plural form of "Habesh" (in memory of the founding father of the group, named Sheikh Abdallah Al-Harari al-Habesh) in Arabic which means "people of Abyssinia, Ethiopia", the term is now used as a kind of school of thought which seemingly represents the Islamic sect called Shi'a (Yunus, 2012: 41-42). In other words, the word "Ahbash" is used as a disguising form for the term "Shi'a". Consequently, there is a report of distribution of Shi'a religious books in Wallo province in towns like Kombolcha and to a limited extent Dessie and Jimma. Ahbash is believed to have longer existence in Harar Town. Moreover, Ahlal Bayt Associations are being established in Addis Ababa representing the creed of Shi'a (Hassen, 2012: 16; Isaac, 2012; Akmel, 2012).

Ever since the Iran Revolution in 1978, Shiites have attempted to collapse the world of Sunnites by cooperating with anti-Islamic forces (Hassen, 2012:17). While Muslim scholars (Ahmadin, 2012 and Hassen, 2012) assumed the above attempts under the placard of "Ahbash" as the mysterious introduction of Shi'ah into Ethiopia, which I labeled this subsection as the "birth of Shia" in Ethiopia, there is also an organized effort of silencing Muslims never to talk of such terms especially during the election process of Mejlis members both by governmental bodies and their supporters from the community in October 2012. Raising the issue of "Ahbash" or by extension "Rafidha Shi'a" is considered as the agenda of the "extremist" and "terrorists" that are now being hunted by day and by night suspected of terrorism and establishment of an Islamic state. And now the tension in the Muslim communities in Ethiopia is considered as the Sufi-Wahhabiyya (Salafi) confrontation since the Shi'a commonly functions in concealed form until it is deep rooted commonly in rural areas where people are religiously ignorant. "Advocates of Ahbash pretend to be the defenders and preservers of Sufism which in reality they are hypocrites" (Ahmadin, 2012: 135). It also pretends to be the advocates of Ahlal Sunna wal-Jama'a to deceive innocent Muslims, while it is out of this moderate version of Islam. This sect is known to ignite civil war in Lebanon (Ahmadin, 2012: 133; Isaac, 2012; Akmel, 2012).

After grasping power in Iran, Shi'a is creating expansion mechanisms all over the world. Especially, it is creating its own social communities in Africa. Recently, it is also attempting to put its feet in Ethiopia. In

the name of Ahlal Bayt (the Family of the Prophet), it is establishing different associations. Through creating job opportunities abroad and giving financial support for its in-country members, it is attempting to strengthen its grip in Ethiopia unlike the past. Moreover, there is a rumor that this movement of Shi'a is being supported by some members of the Federal and Regional Islamic Council Affairs and top Governmental bodies to counter attack the so called Wahhabiya movement (Hassen, 2012: 45; Isaac, 2012: 281). However, I understand that the FDRE is in favor of the traditional Sufi Islam in Ethiopia and attempts to suppress the Salafis movement.

The Shi'a may appear to be accepted for some superficial Muslims and certain Sufis since they legitimize veneration of saints, local pilgrimage to Sufi centers, and use of Chat and intercession capacity of saints just like the traditional Sufi beliefs which is severely opposed by the Salafis.

The major threat of Ahbash is the fact that it considers "all Muslims outside its fold as disbelievers especially it fights the "Wahhabi" ideology and preaches that Wahhabis should be banned from any social affairs" and hence, follows the imprisonment of thousands of Salafi activists in Ethiopia suspected of terrorism (Isaac, 2012: 278; Akmel, 2012) and establishing an Islamic state in Ethiopia. Consequently, a couple of magazines and newspapers that used to be prepared by the Salafis are banned recently and Salafi Ulemas are banned from the Mejlis election and even from leading mosque prayers in certain regions.

Liberal Islam

Liberal or traditional Islam is referred to as Sufism (Roy, 2004:52; Ernst, 2004). Sufism refers to mystical Islamic belief and practice in which Muslims seek to find the truth of divine love and knowledge through direct personal experience of God. It consists of a variety of mystical paths (tariqa) through fraternal orders that are designed to ascertain the nature of man and God and to facilitate the experience of the presence of divine love and wisdom in the world (Ernst, 2004:166). At its commencement, Sufism was a practical method of spiritual education and self-realization grew slowly into a theosophical system (Schimmel, 2009).

Rabasa et al (2007) state that liberal or moderate Muslims are those who share "the key" dimensions of democratic culture. These include support for democracy and "internationally" recognized human rights (including gender equality and freedom of worship), respect for diversity, acceptance of non-sectarian sources of law, and opposition to terrorism and other illegitimate forms of violence (Rabasa, et al. 2007). In other words, liberal or moderate Muslims are those who do not support the Shari'ah law even in 99 %

Muslim society. Besides that, what they call it "internationally recognized human rights" is more of Western liberal ideals which could contradict with many non-Western cultures. Of course, in the context of multi-faith and multi-cultural societies like Ethiopia, the Secular and multi-party system of governance is preferable among the majority of Muslims, I presume. That is why Hassen Taju, a renowned Islamic researcher, reported on Ethiopian TV "The separation of the State and Religion has greater advantage especially for Ethiopian Muslims" (July 7th 2012).

Early Islamic asceticism developed as a counterweight to the increasing worldliness of the expanding Muslim community; only later were foreign elements that were compatible with mystical theology and practices adopted and made "to conform" to Islam. "The early theorists of Sufism had described to the standard Islamic religious sciences" (Ernst, 2004:175). Sufis are characterized by being knowledgeable in religious matters, possessors of karama (blessing ability), and hence, are considered as awulyau-Allah (the friends of God) by the common mainly rural Muslims in Ethiopia and abroad as well. They are also considered as less worldly, more friendly, loving, and more patient and pacifist even during quarrels and disputes. "Little sleep, little talk, little food" were fundamental; fasting became one of the most important preparations for the spiritual life of Sufis (Schimmel, 2009). The Sufis who live in rural Ethiopia are mainly less worldly, more tolerant and more intellectual in religious matters. Hating the cultural mix of the urban life many of them still refrain from living in urban areas and even they do not frequently come to such areas unless for necessity. Unlike the rest of the Muslim societies, Ethiopian Ulemas used to live hidden in rural areas especially in Islamic Shrines. If any Islamic scholar were seen frequently in urban areas, he was considered sinful in those old days (Be'er Magazine, 2009:9).

By educating the masses and deepening the spiritual concerns of the Muslims, Sufism has played an important role in the formation of Muslim society. The Sufis have been further responsible for a large-scale missionary activity all over the world, which still continues including Ethiopia. Through the poetry of their literatures (in Ethiopia, menzuma, hadra, religious gathering, and pilgrimage to local saints) mystical ideas spread widely among the Muslims. In some countries, Sufi leaders were also active politically (Schimmel, 2009). The Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt is a case in point.

Saint worship is contrary to Islam, which does not admit of any mediating role for human beings between man and God; but the cult of living and even more of dead saints—visiting their tombs to take vows there—responded to the feeling of the masses, and thus a number of pre-Islamic customs were absorbed into Islam under the cover of mysticism. The advanced mystic was often granted the capacity of working miracles called *karamat* (*charismata* or "graces"). Among them are "cardiognosia"

(knowledge of the heart), providing food from the unseen, presence in two places at the same time, and help for the disciples, be they near or far. In short, a saint is one "whose prayers are heard" and who has *tasarruf*, the power of materializing in this world possibilities that still rest in the spiritual world. Many great saints, however, considered miracle working as a dangerous trap on the path that might distract the Sufi from his real goal (Schimmel, 2009).

The orthodox disagree with such aspects of Sufism as saint worship, visiting of tombs, musical performances, miracle mongering, degeneration into jugglery, and the adaptation of pre-Islamic and un-Islamic customs; and the reformers object to the influences of the monistic interpretation of Islam upon moral life and human activities (Ernst, 2004:178).

Sufism could also be condemned as a source of degeneracy. Political and social reformers in the Islamic countries have often objected to Sufism because they have generally considered it as backward, hampering the free development of society. Thus, the orders and dervish lodges in Turkey were closed by Kemal Atatürk in 1925. Yet, their political influence is still palpable. In Ethiopia today, there is a tendency to revive and re-institutionalize Sufism by marginalizing more recent Islamic cultural movements such as Salafism in the name of fighting religious extremism and terrorism.

The most famous and influential anti-Sufi movement arose in the Arabian Peninsula and called itself al-Muwahhidun ("the Monotheists"); but it came to be known as Wahhabiyah by its enemies, after its founder, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–92) inspired by Ibn Taymiyah (a 14th century scholar). Ibn al-Wahhab argued that the Qur'an and *sunnah* could provide the basis for a reconstruction of Islamic society out of the degenerate form in which it had come to be practiced. Islam itself was not an inhibiting force; "traditional" Islam was. Far from advocating the traditional, the "Wahhabis" argued that what had become traditional had strayed very far from the fundamental, which can always be found in the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. Such differences of emphasis between the Sufis, who are dominant in rural Ethiopia, and the Salafis, who are mainly youngsters and urban dwellers, have created tension recently.

Salafiyya

While the right terminology for the contemporary revivalism of Islam may be 'Salafi', certain western scholars such as Roy (2004:232) labeled this kind of Islamic movement "neo-fundamentalism" while others call it Wahhabism. Roy states, "Neo-fundamentalism is not a structured organization or even a precise school of thought; it is a trend, a state of mind, a dogmatic relation to the fundamentals of the religion. It thrives in very different and even opposing contexts, from former Muslim Brothers to the

Tablighi Jama'at and "Wahhabis," a derogatory term for Salafis (Roy, 2004:234). Liberal Muslims call Salafism Wahhabism by referring to the official creed of Saudi Arabia. But they prefer to call themselves Salafis, i.e. "followers of the pious ancestors". Such neo-fundamentalists by definition reject the idea that there can be different schools of thought since the basic sources of Islam are the Qur'an, the Prophetic Sunnah and the consensus of scholars based on the understandings of the pious ancestors, Salafis – which stands contrary to any innovation (related to worshipping of Allah) by following ones' whims and personal desires in religious matters. Salafis encompass all Muslims under the name "Ahl-al-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah", a nomenclature that is even accepted by Sufis, in a non-sectarian paradigm. Historically, rejection of sectarian affiliations, of different schools of law, of theology and philosophy, in favor of a strict return to the Qur'an and the Sunnah is a perennial feature of Islamic fundamentalism. According to Roy (2004:235), two of the main neo-fundamentalist movements, the Tablighi and the "Wahhabis" had till the 1960s a limited territorial basis (mainly Saudi Arabia), but gained a supranational worldwide audience through a policy of extensive preaching.

The Tablighi, who do not refer to themselves as Salafi, launch short-term campaign tours by missionary teams comprising multinational and multilingual lay preachers. This practice is also becoming common recently in Ethiopia following the relatively better religious freedom. They instruct their members to avoid entanglement in local politics, and to promote the veiling of women (Roy, 2004:235). Despite the prevalence of considerable Tablighi Jama'a in urban and roadside-village areas in Ethiopia, banning of girls education and interaction with non-Muslims is not common among Salafi and Tabligh groups in Ethiopia except among Jama'at Tekfirs (Hassen, 2002).

Both print and audio-visual media frequently report the tendency of reduction of religious tolerance associating this practice to the Salafis and Tablighis. What I observed is that since these groups advocate strict adherence to the tenets of Islam, you may not find them clapping, dancing and singing during Christmas. These days just like as they used to do it by then, liberal Muslims are used to even drinking alcohol. It is obvious that as the superficial Muslims become more religious, they tend to drop non-Islamic practices. This is the consequence of religiosity. That sort of religious leniency experienced in the past is partly the result of oppression and partly religious ignorance and should not be recalled as an exemplar model for tolerance. "Tolerance means respecting other faiths and other faith members while practicing one's own religion. It also means living peacefully with other faith groups without any attempt of forceful conversion" (Al-Islam, 2010:24). I understand that there are still Muslims who accompany tabot festivals as there are also Christians who fast the month of Ramadan especially in

Wallo region (Be'er Magazine, 2009). However, I believe that it is unfair to expect a person to perform rituals out of his/her faith paradigm and use this as the yard stick for tolerance.

Probably, unlike any other religion, Islamic injunctions compel Muslims to be kind, generous, caring and sociable with their neighbors irrespective of their religion, race, color, social status, social origin, ethnicity, gender or any other differences (Hassen, 2007; Nasr, 2002: 207). I understand that tolerance means respecting the religious freedom of others. For me tolerance means visiting people of other faith groups whenever they are sick; helping them whenever they are inflicted with social and financial problems; consoling them whenever they faced grieves; tolerance means not to spoil the scriptures of other faith groups; tolerance means not to insult other people because of their faith. This is the undistorted image of tolerance in Islam.

The Salafis extend their influence through an intensive outpouring of *fatwas* and short conferences or lectures, spread through the internet, Satellite Television Channels (such as Peace TV, Iqra, Daleel and Africa TV – the last satellite TV station disseminates Islam using Ethiopian languages such as Amharic, Oromigna, Tigrigna, Somaligna and other African languages as well more recently). Contemporary preachers usually prefer to produce video and audio-tapes instead of books and do so in different languages including Western ones, in order to address the largest possible audience, thereby transcending ethnic divides. Consequently, there is a huge amount of translation taking place, although this Islamic effort is a drop in an ocean compared to the efforts of Christian missionaries. Even so, such transmission mechanisms have created general Islamic awakening that might be felt across the globe in which Ethiopia is not the exception. The reference to the classical Hanbali School of Law allows the Salafi "to reach beyond strict Wahhabi circles and thus avoid being seen as member of an extremist sect" (Roy, 2004:236). However, in Ethiopia, the Salafi movement is considered as a threat suspected of extremism, violence and even terrorism (Isaac, 2012; Akmel, 2012). Many of the Salafi activists are jailed across Ethiopian prisons; they are also banned from the Mejlis elections conducted early in October, 2012; the representative committee of seventeen members that were assigned by the Muslims (mostly in Addis Ababa) supported by the signatory of over 600,000 Muslims (Yemuslimoch Guday, 2012) are still jailed.

The Salafis versus the Islamists/Radical Islam

According to Roy (2004:247), the main divide between neo-fundamentalists and Islamists (radicalists) is over state and politics. While in theory both groups consider that Muslims should live under an Islamic

state, the neo-fundamentalists (reformists) reject political struggle as a means of establishing such a state. They believe that an Islamic state should result from the re-Islamization of the *ummah and* not be a tool for this re-Islamization. Political activism, according to neo-fundamentalists (e.g. Salafis and Tablighis), overshadows the need to reform the self. Mainstream neo-fundamentalists oppose radical Islamists including al-Qaeda, Khawarij and Tekfir. Ethiopian Salafis are not the exceptions since they oppose any terrorism.

While Islamists consciously borrowed many concepts from Western political sciences (ideology, revolution, political party) or used some Qur'anic terms to give them a modern sense (e.g. Hezbullah or God's party; mustazafin or deprived people and hakimiyya or sovereignty), neo-fundamentalists pretend to ignore the West and to live in some sort of intellectual autarky or self-sufficiency (Roy, 2004:247-248). Salafis believe that reform of the soul should precede reform of the state. They assert that politics does not help to purify the soul. They commonly prefer political neutrality. All this stands contrary to the Islamists or radical terrorist groups who often wage provocative jihad (which is offensive rather than defensive) to topple secular states. However, knowingly or unknowingly Salafists in Ethiopia are being marginalized and even excluded from elections for Mejlis conducted in October 2012 in certain regions since this group is accused of extremism and even terrorism recently (Isaac, 2012; Akmel, 2012).

For neo-fundamentalists the aim of action is salvation, not revolution. Their objective is the individual, not society. One should first return to the true path as an individual Muslim before taking political action: 'A true Salafi… knows that victory is not possible without true tawhid and shirk cannot be fought with the like of it' (http://www.qss.org). Salafis believe that Islam should be established in your heart and it will, in turn, be established for you in your land. For the Salafis, Islamists are deviant religious thinkers. Another area of difference between the two groups is that for the radical Islamists, Jihad is a permanent and personal religious duty i.e. obligatory. But the Salafi mainstream ulama consider jihad a collective (not obligatory) rather than an individual duty for defense purpose only (Waghid, 2012).

For the Salafis and Tablighis dawah (preaching) has priority over jihad while the reverse is true for the radical Islamists. For them, jihad is not the agenda except for self-defense based on certain rules of conduct during war that should be respected (Yusuf, 2012:57). Radical Islamic groups such as Khawarij and Jama'at Tekfir are against the moderate teachings of Islam and they use jihad for provocative war and hence opposed by mainstream Muslims. However, nowadays, there is a tendency to categorize probably erroneously the Salafis as radical Islamists especially here in Ethiopia. Such an effort of

marginalizing the Salafis in Ethiopia appears to be a top agenda politically especially after the Arab Spring which seems to create panic among many states all over the world.

Sufiyya versus Salafiyya in Ethiopia

According to Hussein (2001:73), of the three main nineteenth century forms of Islamic movements in the Muslim world (Wahhabism, Mahdism, and Tariqa revival), it was only to the last that the Ethiopian Muslim ulama, especially those of Wollo, responded favorably. The major Sufi orders of nineteenth-century Ethiopia believed that the mystical ideal was best achieved by "union" with the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad through the recitation of *dhikr* and commonly some of the orders were extremely hostile to asceticism (self-denial). The local ulama worked towards the reform of existing religious practices, which they perceived as being incompatible with Islamic orthodoxy (Hussein, 2001:74).

Since the Sufi centers were used as the major Islamic education schools, the danger of the centers to degeneration was precluded for long from becoming mere centers of rituals and popular festivals. To the life of piety and sanctity, and the power to transmit *baraka,* attributed to the Sufi scholars, was therefore added their reputation as reformers and defenders of orthodoxy through offering standard Islamic education. Only in the time of succeeding generations did the scholarly dimension of local Sufism begin to be overshadowed and eventually eclipsed, by the popular features with which it later came to be identified. As a result, many scholarly institutions started to give way to the alien rituals and saint veneration (Hussein, 2001:80).

The local Sufi heads made contributions by strengthening the position of Islam by introducing and sustaining a new spiritual dimension to religious insight and experience: the ritual of reciting and studying dhikr, both individually and collectively, and saint veneration as a way to salvation. They also set a high standard of Islamic morality and devotion in their behavior and imparted a sense of fraternity, identity and solidarity to members of the scholarly and lay communities through regularly-held religious gathering (*hadra*). Thus, they preserved a collective spirit of belonging to a wider community cutting across occupational, ethnic and regional particularity and hence, contributing to the unification of the country in some way. Had it not been for the efforts of the Sufi teachers, Islam in Ethiopia would not have been able to stand on its own feet (Hussein, 2001:81).

However, reform movements against the degenerating Sufi practices sprang from the scholarly Sufis themselves. For instance, one of the mystics and scholars who represented the indigenous tradition of

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reform, al-Hajji Bushra of Geta (Wallo), led a life dominated by a perpetual struggle against reprehensive innovations embedded in the existing religious practices. As well as condemning such non-Islamic rituals as the zar-possession cult and worshipping under trees, al-Hajji Bushra is also credited with taking an uncompromising stance against those Muslims who were lax in their observance of the prescribed rites based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah. This is one of the three exemplar Sheiks (the other two were Talaha Jafar and Sheikh Muhammad of Jama Negus) discussed by Hussein (2001: 176-202) who defend and disseminate the principles of Islamic orthodoxy starting from early nineteenth century.

All these might be considered as mechanisms to pave the way to the welcoming of the dissemination of the Salafi school of thought that has been directly or indirectly felt ever since the mid-twentieth century in Ethiopia. The development of modern communication and media technologies, the relatively better free flow of religious scriptures, the increased number of Ethiopian Muslims to perform pilgrimage in Mecca and to look for jobs abroad mainly in the Middle East – all these facilitate the dissemination of the ideology of Salafiyya in Ethiopia. Consequently, saint veneration, the practice of *zar,* worship of tombs, and other traditional non-Islamic customs seem to be reduced especially among the young generation and Islamically well educated older people. That, however, has created confrontation between Sufis and Salafis in recent times in certain areas.

At the beginning, there was a kind of minor friction between the Salafis and the Sufis due to the Salafi's despise to the local pilgrimage centers and its abhorrence to the practice of saint veneration. However, later on, differences were mostly reduced through the efforts of highly educated *ulama.* Less educated mystics such as *abagars and fuqras* and those who are self-claimed *karama*-holders and believers of *tariqa* still advocate the primacy of *Sufism* and reject *Salafiyya* in some parts of Ethiopia (like Kombolcha and Hayk)*.* Especially following the death of prominent Islamic scholars, less educated personalities crept into the Mejlis and thereby the tension of Sufism-Salafism is now a top priority agenda in Ethiopia and this is aggravated by advocates of anti-terrorism war. Abu-Bakr (2010) asserts:

> From Muslim's perspective, one of their major victories achieved during FDRE government is the open dissemination of the Salafiyya da'wah in Ethiopia. The Salafis da'wah has created Islamic awakening among Ethiopian Muslims mainly within the last two decades especially by denouncing magic and soothsayer and saint and tomb veneration. The Salafis have started to show how Islam is comprehensive of all walks of life – including spiritual, personal, economic and political issues. Consequently, this da'wah has created a

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sense of religious revival especially among young Muslims (Abu-Bakr, Bi'er Magazine, 2010, (1)6: 28).

However, the Salafis da'wah has also been thwarted by internal as well as external pressures. The worst aspect of the contemporary conditions of Muslims in Ethiopia is "considering the Salafi da'wah as a national threat due to its religious fundamentalism" (Yemuslimoch Guday, 2011 (2)16: 36). Currently, the Ethiopian Muslims are at the crossroad: on the one hand, there are advocates of the so called liberal Islam which is mainly mystical that supports the status quo and on the other hand, the Salafis opposing and protesting against the overall religious establishment by posing three basic demands to the Ethiopian government: (a) let there be general election in mosques for reestablishing the Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Council; (b) stop interfering with our religious matters by imposing the ideology of Ahbash imported from Lebanon and (c) a neutral board should be established to administer Awollia Medressa in Addis Ababa (Isaac, 2012: 393). None of these demands are met so far (except the conduction of the election of members of Mejlis outside mosques excluding Salafis in certain areas). The young Salafis are by now in a state of disillusionment in many parts of Ethiopia.

Peaceful demonstrations have been conducted across the country mainly around mosques following Friday Prayers for two years so far mainly in Addis Ababa, Dessie, Harare, Jimma and other big cities but so far no positive response is given to them except being labeled as "extremist", "terrorist", "al-Qaeda" and/ or "Wahhabis" by Kebele, Warada, and Regional State Officials and Federal Officials as well (Isaac, 2012). I observed that peaceful Muslim demonstrations seem to be continuing both overtly and covertly especially after their leaders were imprisoned suspected of the act of establishing an Islamic state and even terrorism in Addis Ababa and many other cities. That has by now receded due to the heavy hands of the riot police.

The Way of the Majority (Ahl-al-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah): The "Cohesive" Paradigm

With the rise of the orthodoxy, the foremost and elemental factor that came to be emphasized was the notion of the majority of the community. The concept of the community so vigorously pronounced by the earliest doctrine of the Qur'an gained both a new emphasis and a fresh context with the rise of Sunnism. Whereas the Qur'an had marked out the Muslim community from other communities, Sunnism now emphasized the views and customs of the majority of the community in contradistinction to peripheral groups. An abundance of tradition (ḥadith) came to be attributed to the Prophet to the effect that Muslims must follow the majority's way. Under the impact of the new ḥadith, the community, which had been charged by the Qur'an with a mission and commanded to accept a challenge, now became transformed

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into a privileged one that was endowed with infallibility (Schimmel, 2009). Because of its all-encompassing nature, no single person or group is labeled disbeliever unless one openly denies the Oneness of Allah and the Prophethood of Muhammad from the perspective of Ahl-al-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah (Hassen, 2012).

At the same time, while condemning schisms and branding dissent as heretical, Sunnis developed the opposite trend of accommodation, catholicity, and synthesis. A putative tradition of the Prophet that says "differences of opinion among my community are a blessing" was given wide currency. This principle of toleration ultimately made it possible for diverse sects and schools of thought—notwithstanding a wide range of difference in belief and practice—to recognize and coexist with each other. No group may be excluded from the community unless it itself formally renounces Islam. Catholicity was orthodoxy's answer to the intolerance and secessionism of the Khawarij and the severity of the Mu'tazilah. As a consequence, a formula was adopted in which good works were recognized as enhancing the quality of faith but not as entering into the definition and essential nature of faith. This broad formula saved the integrity of the community at the expense of moral strictness and doctrinal uniformity. This is based on the principle of tolerance of diversity of Islam (Schimmel, 2009). Mainstream Muslims in Ethiopia are Sunnis that belong to Ahlal Sunnah wal Jama'a. However, in an attempt to marginalize the Salafis, a new kind of nomenclature is being overheard from the Mejlis officials: Ahlal Sunna wal Jama'a Sufi. I have also heard the terminology "Ahlal Sunna wal jama'a ala Fahmil Salaf".

Islam and Religious Extremism

The meaning of extremism or religious radicalism seems to vary from people to people based on their particular worldview. For example, secularists, Westerns and Muslim scholars give different meanings to Islamic extremism.

The Perception of Secularists on Extremism

Al-Luwaihiq (2001:155) states, "The main axes of extremism from the point of view of the secularists are two: the politicization of the religion and the application of the Islamic Shari'ah in all spheres of life". Hence, any action that falls into one of these two categories is at best extremist one. Faudah (1988:34) also contends, "There is a stunningly clear and accepted religious overture for a political problem that is strongly confusing and backward". Faudah further states that for one of the young people to declare his [or her] embracing Islamic political thought is appropriate in some people's estimation. "But it is

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rashness in my estimate" (Ibid: 49). The religion is too honorable to be dragged into politics. And it is too respectable to be tarnished by political ventures, he argued.

According to Al-Ishmaawi (1987), the politicization and application of the Shari'ah is to be extremism and radicalism since Islam is a religion of worship that does not involve itself with politics. This implies that any movement to politicize religion will always have these attributes of violence and radicalism. Similarly, "banning alcohol, gambling," prostitution "and the like is considered extremist and radical because it has mixed religion with politics" (Al-Luwaihiq 2001:156).

As for the call to implement the Shari'ah in every aspect of life, it is the second signpost indicating extremism and radicalism according to secularist conception. While stating the idea that the separation between religion and state does not mean an antagonistic toward religion, secularists believe that applying the Shari'ah is treated as a form of radicalism and extremism. Surprisingly, secularists have further considered the Muslim woman's dress (hijab and jilbaab) as well as establishing Islamic banks as an apparent form indicative of extremism and radicalism (Ibid:157).

In sum, although the secularists view any deviation from the endemic Western scheme in the Islamic societies – a scheme that has become the custom and accepted mode – to be extremism and radicalism, their belief and commitment to maintain the separation of state and religion especially in a mufti-faith cultural context like Ethiopia is vital for peaceful coexistence.

Western Perception of Extremism

According to Munson (2009), because the term fundamentalism is Christian in origin, because it carries negative connotations, and because its use in an Islamic context emphasizes the religious roots of the phenomenon while neglecting the nationalistic and social grievances that underlie it, many scholars prefer to call Islamic fundamentalists "Islamists" and to speak of "Islamist movements" instead of Islamic fundamentalism. Yet, this kind of terminology is also offensive. The correct nomenclature might be Muslim extremists. Nevertheless, the term Islamic fundamentalism has been current in both popular and scholarly literature since the late 20th century. From Muslim scholars' perspective, however, neither the term "Islamist" nor "fundamentalist" is appropriate to represent Islam since the "Islamist radicals" are better called "un-Islamic" due to the fact that they deviated from the fundamental teachings of Islam. Regarding the use of the term "fundamentalist", Muslim scholars urge that being non-fundamentalist (i.e. being without the basic teachings of one's religion) is one of the real causes for religious radicalism which is manifested in terrorism and violence (Al-Qaradhawi, 2010).

The subject of Islamic fundamentalism attracted a great deal of attention in the West after the Iranian Revolution of 1978/79 and especially after the September 11 Attacks on the United States in 2001 by al-Qaeda, an international Islamist terrorist network. The spectacular nature of these events may have lent plausibility to the common but mistaken belief in the West that Islam and Islamic fundamentalism are closely connected, if not identical. However, the perpetrators were mainly graduates of western education rather than Islamic education (Roy, 2004).

The Western perception of extremism among Muslims is investigated by Dekmejian (1985) who presents a number of verbal and behavioral indices of fundamentalism. The author distinguishes between two types of fundamentalism: passive fundamentalism and active fundamentalism. Some of the indices that are common to both types are as follows:

> regular mosque attendance; strict observance of the Five Pillars of Islam; striving for an exemplar life with a significant degree of adherence to Qur'anic prohibitions (such as abstaining from alcohol); regular religious meditation and reading of the Qur'an and other Islamic literature; participation in group activities organized by religious societies; participation in neighborhood self-help and mutual assistance societies, which provide health care, food and social service particularly to the poor; growing full beards and thin moustaches as a sign of devotion and piety and often displaying short haircuts; wearing distinctive clothing: males usually wear loose garments which does not cover the feet [ankle]; females wear loose garments covering the body with head cover (Dekmejian, 1985:54-55).

Ethiopian non-Muslim authors like Ephraim (2008) and Abba Samuel (2008) also have similar conception on Ethiopian Muslims. According to these authors, Ethiopia and being an Ethiopian is defined from their own faith (Orthodox Christianity) perspective alone; they also assert that the Ethiopian Muslims' Islamic identity manifestation is jeopardy to Ethiopia. Consequently, whosoever wears *jelebiyya* (male-Muslim's dress), *niqaab* (female's head and face cover), hijab, shortens trousers up to the ankles, grows beard, constructs mosques, and establishes Muslim non-governmental organizations are the descriptions and works of extremists. Both Abba Samuel (2008) and Ephraim (2008) have strongly negative attitude towards Islamic magazines and VCD's that are translated into Ethiopian languages. They have strived to relate these works with extremism. Abba Samuel particularly believes that the return of Muslims to the Holy Qur'an and the Prophetic Sunnah is not the characteristics of Ethiopian Islam. Rather this is the characteristics of the Islam of Arabs.

Al-Qaradhawi (2010:137) states, "Religious extremism is mostly born following its opposite version – irreligious extremism. Worse still, what leads to religious extremism is the blasphemy done to the religion". Al-Luwaihiq (2001:171) contends, "In their perception, the Westerners' reference to what they

call 'Islamic fundamentalism' comes from a preconceived notion, which is Christian fundamentalism whose adherence are described as being irrational, biased and bigoted."

Not everything that the Western experts stated about extremism is incorrect. Instead, it is partially correct and partially incorrect (Al-Luwaihiq, 2001:177). Some of their correct descriptions of "fundamentalists" include: declaring mainstream Muslims as disbelievers is being extremist; killing innocent civilians in the acts of terror and violence is extremism. These descriptions are truly extremism according to Ahlal Sunna wal-Jamaah. Al-Luwaihiq (2001) further adds:

> On the other hand, the Western conceptions on Muslim extremism are mistaken with respect to the following aspects: failing to differentiate between passive and active fundamentalists, all practicing, non-secularist Muslims without exception are extremists and in reality, not one Muslim who adheres to the commands of Islam, even if only on an individual basis, can escape that description. They are also incorrect in their claim that calling to a non-separation of religion and life is a form of extremism. The Westerners consider not separating between religion and life (particularly politics) as a form of extremism. This is a clear fault in their perception. This fault is visible in the opinion of some researchers who are ignorant of the fact that Islam does not distinguish between religion and politics. Although the Muslims may have forgotten that principle for a long period, they eventually woke up, even if it just be on the level of calling to that principle (Al-Luwaihiq, 2001:177-178).

Blaming the entire essence of jihad is also mistaken. Of course, I agree that un-Islamic version of Jihad that does not discriminate the combatants from the non-combatants as the contemporary terrorists do is not allowed in Islam totally. However, Jihad that leads to the overthrow of ruthless oppressors (who spread evil, inequality and injustice and corruption) relying on their temporal power is permitted in Islam – this is praiseworthy jihad. This is a reality that happens in history whether Islam allows it or not. But jihad is not done simply on blind hate. It is not also waged for converting other faith groups by force. It is waged only for defensive purpose and as a last resort (Abedi and Legenhausen, 1986).

The View of Muslims towards Extremism

The meaning given to "extremism" tends to vary. Its acceptable meaning is that "to be an extremist" means to "use compulsion, violence and war on the ground of religion" (Teshome, 2012:22). This act of compulsion in religion is forbidden (Qur'an 2:256). One of the prerequisite in accepting Islam as a religion is that the person is asked whether or not he/she is forced. If it is found to be due to compulsion, the *shahadatain* is nullified. Hence, Muslims do not want to be forced to accept a certain faith nor do they want to force others. What Muslims dislike is not Christianity or Judaism but to be out of the teachings of these heavenly religions to the extent of negating human decency and dignity. Muslims, like any other religious persons, are concerned with the spread of alcoholism, prostitution, pornography,

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nudity, business fraud and other social and personal ills (Zakir, 2007). Other than that, Muslims accept differences in faith, color, economy, and language as a natural and healthy process, not as a sign of cursedness (Teshome, 2012). "O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other…." (Qur'an, 49:13). Thus, for Muslims, respecting and living peacefully with people whose language, faith and culture are different is a religious obligation. Whenever any disagreement is created between and among different social groups, Muslims, like any other faith groups, first and foremost strive to solve the friction peacefully. In Wallo, community elders, called Sheikhs and Abagars, are known for conflict resolution as the Abba Gadas do in Oromia Region. Most importantly, the conflict resolution is commonly done by the initiation of both Muslim and Christian elders. This highlights the long tradition of coexistence in the region. Both Muslims and Christians recognize the arbitration of elders from the two faith groups (Teshome, 2012). As the saying goes on, "to err is human". In case violence erupted, efforts should be done to curb the violence instead of fanning the fire.

The ease and simplicity of Islam are among its distinguishing features that differentiate it. Experiencing hardship to the self and others is not the goal of the Shari'ah (Al-Luwaihiq, 2001:40; Qur'an, al-Hajj, 78; 2:185; 5:6). The verses are evidences to deny hardship or extremism and to establish the wideness and flexibility in every matter concerning which people differ related to the laws that come from the texts (Al-Luwaihiq, 2001:41). The message of Islam can be summarized as: "gar hunu, atakriru, absiru, atashebiru" which means: "Make issues easy; do not be extremists; Tell good news; do not be terrorists".

Forgiveness and pardon are from the most prominent aspects of the magnanimity of Islam with respect to warfare. The best example for this is when the Prophet conquered Mecca, he forgave all his enemies. Muslims are often heard saying "awuf tabaabaalu", which means "forgive one another" usually by compensating with something for the disadvantaged party in kind, cash and most importantly in words and heart. All these bear testimony that magnanimity or ease and mercifulness, as opposed to harshness or extremism, is one of the fundamental foundations of Islamic society.

The Concept and Practice of Jihad in Islam

The word "jihad" means "struggle" or "shriving" in the cause of Islam or to work for a noble cause with determination; it does not mean "holy war" since war in Arabic is "harb" and holy is "muqadassa". However, the word "jihad" as a concept and practice has been appropriated and distorted by terrorist groups as part of their violent campaign against the West and their own governments (Knapp, 2003:82).

The Classical Concept of Jihad

In the Qur'an jihad is found in the sense of striving in the cause of God. It was also used to describe warfare against the enemies of Muslim community for defense purpose but as a last resort (Knapp, 2003:83). Islamic jurists consider jihad in the context of conflict in a world divided between "the territory of Islam" and "the territory of non-Muslims". This does not however imply that Muslims must wage non-stop warfare. The jurists allowed for the negotiation of truces and peace treaties. Moreover, extending the territory of Islam does not mean the annihilation of non-Muslims, nor even their necessary conversion; jihad cannot imply conversion by force, since the Qur'an (2:256) states that "there is no compulsion in religion". More than a religious aim, jihad had a political one: the drive to establish a unified Muslim realm for the creation of a just political and social order (Streusand, 1997:2). Jihad was not generally understood as an obligation of each individual Muslim but as a general communal requirement of the Muslim community. Only in emergencies, when the territory of Islam comes under unexpected attack, do all Muslims have to participate in jihad (Ibid: 2).

This consensus of a restricted defensive jihad was contested by a Muslim scholar, ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328). He declared that a Muslim ruler who fails to enforce the Shari'ah rigorously in all aspects forfeits his right to rule. By going well beyond most jurists who tolerated rulers who violated the Shari'ah for the sake of community stability, ibn Taymiyya laid much of the grand work for the intellectual arguments of contemporary radical Muslims (Sivan, 1990:101). Islamic law generally condemns all warfare that does not qualify as defensive jihad in any warfare (Donne, 1991). Islamic juristic tradition is also very hostile toward terror as a means of political resistance. Classical Muslim jurists were remarkably tolerant toward political rebels by holding that they may not be executed nor their property confiscated. This tolerance vanished, however, for rebels who conducted attacks against unsuspecting and defenseless victims or who spread terror through abductions, rapes, and the use of poisoned arrows, arson, attacks against travelers and night attacks. In these cases, Islamic jurists demanded harsh penalties including death and ruled that the punishment was the same whether the perpetrators or victim was Muslim or non-Muslim (Knapp, 2003:84).

Three main views of jihad thus coexisted in pre-modern times. In addition to the classical legal view of jihad as a communal effort to defend the territory of Islam and ibn Taymiyya's notion of active jihad as an indispensable feature of legitimate rule; there was also the Sufi movement's doctrine of greater jihad. The Sufis understood the greater jihad as an inner struggle against the instincts of the body but also

against corruption of the soul and believed that the greater jihad is a necessary part of the process of gaining spiritual insight (Streusand, 1997: 3).

The Origin of the Ideology of Radical Islamic Groups

Muslim reform movements in the Middle East first acquired a sense of urgency with the arrival of European imperialism in the latter part of the 19th century. The end of colonialism and acquisition of independence by most Muslim countries after WW II accelerated this drive. However, the massive social changes that accompanied these reforms and the simultaneous introduction of new ideas that were alien to classical Islamic traditions such as nationalism, secularism and modernism disturbed traditional ways of life (Jansen, 1986).

Disillusionment with the path Muslim societies has taken in the modern period reached its height in the 1970s. Increasingly widespread rejection of Western culture as a model for Muslims to emulate has been accompanied by a search for indigenous values that reflect traditional Muslim culture, as well as a drive to restore power and dignity to the community. The last thirty years have seen the rise of militant, religiously-based political groups whose ideology focuses on demands for provocative jihad and the willingness to sacrifice one's life for the forceful creation of a society governed solely by the Shari'ah and a unified Islamic State and to eliminate un-Islamic and unjust rulers (Jansen, 1986). Militant Islam which is also called political or radical Islam is rooted in a contemporary religious resurgence in private and public life (Knapp, 2003).

The causes of Islamic radicalism have been religio-cultural, political and socio-economic and have focused on issues of politics and social justice such as authoritarianism, lack of social service and prevalence of corruption, which all intertwine as catalysts. Many Islamic reform groups have blamed social ills on outside influences and perceive this as a form of neocolonialism, or cultural imperialism, an evil that replaces Muslim religious and cultural identity and values with alien ideas and models of development (Esposito, 2001:89-90; Knapp, 2003).

Sunni and Shi'a Interpretation of Jihad

Sunni and Shi'a Muslims agree in terms of just cause, that jihad applies to the defense of territory, life, mind, faith and property; it is justified to repel invasion or its threat; it is necessary to guarantee freedom for the peaceful spread of Islam; and that difference in religion alone is not a sufficient cause (Knapp, 2003:85). Islamic scholars have differentiated disbelief from persecution and injustice and claimed that

jihad is justified only to fight those unbelievers who have initiated aggression against the Muslim community. This differs from the views of the radical Muslims who have stated more militant views which were inspired by Islamic resistance to the European powers during the colonial period: in this view, jihad as "aggressive" and provocative war is authorized against any group whether they are oppressing Muslims or not. This is not Islamic.

For Sunni Muslims, no jihad can be waged unless it is directed by a caliph who possessed combined religious and political power authority as long as the ruler has got the support of the Islamic scholars. The Shia Muslims believe that this power is meant for the Imams or Ayatollahs.

Both sects agree on the other prerequisite of jihad. Right intention (niyyah) is fundamentally important for engaging in jihad i.e. it should be waged for defense for the sake of preserving Islam and blocking aggression on Muslims and non-Muslims within the Islamic territory. Fighting for the sake of conquest, booty or honor in the eyes of one's companions will earn no reward. In the heydays of Islam, jihad is not waged in a country that allowed the freedom of religion. If not, the enemy used to be first offered triple alternatives: accept Islam, pay the poll tax required for non-Muslims or fight (Abdi and Legenhausen, 1986:21-23). This rule failed to work ever since the Caliphate collapsed. Jihad is also not waged in a pluralistic society that allowed everybody to have freedom to practice his/her own faith.

Conditions are also placed on the behavior of combatants in jihad unlike the contemporary jihadists: discrimination of non-combatants from warriors is required, along with the prohibition of harm to noncombatants such as women, children, the disabled, monks and rabbis and those who have been given the promise of immunity; and proportionality, meaning that the least amount of force should be used to obtain the desired ends in combat (Abdi and Legenhausen, 1986:23-24).

The Modern Era Jihad

Sayyid Abu al-A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979) was assumed by the West as the first Islamist writer to approach jihad systematically. In his view, warfare is conducted not just to expand Islamic political dominance, but also to establish just rule (one that includes freedom of religion). For Maududi, jihad is akin to war of liberation and is designed to establish politically independent Muslim states. "His view significantly changed the concept of jihad in Islam" (Knapp, 2003: 86) and began its association with anti-colonialism and national liberation movements. His approach paved the way for Arab resistance to Zionism as jihad (Streisand, 1997:5).

Radical Egyptian Islamist thinkers (and members of the Muslim Brotherhood), Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949) and Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) took hold of Maududi's activist and nationalist conception of jihad and its role in establishing a truly Islamic government, and incorporated Ibn Taymiyya's earlier conception of jihad that includes the overthrow of governments that fail to enforce the Shari'ah (Sivan, 1990). This idea of revolution focuses first on dealing with the radical's own un-Islamic rulers (the nearest enemy) before external enemies (Ibid: 16-21).

The Use of Jihad by Islamic Militants

The goal of radical Muslims is to establish an Islamic State through both violent means and including terrorism and peaceful political activity. Jihad for contemporary Islamic militants is required not in the sense of expanding the territory of Islam but of restoring it, and to recover land rather than conquer it. Nor it is a rebellion in the classical sense; rather, this is a struggle, for example, for Hamas, to gain a lost portion of the territory of Islam. Hamas considers its struggle a defensive jihad rather than an aggressive war. For Hamas the Western powers' invasion of the Islamic territory has created an emergency situation where Muslims cannot wait for authorization of jihad; so jihad is a requirement duty for all conscientious Muslims (Kelsey, 1993:98).

Radical groups argue that jihad as armed struggle is decisive and that the neglect of this type of action by Muslims has caused the current depressed condition of Muslims in the world. They also seek to justify jihad against other Muslims who, because they are ignorant of the plots of the west, actively cooperate with the unbelievers in the name of "modernization" and are worse than rebels – they are Muslim traitors and apostates. Furthermore, fighting such hypocrites without the limits imposed if they were rebellious Muslims is justified since they are worse than the unbelievers (Kelsey, 1993).

The most significant area of discontent for radical groups on the part of their secular leaders is the introduction of an innovation which is a policy, teaching or action that violates precedents in the Qur'an and Hadith. The leadership thus loses its authority when it commits apostasy and Muslims not only must no longer obey such a ruler, but are required to revolt and depose him (Knapp, 2003:88; Kelsey, 1993).

Shi'a radical have a similar perspective to the Sunni extremists. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902-1989) contented that Islamic jurists by means of jihad and enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, must expose and overthrow tyrannical rulers and rouse the people so the universal movement of all alert Muslims can establish Islamic government in the place of tyrannical regimes. Shi'a clerics deemed jihad to be defensive, but it includes defense against oppression, injustice, and inequality (like the Sunni

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radicals) and may require what international law would consider a war of aggression (Abdi and Legenhausen, 1986:89).

Shi'a radical groups also argued that although violence is justified only for defensive purposes and as a last resort, contemporary situation of the people of the Middle East, in particular of Muslims, creates a scenario that breeds violence. The dislocation of the Palestinians and the interference of great oppressive powers in Arab-Islamic political, economic and social affairs lead militant groups to consider themselves justified in using force to achieve their goals even through terrorism (Kelsey, 1993:109).

It is a bare fact that terrorism or violence is not legitimate or justified in Islam, including the destruction of life, kidnapping or the hijacking of airliners or ships. By involving in such aggressive acts, radical groups have gone too far in the condition of their struggle especially in killing innocent civilians which is barbaric. Such groups aspire that it is up to the Western people to improve the situation by pressing for reforms in the policies of their respective governments (Knapp, 2003:89).

It is assumed that Militant Muslims who blow up themselves are responding to the pain of their own. However, Islam should not be thought of as uncompromisingly hostile to the West and other secular states in the world, since militant groups do not and cannot speak for all of the Muslim community. The roadmap to peace is through dialogue and, therefore, responding to terrorism with more aggression (Chomsky, 2004) may be no more than adding oil to the fire.

Al-Qaeda and Transnational Jihad

Before his emergence as the prime suspect in the 9/11 attacks, Osama bin Laden had described his goals and grievances and tactics of his transnational al-Qaeda network in a series of statements and interviews. These statements discussed below provide insight into an ideology that may seem abhorrent to Americans (and its allies) but "has been carefully crafted to appeal to the disgruntled and dispossessed of the Islamic world" (Knapp, 2003: 90). Bin Laden's ideology, however, was more of political than religious.

At the heart of bin Laden's philosophy are two declarations of war against the United States. First, his statement issued on 26 August 1996, was directed specifically at Americans occupying the land of the two holy places – Mecca and Medina, located in Saudi Arabia. Here, he calls upon Muslims all over the world to fight and expel the infidels from the Arab Peninsula (Dobbs, 2001). Second, in his fatwa of 23 February 1998, entitled "Declaration of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders", which he issued along with the leaders of extremist groups in Egypt, Pakistan and

Bangladesh, bin Laden broadened his earlier verdict. He specifies that the radical's war is a defensive struggle against Americans and their allies who have declared war on God, his Messenger and Muslims. The crimes and sins perpetrated by the United States, according to the late head of al Qaeda, are three fold: first, it stormed the Arab Peninsula during the Gulf War and has continued occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places; second, it continues a war of annihilation against Iraq; and third, the US supports the state of Israel and its continued occupation of Jerusalem. The only appropriate Muslim-response, according to the fatwa, is a defensive jihad to repulse the aggressor; therefore, borrowing from classical and modern Islamic scholars (because it is defensive), such a war is a moral obligation incumbent upon all true Muslims (Hashim, 2001). In 1998, bin Laden charged that the US was not only occupying and plundering Arabia, but was using its base in the peninsula as a spearhead to fight against the neighboring Islamic peoples.

In bin Laden's war, the goal of expelling the "Judeo-Christian enemy" from Islamic holy lands should occur first on the Arabian Peninsula, then in Iraq (which for 500 years was the seat of the Islamic Caliphate) and third in Palestine, (site of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem) which is the third sacred Mosque to Muslims as the place from where Prophet Muhammad ascended to heaven (Dobbs, 2001).

Although the initial attacks associated with al-Qaeda occurred in Saudi Arabia, Somalia, East Africa and Yemen, bin Laden made it clear that he would bring the war to the American homeland. Even though he appeared to be fired by the religious zeal of Saudi Arabia's puritanical Salafi (Wahhabi) movement, bin Laden's targets have not been offending religious and cultural institutions, but political, military and economic targets. Moreover, although he quotes selective (but incomplete) passages from the Qur'an to establish the basis for the jihad, bin Laden's motivations are really not that different from the anti-imperialistic doctrines that sustain religious and non-religious extremist groups all over the world (Hashimi, 2001).

Limited Acceptance of the Ideology of the Militant Muslims

The thrust of the entire jihad tradition which Islamic radicals have "hijacked" makes it clear that not everything is possible. Although the language of the Qur'an and *ahadith* and other Islamic sources allow war for defensive purposes, spreading terror and violence is not permissible in Islam at all. In addition to containing exhortations to fight aggressors, however, Islamic sacred texts have also laid out the rules of engagement of war which (as mentioned earlier) included prohibitions against the killing of noncombatants such as women, children, the aged and the disabled people. These texts also require notice to the adversary before an attack, require that a Muslim army must seek peace if its opponent

does, and forbid committing aggression against others and suicide (Watanbe, 2001). Those who are unfamiliar with the Qur'an and *ahadith* can miss these points when confronted with the propagandistic calls of militant Muslim groups (Knapp, 2003:92). I understand that generalizing the objectionable violent version of jihad of radical groups to all Muslims especially to that of the Salafi sect in Ethiopia is misleading. Hence, the major intelligence task for the academia and other stakeholders is differentiating the ideology and adherents of radical groups from that of practicing Muslims.

In sum, public statements over the last years by mainstream Muslim religious authorities and commentators that Islamists are corrupting a peaceful religious faith for their own twisted ends are encouraging. Equally positive is the growing recognition in the Muslim world of extremist groups' lack of proper religious qualification to issue any religious edicts that promote jihad. Prominent Muslim scholars in Ethiopia and abroad have not only condemned the terrorist attacks anywhere in the globe, but have declared the perpetrators of these attacks to be "suicides" not martyrs. This is significant, since Islam forbids suicide and teaches that those who committed suicide are not to be sent to paradise but to hell (to use religious terms), where they are condemned to keep repeating their suicidal acts for eternity (Lewis, 2001) as indicated in the Qur'an and Hadiths.

Extremism and Terrorism in Ethiopia

Terrorism has been of concern to Ethiopia since 1991 and has steadily become more insidious, more accentuated and more indiscriminate (Woldeselasse, 2010:13). The increasing number of terrorist attacks in different parts of Ethiopia has caused considerable loss of life, extensive suffering and endangered human security. Since the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) boycotted the Transitional Government of Ethiopia in 1992, terrorism has become one of the most serious threats to national peace and security, notably in parts of Somalia and Oromia Regional States and in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa City Administrations. Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and OLF have managed to do this by targeting the civilian population and in particular students, elders and foreigners, deliberately attempting to create fear and insecurity among the public at large. Police and intelligence officers have also paid their lives while fighting terrorist groups like ONLF, OLF, Al-Itihaad Al-Islamiya (AIAI) and others. The OLF and ONLF tend to be driven by the legacy of the pre-1991 unitary regimes and of the brutal suppression of Oromo and Somalia nationalism when there was systematic disenfranchisement of the Oromo and Somalis coupled with multiple rights abuse.

In 1995, Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiya attempted to assassinate the then Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, in Addis Ababa. Ethiopia has a near two decade-long record of involvement in fighting terrorism. It has

been fighting terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda, Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiya, AIAI, Al-Shabaab, ONLF, OLF and other groups.

In Somalia, in December 2006, Ethiopia's major concern was that the jihadist elements posed a real and present threat to its national security by the declaration of a jihad against Ethiopia, and by the revival of Somalia irredentist claims on the Somali Regional State. They also tried to project Ethiopia as an island of Christianity, hostile to its Muslim neighbors (Woldeselasse, 2010).

The OLF was part of the TFG up to June 1992. From that time onwards, the OLF had consistently used terrorist attacks and deliberately looked for and obtained support from terrorist organizations in Somalia including Eritrea (Shinn, 2004). Since then the OLF has been cooperating with terrorist groups including Al-Shabaab and ONLF and conducted terrorist attacks in Hararge, Welega, Arsi (Arbagugu), Asosa and Addis Ababa (Ibid:198).

I understand that while the common trait of these terrorist organizations is the use of violence, almost all of them tend to be political activists striving for nationalistic agenda. Some of these terrorist organizations attached their agenda and nomenclatures to Islam just for the sake of getting public support from predominantly Muslim societies. Hence, other than trying to buy the mind and hearts of innocent Muslims, such aggressive organizations do not work for truly Islamic cause since what they do and say contradicts the basic tenets of Islam especially on the issue of Jihad. The major task of the stakeholders in Ethiopia, therefore, is defending the nation from terrorists and being cautious not to harm practicing Muslims indiscriminately by mistaking them for the radicals.

Reasons for and Peoples' Reaction to the Islamic Cultural Movements in the Region

As the saying goes on, "bigotry has no a single cause". Similarly, the reasons for the Islamic cultural movements could be associated with many factors. To mention a few, one of these factors is the increasing tendency to go back to one's cultural roots (Elleni, 1996) due to the ideology of postmodernism. The second factor could be high mobility rate of people from place to place using sophisticated transportation systems and the increased exchange of ideas using different communication technologies which allow different people from different cultures to contact and thereby influence one another. The third factor could be the demand of activists of Sunni and Shia, the two dominant sects in Islam in which case each one got its own symphonizes mainly Saudi Arabia and Iran (and more recently Lebanon and Turkey) which may even allocate thousands of dollars for their cause

to buy the hearts and minds of not only individual activists but also top officials in certain developing countries (Ahmedin, 2012).

Regarding the responses of the people to the Islamic cultural movements, the majority of rural Muslims support Sufis even though they are not as committed to the faith as the Sufis themselves are. Some of the Muslims in urban areas also favor Sufis. Consequently, traditional religious holidays like the observance of the Birthday of the Prophet and local Sufis revived and increased more than ever. The local and FDRE government also advocate Sufi Islam as homegrown, tolerant and suitable for peaceful co-existence.

Ever since the intra-faith conflict started openly in 2012 catalyzed by a third party, the number of Muslims who visit Sufi Shrines increased from time to time. The commoners including the young, the old, men and women flock to the local shrines like Geta, Mejit, Jama Negus, Dana and Dabat all located in Wallo. The visitors present oxen, sheep, goats or chicken as gifts to the shrines based on their vows and commitments.

The Mejlis election of the 2012 in Wallo region was conducted in governmental institutions (Kebeles) for excluding the "radical Wahhabis" who demanded the election to be in mosques. Since then, even urban mosques turned to be centers of dhikr and du'a even by chewing chat.

> A circular was sent to all mosques in the region from the Mejlis of South Wallo Administrative Zone so that "salawat ala nabiyyi" (Prayer to the Prophet Muhammad) is performed in congregation after every prayer especially after Friday prayer. The practice is nullified by the Salafis since the group prefers the dhikr to be done individually. If any Imam is not abided by such rulings, he will automatically be banned from his position (Informant, Sheikh Muhammad May 31, 2012).

Consequently, related Sufi practices including the observance of Wednesday for Abdul Qadir Jailani, Tuesday for Nur Hussein, Saturday for Saeed Khadir and so forth increased from time to time in a refreshed manner. The FDRE government opposes the "Wahhabis" and favors the Sufis for their tolerance and peaceful co-existence with other faith groups. Government officials from the local to the top administrative hierarchies consider such qualities of the Sufis as a condition necessary for the realization of the developmental goals of the country including the completion of the construction of the Renaissance Dam on the River Abbay.

Contrary to this, the "Wahhabis", which call themselves "Salafis", is considered as a recent intruder from Saudi Arabia. It is supported by young Muslims who passed through the modern education and certain Ulemas who graduated from local Sufi education centers.

Rural people and some urban people and almost all members of the ruling party in the region including even the non-Muslims strongly oppose the "outlawed radical Wahhabis". The group is excluded from the 2012 Mejlis election in some towns (like Dagan, Dessie, Harbu and Kemissie) in the region. The group has been conducting protests confined in mosques on every Friday, sometimes on an on and off basis for the last two years under the motto "dimtsachin yisema" i. e. "Let our voice be respected" until the crackdown was done by the anti-riot Federal Police Force on Eid al-Fatir holiday in 2012. Many activists of this group (including the committee which has been sent to seek for solutions for the demands of the Muslims at Federal level) have been jailed since 2012.

Ever since that crackdown done by firing teargas in a number of towns in the region, the Salafis evacuated from most mosques in South Wallo except in towns like Makanasalam and Khemissie due to their strong public support coalation with traditional sufis.

Although the Salafi activists interrupted and/or postponed their protest, they still continued their opposition to the Mejlis and the interference done by the FDRE Government through social media such as the Facebook despite the non-interference claim of the FDRE government on religion as enshrined in its constitution.

Strong public uproar was also heard against the "Wahhabis" for their puritan version of Islam that even question not only the acceptance of saint veneration but also the concept of Trinity. Those cultural and religious groups that oppose the Salafis seem to have a sigh of relief, at least for the time being, since this radical group is being sidelined even by the State.

Other than the two polarized groups (Sufis and Salafis), who traditionally used to be practicing their faith under the roof of the same mosque but recently transformed into rivals in the region, there is the silent majority Muslims at the middle road. These are Muslims by birth but may not understand the basic theological and philosophical disputes undergoing between Sufis and Salafis.

Had it not been for the peacefulness and reluctance of this group, the tension between the Sufis and Salafis might have been transformed into civil war" (Informant Muhammad, December 31, 2012).

At the present the so called "Wahhabis" are considered to be instigating violence through eroding the traditional values of tolerance and peaceful co-existence of the homegrown Sufi traditions. But the Salafis consider such accusations as propagandas spread by the enemies of Islam. Many of the Salafi activists were tortured and jailed while many others left the region in exile. Sympathizers of this group consider them as "freedom fighters" although they are sued accused of being "terrorists".

The tension created between the Wahhabis and the local government force was very high in the region:

> Considering their prolonged protests and slogans, we were expecting the Wahhabis to fight for their faith up to their death. But all their protests ended up in smoke. Most of them were jailed, tortured and their personal weapons and even cash confiscated (Informant Ato Muhammad, December 31, 2012).

The only overt attempt made by the Salafis other than their peaceful protest was releasing Muslim prisoners by breaking the prison cell in a town called Dagan in the region in 2012. The Federal Police Force intervened and controlled the situation after exchanging fire. Consequently, the Qur'anic Madrasa (Markaz) was closed and its ration was robbed and the Sheikh remained in exile after he left for pilgrimage.

A few of my research participants consider the marginalization of the so called "Wahhabis" from Mejlis election as an unprecedented incident even during the past dictators in Ethiopian history:

> In the past, the kings and provincial leaders used to convert Muslims into Christianity forcefully. This is by far better than the present-day act of baptizing Muslims to join "Ahbash" since the previous dictators forced Muslims to their own religion which they loved and believed in most while the present ones force Muslims to a kind of faith or outlook which they themselves do not believe in it and may even abhor it most (Informant Sheikh Seid, December 31, 2012).

Other than the Sufis, Wahhabbis and the silent-majority, there is a small group called Ahlul-Takfir or jama'at Tekfir. This is a branch of a radical sect called Khawarij. This group has no acceptance in the general public other than its own circle. It was first born in the region in a village called Takakie, fifty kilometers from the capital city of South Wallo. "It was this radical group which refused to pay taxes to the secular government and banned children from modern schools and refused to recognize the secular court system" (Informant Ato Girma, October 24, 2012). Certain individuals even exchanged fire with the police forces in the region. By now, this group remains dormant in towns like Harbu and Khemissie

after checked by the government forces. Takfiris also caused violence in areas like Jimma in Ethiopia. The eyes of the government and the Sufis are on the "Wahhabis" at the moment rather than this radical group in the region since that sect is too small to cause a threat. The Takfiri ideology is so dangerous that it does not even spare Muslims outside its own circle.

The response of the governmental bodies to the Islamic cultural movements appeared to be favoring the Sufi Islam considering it as a home grown and tolerant to other faith groups while sidelining the "Wahhabis" considering it as intolerant and extremist. Muslim scholars were also being given a special workshop on the Constitution of the FDRE government since 2012 on an off and on basis while no other faith group was provided such training in the country (Isaac, 2012).

Conclusions

The predominant Islamic cultural movement in Ethiopia has been Sufism. More recently a more puritan version of Orthodox Islamic cultural movement which is called Salafism is attracting the hearts and minds of young Muslims who are educated in modern schools. Other more radical Islamic cultural movements such as Ahlal Takfir, Khwarij and Ahbash are at the budding stage since they are not yet institutionalized among mainstream Muslims.

Although there are minor differences of opinions among Ethiopian Muslims, their differences are so insignificant that it is not deep rooted in authentic sources of Islam. Consequently, almost all Muslims pray in the same mosque, fast the month of Ramadan, perform Hajj and so forth together. Hence, it is not healthy to exaggerate these minor differences related to "personal reasoning" (which is also acceptable in Islam) by labeling one group as extremist/terrorist and the other one as liberalist as it is recently heard on media and everyday conversations in Ethiopia.

Nationalist groups such as OLF and ONLF who attempted to associate their agenda with Islam cannot represent all Muslims and Islam and they should stop their violence. Moreover, fighting radical groups such as Al-Ithehad-Al-Islamiyya and Al-Shabab is not the sole task of the government or non-Muslims. Since terrorism and Muslim extremism first and foremost hurt Muslims themselves, they should be the vanguard actors in the fight against terrorism and they should not be marginalized.

Unlike what the terrorists think, suicide-bombing and indiscriminately killing non-combatant civilians will lead to Hell, not to Paradise (in the language of the religion): this is the basic teaching of Islam. This has to be clear for all stakeholders who strive for peace, security and development in Ethiopia as well as abroad.

One cannot fight terrorism by terrorizing all, nor can someone fight extremism by being an extremist in a certain belief, act or ideology. Oppression, invesion, injustice, indignity, and deprivation of freedom of a group of people, large or small, due to their faith, identity, or culture are some of the causes that force good people to turn evil.

I understand that any sort of terror and violence that endangers the life and property of civilians and other noncombatant groups in hotels, schools, market places and other sites is ridiculous. This is not acceptable in Islam at all.

CHAPTER EIGHT: TYPES OF CURRICULAR SOURCES, STRUCTURES, CONTENT ORGANIZATION, METHODS AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Introduction

The principal Islamic cultural movement in Ethiopia has been Sufism as discussed in Chapter Seven. More recently, a more puritan version of Orthodox Islamic cultural movement which is called Salafism is attracting the hearts and minds of young Muslims who are educated in modern schools. Other more radical Islamic cultural movements such as Ahlal Takfir, Khwarij and Ahbash are at the up-and-coming stage since they are not yet institutionalized among mainstream Muslims, the last one acting in a clandestine manner supported by third parties since it is considered apolitical and consistent with the home grown Sufi Islam.

Even though there are slight differences of opinions among Ethiopian Muslims in interpreting the Islamic curricular sources, their differences are so insignificant that it is not deep rooted unlike certain Musilm countries abroad. Accordingly, almost all Muslims pray in the same mosque, fast the month of Ramadan, perform Hajj, follow the same Prophets, and so forth in the region. However, following the internal disputes recently, different mosques for the Sufis, Wahhabis and Takfiris are emerging in certain towns of the Amhara Regional State (e.g. in Bahir Dar and Gondar) despite the ban of such freedom in South Wallo.

Since the region in general and the Horn of Africa in particular is a very volatile area, tensions should be resolved through negotiation and peaceful strategies in order not to flare-up the infiltration of terrorist groups. We experienced no Islamic curricular source that applauds suicide-bombing and indiscriminately killing non-combatant civilians, hence, this evil-act has no acceptance in the general public.

Exploring the features of Islamic curricular sources is the aim of the present Chapter. In this section, we discuss the major curricular sources of Islamic education system: the Holy Qur'an, the Sunnah and the four Fiqh Schools of Thoughts. We also explained the historical account for the preservation of the Qur'an and the Sunnah briefly. Besides that, the methodology of Qur'anic Tefsir or interpretation and the different hadith compilations and fiqh schools are addressed. The objectives and characteristic features

of Islamic education in Ethiopia (Wallo) including its structure are still discussed briefly. After that, the organization of the curricula (in terms of continuity, integration and sequence) is discussed including its relevance. This is followed by major developments that Islamic education has passed through in the region along with dominant methods of teaching in the Islamic schools.

Islamic Education: The Philosophy, Aim, and Main Features

The Aim of Education in Islam

The Arabic word *'ilm* translated into English as knowledge, has wider sense than contained in awareness, consciousness and recognition or familiarity. There is *'ilm* that cannot be acquired by reason, thought or contemplation such as Revelation. The root meanings of *'ilm* are a mark, a sign like the country's flag, or a signpost, or a track-mark etc., with which they are distinguished or recognized. It means, therefore, to know something in all details, to cognize, to perceive reality, to have faith, to realize, to have sure and definite knowledge. The aim of education in Islam as stipulated in the First World Conference on Muslim Education held in Jedda-Mecca (1393A.H./1977A.D.) is to produce a good man. It aims at the "balanced growth of the total personality of man through the training of man's spirit, intellect, the rational self, feelings and bodily senses" It caters for the growth in all aspects including spiritual, intellectual, imaginative, physical, scientific, linguistic, both individually and collectively, and incorporate all these aspects in a holistic system of education towards goodness and the attainment of perfection (First World Conference on Muslim Education, FWCME, 1977)

According to Al-Attas (2001), producing a good man can be achieved by inculcating *adab,* because it includes the "spiritual and material life of a man that instills the quality of goodness that is sought after". Earlier than al-Attas, al-Ghazālī (1998) relates the aim of education with the purpose of life that is to achieve happiness by getting close to God. Therefore, the aim of education is to cultivate in man a personality that abides by the teachings of religion, and is hence assured of salvation and happiness in the eternal life of the Hereafter. According to al-Ghazali, man may have four natures: the beast (isolated and cruel), the animal (driven by his instinct desire), the devil (aimed at doing whatever is evil) and the angel (the best humane character and morality). Hence, the purpose of education is to educate man to acquire the characters of the angels. It has to be made clear that what makes Islamic education different compared to others is that, education in Islam aims to educate human beings with knowledge and positive skills, and to instill in them good ethical conducts approved by the Sharī'ah (Yasin and Shah Jani, 2013).

Muslim students have to be aware that the acquisition of knowledge is not merely to satisfy an intellectual curiosity or just for material or worldly gains, but to produce rational and righteous human beings, who are able to meet the spiritual, moral and physical needs of their families, their people and mankind (Yasin and Shah Jani, 2013). An ideal personality like this is a product of education whose philosophy is founded on faith in Allāh and a commitment to realize God-given moral code well-entrenched in the sacred teaching of Sharī'ah. Simultaneously, education in Islam is not merely of acquiring intellectual knowledge but it is a means of molding the nature and character of individuals so that they can collectively represent Islamic values, behave as *khalīfatullāh fī al-ard* (vicegerent of Allāh on earth), to serve as witnesses to truth and noble conducts. In Islam, the concept of knowledge enjoyed such a central place in society unparalleled in other civilizations. It dominated over all aspects of Muslim intellectual, spiritual and social life (Rosenthal, 1970).

The Concept of Knowledge

Knowledge in Islam is not merely important; it also occupies a dominant position in its doctrine. "It dominated over all aspects of Muslim intellectual, spiritual and social life" (Rosnani, 1996: 78). It also enables man to grasp the right meaning or the reality of the signs he observes based on Qur'an and Sunnah. Al-Ghazālī emphasizes that true knowledge is knowledge of the Qur'an and His books, His prophets and messengers, the kingdoms of earth and heaven, as well as knowledge of *Sharī'ah* as guided by the Prophet. Such knowledge is classified under the category of religious sciences, which is not necessarily antithetical to the Muslims' quest for knowledge towards understanding the world around them. Nevertheless, Muslim scholars tend to discard the inclusion of "other disciplines of science related to the world, such as medicine, arithmetic, etc., as part of religious sciences, but classed them as techniques"(Nabil, 1993).

Modern scholars, such as al-Attas (2001), have divided knowledge into two major categories, religious and rational sciences (Rosnani, 1996):

a. Religious sciences. This includes:

i. The Qur'an and knowledge derived from it such as its recitation, interpretation, *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl.*

ii. The Sunnah: the life of the holy Prophet, the history and message of the Prophet before him, the hadīth and its authoritative transmission.

iii. The *Sharī'ah:* jurisprudence and law, the principles and practice of Islam.

iv. Theology: God, His essence, attributes and names and acts (*al-tawhīd*).

v. Islamic metaphysics (*al-tasawwuf*): psychology, cosmology and ontology; legitimate element of Islamic philosophy including valid cosmological doctrines pertaining to the hierarchy of being.

vi. Linguistic sciences: Arabic, its grammar, lexicography, and literature.

b. Rational, intellectual, and philosophical sciences:

i. Human sciences

ii. Natural sciences

iii. Applied sciences

iv. Technological sciences

Al-Ghazālī considered acquiring religious sciences is obligatory for every Muslim because it is essential for the discharge of an individual's Islamic duties. He classified both religious and technical sciences into obligatory (*fard 'ayn* – obligation towards the Self) and meritorious (*fardkifāyah* – obligation towards Community/Society). This classification has been for many centuries the cornerstone of the Islamic theory of curriculum development. All the useful sciences such as arithmetic, medicine, agriculture, history and biography, political science, administration, and linguistic are praiseworthy (*mahmūd*) and their study by Muslims are considered a priority above all other sciences that emphasize on theory rather than practice. Furthermore, the proper understanding and implementation of *fard 'ayn* and *fard kifāyah* categories of knowledge according to al-Ghazālī, which was interpreted by al-Attas (2001), would ensure the realization of personal and societal welfare. While it is obvious that the latter category of knowledge is directly socially relevant, the role of the former is generally thought to be only indirectly significant. On the contrary, mastery and practice of the *fardl 'ayn*' -- which is not the rigid enumeration of disciplines as commonly thought -- will ensure the proper success of *fard kifāyah* sciences, for the former provides the necessary guiding framework and motivating principles for the latter. Al-Attas reminds us that the assessment of what courses and areas to be taught and offered under the *fard kifāyah* category must not be a matter of personal choice only, but rather, should involve a just consideration of the societal and national needs (Al-Attas, 1978).

In the same vein, according to Tibawi (1972), the succinct personal objective of traditional Islamic education, which is the attainment of happiness in this world and the next, is more concrete and more beneficial to individual citizens compared to the vague general goals of society formulated by modern national governments.

The Concept of Education in Islam

Education in Islam is an education which trains the sensibility of an individual, in such a manner that their attitude towards life, their actions, decisions and approach to all kinds of knowledge are governed by the spiritual and deeply felt ethical values of Islam (Sajjad and Ali, 1979). It prepares human beings for holistic life with no separation of this temporary life which ends with death, and the eternal life that begins after death. It is a means of training the body, mind and soul through imparting the knowledge of all kinds i.e. fundamental as compulsory and specialized as optional (FWCME, 1977).

Education in Islam is not merely of acquiring intellectual knowledge but it is a mean of molding the nature and character of an individual so that they can collectively represent Islamic values, behave as *khalīfatullāh fī al-ard* (vicegerent of Allāh on the earth), witness of truth, nobility and human greatness (FWCME, 1977). In another word, education is "a process through which human beings are trained and prepared in a concerted way to do their Creator's bidding in this life *(dunyā)* to be rewarded in the life after death *(ākhirah)*" (ibid, 9).

The terminology of education from Islamic perspective is often defined by Muslim scholars from three different dimensions which are reflected in different concepts introduced. Important among them are; *tarbiyyah* – the process of education that gives emphasis on physical and intellectual development of an individual; *ta'dīb* – the process of education that gives emphasis on nurturing good human beings with knowledge of the faith and the noble codes of conduct/ethics approved by Islam, so that he may place himself and deal with others in society with justice and compassion; and *ta'līm* – the process of education that is based on teaching and learning. There is also the concept of ta'lin which refers to the dialogue just like the Socratic education wherein students question every aspect. The concept of education in Islam must take into consideration of all the dimensions of teaching and learning activities that reflect the above concepts of *tarbiyyah, ta'līm* and *ta'dīb*. Other sub-forms of Islamic education include Ijtihad (personal reasoning), Qiyas (analogy) and Tafakur (reflection). No matter which one of the stated concepts is preferable to scholars, it should not be used as a pretext for controversy and intellectual acrimony among scholars because what does it matter is not the concept, but the practice, methodology and its objectives (ibid).

1 The Concept of Tarbiyyah

Tarbiyyah is a modern Arabic terminology of education, re-introduced after the second quarter of the twentieth century, together with the educational reform in the Arab countries. The words and terms used in the writings of the classical scholars to denote the meaning of education are *al-tanshi'ah* (upbringing), *al-mujadid* (reform), *al-ta'dīb or adab* (inculcation of good ethical and moral conducts), *al-tahdhīb* (discipline), *al-ta'hīr* (purification), *al-tazkiyah* (purification of soul), *al-ta'līm* (pedagogic), *al-siyāsah* (leadership and good management), *alnusuhi wal-irshād* (advice and guidance), and *al-akhlāq* (morality).

"*Tarbiyyah*" is an Arabic word that linguistically denotes the meaning of increase, growth, and loftiness. Generally, it is used to denote the development and training of people in various aspects and to describe the process of upbringing the children as the parents provide them with the physical, educational, moral, and spiritual needs to help them grow and become useful parties in the society. Most of the writings in Islamic education by the classical scholars were associated with inculcation of ethical and moral conduct from childhood. In the Qur'an,"*Tarbiyyah*" is defined as to "take care of that which is necessary for the development of the one being raised". The root word of *tarbiyyah* is *al-Rabb* which means "the Lord", indicating the meaning "to nurture". This implies Allah who nurtures all of the creation with His favors, and He supported them with all of their needs. Looking at its both literal and technical meaning, *tarbiyyah* in Islam can be considered as a process of teaching and learning that gives emphasis on physical and intellectual development of an individual as comprehensively defined by Miqdād (1976: 89), "to bring up the child and shape him as an integrated human being including the aspect of belief, health, mental, spiritual, moral and humanitarian". Similarly, Al-Naqīb (1417 H: 89), defines it as "the educational system which aims to produce a man who applies the Qur'an and Sunnah in his morality and behavior regardless of the chosen profession".

In modern time, the term *tarbiyyah* has been used all over the Muslim world to imply education. In fact, Ministry of Education in many Arab countries nowadays, such as Libya, Egypt and Oman are known as *Wizārah al-Tarbiyyah wa al-Ta'līm.* However, in reality, Muslim community is far from properly integrating this definition into the curriculum development and syllabus for different levels of education (Yasin and Shah Jani, 2013).

2 The Concept of Ta'līm

The root word of *ta'līm* is *'ilm,* which means knowledge. It is widely used by the classical and modern scholars to denote the process of teaching and learning, but limited to the process of development of the cognitive aspect of man through the inculcation of the knowledge. In other word, *ta'līm* means the inculcation and dissemination of knowledge through the process of teaching and learning (instruction). *Ta'līm* is repeatedly mention in the Qur'an to indicate such a process.

The term *ta'līm* is also mentioned in the *hadīth* of the Prophet that praised those who involve in the process of teaching and learning, and that the best knowledge is that related to the Qur'an, "The best is those who learn the Qur'an and teach it" (Al-Buhari, vol. 6, 5027). In modern time, the term *ta'līm* implies the above meaning, as well as knowledge delivery system, its methodology, evaluation and assessment. Thus, it does not reflect the development of the man himself as the subject of education in Islam. It must be noted, however, that both the terms *tarbiyyah* and *ta'līm*, if used independently, do not indicate the comprehensive meaning of education in Islam. This is because *tarbiyyah* pertains only to the physical, emotional and rational aspects of the human growth as indicated earlier, while for the term *ta'līm,* it is generally limited to the cognitive aspects of education. Therefore, the term *ta'dīb* has later been proposed by modern scholars to reflect the holistic philosophy of education in Islam.

3 The Concept of Ta'dīb

Among the prominent modern Muslim scholar who argues that the concept of education is an inculcation of *adab* is Syed Naquib al-Attas (1978). He emphasizes that education aims at producing a good man can only be attained by inculcating *adab.* Inculcation of *adab* includes the "spiritual and material life of a man that instills the quality of goodness that it sought after" (ibid: 1) According to him, education has been indicated as an *adab* in the Prophetic tradition, "My Lord educated (*addaba*) me (Prophet Muhammad) and made my education (*ta'dīb*) most excellent (Al-Burhan, no. 31895, vol. 11). A man who has inculcated *adab* is called as "a man of *adab*". A man of *adab* is "the one who is sincerely conscious of his responsibilities towards the true God; who understands and fulfills his obligations to himself and others in his society with justice and care, and who constantly strives to improve every aspect of himself towards perfection as a man of *adab* (*insan adabi*)" Al-Attas, 2001).

Earlier than Al-Attas, al-Ghazālī (1998) define *adab* as educating a person's *zāhir* and *bātin* (internal and external natures), that include four aspects within an individual: speech, deeds, belief, and intention. Ibn Sina (1929) is also reported to have used the same terminology of *ta'dīb* to denote education. He

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emphasized that the process of education begin as soon as the baby completed his two years breastfeeding period.

Al-Attas (1978) consistently emphasizes that the purpose of education in Islam is not merely to produce a good citizen or a good worker, but more than that, a good man. In one of his outstanding work, he underlines that, it is man's value as a real man, as the dweller in his self's city, as citizen in his own microcosmic kingdom, as a spirit, that is stressed, rather than his value as a physical entity measured in terms of a pragmatic or utilitarian sense of his usefulness to state, society and the world (ibid). He argues that a good citizen in a secular state may not necessarily be a good man; a good man, however, will definitely be a good citizen. As a result, a man who is good in the general society must be good and just to himself first. It is obvious that if the employer or state is good as defined from the holistic Islamic framework, then being a good worker and citizen may be synonymous with being a good man. But an Islamic state presupposes the existence and active involvement of a critical mass of Islamically-minded men and women. In a later work, al-Attas emphasizes that stressing the individual is not only a matter of principle, but also a correct strategy in this period, under the present circumstances. He further argues that stressing the individual implies knowledge about intelligence, virtue, and the spirit, and about the ultimate destiny and purpose. This is because intelligence, virtue, and the spirit are elements inherent in the individual, whereas stressing society and state opens the door to legalism and politics. However, Al-Attas asserts that Islam accepts the idea of good citizenship as the object of education. The primary focus on the individual is so fundamental because the ultimate purpose and end of ethics in Islam is the individual. "It is because of this notion of individual accountability as a moral agent that in Islam it is the individual that shall be rewarded or punished on the Day of Judgment" (Yasin and Shah Jani, 2013).

The concept of *ta'dīb*, if competently explicated, is believed to be the accomplishment of concept for education in Islam, not just the concept of *ta'līm* and *tarbiyyah* which are currently in vogue among Muslims all over the world. This is because, *ta'dīb* includes within its conceptual structure the elements of knowledge (*'ilm*), instruction (*ta'līm*), and good breeding (*tarbiyyah*) (Al-Attas, 1980).

Islamization of Knowledge

Islamization of Knowledge is a plan to reformulate Islamic thought, using as its starting point beliefs and Islam's humanitarian, global, and civilizational principles based on tawhid and deputation. The plan aims

at recapturing the positive, comprehensive Islamic vision, with a view to reforming the knowledge. The plan addresses the reality of human life on earth with the aim of realizing the purposes of Islamic Law – namely, conciliation and welfare – and observes the principles of reason and the divine laws of the universe. It thus, provides the necessary tools to purify and refine Islamic culture and remove the distortions, and the superstition, charlatanism/deception, impurities, and illusions that have infiltrated it. Ultimately, it will provide sound educational and cultural inputs to reform the mental and psychological constitution of Muslim individuals and of the Ummah and raise generations endowed with strength, ability, and productivity (Abusulayman 2007:14-15).

In short, the Islamization of knowledge movement attempts to reform Muslim approach to education by integrating Divine with human sources for a powerful whole. The revealed knowledge is believed to be able to provide a comprehensive spiritual and moral guidance in the sphere of human action and universal laws, while the scientific and technological knowledge are the tools for that action (ibid:11).

Actually, the Islamization of Knowledge movement was not alone in such a stance. The integrated knowledge envisioned by the movement has also become the factor that attributed to the organization of the First Conference on Muslim Education by King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in Makkah from March 31 to April 8, 1977. The conference, attended by a total of 313 Muslim scholars from different parts of the world, attempted to remove the dichotomy of religious and secular education systems that were operative in Muslim countries. For this, the participants of the conference studied and analyzed basic problems, stated the aims and objectives of education, and recommended the methods of implementing them (Syed Sajjad and Syed Ali, 1979).

I understand that the Islamization of knowledge is an attempt to indigenize knowledge to the Muslim culture. Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular could follow the suit by developing strategies for Africanization or Ethiopianization of knowledge since they are the vanguard victims of the so called western ideologies despite their rich cultural heritages.

What the Qur'an is

Literally the word 'Qur'an' means a thing recited by adding letters and words to one another. Scholars in the religion also define the Qur'an as the word of God which was revealed to the Prophet Mohammad by the Archangel Gabriel within roughly 23 years and written down on sheets and transmitted to

succeeding generations in its original version and original language (Arabic) by numerous reliable channels (Karaman, 1975 in Unal, 2007; Cetin, 1982). Qur'an (also spelt as Koran) is the holy book of Islam. For Muslims it is the very word of Allah, the absolute God. According to Muslim tradition, after ecstatic experience, Muhammad was able to recite exactly what he had been told. The term *Qur'an,* which means "recitation," occurs several times in the text itself.

Oral recitation of the Qur'an is believed by Muslims to be the believer's most direct contact with the word of God. The art of recitation, known as *tajwid* or *tartil*, is consequently highly valued among Muslims. Heard day and night on the streets, in mosques, in homes, in taxis, and in shops, the sound of the Qur'an being recited is far more than the pervasive background music of daily life in the Islamic world. Recitation of the Qur'an is the core of religious devotion. The sound of voices reciting the holy book inspires much of Muslim religious and social life. Participation in recitation, whether as reciter or listener, is itself an act of worship, for both acts are basic to a Muslim's religion and invoke a tradition beginning with Muhammad that transcends the particular occasion (Unal, 2007; Phillips, 2007).

Teachings of the Qur'an

Although the Qur'an accepts the miracles of earlier prophets, including the prophets of the Hebrew and Christian Bibles (Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and others), it declares their teachings outdated due to forging by different authors. The central miracle of Muhammad's life is the receiving of the Qur'an itself, the like of which no human can produce – Muslims believe so (Al-Fahim, 1988).

The Qur'an is the sources of all knowledge in Islam, not only the religious and spiritual but also social and scientific knowledge and good morals and "philosophy". The Qur'an aims to guide all people to truth and has four main purposes: demonstrating God's existence and Unity; establishing Prophethood; proving and elucidating afterlife with all its aspects and dimensions; and promulgating the worship of God and the essentials of justice. Based on these purposes there are principles of creed, rules to govern human life, detailed information on the Resurrection and afterlife, prescript for the worship of God, moral standards, direct or indirect information on some scientific facts, principles for the formation and decay of civilizations, outlines of the histories of many previous peoples. Muslims believe that the Qur'an is a source of healing; its application in life provides a cure for almost all psychological and social illnesses. It is also a cosmology, epistemology, ontology, sociology, psychology and law. It is not limited to any time, place, or people. It is for all times and for all peoples as long as the worldly life lasted (Unal,

2007: xvii). Had it not been for the Qur'an, the use of Arabic as a world language might have been in question.

What the Sunnah is

According to its original meaning in the Arabic language, Sunnah means a way, regardless of whether the intended way or model is praiseworthy or detestable. Prophet Mohammad said,

> Whosoever sets a precedent for a good Sunnah, then he has its reward and the reward of all who apply it until the Day of Resurrection. And whosoever sets a precedent for an evil Sunnah, then upon him is its sin and the sin of all who apply it until the Day of Resurrection'' (Muslim narrated it; Shafeeq, 2008: 73).

Therefore, the meaning of the term ''Sunnah'' as an Islamic term, depends on who is defining it. That is, it depends on the branch of Islamic knowledge that one specializes in. In this study, the term ''Sunnah'' refers to all that has been related from the Prophet – his speech, actions, approvals, physical or moral attributes or biography, regardless of whether any of the above is from the period before the first revelation or after it. And as such, 'Sunnah' is a synonym of Hadith (Shafeeq, 2008: 73-74).

Hadith refers to communications, narrations, words or sayings of the Prophet Mohammad. As a term, it denotes the record of whatever the Prophet and Messenger said, did, or tacitly approved. The word 'Hadith' also covers reports about the sayings and deeds of the Successors (Caliphs) of the Prophet in addition to the Prophet himself. The whole body of traditions is termed as Hadith (Unal, 2007: 1561; Al-Hilali and Khan, 1983). The term also refers to the interpretations of Qur'anic verses which otherwise is difficult for understanding.

Alongside the Qur'an, the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad is another basic source of Islamic education. The Sunnah serves as a source of legislation by enjoining and prohibiting; it lays down the principles related to establishing all religious obligations and necessities; and it determines what is lawful or unlawful. It should never be forgotten that the Sunnah is also based on the teachings of the Qur'an (The Qur'an, An-Najm: 3-4).

Muslim religious scholars have exerted their efforts, time, and knowledge to collect and preserve the Hadith of the Prophet. The scholars have given their whole lifetime and developed the Science of Hadith (Musttelehal Hadith) to detect the authenticity of any reported Hadith. The collection of the Prophetic Hadith started during the life time of the Prophetic himself though at times neglected the act for fear of confusing it with the Qur'an. However, the independent Hadith volumes began to be organized in the 8th

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and 9th centuries. The collections and recordings of the Hadith were done to know the sources and ensure the authenticity. The scholars who devoted the whole of their life to Hadith collection traveled to Hijaz, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, Spain, Russia and all the Islamic territories. The most authentic Hadiths are "Sahih" (reliable or trustworthy). Two of the most authentic Hadiths are those of Al-Bukhari and Al-Muslim. The next authentic Hadith collections are those organized by the four collectors (Ibin Majah, Abu Dawud, Al-Tirmizi and Al-Nessa'e) termed as "Sunnan". These six books are called ''kutubu-Sita''. Other Hadith collections include those of Imam Malik (Al-Muatta'e), Ibin Hanbel (Al-Mussanad) and Al-Beyihaqe (As-Sunnan al-Kubra) (Hassen, 2008: 44-45). It is known that Imam Malik and Ibn Hanbel are two of the founders of Islamic School of Thoughts (the Fiqh schools).

The Six Hadith Curricula: Kutub al-Sita

The six Hadith curricula and their organizers are described briefly as follows.

a). Saheeh Al-Bukhari: Imam Al Bukhari (809- 869) organized this collection. His full name was Abu Abdullah Ibin Ismael ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Mugheerah al-Bukhari. He was known by the name al-Bukhari by the place where he was born (in what is now called Uzbekistan). He is the Imam of Hadith scholars and the undisputed Shaykh of Hadith studies. Imam Bukhari organized the chapters of his book according to subjects in fiqh. He was devoted for many years to ascertain the authenticity of 2762 Hadith narrations. Since a single Hadith can be used for different verdicts, the total numbers of Hadith narrations are raised to 7397 (including the repetitions) within 97 sections. When he allowed for the compilation of the book to be made known, it was instantly received with praise; as many as 100,000 people heard it from him and so copies of it were distributed throughout Muslim lands (Shafeeq, 2008: 543-545). Scholars dedicated their time to studying it, explaining it and summarizing it.

b). Sahih Muslim: This was organized by Imam Muslim (817-875). His full name was Muslim ibn al Hajjaj al-Qushayri an-Naysaboori born in a place called Nishapur (a city in Khorasan in Persia, now Iran). He traveled to many lands to seek knowledge. He studied under the scholars of those lands, among whom were the teachers of Bukhari. He organized the Hadith following the path of Al-Bukhari. As a result most of the Hadith narrations are similar with Sahih al-Bukhari. Of course, Imam Muslim had learned from Bukhari and Ahmed Ibn Hanbel. Sahih Muslim comprises a total number of 4000 Hadiths which is raised to 7275 including the reiteration of similar Hadiths under different subsections. Sahih Muslim along with Sahih al-Bukhari ranks the most authentic book after the Qur'an (Shafeeq, 2008: 547).

c). Sunnan Abu Dawud: Imam Abu Dawud (817-888) developed it. His full name was Suleyman al-Ash'ath ibn Ishaq as-Sijjistani. His Books mostly deal about issue related to jurisprudence (al-Ahkaam). He lived in al-Basra. He had to choose which hadiths to put in his Sunnan, and from his stock of 500,000 hadiths, he ended up selecting 4,800 only.

d). Sunnan (Jami'e) At-Tirmidhi: Abu Essa Muhammad bin Essa ibn Soorah as-Salamee at-Tirmidhi (815-892) was known by the name Imam al-Tirmidhi in memory of his country where he was born. He committed all his life in learning Hadith from Bukhari, Ibin Hanbel and Abu Dawud. He organized Hadiths related to issues other than law.

e). Sunnan Ibin Majah: Imam Ibin Majah (822-876) was named al-Hafidh Abu Abdellah Muhammed Ibin Yezid. He followed the Sunnan of others and learned from the colleagues of Malik. He has also written history books and Tefsır-al-Qur'an-al-Kareem.

f). Sunnan An-Nessa'i: Imam al-Nessa'e (830-915) was named Abu-Abdur-Rehman Ahmed Ibin Shu'ayb. He was born in Khurassan. His volume includes many authentic but the fewest unreliable Hadith narrations (Hassen, 2008: 44-47).

All these and many other curricular sources of ahadith are taught in many parts of Ethiopia.

Fiqh (The School of Islamic Jurisprudence)

In the second century of Hijra arose the great four Imams of jurisprudences who codified the Islamic Law according to the needs of their time, place and culture. These four Sunni schools of laws, which are also known in the Ethiopian context, are the Hanafis, the Shafi'is, the Malikis, and the Hanbalis. In Wallo region the two dominant schools of thoughts are Shafi'I and Hanafi; the former being the predominant one. Let's see each one by one.

Imam Abu Hanifah

The first of these was Imam Abu Hanifah Al-Nu'man ibn Thabit, born at Basra in 699 and died in 767. His centre of activity was at Kufa. The basis of his analogical reasoning, known by the term 'qiyas' (analogy) was the Holy Qur'an, and he accepted Hadith only when he was fully satisfied as to its authenticity. It was Imam Abu Hanifah who first directed attention to the great value of qiyas or analogical reasoning in legislation (as permitted in the Qur'an and Sunnah) which was held by Muslims to be the fourth foundation of the Islamic jurisprudence after the source of ijm'a (unanimous consent of

Muslim theologians). Imam Abu Hanifah did not write of his practices, but his students wrote later of his teachings and practices and established the Hanafi School system (Galwash, 1963; Abdelkader, 2000).

Imam Malik

Next to Hanafis, the second great Imam, Malik, comes. His full name is Abu 'Abdullah Malik ibn al-Abahee. He was born in Medinah in 713 and worked and died at the age of 82. He limited himself almost entirely to the Hadith which he found and collected in Medinah relating more especially to the practice which prevailed there, and his system of jurisprudence is based entirely on the traditions and practices of the people of Medinah. He was also called the '' Scholar of Madinah'' and the Imam of Dar-ul-Hijirah/ home of migration''. His book, known as Muwatta, is the first collection of hadith and one of the most authoritative tradition and Sunnah (Galwash, 1963; Abdelkader, 2000).

Malik was known for his knowledge of both fiqh and Hadith, and like Abu Hanifa, he was known to have accepted the validity of the mursal hadith. The principles upon which his school is founded are the same as those of the other Imams: The Qur'an, the Sunnah, ijma (consensus) and qiyas (analogy); however, he added two more proofs that he recognized: the practice of the people of Madinah and al-Masalih al-Mursalah (actions introduced in order to safeguard the rights of the majority of the community). As for the latter proof, most of the Imams held it as a proof, but as for the former, he held the practice of the people of Madinah to indicate the Prophet's Sunnah, whether in action or in situation.

Imam Malik's School spread throughout the Muslim land, but most noticeably in Western Africa, Sudan and Egypt (Shafeeq, 2008: 525-526). Imam Malik was careful to select only authentic hadiths and it is said that he continued to refine and improve his compilation over a period of forty years.

Imam Shafi'I

The founder of the third Islamic Fiqh School was Imam Muhammad ibn Idris ibn al-Abbas ibn Al-Shaf'i; his lineage leads to Quseye and coincides with the Prophet at Abd-Manaf. He was born in Gaza, a city in Palestine in 767 and died in 821. In his day, he was unrivalled for his knowledge of the Holy Qur'an, and experienced immense pains in studying the Sunnah, traveling from one place to another in search of knowledge. His School was based chiefly on Sunnah. Over the Maliki system, which is also based on Sunnah, the Shaf'i'I system has the advantage that the Hadith made use of by Imam Shaf'iI was more extensive, and was collected from different centers, while Imam Malik contented himself only with what

he found at Medinah due to the then communication and transportation barriers (Galwash, 1963; Abdelkader, 2000). Imam Ahmad Hambal said about Shafi'i, ''Upon the neck of every person whose hand touches an inkstand or pen is the favor of Shafi'i'' (Shafeeq, 2008: 537).

His school is founded on the same proofs as those of the other Imams: applying the Qur'an, the Sunnah, the Consensus and analogy, except that his application of the Sunnah was comprehensive of more hadiths than either Malik or Abu Hanifah in regard to Ahad narrations, and was more restrictive in regard to applying mursal narration; he rejected their validity as proofs, unless they were related by the greater Tabi'oon scholars (Shafeeq, 2008: 537-538; Galwash, 1963; Abdelkader, 2000).

Imam Ahmed Ibn Hanbal

The last of the four Schools of thoughts was Abu Abdullah Ahmed ibn Hanbal ash-Shaybani who was born at Baghdad in the year 780 and instructed by Imam Shafi'i and died there in 855. Imam Ahmad first studied fiqh from Shafi'I, and then it was Shafi'I who studied Hadith from Imam Ahmad. Moreover, both Bukhari and Muslim were his students (Shafeeq, 2008: 539; Galwash, 1963; Abdelkader, 2000).

Because of his unwavering adherence to pure Islamic beliefs, he was persecuted by those in authority; his noble stance served to inspire the masses during his time, and especially during the centuries that followed. Through Imam Ahmad's trails, Muslims began to revere him even more and they acknowledged him as an Imam. There are many scholars that testified to Imam Ahmad's knowledge and status, but the following saying of Shafi'i should perhaps suffice here: ''I left Baghdad leaving behind no man who was better, more knowledgeable, more pious, and more righteous than Ahmad ibn Hanbal'' (Shafeeq, 2008:540). He had also made an extensive study of Hadith. His famous work on the subject is known as Musnad of Ahmed Ibn Hanbal, containing thousands of Hadiths (Galwash, 1963:180).

Shafeeq (2008: 540) states that the basic proofs that ibn Hanbal recognized are the same as other Imams recognized: the Qur'an, the Sunnah, consensus and analogy (Shafeeq, 2008; Galwash, 1963; Abdelkader, 2000).

In sum, the four Schools of Fiqh (Mazahib) are founded first on the Qur'an; second on the Sunnah; third on Ijma' (unanimous consent of Muslim theologians), fourth on Qiyas (reasoning by analogy); finally on Istihsaan (this in turn is divided based on 'Urf (custom), Mursalah (public welfare and public good). As you can see from the given description of the four Fiqh schools, "[They] differ only in areas of reasoning

and analogy" (Abdelkader, 2000: 56). The founders of the schools of thoughts also warned their adherents to throw away their own teaching if found to be contradictory to the Qur'an and authentic Hadiths.

The Aims, Content Organization and Relevance of Islamic Education Curricula

It may sound odd to assess religious curricula developed in the 7th and 8th centuries using the criteria established during the 20th century in the modern world. McNeil (1996:95) states that whether it is a form of knowledge, compartmentalized disciplines, Great Books, or cultural literacy, academic curriculum has certain attributes. These attributes are related to aim (purpose), method, organization, and evaluation. Religious education curricula are not the exceptions. I prefer to discuss the purpose and organization (integration, continuity, and sequence) in this subsection and postpone the issue of methods and evaluation for the portion that follows the present.

Purpose. Based on the evidences from informants and literature, the purpose of Islamic education includes: (1) the teaching and dissemination of Islamic dogma and practice, (2) the training of the clerical class, (3) the spread of literacy (Hussein, 1988:97). Stated differently, the purpose of Islamic education includes: (1) the transmission of Islamic values from generation to generation including the teachings of promotion of good, and the prevention of evil (2) the teaching of the preservation and sacredness of the life, mind, faith, honor and property (wealth) – these are called "*maqasid-al-Shari'ah*"; (3) to develop good character (4) to teach rights, duties and responsibilities of people whenever dealing with God, people and even other creatures (animate and inanimate) so as to enable them to be successful both in this life and in the hereafter (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Hadi, November 2nd 2012). Implied here is the fact that Islamic education (both traditional and modern) harmonizes knowledge. It does not dichotomize education into spiritual and material; nor compartmentalizes knowledge into numerous disciplines. Islam purports to neatly "synthesize the various disciplines together into a unified whole" (Merry, 2007:51).

Structure of Islamic Education System

The non-graded system of traditional Islamic education has got different levels (Ahmad, 2009:14). In addition to the Qur'an and its exegesis (tafsir), Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), Nahw (Arabic grammar and syntax), Sarf (morphology) and Tawhid (monolithic theology) are widely taught, usually each under a separate master. According to Hussein (2001), highly specialized fields such as Ilm al-Balagha (rhetoric), Mantiq (logic), Arud or Ma'ani (poetry), Ba'yan (eloquence), Badi (the science of metaphor or

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good style) and Usl al-Fiqh (the principles of law) are not taught extensively; and Hadith (the study of the traditions of the Prophet) is a relatively late comer. However, informants told me that though limited in scopes, there are centers in different part of the country that teach even these advanced educational levels.

These levels are organized under the two-tiers of the structure of Islamic education system: Primary level and Higher education level (Seyoum, 1995; Yalew, 1976). At the primary level, students learn reading and writing Arabic (the Qur'an) and hence Qur'an bet (Ahmad, 2009: 15). Qur'an education (lafz-al-Qur'an) is the basic course at the primary level. Instead of terms like Tehaji and mejlis for this level, I understand the correct term should be ''tejwid'' since this refers to "the accurate pronunciation of the readings of the Qur'an" as practiced in contemporary Islamic education institutions (Ismail, 2009: 6).

The letters of the Arabic alphabet (which starts with letters called Alif, Baa, Taa, etc) are committed to memory before the pupil starts learning how to read them. They are written out for beginners on a wooden slate called ''luh'' by the head-teacher or his assistants. Next, one learns the several signs of dot above or under the letters. The next stage, known locally as ''wututtu'' involves the mastery of Arabic vocalization or the '' harakat''. ''Each of the symbols of the four vowels is known by a different name typical to Wallo'' (Hussein, 1988: 99). These are the following: (i) Fathah – represents the sound ''a'' which is called ''nasbah'' (ii) Dammah – represents the sound ''u'' which is called ''rufa'' (iii) Kasrah – represents the sound ''i'' which is also called ''kifda'' locally and (iv) ''Sukun'' – represents vowellessness of a medial consonant, which is also called '' suknah''. All these names are known by Arabic grammarians internationally despite Hussein's claim to the nomenclatures of Arabic letter pronunciations to be locally bound.

The pupil goes on to learn how to join the letters and to read and write them. This facilitates the reading of the Qur'an (Hussein, 1988: 99). At first, the shorter chapters of the Qur'an are memorized. For the purpose of instruction, the Qur'an is divided into thirty sections (ajza). Each section (juz) is divided into eight parts (thimun), each of which is further subdivided into what are known locally as "maqra'". The maqra is the portion read or learned each day. When the pupil has completed memorizing fifteen ''ajza'' (half of the portion of the Qur'an), he is supposed to start all over again from the beginning. This is known as ''millash'' locally as a form of revision. But it can be done even after completion of the whole of the portion of the Qur'an. In the course of learning reading the Qur'an, each time a student has completed reading a specific number of suras, his family prepares a modest feast by slaughtering a

sheep or a goat during which the pupil receives gifts from his relatives intended for motivation. When he completes the whole Book (khitmah), a bigger feast is held to which his Sheikh and fellow students are invited. But the level of the feast varies from locality to locality depending on the economic level of the community and the awareness level of the parents on the importance of Islamic education. After the completion of reading the Qur'an, the student receives blessings and is officially recognized as having completed his elementary studies (Hussein, 1988:99-100). This represents the primary school level of Islamic education.

At the higher education level, students learn Islamic canon law (Fiqh, Arabic Grammar and morphology (Nahw and Sarf), the exegeses of Qur'an and Hadith. At the ''Fiqh'' or Islamic jurisprudence level, there are specific textbooks which have to be read and understood thoroughly. Each consists of the actual text (matn) and its accompanying commentary (Sharh) which comprises interpretations from the Qur'an and Hadiths. The relevant books on the subject vary according to the school of law to which a particular teaching sheikh subscribes.

Usul al-Fiqh i.e. the four foundations of Islamic jurisprudence, namely the Qur'an, the Sunnah, Qiyas, or analogy and Ijma or consensus are important areas of legal studies. Tewhid (Islamic theology) is also offered simultaneously or following the completion of Fiqh. It is usually taught intensively during the Islamic month of Ramadan. Mantiq (Logic) is also offered widely in Ethiopian Muslim education. Arabic grammar and syntax (Nahwu) is a major subject extensively offered in many parts of Ethiopia. Under Nahwu are highly specialized branches of learning like Sarf (morphology), Arud or Ma'ani (Prosody), Bayan (eloquence), Badi (the science of metaphor) and Balaghah (Rhetoric) (Hussein, 1988: 100-101).

Hussein (1988) contends that Tafsir al-Qur'an (exegesis) and Hadith, although not widely taught as the other subjects, are also offered. However, recent experience shows that a great deal of these subjects is given in Ethiopian Muslim education both at the rural and urban learning centers (Ahmad, 2009).

Organization. By "organization" I mean the arrangement of contents and learning experiences in the common curricular materials (Qur'an, Fiqh and Hadith texts) and I am not referring to the organization of the institution which is mainly run by one person (the head teacher) especially in rural Islamic schools. For this purpose, I have attempted to list down major content areas from the three curricular materials commonly used in the region to see if there is any aspect of relationship/ integration (See Appendix 4).

I used the contents of the Qur'an as it is since there is no other version. Regarding the contents of the Hadith, I used Sahih Muslim (translated by Siddiqi in 1974), not because of its superiority of authenticity but because of its orderly and better organization than the first class hadith called Sahih Bukhari, according to Muslim scholars. From the Fiqh education curricula, I used the Shafiyyah curriculum since the majority of Muslims in the area follows this School of thought. Except the Qur'an, the Hadith and Fiqh curricula are prepared in the form of modules that comprises student's text and teacher's manual. Student's texts are usually prepared in abridged versions while the teacher's guides (which consist of the explanations and commentaries of every content area in student's book) are organized in large and multiple volumes. The list of the contents of each curricula area is too long that I took only the titles of the book called *kitab*.

Integration. "Integration refers to the linking of all types of knowledge and experiences contained within the curriculum plan" (Ornstein and Hutchins, 2004: 243). From this perspective, as shown in Appendix 4, the three categories of curricula (the Qur'an, Hadith and the Fiqh) have strong level of integration. A religious student who has completed one level of education would get the next higher level familiar, if not identical. This is possible due to the design feature of the curricula that brings into close relationship all the bits and pieces of the courses in ways that enable the learners to comprehend knowledge as unified, rather than compartmentalized.

I understand that the principle of integration which emphasizes horizontal relationship among various content areas applies more specifically to urban area Islamic Schools such as mosques and Madrasas. For rural Islamic Schools which rigorously follow the hierarchies of the educational ladder, the appropriate organizing principle for such schools is "continuity". However, the concept of "integration" more likely represents "the interdisciplinary connections" even within a particular curriculum (McNeil, 1996:98). For instance, a student who is studying Fiqh is studying hygiene, principles of business transactions, distribution of money from the rich to the poor, principles of law of inheritance, marriage and family life and other religious creeds as well.

All these concepts belong to different fields of specialization such as biology, economics, law, sociology and theology in modern times. This contradicts the tradition of over-compartmentalization in modern schools. From this point of view, I found the curricula of rural as well as urban Islamic school centers qualify the principle of integration.

Continuity. The term "continuity "deals with vertical manipulation or repetition of curriculum components (Ornstein and Hutchins, 2004:243). I have found, for instance, the concept of cleanliness and hygiene, business transaction, marriage and family issues and all the content areas (indicated in Appendix 4) appearing recurrently across the Fiqh and hadith curricula, from the beginner's module to the advanced learner's module. I was impressed by the level of difficulty of the curricular material which adds to the level of complexity as a student completes one module and starts another one. I have found the Curricula materials befitting to the criteria of the principle of continuity since they comprise major concepts and "skills" occurring in "increased depth and breadth of knowledge over the length of the curriculum" (Ornstein and Hutchins, 2004:243; Derribsa, 2004).

Sequence. This refers to the principle of arranging contents and learning experiences from simple to complex; from a part to whole; from general to more detailed; from familiar to unfamiliar despite newer ideas such as advance organizers reverse this principle (McNeil, 1996:186). In any case, the curricula materials of the Muslim education maintain the principle of sequence by proceeding, for example, how to embrace the religion; then how to keep cleanliness and how to perform prayer/*salat*. I believe that the organization of the contents of the curriculum "from simple to complex" is appropriate since the courses given in a foreign language are already too challenging. There is also a concept of "prerequisite learning" in Fiqh, Hadith and Tafsir education which otherwise makes the courses too difficult (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004:243; Derribsa, 2004; Tyler, 1949).

Organizational pattern. According to McNeil (1996: 193), most patterns of curriculum organization fall within particular organizations: academic, social reconstruction, humanistic and technological. I understand that the pattern of Islamic education curriculum to be an amalgamation of most of these patterns. Like an academic pattern, broad field model is employed by strengthening the interrelationship of ideas and values in the direction of synthesis or integration. Similarly, like the social reconstruction pattern, the curriculum deals with social problems – protection of life, business ethics and making a living and the issue of hygiene although this is still in its rudimentary level in rural Ethiopia. The emphasis is on the development of community norms and not on acquiring subject matter as an end in itself for seeking careers which is the problem of many modern schools. Finally, like the humanistic pattern, Muslim education considers the learner as a developing person as a whole: "an individual who is not only intellectual but also spiritual, emotional and practical one" (McNeil, 1996:198-199).

The Importance of Integration of the Levels of Islamic Education

In the aforementioned discussion, we have seen how the different types of Islamic education (Fiqh, Tafsir and Hadith) are organized in an integrative style. That is, each major content areas of Islamic injunction are treated sufficiently in a particular rural or urban school center. Hence, the major features of the Islamic culture (rituals, purification, family issues etc.) are taught and studied by religious students who are the potential future propagators of Islamic identity and tradition. Consequently, even if all levels of Islamic education are not taught and studied in a particular region (which is a rare practice), the function of a particular level of Islamic school would suffice to attract first the learners and later the surrounding people since the course given is comprehensive. I understand that the broad-field nature of the courses facilitated the influence of Islamic education on the culture of the people. I investigated this issue further across my thesis.

Relevance. Any educational curricula are weighed by their relevance to the personal, social, economic and even political aspects of life. There are a range of angles to approach this issue. Nevertheless, I have limited the discussion to three concepts briefly: the issue of cleanliness, moral qualities and principles of business transaction. The overall relevance of Islamic education will be revealed as we proceed further in this thesis.

Cleanliness. I understand that purification is one of the very important issues in Islam since it is one of the fundamental conditions of the validity of many acts of worship such as ablution, taking a ritual bath after having sexual intercourse with one's own spouse, menstruation, postnatal bleeding as well as other Shari'ah rulings (Abdul-Fattah, 2004:3). You might have heard from the mass media about the importance of washing one's face and hands at least twice a day to prevent some infectious diseases such as trachoma. But Islam goes further and "orders Muslims to wash their private parts, faces, hands and feet at least five times per day" (Informant: Sheikh Ahmed, October 13th 2011; Sahih Al-Bukhari, 1:142). The prophetic hadith also states, "cleanliness is half of faith [i.e. 50% of faith] (e.g. Sahih Muslim, 1:432). The Qur'an also orders Muslims to keep their body and clothes clean (e.g. Qur'an, 5:6; 7:31; 74:4).

Cleaning the teeth with tooth-stick (or tooth-brush) is also emphasized in the Fiqh and Hadith education. It is also advised for anyone who goes to the toilet to wear shoes. Furthermore, anyone who has eaten something which has got bad smell such as garlic is prevented from joining public gatherings in the mosque (and other social gatherings) in order not to disturb other people. Combing one's hair and

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beard, cutting the nails, armpit-hair and pubic hair is compulsory in the religion. Cleanliness of the ears, the eyes, the mouth, the finger-nails, toes, and the nose is also mandatory in Islam (Sahih Muslim, 1:495-503; Idris, 2010:44-55). I understand that the Islamic education focuses not only on personal health. It also teaches environmental cleanliness by forbidding urinating in water bodies, responding on the call of nature in roadsides, under the shade of trees and other areas used for social gatherings. Many scholars shun away from such practices and advise others to follow their suit. This shows the concern for public health as well (Sahih Muslim. 1:553-555; Idris, 2010:78-79).

Moral qualities. From Islamic perspective, moral qualities could fall under two heads: (1) that which enables man to abstain from inflicting injury upon his fellow men and (2) those which enable him to do good for others (Hassen, 2008:1-64; Galwash, 1963). I understand that to the first class belong the rules of conduct which direct the intentions and actions of man so that he may not injure the life, property, or honor of his fellow-beings by means of his tongue, or hand, or eye or any other part of his body. The second class comprises all rules calculated to guide the intentions and actions of man in doing good to others by means of the faculties which God has granted him or in declaring the glory or honor of others or in forbearing from punishing an offender, or in punishing him in such a manner that the punishment turns to be a blessing for him. From this perspective, the following qualities are emphasized throughout the Muslim education: chastity, honesty, peacefulness, politeness, forgiveness, goodness, courage, veracity, patience and sympathy and generosity (Hassen, 2008; Galwash, 1963:124-139). I think many of these good manners are thinning among contemporary Muslims (and non-Muslims) probably due to the influence of modernization which accentuates individualism, consumerism and secularism.

Principles of business transaction. The concept of business transaction is effectively dealt in three of the religious curricula as shown in Appendix 4. Muslims consider Islam not like the modern man's religion, as a personal, private affair, which has nothing to do with economics and political life. Muslims do not consider Islam as a mere body of dogmas or a bundle of rites and rituals but as a practical code which governs life in all its spheres. Islam condemns political deception and economic exploitations as strongly as social excesses and individual dishonesty. I understand that a true Islamic society is based upon honesty, justice, and fraternity and is absolutely intolerant of dishonesty in all its various forms. That is the reason why honesty in business and truthfulness in trade are much emphasized by the Prophetic hadiths and the Qur'an. "It will not be an exaggeration to say that absolute honesty in business and commerce is really an Islamic concept" (Siddiqi, 1974:791). Islam lays the greatest emphasis on *Qut-al-Halal* (food earned through lawful means). The pious among "Muslims believe that as nasty food spoils

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our physical health, similarly, food earned through unlawful means spoils our spiritual and moral health" (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad-Zein, May 1st 2011). Islam disallowed all transactions not based upon justice and fair-play. The Prophet, while reprimanding the dishonest dealer, said: "*laisa minna man ghashsha*" i.e. whoever deceives is not among us (Siddiqi, 1974:791).

> Muslim scholars unanimously agreed that a Muslim who makes up his mind to adopt trade as a profession or to set up his own business should first acquire a thorough understanding of the rules of business transactions codified in the Islamic Shari'ah. Without such understanding, he will go astray and fall into serious lapses making his earning unlawful and hence taken to the hellfire (Informant: Sheikh Indris, July 9th 2012).

We can understand from this that learning the rules of business transaction in Islam is the prerequisite to adopting trade as a profession. The fairness of business is also given due emphasis in the Qur'an:

> O my people! Give full measure and weight justly and defraud not persons of their things and act not corruptly in the land making mischief. What remains with Allah is better for you, if you are believers (Qur'an, 11:85-86).

The longest verse (which fills one page) in the Qur'an is neither about prayer; nor about hellfire; nor about paradise. It is about business dealings, especially about business contract (Qur'an, 2:282). There are different forms of deceptions in business affairs that ranged from forged Birr notes to other cheating styles in the contemporary world (Informant: W/ro Behabtuwa, November 12th 2012).

I have heard merchants (both Muslims and non-Muslims) vowing in the name of God in order to sell their items of good for making profit that ranges from 100 to 400 percent. A careful study of the books pertaining to business transaction will reveal the fact that the Qur'an, the Hadith and Fiqh curricula all based business dealings strictly on truth and justice – a lesson that is receding following modernity.

> The prophet has strongly disapproved all transactions which involve any kind of injustice or hardship to the buyer or the seller. He wanted that both, the buyer and the seller, should be truly sympathetic and considerate towards each other. The seller should not think that he has unrestricted liberty to extort as much as possible from the buyer (Siddiqi: 1974:792).

The price may be tolerable even with grievances. However, I strongly condemn those who add foreign materials in edible items which could be poisonous and thereby result in serious health consequences. In addition to prohibition of hoarding goods (Sahih Muslim, 3: 3910-3912) in order to sell it with high prices, the Islamic teaching prohibits the following types of transaction: monopoly of business (i.e. concentration of supply in one hand since it leads to exploitation of the consumers); speculative business; business based on selfish interest (e.g. hoarding goods speculating to sell expensively); usury/ interest transactions (since this favors the rich to earn without any exertion of effort or the culture

of work) (Qur'an, 2:275; Sahih Muslim, 3:3845-3849) and transactions similar (in nature) to gambling.

Major Developments Related to Islamic Education in the Region

I have roughly divided the development of types of Islamic religious education into five stages based on the oral traditions from the informants: Centered around teachers' houses; Centered around Zawyas (Hut Schools), Centered around mosques and centered around madrasas, and finally teaching house to house.

Teachers' Houses: The Earliest Islamic Schools

At the earliest stage, Islamic education was carried out in a very informal way and it suited the environment at that time where it centered around teachers' houses. "Students came to teachers' (known as Sheikhs) residential area to learn reading Qur'an, writing in Arabic and other basic Islamic teachings from fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence) to Nahw, and Tafsir" (Informant: Muhammad Awol, January, 26th, 2011). By the "teachers' house" is meant both within their houses and compounds including under trees. I have observed that the propagation of Islamic education, from its elementary level of reading the Qur'an to the intermediate and even higher levels of Fiqh, Nahwu (Arabic Grammar) and Tafsir (Interpretations and commentaries of the Holy Qur'an), is still taking place around teachers houses, especially when the Sheikhs are busy doing business, or experience sickness and other related reasons.

The Zawuyas: Hut Islamic Schools

Probably unlike the outside world where the earliest Islamic school was the mosque, in Wallo (and the rest Ethiopia), the earliest Islamic institutions were the Zawyas, thatched huts of mud and wood roofed with grass which is common in rural areas. It is assumed that due to the increasing number of students (called darassas) flocking at the teachers' houses (which were also mainly huts), these houses could no more accommodate all of them, thereby came the idea of religious education to be centered around Zawyas. Zawyas are traditional religious schools which dominated Islamic education in Wallo (and in Ethiopia). The Zawuya institution was the first and most influential legacy in Muslim education in the region and even other countries in Africa and South-East Asia (Hashim and Langgulung, 2008:7-8). Rural Zawuyas are also called "Khlawas and these are considered to be the first madrasas in Ethiopian context" (Al-Islam, 2008, (7):8).

The Zawyas were and still are multi-purpose institutions wherein Muslims not only send their children to learn reading the Qur'an, Fiqh, Nahw, and Tafsir and other related Islamic sciences (Al-Islam, 2008, (7):8), but also serve them as places of worship, places of prayer for the dead, social gathering (like the urban halls) and serve for guests to pass the night (Informant: Sheikh Indris, June, 29, 2012).

The Hut schools may give different levels of Islamic religious education. Consequently, they can be divided as Qur'anic Schools, Fiqh Schools, Nahw Schools, Tafsir Schools, and even hadith Schools (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Zein, May, 29th , 2012).

> The major sources of all levels of Islamic education in our country are the rural 'harimas' [school centers]. Traditionally each rural *harima* teaches one particular branch of Islamic knowledge i.e. each institutions teach Fiqh or Nahw or Tafsir. Occasionally, you may find rural Islamic schools which teach all branches of Islamic knowledge. However, they become renowned only in one of the levels of Islamic religious education (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Zein, May 29th 2012).

The hut-schools also serve as tariqa schools wherein different Sufi orders are taught. Anyone who does not pass through tariqa training and then accepts the "baraka" or blessing as a permission to teach cannot open a fiqh school in the region.

Mosque education

The provision of Islamic religious education in northern Ethiopia (like Wallo) is relatively a recent development compared to the rural Zawyas. It was hardly possible to build modern mosques during the imperial regimes. Rather Zawyas were used to being built amidst even urban areas with no sign of minarets. The building of mosques is especially allowed following the invasion of Italy. The Italian force tried to buy the support of the oppressed Ethiopian Muslims since it knew the bare fact that Muslims did not have equal status with that of the Christians (Sbacchi, 1985:161). The situation for Islamic students in urban areas was gloomy even here in Dessie.

> In those old days, Islamic education was never taught in urban areas. The existing officials did not allow the dissemination of Islam. As a result Sheikhs did not live in urban environs. It is only at the end of the reign of Emperor Hailesselasie I and during the Derg period that mosques were started to be built in towns. Then after, Sheikhs began to course into the urban areas. Earlier than this period, even darasas [religious students] were not found in such vicinities. Here in Dessie as well, the students were forbidden from entering the town, if any one, in case, happened to be found, his gourd vessel called "tulie" was broken on his back whenever he passed by the streets (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Zein, May 28th 2011).

Contemporarily, I have observed mosques starting to be centers for teaching Islamic education such as reading the Qur'an, teaching Hadith, Tafsir, and even Nahw and Fiqh. However, since most of the students study on part-time basis (after school or during week-ends), its quality as well as quantity was very less to be compared to the rural Islamic school centers.

Madrasa schools

Next to the establishment of mosques, the establishment of Madrasa Schools follows in the region. Encarta Dictionary (2008) defines "a Madrasa" as "a school for the study of Islamic religion and thought, especially the Qur'an". I understand that a Madrasa is not only a place of learning the Islamic sciences; it is also a place of worship, and hence the name Madrasa-mosque is coined to it. The history of Madras dates back in the 11th century in Iran. However, the introduction of Madrasa Schools in the region is only in 1940s when "Islam Timihrt Bet" (Dessie) was established as an Elementary School among other Muslim Schools in other parts of the country during the Italian Invasion (Al-Islam, 2009, (9): 6). This first Madrasa in Wallo (the fifth Madrassa in Ethiopia established by Sheikh Said Muhammad Suwadiq) region is built adjacent to Shawa Bar Mosque. Although it hardly fulfills the features of a modern Madrasa (since its wall and roof was made of all from corrugated sheets of iron), modern education has been provided for long period of time together with religious courses like reading Qur'an and Arabic language. However, in the course of time, this school was banned from giving any religious related courses and "old madrasas such as Islam timirt Bet in Dessie and Omar Samatar in Addis Anbaba are unfit at present to produce Islamic scholars and they are turned to be public schools" (Al-Islam, 2009, (9): 6).

Greater number of Madrasa Schools has been established ever since the EPRDF-led government comes to power in 1991. The first tahfiz-al-Qur'an was established, for instance, in Dessie in 1991 (Informant: Ustaz Tolahaa, July, 4th 2011). Half a dozen of Madrasas were founded in the urban areas in the region (Dessie, Degan, Woldiyya, and Makana Salam). Some of these Madrasas "serve as boarding schools for religious students who are studying recitation and memorization of the whole Qur'an" (Informant: Ato Kadir, August 22nd 2011). Mostly they are built adjacent to a certain type modern school. This enables the religious students to be versed in both the Islamic and modern education unlike the rural Islamic schools. However, attempting to master these two versions of education "compelled students to prolong the period of memorization of the Qur'an from two to three and half years" (Informant: Ustaz Abdul-Malik, July 2nd 2011). "The practice of memorization and recitation of the holy

Qur'an was initially started in Daway (Artuma) by Sheik Muhammad Makhraj (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Geta, June 1st 2011).

However, nowadays it is not as such common to memorize the whole text of the Qur'an in rural Islamic schools in the region except by visually impaired people. The learning of Memorization of the whole Qur'an and its standardized pronunciation (Tajwid) is becoming the major feature of the contemporary Madrasas. While this is considered a pivotal step for the preservation of the Qur'an and the dissemination of its teachings, I understand that the regional Madrasas still fall short of serving as Islamic colleges since they lack comprehensive teachings of the sciences of Hadith, Arabic grammar, Usul-al-Fiqh and the sciences of the Qur'an.

House-to-House Islamic Education

We have seen earlier that the earliest form of Islamic education before the establishment of the institutions called Zawyas /Khalawas was centered around teachers' houses. While this practice of learning the Islamic sciences has survived even to these days, a more recent version of learning mostly in urban areas is house-to-house education. By "house-to-house" education, I mean the religious teacher moves from door to door on fixed times per day in order to teach small children and/or adult men and women based on the request from particular families and sometimes neighbors. This is commonly done "early in the morning and/or at dusk and the teacher is paid some money for his service frequently including ration and/or residence service" (Informant: Ato Girma, April 20th 2011). This modality of education includes teaching reading the Qur'an, Fiqh, and Hadith in most cases of my observation.

Another similar but different form of house-to-house education is the modern Satellite TV programs. There is a great deal of proliferation of Islamic Satellite TV Channels that are broadcasting different programs all over the world enhancing enculturation rather than the usual acculturation process. Almajde and Iqra mostly transmit Islamic lessons in Arabic. Peace TV is famous in transmitting Islamic messages in English. The most important Channel of all, in the Ethiopian context, however, is Africa Satellite TV Channel. This Channel transmits different Islamic concepts, practices and history in many Ethiopian languages including Amharic, Oromigna, Tigrigna, Somaligna and Afarigna. The most interesting aspect here is that the scholars who lead the program, present lessons and facilitate the

discussion on the Channel are all Ethiopians; most of them are graduates of the Ethiopian rural Islamic schools and its modern schools.

This aspect of Islamic education is facilitated further through the rise of publications, DVD, CD and Cassettes (Verlag, 2007:207). Of course, all of these fall under the informal form of Islamic education.

Dominant Methods Employed in Islamic Schools

There are a variety of methods of teaching employed in the Fiqh School during the observation. These include memorization, translation and interpretation, questioning, peer grouping, peer teaching, one-to-one tutoring, teaching practice and debate.

Memorization. Memorization is used at three instances. First, memorization is employed during learning the alphabets and some chapters from the Qur'an at the beginning of the instruction. This memorization will help the learner for performing *Salat* (prayer). The second case of learning through memorization is during *Tahfiz*-al-Qur'an. The third scenario of the application of memorization is during learning *Nahw* (Arabic Grammar). Other than these instances learning through rote-memorization is not the major feature of Fiqh, Tafsir and Hadith education (Ahmed, 2009:16-17). Mainly it is used by small children who are not matured enough for reflection, analysis and debating. Despite the assumption of certain Ethiopian scholars (e.g. Hailegebriel, 1969) that Islamic education is predominantly based on rote memorization, Gunther in (EQUIPI, 2006:7) explores the works of al-Farabi, one of the famous Islamic scholars, and concludes that while it is the teacher's responsibility to introduce new knowledge to the student in ways that he can understand, it is the student's responsibility to work actively with new facts until he can use them in context different to those demonstrated to his. Furthermore, an effective method of instruction ensures that both the teacher and students should participate actively in the process. This interactive element in the learning process allows the instruction to be student-centered since the aim is for student's own voyage of discovery.

Translation and interpretation. One of the dominant methods participants used was translation and interpretation. Unquestionably, all the Islamic Fiqh curricula are written in Arabic, just like the Qur'anic and Hadith texts. Hence, the first time a student opens a religious book before the Sheikh and began reading, the Sheikh either translated the text uttered by the student into student's mother tongue and/or explained the meanings of the text by using a simpler version of the concepts for the matured student, of course (Ahmed, 2009:18).

Questioning. Another dominant method used in the teaching-learning process was question and answer method. Almost all students dare to ask either the head teacher and/the student-teacher any concept that was not clear. There appears to be nothing left unquestioned starting from simple issues (e.g. why are some food items lawful while others are unlawful in Islam?) to other metaphysical questions (e.g. Where does God exist? How was the earth and heaven created? What will happen after death?). In one of the learning sessions, I counted the number of questions a student teacher asked and found out that within thirty minutes, the student asked forty-four questions and I was astonished! Another student also asked thirty questions within thirty minutes. I counted all these using the tally system during my observation.

Peer-grouping. Peers commonly called *sharika* in Arabic were assigned to study a course together as much as possible. Peer groups are arranged in two ways: using the learners' academic status and their ability.

Academic status: If a group of students (from two to up to ten) have similar level of academic status, they will be grouped as "peers" to study similar course materials. This is usually done easily based on arrival and entrance of the learners into the Fiqh School (harimah). This type of peer grouping will last as far as the religious students have got equal pace of learning to master a certain course material. If a student is found to be too slow or too fast to master a given course of study, the Sheikh or the student-teacher will decide to separate him from the peers and invite him to join another group whose members have got relatively similar pace of learning. If no group is to be found, he will be left all alone temporarily or permanently.

Ability grouping: As it is implied from the above explanation, although students are originally assigned based on similar status, through long period of observation, fast learners or slow learners will be screened out and hence this invites for ability grouping. In ability grouping, students with similar level of motivation to learn course materials will be grouped together. However, grouping based on academic status (which resembles mixed ability grouping) lasts for longer time since students with different level of commitment and ability usually support one another.

Peer-teaching. This might be understood within the peer group category. However, peer grouping is a style of organizing the students to take a course under a certain head-teacher and/or student-teacher

while peer-teaching is a practice in which each student is given both the opportunity and responsibility to teach his own peers.

> The instructional process in the Fiqh School is organized in such a way that first peer-teaching sessions are conducted. Each student teaches his peer and conversely each student learns from his peer. Hence, students perform a kind of role play wherein a student acts as a teacher for awhile and as a learner for some other time (Informant: Muhammad Awol, student, April 25th 2011).

Teaching practice. This session is led by student-teachers. Teaching practice is done not by merely teaching one's peers (as in peer teaching) who are in the same academic status. Rather, it refers to the practice of teaching other students who are younger than him in academic maturity. A student who is assigned to teach other students on regular basis is called *amotay* (tutor) i.e. the one who helps others to study the course sometimes through re-teaching but mainly through substituting the formal instruction.

Some forty students were sitting in a circular pattern in open air to learn from a student-teacher who was apparently on teaching practice. The academic competence or subject mastery of a student was measure mostly in his effectiveness to teach lower "grade" attendants. Large crowds were observed circulating prominent student-teachers while less number of students approached those who were not good at teaching as such. I realized that even before participants informed me. The dictum which states "The best way to learn a subject is to teach it" seems to be applicable in Islamic education.

It is imperative to mention here that a student-teacher at a lower level has also got another student-teacher from a higher level who in turn has got still another student-teacher from the peak of the academic hierarchy. In this manner, those students who are nearly to graduate from the Fiqh School are taught only by the head-teacher – the Sheikh.

One-to-one tutoring. Most of the instructional process was conducted in groups. However, the opportunity to teach a student alone was not barred. A student can be allowed to study on personal basis from either the student-teacher or the head-teacher whenever he is a new comer or whenever he has no peers or whenever he does not have the interest to learn with pairs or groups of students due to social or psychological or any other unknown reasons.

All in all, through the applications of pair discussion and group discussion, Islamic schools facilitate learning in the context of cooperative learning atmosphere which has got positive effect on student's interdependence (Aggarwal, 1996; Ahmed, 2009:64-68).

Evaluation Strategies

Formal types of evaluation such as examinations, tests, or quizzes are not known in the Islamic Schools. There is no concept of paper-pencil test at all. As a result, no papers and no time are wasted in the name of examination. What makes me surprised is the abolition of cheating by discarding any formal assessment techniques. The head-teacher reports:

> We do not conduct evaluation. The religious student (*darasa*) has to be conscious of his own effort and conduct self-evaluation as long as he is studying Fiqh. His peers also evaluate him. Above all, he has to be cognizant of the fact that he is eating food freely from the local people; he is learning from the Sheikh freely and he is living in a public Zawuya (mosque) freely. Consequently, the student's mental discretion makes it obligatory to study day and night to master his course. It is compulsory for any *darasa* to teach those students under his level in Fiqh and other education. Any course that has been covered could not be challenging for him to teach. No matter how weak the *darasa* is, through studying repeatedly and through asking repeatedly, he will master the course in the end and teaches it to others. If he does not understand a concept today, he has to ask his peers tomorrow and/or attend others while they are learning that particularly challenging portion. There is a greater opportunity of re-learning any lesson in Fiqh. For this purpose we have a counseling session on every Wednesday about the academic performance of students (Informant: Sheikh Abdu, April 26th 2011).

Although there is no examination, the Sheikh and the student-teachers recognize about each student whether he is a devoted and concerned student or not. The teachers know about which student is serious and responsible enough for his study and which one is irresponsible learner. As I described earlier, the competence of a student will be screened out while he is assigned as a student-teacher (*amotay*). His students at the end of even the first day will speak either against or in favor of him. If the prospective student-teacher teaches them effectively, he will be appreciated both by other students and the head teacher. Contrarily, if the new student teacher is found to be incompetent, you will see no more students who are interested to learn from him. Senior student-teachers and even the Sheikh himself informally watch out about the performance of the student-teachers.

Being a good student-teacher does not depend on one's subject mastery but also on one's behavior of handling students learning from him. Such behaviors include being polite, respectful, tolerant, charming, helpful, friendly, concerned, kindly, and sympathetic. The participants label such a student-teacher

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"yasabsib yalaw" i̇.e. he who has got the charisma and other personal qualities to attract and gather a crowd of students around him. They also call a person who is devoid of those good qualities "yabatin yalaw" i.e. he who lacks the charisma and thereby causes the dispersal of the crowd of learners despite the scholarliness of the person (Ahmed, 2009).

Buying the Heart and Mind of People

Through the use of interactive methods in different Islamic school centers, Muslim scholars first bought the hearts and minds of their students who in turn would grow up and are given ijaza (certificate or permission) to open their own schools and disseminate Islamic education in the field of Fiqh, Tefsir, and Hadith.

The darassas, abagars, Sheikhs, Woliys and even Fuqras all are in one way or another responsible for the dissemination of the Islamic culture (marriage, diet, dressing and other traditions) into the mainstream culture. As a result, Islam (Islamic education) has brought about considerable influence on the way of life of the people.

Major Constraints of Islamic Education in the Region

The overall problems related to Islamic education in Wallo (Ethiopia) could be categorized into two: lack of resources and lack of integration to modern education. Regarding the first problem, Islamic educational institutions especially that of the rural Zawyas include: lack of resources (material as well as human); lack of toilets; absence of electricity; shortage of rooms to accommodate students; absence of clean water; and shortage of food (Informant: Muhammad Awol, senior student, April 24th 2011).

With respect to lack of integration to modern education, Islamic education, unlike the experience in foreign countries, the Islamic schools lack integration with modern education. Leaving aside the experience in Arab countries where there is no dichotomy between the modern and the Islamic education, considerable effort was done to integrate Islamic schools with the modern schools in Ghana (Africa) (USAID, Ghana, 2007). That has never been the case here. "Initial attempts of teaching Geography, History and Mathematics in Arabic in some parts of the country have been banned long ago as in Awoliya in Addis Ababa" (informant: Junadin, January 11th 2011).

The contemporary modern Madrasas are also not dissimilar from the rural Islamic Zawyas in their "dichotomized" system of education: the madrasa are committed to religious education leaving the modern secular knowledge to the public schools as enshrined in the education policy of the country

(TGE, 1994). Even worse, privately owned schools which belong to Muslims are also banned from teaching even Arabic as a foreign language in the region (contrary to the dictation of the education policy of 1994). My field observation revealed that the ban was sometimes imposed and at other times lifted depending on the goodwill of education officials in the region.

Islam invites humanity to ponder, reflect and research based on revealed and reasoned knowledge. But no effort has been exerted except the transmission of age old educational traditions. As the analysis of the contents of Islamic education curricula revealed, even the rural Islamic education has got inbuilt integration of the material knowledge and spiritual knowledge. However, neither the secular nor the religious scholars ever dared to harmonize the indigenous education with the modern one.

It is implied that almost all Islamic institutions in the region (as well as in the country as a whole) have got problem of organization with regard to curriculum, methodology, manpower and related resource issues since every aspect of Muslim education is done based on tradition per se (Al-Islam, 2008. (7): 28).

Conclusions

The primary sources of Islamic education curricula are the Qur'an and the Sunnah (Authentic Hadith). Muslims differentiate between the word of Allah (the Qur'an) and the words, actions and approvals of Prophet Muhammad (Hadith). Such nomenclature is sacred for Muslims. Any attempt which disturbs this tradition had resulted civil war in previous Muslim generations in Arabia if not in Ethiopia. Other secondary sources of Islamic education curricula include the Consensus of Muslim scholars and Analogy.

Ethiopian Muslim scholars have long been giving Islamic education based on the teachings of the Qur'an and the Fiqh School of Thoughts (which in turn were based on the Quran, the hadith and analogy of the founding Muslim scholars). Although it is relatively a recent experience as compared to the Qur'an and Fiqh centers in Ethiopia, Hadith teachings are also being given by graduates of the Fiqh Schools and the teachings of the Sunnah. The methods of teaching and learning are, except the lower primary level, based on cooperative approaches and learning for understanding. Both primary and higher education students practice tutorial practices to support one another and this reduces the burden of the head-teacher.

Initially, Islamic education used to be given in teachers' houses. As the number of students swell, separate institutions viz. Zawuyas has been established. Then, followed urban mosques and later Madrasas were established more recently. These institutions provide Islamic education based on the multi-grade approach: teaching reading the Qur'an, Fiqh, Nahw, Tafsir and Hadith exegesis were all taught and are still being taught in similar institutions in many cases. This may take twenty-five years to complete the educational system. Nonetheless, the rural Islamic education could further be prolonged from thirty-five to forty years. Conversely, in urban Madrasa, this can be shortened into ten or fifteen years at most.

The curricular organization of Muslim education vis-à-vis the criteria of continuity, sequence and integration has been found to be almost befitting. For instance, Fiqh curricula are written in such a way that they are interconnected to Hadith and Qur'anic exegesis horizontally as well as vertically as if they were prepared in the 20th century. The year to complete Islamic education is extended not due to curricular organization per se but also due to lack of resources and proper leadership.

The purpose of Islamic education along with the dissemination and preservation of Islamic values is to cultivate the mind of the Muslim society on the need for preserving and protecting faith, mind, body, property and progeny of all people irrespective of differences in color, religion, race, gender, ethnicity language and social status.

The contents highlighted in this Chapter have got significant implications on how the Islamic injunctions could influence culture (food practices, marriage practices, code of dressing and manner of business transactions) of the people. The tacit influence of Islamic education within the Muslim and the non-Muslim culture would be revealed as the research process unfolds along the pending Chapters.

The dominant methods of instruction employed in Muslim education appeared to be collaborative, interdependent and even at times individualized addressing individual differences since there is no compulsion that disturbs the pace of the individual learner, at least in its traditional sense. Lessons were also conducted based on flexibility to meet the need of the learners as far as possible. Other than the team sprit observed in the instructional process, I am impressed especially in the principles of the rural Islamic Fiqh schools that each student in a higher grade level has to master the lower level and, as a sign of proof, he has to teach the student(s) at the lower level. In other words, students in grade two have to teach students in grade one and this applies for all students across the grade levels. Of course,

we know that the Islamic Schools in Ethiopia are non-graded. The intellectual as well the spiritual needs of the learners is also addressed.

Another area of peculiarity of the Islamic education in the region is absence of paper-and-pencil tests. No time, energy and resource is spent in evaluation of students since the evaluation process is believed to be embedded within the teaching learning process. Mastering the course given is primarily left to the mental discretion of the learner. Moreover, the peers and student-teachers of the student are also responsible for effective learning.

Islamic education in the region also followed multidisciplinary approach contrary to compartmentalization of subjects observed in modern higher education. I found a graduate of Islamic higher education to be "qualified" as a "linguist", a "lawyer", an "economist" and a "sociologist" at least in its traditional version. Only short-term training might suffice to upgrade such quasi-qualified scholars to meet the demands of modern specialization, as experienced in other African and Middle East countries; if at all there is interest to integrate the indigenous education with the modern one.

This did not, however, mean that the traditional Islamic schools were free from any limitations. It took almost a quarter of a century for bright students to complete the major levels of Fiqh, Nahw, and Tefsir education. As to average students, it might take up to forty years. This is too long to tolerate. Most of the instructional time was lost searching for food and water and other basic necessities. This showed the prevalence of organizational, structural and resource problems.

All in all, Islamic education, like that of other traditional education in Ethiopia, has survived the test of time and it is still applicable in the Muslim community. And we need to open up our heart and mind to benefit from it and to improve it if at all it is believed to have some values for contemporary life.

The Islamic schools also employ different interactive methods such as translation, one-to-one tutoring, Question and answer, peer teaching, teaching practice and many other techniques. Such interactive methods are believed to be conducive for developing higher order thinking skills.

In sum, the organization, structure and methods used in the Islamic education schools resemble that of the modern education except that, due to lack of organization, it took learners from three up to four decades to master all spheres of knowledge, a long period which is lost mainly in search of food and exemplar scholar to be emulated. In terms of cooperative learning and mastery learning, the Islamic schools outdid the modern schools in the region.

CHAPTER NINE: THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION ON MUSLIMS' PERSONAL AND SOCIAL LIFE IN WALLO

Introduction

The most important sources of Islamic education curricula are the Qur'an and the Sunnah/Hadith. Muslims differentiate between the word of Allah (the Qur'an) and the words, actions and approvals of Prophet Muhammad (Hadith). Such classification is sacred for Muslims in the region. Any attempt which disturbs this tradition had resulted civil war in previous Muslim generations in Arabia if not in Ethiopia. Other secondary sources of Islamic education curricula include the Consensus of Muslim scholars and Analogy.

Ethiopian Muslim scholars have long been giving Islamic education based on the teachings of the Qur'an and the Fiqh School of Thoughts (which in turn were based on the Quran, the hadith and analogy of the founding Muslim scholars). Although it is relatively a recent experience as compared to the Qur'an and Fiqh centers in Ethiopia, Hadith teachings are also being given even by graduates of the Fiqh Schools. The methods of teaching and learning are, except the lower primary level, based on cooperative approaches. Both primary and higher education students carry out tutorial practices to support one another.

It is assumed that the provision of Islamic education, formal or informal, beginning right from the inception of Islam in Ethiopia in the seventh century, could have influenced the way of life of Muslims in the region. Exploring the Influence of Islamic education on the social life of Muslim will be the purpose of this Chapter.

For the last over fourteen centuries, Islamic injunctions have been assumed to be taught especially in regions like Wallo wherein there is considerable Islamic school centers as discussed in Chapter Eight. I observed considerable level of impacts of Islamic education reflected on the personal and social life of Muslims. I discussed my observation backing it up with my research participants own voice and textual quotations on issues related to cleaning practice, dietary practice, marriage practice, mourning practice, healing tradition, conflict resolution and other related traditions of the Muslim communities.

Cleanliness and purification

One of the Islamic institutions that is vividly associated with cleanliness and purification is Salat (prayer). Before performing salat (at least five times per day), Muslim men and women who pray first wash their private parts after responding to the call of nature. Then, they perform the ritual bath called ablution (wudu) (Qur'an, 4:43; 5:6) by washing parts of their body in a sequential manner: first, they wash their hand and cleanse their mouth and nostrils three times by blowing water in and out; Second, they wash their face three times; third, they wash their right and left arms (up to the elbow) three time each; fourth, they wash their right and left legs properly; and finally they rub their hair and ear with wet hands. Whenever they perform ablution, Muslims in the region (like any other Muslims elsewhere) prefer washing their right side of their body as prescribed in religious texts (e. g. they wash their right hand before washing their left hand). They repeat this act of ablution almost during the five periods of obligatory prayers (i.e. at dawn prayer, midday prayer, afternoon prayer, dusk prayer and night prayer). They may also perform ablution for other acts like performing voluntary (sunnah) prayer, reading the Qur'an, teaching the Qur'an, holding the Qur'an and praying for the dead person (salat al janaza). "Small children who are below age fourteen are not obliged to perform ablution religiously since they are considered too young" and free from major sins (Informant Sheik Muhammad-Zein, October 19, 2012). However, one is not obliged to repeat one's ablution unless responding to the call of nature and/or passing urine or wind.

Muslims also take shower after having sexual intercourse as a religious obligation (Qur'an, 4:43; 5:6). Muslims in the region also wash their body, clothes, shoes and praying mat immediately if soiled by any filthy staff, particularly urine, feces, blood or animal dung. Once, they are sure of being clean from these impurities, they perform ablution (as explained above) and perform salat individually at home or go to the mosque for congregation prayer facing to the direction of the qibla (Mecca) which is at the northward in the region. Muslims observe the practice of ablution whether they live in rural or urban areas. It is difficult to find a Muslim who is an adult who does not know how to perform ablution irrespective of whether the person performs prayer on regular basis or not.

Moreover, Muslims also clean their teeth and mouth using toothbrushes mainly made of a wooden stick. They also cut their nails short; remove the pubic and armpit hair on every Friday as a religious duty. It is not unusual to see people in the region holding a long tooth stick and cleaning their teeth even along streets and public gatherings. I have also encountered certain Muslims who distributed tooth sticks for

the people gathered in mosques so that they could clean their teeth. Surprisingly, they did this as a charity since no good act is considered as useless in the Muslim tradition.

In urban areas, mosques are constructed with ablution facilities that may include ten to thirty tap waters. Well established mosques also consist of five to ten bathrooms and even more number of toilet rooms in major towns like Dessie, Kombolcha, Harbu and Khemissie found in the region. Rural Islamic education centers in the region are also established nearer to a river or spring water in most cases as far as possible to shorten the distance for fetching water which is very crucial for ablution and cleanliness. Islamic education, therefore, clearly influenced the cleaning practice and even constituencies of a mosque within the Muslim community in the region.

Dietary Practice

Muslims almost without exception prefer eating, drinking and even writing and doing other things with their right hands (Shakeir, 2004) (like most of the rest Ethiopians). They consider this as part and parcel of their religion as depicted in numerous religious verses. "Even certain Muslims go as far as forcing their son or daughter who ate or drank using the left hand without any reason to throw it up" (Informant Ato Endris, August 20th 2012). They also say "tasmiyah" i.e. bismilah ar-Rahmani ar-Rahim whenever starting eating (Shakeir, 2004: 899).

Whenever Muslims eat food, they prefer sharing it with another person. Food is usually served when the family members are gathered. If there is a guest at their home, the person is paid due respect and served the best dish available. In the presence of a guest, children are served food separately. Otherwise, the whole family usually shares food at the same time and place. For this purpose, Muslims in the region use mats spread flat on the floor in a circular or rectangular pattern decorated with pillows. "Instead of dinning around a table, Muslims prefer sitting on the mat spread on the floor at homes, restaurants or in any social gathering in most cases" (Informant Ato Endris, August 20, 2012).

Muslims eat meat slaughtered based on Islamic rulings. They do not eat the meat of animals killed by flooding, falling or disease. They call such an animal 'bakt' i.e. dead without being made 'halal' slaughtered saying 'bismillah (in the name of Allah) and/or 'Allahu Akbar' (Allah is Great). The 'bakt', whether it is as small as a chicken or as big as a camel, is given to dogs, cats or left to be devoured by wild animal except its skin. One exceptional practice of Muslims here is that fish and locust are edible

whether they are caught dead or alive as dictated in religious scriptures. Muslims in the region appear to be influenced by the Qur'anic lesson:

> So eat of the lawful and good food which Allah has provided for you…. He has forbidden you al-maitah (meat of dead animal), blood, the flesh of swine and any animal which is slaughtered as a sacrifice for others than Allah (or has been slaughtered for idols or on which Allah's Name has not been mentioned while slaughtering) …. (Qur'an, 16:114-115).

Contrary to the practice abroad, most Muslims in the region never eat animal's meat slaughtered by non-Muslims. The non-Muslims also do not eat meat slaughtered by a Muslim in most cases. Nowadays, some young Salafis and Protestants, however, do not differentiate the meat slaughtered by the two faith groups.

Other common staple foods for Muslims in the region include porridge and soup. These food items are frequently used by Muslims especially during the month of fasting and holydays.

Marriage Practice

Muslims in the region consider pre-marriage sex as a taboo; so is giving birth without wedlock called 'nika' by the local Muslims. Hence, instead of living in a state of fear of falling under the trap of an illegal sex, most male and female Muslims prefer early marriage arrangements under the consent of their families especially if the "couple" is assumed to be able to cover their living costs.

The wedlock is valid if certain amount of money, depending on the financial power of the bride, called "mahr" is given to the bridegroom as limited by the family representatives of the couples in the presence of the "qadi" and eyewitnesses (Qur'an,4: 4; 4: 20, 21).

Muslims in the region conduct a wedding ceremony to announce the marriage. The wedding may demand huge expenses for the well-to-do families whereas others may do it using simple expenses like cups of coffee and bottles of soft drinks. The wedlock is commonly legitimized by the presence of the father or brother of the bride along with three other eyewitnesses and the bridegroom or his representative. Many Muslims marry and establish their family in such simple ceremonies. That is assumed to lessen the financial burden on the family and the new couple. "Islam also forbids wastage in all life conditions" (Sheikh Idris, June 8, 2012). That can be one of the pull-factors to early marriage which can be a safeguard from unsafe sex.

Traditionally, however, most Muslims prepare a big wedding ceremony where the residents are invited without differences in faith, gender and social status. In towns like Kemissie, Harbu and Kombolcha animals like oxen, sheep and goats and even camels are slaughtered for the wedding feast. Different animals are slaughtered separately according to the faith tradition of Muslims and non-Muslims for the wedding ceremony. Marriage can also be established during the engagement day by fulfilling the 'nika' ritual without any wedding ceremony. Unless and otherwise the family and the couple are rich enough to cover expenses for the wedding ceremony, they are not compelled to do so religiously.

Influenced by the Islamic teachings, there is no Music band and dancing during the wedding ceremony. Alcoholic drinks are not served especially in urban areas and rural areas of Qallu Warada, Dessie and Khemissie (Qur'an, 2:219; 5:90). There could be minor religious song called manzuma (or more recently nashida, song). The new couple also does not kiss each other in public. Men and women do not mix in a room or tent in most occasions in urban areas. In rural areas, the separation of men and women is meant only for the 'Ulamas' (religious scholars) but not for the commoners as such. Intoxicant drinks used to be served during wedding ceremonies in some rural areas before two decades. That is not the case by now in the region as a result of Islamic revival. in many cases, instead of alcoholic drinks, one may find Muslims chewing chat using the occasion as an appropriate time for 'du'a' (supplication) by wishing the newly couple a happy marriage life.

The Practice of Marring up to Four Wives

Polygamy (which includes both polygyny and polyandry) has existed all over the world as an aspect of culture and/or religion, including in the Hindu, Jewish and Christian faiths. Similarly, Muslims can practice *polygyny*. According to the Qur'an (4: 3), a man may have up to four wives at any one time; the restriction on the number was not customary before the re-advent of Islam in Arabia. There are two conditions to polygynous marriage in Islam: first, additional wives may only be taken when orphans and widows cannot be maintained by society as a whole and would better benefit from maintenance by a single man; second, the husband is required to treat all wives equally. "If a man fears that he will not be able to meet these conditions, then he is not allowed more than one wife" (Informant Sheikh Indris, July 6th 2012).

> If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only

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one, or that which your right hands possess. That will be more suitable, to prevent you from doing injustice (Qur'an 4:3).

A bride-to-be may stipulate in the marriage contract her conditions such as monogamy. However, a woman may not have more than one husband, which is regarded as unacceptable because it could create difficulty in determination of paternity and hence responsibility of upbringing of children and inheritance. In addition, each husband would need to wait for his turn to have a child with his wife, as she cannot carry more than one man's baby at a single time. The Qur'an also recommends a woman nurses her child for two years before having another, thus adding to the wait time of each husband to have his own child. *The mothers shall give suck to their offspring for two whole years... (Qur'an 2:233).*

Influenced by Islam and/or tradition, men in both rural as well as urban areas sometimes marry two or three wives simultaneously in Wallo even these days. This practice is typically common in areas like Oromiya Zone, Qallu, Tehulederie and Wora Himano. It is also more common in rural areas than in urban areas. According to informants, if the two or three wives agreed to live peacefully, they will have their own rooms in even the same compound, otherwise, the man will be forced to have separate residential areas for each wife.

> In Khamisie, the larger community is Oromo. Hence, marrying two, three or four women is common. Most of the people, however, practice monogamy. Sometimes a man marries a woman in Djibouti, another woman in Addis Ababa and the third woman here in Khemissie. In this manner, a man is married up to three or four wives. This is typically done by merchants. Mostly in the rural areas and even here in the town, two or three wives of a man live within a single compound but in different rooms (Informant: W/ro Engidaye, December 14th 2012).

Although the rate of marring more than one wife is significantly less in urban areas compared to the rural areas, the practice is not alien. Informants in Dessie, Kombolcha, Dagan and Harbu proved that. I understand that there is a legal framework that enforces marriage to be limited to one man to one woman. There are also institutions that advocate for the enforcement of this law. However, the practice of marrying more than one wife is still not forgotten.

> In my neighborhood, there is a person. Once upon a time but recently, he asked his wife to choose between either divorce or living with another wife. The woman who is a mother of some children, agreed to live peacefully with the second wife here in Khemissie. Sooner than later the man married his second wife who is a young girl. This 'illegal' act was heard by the political and community members. Later, representatives of gender and women affairs came to the house and asked the first wife to apply to the court suing her own

husband who committed a crime by marring a second wife since this act is violating the equal rights of women with men. 'If you are forced, the man will be imprisoned', said the group. Astonishingly, the woman responded: 'no! He has never forced me. I have agreed with him and the second wife to live together. In Islam the Shari'ah permits a man to marry one, two, three or four wives at a time. Since I am a Muslim, I believe and accept that principle". With feeling of shyness and annoyance on the response of the old women, the group leads to the second wife who is a young girl in grade nine. They said to her: you are a young girl. You are also a student. You know the illegality of marrying a man who is too old to be the peer of your age. Why did you interrupt your schooling? Who forced you to marry this old man who has got children and another wife? The girl, fearing not to accuse her family, responded: 'no! No one forced me to interrupt my schooling. No one also forced me to marry the man as a second wife. I am interested and made up my mind and loved him for marriage. That is all!' In this way, the group from women's affairs went back empty-handed (Informant W/ro Engidaye, December 14th 2012).

Despite the fact that the prevalent marriage type is monogamous in the region, "polygyny is also practiced to some extent among rural and urban people", educated and uneducated ones (Informant Sheikh Ahmed, January 24th 2012). However, a bride-to-be may stipulate in the marriage contract her conditions such as monogamy. She can also demand divorce if she is not interested since there is no marriage by force in Islam.

I understand that despite the fact that Islam allows for male Muslims who are psychologically, monetarily and physically able to live with two, three or four wives by treating the wives with equity and justice by dividing the days of the week/the month equally, "the practice is such that men are inclined to the new, younger wife leaving the older one aside with her children in the old house". This is not permitted in Islam at all. Divorcing or being limited to a wife is by far better than this kind of injustice (Luqman Magazine, 2011:24-25).

Although the blame is to Islam and Muslims on polygyny, there are also case of reports in the Bible on the issue:1 Kings 11:2-3; 2 Chronicles 11:21 and 2 Chronicles 13:21.The modern world also limited marriage to be such that a man is married only to a woman (in some case with a man and the vice versa as well) but the practice is such that either of the couples could have unlimited number of "concubines". From this perspective, what Islam does from earlier religious and non-religious and secular traditions is the fact that it limits the number of wives only to one, two, three or four through the principle of strict observance of justice and equity which otherwise the man will be dragged in hellfire to put it in religious terms.

While polygamy is generating a lot of controversy in the west, most people don't see the evil and ungodliness of gay marriage and prostitution. Both the Bible and the Qur'an condemn gay marriage yet nobody cares about this. Certain Western laws (e.g. in America), while outlawing polygamy, make gay marriages legal. I am more contented with the idea of polygamy than gay marriage which many people shall always kick against in this part of the world no matter how hard the advocators try to legalize it. Polygamy, I shall accept as it is the better of the two "evils". My question is why is divorce still rampant in the west in spite of the laws in support of monogamy?

Cousin marriage

Cousin marriage is a practice of marrying the daughter of one's uncle or aunt. Cousin marriage was a taboo before three or two decades even among the Amharic speaking Muslims in the region. It was rather common among Argoba and Oromo ethnic groups in the region. However, by now it is becoming a common practice. This is becoming familiar especially in urban areas in influenced by the teachings of the Salafis since cousins are not listed in the Qur'an as forbidden for marriage (Qur'an, 4: 23).

I and my family were surprised when my cousins (in my paternal line) named Awol and Genet got married in Kombolcha town before fifteen years. By now cousin marriage is becoming familiar since it is permissible in Islamic texts. "Many Muslims in Qallu warada and urban areas practice cousin marriage. They found it suitable for sharing the wealth of close relatives. It is also allowed in the Qur'an" (Informant Ato Seid, July 14, 2012).

The majority of Sufi Muslims, however, do not favor this kind of marriage as such. But religious scholars in the region approved the practice and "it has got legal acceptance in the Family Code of the National Regional States and FDRE" (Informant Girma, May 7, 2012).

Mourning Practice

Whenever a person is seriously sick and suspected of dying soon, a Muslim person with considerable knowledge of Islamic education will be called to sit near the sick person. This is done for the purpose of both consoling the family members and more importantly for reminding the sick person about the Oneness of Allah saying "Lailaha ila Allah" i.e. there is no god except Allah. This is called "talqin" – reminding. Muslims in the region believe that if the person's last speech in this world is "Lailaha ila Allah", the person is destined to paradise. Influenced by this belief, even Muslims who were converted to

Christianity in many cases "reverted to Islam while they were on their death beds speaking the 'talqin'" (Informant W/ro Zewdie May 11, 2012).

Once the person is proved to be dead, his/her eyes are closed and the body is washed using a bar of soap and leaves of a tree and the hands are tied. Then, the body is taken to the nearby mosque or zawuya for a proper bath and for salat al-janaza i.e. group prayer for the dead person. The person who washed the body is advised to wear a pair of gloves or a staff like that. He is also advised to take a shower after finishing preparing the body for burial ceremony. The burial ceremony is commonly hastened in order to complete it as soon as possible since it is not customary in Islamic tradition to delay the body as dictated in the religious scriptures.

One of the most tempting life experience, I imagine, is preparing the body for burial ceremony especially if there is no a religious person in the neighborhood. When my youngest brother died unexpectedly in my home in Dessie seven years ago, I was in a state of shock contemplating the bathing of the body before it is taken to the family forty-five kilometers south of Dessie town. I somehow contained myself, opened my fiqh textbook to rehearse the necessary steps but sooner than later I gained my consciousness and memorized the steps and washed the body and prepared it for the journey.

Muslims in the region do not as such cry out their eyes for long period of time unlike the practice of other faith groups. They do not also cry loudly. In some case, instead of crying, urban Muslims have started uttering certain words of dhikr saying "Lailaha Ilalah". Many Muslims somehow contain themselves and only allow they tear to roll down their cheeks. But the majority may cry loudly but not in an exaggerated manner. They also do not hold or hung up the photograph of the deceased since it is not allowed in Islam. Muslims in the region, almost without exception, do not also tear their dresses; they do not scratch their faces; they do not beat their chests and they do not cry in a state of creating melody/music like verses mentioning the generosity, courage, wealth or any qualities of the dead person. "In Islam, Muslims are forbidden from doing such acts" (Informant Sheikh Muhammad-Zein, August 12, 2012).

Moreover, unlike other faith groups in the region, Muslim women do not accompany the funeral procession to the grave yard even if the deceased person be her father, her mother, her husband, sister or brother. The women accompany the body only up to the gate of the compound of his/her residential

home. "Islam strictly forbids women to escort the funeral procession of any person" (Informant Sheik Idris, June 8, 2012).

Muslims also do not construct the tombs with concrete and cement and marble despite the wealth of the family. Tombs are constructed using stones and soil from the graveyard. Other than two or three pieces of cotton cloths called 'abujadi' for dressing the body, Muslims in the region do not have to pay for other funeral expenses. They do not buy coffins; they do not pay for mosque service and they do not pay for burial permission.

After the prayer is conducted for the deceased, the body is buried in the earth dug nearly three meters depth. A separate room is dug for the body at the side of the bottom of the ditch. The body is made to rest facing the qibla (Mecca) by two religious men. Then, the partition is closed with stone and mud and the earth is filled in the remaining ditch. A stone is put visible over the heap of soil at the center of the grave if the deceased is male. If the person is female two stones will be put in the middle of the top of the grave. According to fiqh and hadith education, the body must be kept as deeply as possible in order to save it from being devoured by wild beasts.

Following the completion of the burial ceremony, sadaqa (charity of food and coffee) is served for the people who participated in the funeral procession usually at the spot of the graveyard. The sadaqa is mainly meant as means of asking blessing and mercy from God for the dead person. The sadaqa is also repeated at the seventh and fifteenth day after the death of the person. The nearby ulemas and the neighborhoods are invited for the sadaqa and the people perform salat ala nabiyyi and read the Qur'an in congregation holding its copy individually. The Sufis favor this supplication practice for asking forgiveness from Allah for the dead person while the Salafis reject the act. Before nearly three decades, an ox or a camel used to be slaughtered from the possessions of the dead person. But Salafis strongly opposed this act since the orphans and the widow could be economically incapacitated. In rural areas, they could even be left without any oxen to plough their plot of land. It is also forbidden (haram) to devour or waste the property of orphans (Qur'an, 4: 2). Consequently, the preparation of a big feast in the pretext of sadaqa has been receding. However, while saving and sparing the property of the orphans and the widow should have been appreciated, recently the Sufi backed activists blame the Salafis as extremists who attempted to ban the institution of sadaqa in the region. I understand that any sadaqa is not forbidden. But wasting and eating the property of the orphans is forbidden in the Qur'an

and that is what the Salafis do. This should not be misinterpreted as the Salafis are demolishing the collaboration fabric of the homegrown Sufi culture.

The respect and love Muslims show to the dead people is striking: whenever they pass by any graveyard, they greet the dead people saying "asalamu alaykum ya ahlul qubur insha Allah ina bikum lahikoon" translated as "Peace be upon you! O You inhabitants of the grave! We will join you with the will of God!" Then they pray for the dead so that God will show them his mercy. Muslims in the region do not also cut trees around the graveyard. Even children who collect firewood never take even a stick from the graveyard. Traditionally instead of constructing tombs with concert cement and marble, Muslims usually plant trees on the tomb of their relatives to differentiate the grave from other graves.

Healing Traditions: Spiritual Healing Practice
The Muslim society in Wallo region has been using different healing practices as I experienced in my life and observed it more recently. One of such tradition is spiritual healing. This can take different forms as explained in the ensuing subsections.

Bathing using "Qur'anic water" or "Ruqa"

"Qur'anic water", as the local people call it, is water on which whole or part of the Qur'an is recited. This is called "ruqa" in Arabic as I learnt from Islamic education. It resembles "holy water" used by the non-Muslims. But Muslims in the region do not call it so (Informant Ustaz Talaha, May 21, 2012). One of the spiritual healing centers in the region is Ustaz Talaha's mosque. There is a spring near the mosque that gushes out non-stop daily. I have observed hundreds of men and women taking baths every morning after Ustaz Talaha recited the Qur'an on the water buckets early in the morning after performing his prayer. The men and boys take the bath on the open field within the compound with a certain sort of screening to cover their body. But the women and girls have got separate well-covered bathrooms behind the mosque.

Once upon a time, a woman was sick in my neighborhood. The local people advised her family to take her to Ustaz Talaha's center. I accompanied them and went to the center. I found young men, women, children and the elderly making a long queue waiting for taking a bath. Certain non-Muslims were also there waiting their turn as I realized them by their crosses. Before the patients take the bath, Ustaz Talaha recited certain portion of the Qur'an on a bucket of water by blowing into the vessel. Then a

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speck of water from this bucket is poured into hundreds of other buckets. Next, the sick people take the water and wash their body with it for three, seven, fifteen or thirty successive days depending on the severity of the sickness. Some people who live at a distance of 400 kilometers (e.g. from Addis Ababa) and even more (from Gondar) also visit the site seeking for the bath using the Qur'anic water. Most of the people I met appeared to me mad and psychologically depressed. But the local people told me that most of the patients are possessed by evil spirits and hence no modern bio-medication may cure them.

Reading and Listening to Qur'anic Recitation

This is another (but related to the above) type of spiritual healing practice by many Muslims in the region. After taking a bath in Ustaz Talaha's center, the patients are commonly advised to read the holy Qur'an usually at dawn and dusk on daily basis if they have got basic reading skills in order to ward them off the evil spirit. If they are unable to read the Qur'an (which is in Arabic), they are advised to listen to its recitation from a person or playing CD, DVD or tape recorder. They are also advised not to watch horror films and other related bad films. Muslims use the Qur'an as a healing medium (Qur'an, 17: 82).

Massaging with olive oil

Many Muslims in the region also massage their body with olive oil which is bought from shops. They first buy the bottle of olive oil and then get someone to recite the Qur'an on it and massage their bodies after taking baths. I have seen many boys selling bottles of olive oil around Talaha's mosque.

Wadaja (group Supplication)

Almost all the people in the rural areas of Wallo first and foremost prefer wadaja to any other traditional or modern bio-medication. Many Muslims in the urban areas also use wadaja but they use it sometimes after attempting the treatment from modern medication and even after bathing with the "Qur'anic water". The wadaja is commonly done by a group of Muslims who chew excessive chat and drink coffee and tea uttering certain phrases of dhikr such as "ya Hayou ya Qayoum" (the Living, the Powerful, names of Allah) and clapping loudly throughout the night. Men and women can conduct the wadaja but the two gender groups never sit together. They rather conduct the wadaja mostly on separate date or sometimes in separate houses.

Wadaja is done not only to supplicate for a cure for the sick person. It is also done for supplicating for a person to be rich, fertile, and even live long. It is mostly done during the eve of the New Ethiopian Year (Informant W/ro Zewdie May 11, 2012).

The practice of wadaja is, therefore, done to achieve multiple purposes. It is done to cure the sick through supplication in most circumstances. It is also done for increasing productivity for farmers and profitability for merchants as well (Assefa, 2013).

Other Prophetic Treatments

"Treatment with Qur'anic recitation (ruqa) is considered as one of the Prophetic treatments" (Informant Sheikh Idris, July 8, 2012). Other Prophetic medicines that are used by many Muslims in the region include the use of tikur azmud (black seed) and drinking honey for abdominal ailments; using cumin (a plant with aromatic seeds), ginger and other plants. Cupping and branding with fire are also used for treating sick people (and even animals). One of the Prophetic hadith states, "If there is any healing in your medicines, then it is in cupping, a gulp of honey (Qur'an 16: 69) or branding with fire (cauterization) that suits the ailment, but I don't like to be (cauterized) branded with fire" (Sahih Bukhari, 7: 578).

There are many Muslim herbalists and spiritual healers in the region who treat patients using both Prophetic as well as local forms of treatments. All in all, spiritual healing tradition is rooted in the culture, family, community, local materials, and social practices of the people, lending the people a holistic view of illness (emphasizing treatment of the whole person, including body and mind). Their concerns about bodily well-being cannot be separated from their social, philosophical, and spiritual beliefs or from their understanding of the causes of their everyday problems. Illness is seen as a type of misfortune, the roots of which lie in a multitude of physical, spiritual, and social wrongdoings.

Using Amulet to Ward off Diseases

It is not uncommon for Muslims in the region to go to a person called locally "kitab galach" (literally means a knowledgeable and book opener) to get hirz (amulet) which is a text to ward off diseases or bad lucks. Something is written on three different colored papers in Arabic containing certain phrases probably from the Islamic holy book.

The local people traditionally ask the "kitab galach" whenever diseases inflict members of their family, animals or crops. The hirz is believed to keep their children safe from evil eyes, nightmare and other bad spirits. The hirz is put usually around the neck or around

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the back or tied on the arms. It is not allowed to take off the hirz. It should also be kept away from water to serve the purpose (Informant W/ro Zewdie, May 11th 2012).

Such practices of keeping the family, animals and crops from diseases and evil spirits are more common among the rural farmers than the urban residents.

Sorcery

Simple sorcery, or the use of magic accessible to ordinary people, such as setting out offerings to helpful spirits or using charms, is also found in the region as any traditional societies despite the consideration of the act as unacceptable in Islamic education. Sorcery is intended to force results rather than achieve them through entreaty, and it is worked by simple and ordinary means.

From a sociological point of view, the widespread practice of sorcery within a tribe or peasant community serves to reinforce and consolidate beliefs about the supernatural world and the relation of humans to that world (Ellwood, 2008). Psychologically, sorcery provides a means of establishing a sense of control over nature and thus mitigates the anxieties caused by disease, uncertain seasons, and natural disasters. When such eventualities occur despite preventive measures, they can be interpreted as the result of malicious witchcraft, and the alleged perpetrators may then be sought out and driven from the community. The function of the so-called witch doctor or medicine man in the societies is to counter the power of evil witchcraft through good magic. Shamans may also heal through comparable means by performing rites that expel pestilential spirits or by retrieving lost and stolen souls. Characteristically, they do this with the aid of helping spirits invoked through incantations and rites.

Such practices were reducing following the teachings of Salafis. However, Many Muslims still favor this tradition and they relapse to the use of hirz, magic or sorcery as dictated by certain shamans despite the denunciation of such acts by Sufi Ulamas and Salafis scholars in the region (Ellwood, 2008).

Conflict Resolution Practices

Like any other social group, Muslims in the region encounter conflicts between and among individuals. Someone may kill someone else deliberately or otherwise. Another person may fall in love with a girl and abduct her for fear that he is not able to get her married by any other means. Another person may still steal the property of someone else in kind or cash. During all these cases, conflicts may erupt and the clash may spread from individuals to families and even in rare cases to ethnic groups. Fortunately, Sheiks and elderly people (called abagars) in the region have got their own means of solving the conflict

and even violence in peaceful manners. They conduct their own traditional court practice parallel with and sometimes in collaboration with the modern court system established in the country.

I specifically describe my observation and the experience in Qallu sub-province (including towns like Kombolcha, Harbu and Khemissie) on how the Muslims (and the non-Muslim minorities) in such areas cope up with the case of blood feuds, abduction of girls and theft as follows.

Avoiding further blood feuds

Whenever there is a clash between two persons in the region (Harbu, Kombolcha and Argoba areas), the local Sheiks and elderly people mediate and reconcile the matter. The worst of the conflict is the one that involves the death of a person. Blood feuds are not common as such in the region. But in case a person kills another person, the family of the killer swiftly reports the case to the famous Sheikhs in the region including Geta, Masaal and Adarash shrines. The Sheikhs are famous in resolving blood disputes using the "rekeobot" locally, which could mean "Rehoboth", a term that denotes the coffee ceremony.

Once the case is reported to the Sheikhs, orally, they send their Abagars holding beads that serve for dhikr as a message to the family of the deceased in order to facilitate the reconciliation process before the rivals commit another massacre. By this time, the family members of the dead person think of the peace instead of revenge through further bloodshed, a practice unknown in this particular sub-region. In this way, the two rival families are made ready for negotiation and reconciliation despite the fact that the case may be taken to the modern formal court. Elderly people in the neighborhood also advise the two rival families to make peace as soon as possible. "In Islam it is believed that the killing of a person is as if killing the whole of the people in the world" (Informant Sheikh Idris, July 8, 2012) as enshrined in the Muslims' Holy Book.

Through months of negotiation between elderly members of the rivals at the residential area of Sheikhs, all members of close relatives of the two rival families will be invited in the final peace making process that is accompanied by a feast. Members of the two rival families will report their case and crime done against them separately. But they will be reminded that they are here not for retaliation, nor for opening old wounds but to say "awuf" i. e. "We forgive for the sake of Allah". The person who committed the crime will be fined up to tens of thousands of Ethiopian birr as blood-money – "diya" (Qur'an, 2:178-179; 4:92; 17:33). The murderer and the family of the deceased never talk and see each other since the mediation is done on separate basis. The two rival families will be made convinced to agree and live

peacefully with each other. They will be invited to a meal served in separate tents or houses. Usually the two rival families will sit in a house separated by a sheet spread and hang to screen the scene since the two rival shall not see each other face to face. Then, meals will be served and the murderer will give the members of the family of the deceased person a piece of meat by passing it under the screen and putting it on his hand to eat it. The person in the other side of the screen will also do the same and the murder will eat the meat given to him. That is done as a sign of trust, love, reconciliation and forgiveness instead of further bloodshed in the future. The family members of the two rivals make a vow in the name of Allah never to break the reconciliation and all will be agreed so wholeheartedly. Reconciliation and forgiveness are important values extracted from the Qur'an (42: 37, 90).

Finally, restrictive rules will be imposed distinctively on the person who committed the murder. This restrictions include (a) the murderer is forced to leave the residential area/village of the victim by at least five or ten kilometers; (b) the murderer should never pass a night in his life time in the village of the victim; (c) whenever any member of the victim's family member encountered the murderer, the murderer should turn his face away or change his direction of movement not to be seen face-to-face.

My own friend, named Hussein Seid, has been living abided by such rules of restriction for the last twenty years after killing a person (who was my neighbor and friend as well) unexpectedly in my home town called Harbu. Hussein and his three colleagues were convicted of killing the person, named Arabu Seid, and they were fined three thousands Ethiopian birr each during the reconciliation after the case was taken to the Geta Sheikh. Surprisingly, no one else was killed from either of the two rival families for the last two decades. There are many cases in the region wherein blood feuds are stopped before further massacres unlike the tradition of other highlanders where the blood feuds extend to even more than three generations killing dozens and even scores of people.

> The Sheikhs have got recognition for their peace-making service in the community despite even differences in religion. Astoundingly, Sheikhs like Jamal of Adarash and Geta never accept even a penny for their service. Sheikh Jamal, for instance makes his living on farming. Whenever, we invite him to join the feast after the reconciliation process, he says, 'That is for you since I have already drunk a gulp of honey and butter [satisfied] by stopping further bloodshed through the reconciliation '" (Informant Ato Muhammad, March 11, 2012).

The role the Sheiks played in solving disputes is very paramount. They commit themselves for serving the community without any material gain. "The peacemaking promise at the 'rekebot' of Sheikh Jamal has never ever been broken in the local area" (Informant Girma, September 20, 2012).

Even recently my own cousin was fined by the Sheikh thirteen thousands of Ethiopian birr which is to be given for a person attacked and wounded (but not killed) by my cousin. In this manner, the reconciliation was approved. Contrary to what happens in other regions, no more bloodshed is made since peace is made between rivals as soon as possible in this part of South Wallo (Kombolcha, Harbu and Dagan towns and the surrounding rural areas).

Moreover, Muslims in this sub-region do not teach their children about any sort of revenge. I realized this before ten years when I asked my family to request a family of a girl, named Zahara, for marriage. My family declined to do so and the reason was told to me that the uncle of the girl killed my own uncle before I was born. I have never heard this nearly for the last a quarter of a century since families in the region do not pass revenges and blood feuds to their generation. I was insisting to marry the girl thinking much more peaceful reunification but my family rejected my demand. But we still live with her family members peacefully. All this appear to be the influence of Islamic education in the region. The Qur'an reads: "The believers are nothing else than brothers (in Islamic religion). So make reconciliation between your brothers, and fear Allah, that you may receive mercy" (Qur'an 49:10).

Resolving Abduction Disputes

Traditionally, abduction or forced marriage is a rare practice in the Qallu sub-province in South Wallo. However, one may experience abduction of a girl once in two or three years. Nowadays, the frequency of this crime is reduced very much, however. I heard the concept of abduction for the first time when I was a student in Grade 8 when my cousin was abducted by a person in the neighborhood. Abduction in this local area is completely different from abduction in other parts of the country in that it does not involve rape. That is, although the girl is taken by force for marriage, the person abducting a girl or woman never commits forced sex. Rape (like prostitution) is one of the major sins in Islam and it is a taboo within the Muslim community (Qur'an, 24: 3). Instead, the person and his colleagues who forcefully take the girl reports to a Sheikh or community elder and keeps her under the guardianship of the community elder.

> Next, elderly women will be selected and sent to the family of the girl for marriage proposal. The girl's family usually becomes furious for the time being since the act negates their pride. However, since abduction does not mean rape, the matter will be settled step by step after weeks of negotiation and wedlock (nika) is arranged if the two families agreed upon it (Informant Ato Seid, February 12, 2012).

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Rape is the worst sin in Islam and so is among the people in the local area. Moreover, a person who raped a girl is unthinkable to live peacefully in wedlock in the future. That is why even the person who abducted a girl rebuffs it. He may just abduct the girl only for catalyzing the marriage proposal whenever he is not sure for the acceptance of his marriage proposal by the girl's family in a normal way. Surprisingly, in a more recent case, the couple also conducts blood test for HIV/AIDS.

After the reconciliation, a kind of wedding ceremony is arranged as a symbol for the beginning of the union of the boy and the girl in formal marriage by the involvement of the elderly women and the Sheikhs. My cousin who was abducted in that manner and married to the person has been living peacefully for the last nearly thirty years. However, even though it is a rare case, the dispute of the abduction of the girl may not end up peacefully. Hence, instead of being married, the girl who is abducted may be forced to come back home. Selected elderly women from the villagers will be assigned to witness checking the virginity of the girl proving the absence of the slightest attempt of rape. In that way, the girl may be married to another person chosen by the family or her.

Getting Back a Stolen Property

Collaboration among the members of Muslim community is high. As a result, one may lend tens of thousands of birr to a person. One may also lend cattle or any other property even without eyewitnesses. Someone else may still keep his money with a person whom he/she trusted most. Unfortunately, the people trusted may deny and refuse to return the borrowed property taken in kind or cash. In such a case, one may lose his/her property simply by lending it to or keeping it with someone else. Since most of the people trust one another, it is not customary to keep eyewitnesses and in some cases to do so may be misinterpreted as insulting the borrower as untruthful. Due to the absence of proving the ownership of the property lent to or saved with someone, the person cannot take the case to the modern formal courts. But the person living in this part of the region has got another traditional "court" that is called "bale". The Sufi Shrines that resolve blood disputes can also solve such conflicts but one of the most known is a Sufi shrine-like center located at the southern part of South Wallo Administrative Zone opposite to east of Kemissie town, called Masaal.

The person whose property is taken or stolen goes and applies the case to the Sheikh at Masaal telling the case and the person ties a thread on the poles or trees within the compound as a sign of promise to provide a gift if the lost property is found or some misfortunes faced the suspect. Then, the Sheikh

sends a message (e.g. incense) to the suspected person symbolizing to come and accept or deny the case. The two families never talk each other since the case is reported to the "bale" unless reconciliation is made. The person suspected of taking or stealing someone's property will be given two alternatives: to return the property to its owner or deny the accusation. If the suspect returns the property, then peace is maintained and the owner of the property will take a gift that he/she promised to the shrine.

> If the suspect denies taking the property or cash, he/she will be told to wait the consequence of his/her act. That is, if the suspect is truthful and free from the crime, he/she will remain safe physically, mentally or financially while the person who accused the person will be inflicted with diseases, loss of property or any other misfortunes for committing false accusations. If the suspect is not telling the truth the misfortunes will be reverted to him or her. As the suspect feels the pinch of the loss of health or property, he/she will go running to the Sheikh at Masaal for asking forgiveness and returning the property s/he took in kind or cash. A few people, however, do not get convinced unless a huge calamity such as the death of a relative encountered them (Informant: W/ro Zewdie May 11th 2012).

"If the truth is not found out and the lost property remains undetected, avalanche of bad fortunes will remain inflicting the family of the hidden criminal up to seven generations" (Informant Ato Girma, August 20, 2012). That is the general belief of the community in the region. All the above cases related to blood feuds, abduction and theft or denying someone else's property or cash show how Muslims resolve conflicts in peaceful manners guided by the community elders and Sheikhs. The community elders and Sheikhs constantly refer to Islamic rulings (and sometimes to mythology) to enforce their peacemaking efforts. I myself witnessed cases that were not solved in the modern formal courts to be resolved through the efforts of the Sheikhs and community elders in the Sufi shrines. Any social or personal crime or violence committed hardly remained hidden without "justice" being made. Theft, violence and any other crimes are abhorred and shunned in the Muslim society contrary to the media reflection. This shows how Islam influences the Muslims' conflict resolution practices in the region.

Dressing Code and Decoration Practice among the Muslims
Muslim women and girls in urban areas wear hijjab (covering the whole body except the hand and the face). They prefer black gowns. Other more religiously devoted women and girls also wear niqab (face cover) or jilbab as well following the recent religious revival in the region especially in towns like Khemissie, Harbu, Dagan and Dessie. This is in line with the Qur'an (24: 31; 33:59).

Muslim men and boys also wear jalabiyya (long male's dress), a white circular cape and red or black spotted scarf. Males also wear trousers. Elderly men in rural and religiously educated men in urban areas also wear a toga called locally "gabi". Local farmers also wear shorts that are too tight to their body like the non-Muslim farmers in the region though it is not permissible in Islam unless the shorts are long enough to cover the knees.

In many cases, one may not be able to differentiate the commoner Muslims from non-Muslims by looking at their dressing style except by looking at the neck for a cross or thread mostly worn by Orthodox Christians.

More recently, following the influence of Salafis, some Muslim men and boys sport their beard and keep their mustache and hair short. They also shorten their trousers up to the ankles not to get them spoiled by soil. The Salafis claim this kind of dressing and beard style as the practice of the Prophet and the righteous ancestors despite certain local Sufis de-legitimize their claim.

Another distinctive feature of Muslim men (especially those with considerable knowledge of Islam) in the region is that they do not usually wear golden rings, golden necklaces and silk unlike the non-Muslim men (Shakeir, 2004) in order to avoid excessive luxuriousness, pomposity and pride. They only wear silver rings and silver necklaces even during engagements. However, decorating with such precious golden rings, ear rings and necklaces are frequently worn by women and girls since these are permissible for them in Islam (Qur'an, 24: 31). I understand that most of the dressing style of Muslims in the region results from the influence of Islamic education. However, certain style of dressing (e.g. niqab) of this cultural group is considered as an act of religious extremism (akrarinat in Amharic). Salafis, however, persist on keeping their Islamic identity even in dressing and beard styles saying that it is their religious duty and have nothing to do with extremism or terrorism.

Muslims' Everyday Conversation

In many cases, I heard the conversation of Muslims filled with Islamic influence. There are specific words, phrases and even sentences that clearly depict the impact of the religion on the language of the people despite the fact that they are not Arabic speakers. I myself and my family use these phraseologies on daily basis. We say bismillah (in the name of Allah) to start eating; we say alhamdulilah (praise be to Allah) when we finish eating and so forth. I also found many Muslims living in

both rural and urban areas, for instance saying, asalamu alaykum (Peace be upon you) whenever greeting. The person greeted also responded saying wa alaykumu salam (Peace be upon you too). They also use the same phraseology whenever they depart. They also use another phrase whenever they plan to do something in the near or far future saying "insha Allah" i.e. "With the Will of God".

Similarly whenever the Muslims achieved doing something and/or they observe something attractive on their fellow human beings, they express their happiness saying "masha'a Alllah" which means "what happened is the will of God". Muslims also use a different phrase whenever they are satisfied or grateful saying alhamdu Lillahi" which means {Praise be to God". I heard some Muslims saying the same phrase even when they are faced with calamities just to show their obedience and patience to God as ordered in the religious scriptures. They also say "auozubillahi minashaitanirajim" i.e. "I seek refugee by Allah from the evils of the cursed Devil" whenever they encounter or hear something disgusting.

Other than the above phrases and sentences, Muslims in the region use terms like "wallahi" (by Allah) and Qur'anun" (by the Qur'an) whenever they make vows. Those Muslims influenced by Sufi Islam who mostly live in rural areas also say (in addition to the above terms) "nabin" (by the Prophet), "Shahochun" (by the Sheikh), "Gatan" (by the Shrine of Gata), "nigusin" (by the Shrine of Nigus" and so forth.

The Muslims in Wallo region (like the rest Ethiopian Muslims) use different phraseology in code switching manner during different occasions like wedding, mourning, shopping and invitations. For instance, once upon a time, I went to mourn the death of one of my neighbors who was a Muslim. I arrived after the completion of the burial ceremony. The widow kept on weeping loudly which is unusual. An elderly woman approached her and attempted to console her patting her shoulder: do not cry loudly. This is "haram" (forbidden) in Islam; Allah does not accept you; say "auzu billahi" (I seek refugee by Allah); there is no weeping after the "janaza" (body) is buried; you have to accept Allah's decision; say "alhamdu lillah" (Praise be to God); you have to be strong to care after the "yetimoch" (orphans); let Allah take the dead person to "janat" (paradise); he died in a state of "sagaj" (praying); he died in a state of "tobatagna" (asking Allah his forgiveness); had your husband died in a state of doing "haram" (illegal acts), you must have been lamenting. Therefore, you have to say "alhamdu lillahi" (Praise be to God) and "masha'a Allah" (What happened is the will of Allah).

Within this short moment of consoling, over twenty-nine percent of the words is Arabic words mixed with Amharic, the vernacular language, (which I translated into English). I believe that this is due to the influence of Islamic education in the region.

Names and Naming

I understand that another area of personal matter that is influenced by religion is names and naming. In a Muslim community, a name is given to a newborn baby within the 7th birthday usually accompanied by a feast. The commonest names given for boys in Wallo are Muhammad, Ahmed, Seid, Jamal, Ali, and the like. Girls are also given names like Fatima, Khadijja, Aminah, Zemzem, Aisha, Merema, and so forth. These are names that are directly or indirectly taken from Islamic scriptures.

Predicting the faith group a person belongs based on his/her name, however, is misleading in the region. For example, consider the following names for men: Girma Ambaye, Wondwosen Nigussie, Kebede Gebrehiwot, Andargachew Molla, Tesfaye Minaye, and Shimelis Assefa; and for women Tsehay Mekonnen, Tsehay Assefa, Awagash Abegaz, Almaz Kebede, and Tsehay Abate. These are all my own relatives and friends and they are Muslims. When I was a student in upper primary school, I encountered a Sheik called Sheikh Sitotaw and more recently I came across with Sheikh Mekete Muhe. Contrary to these, the following people (who are my neighbors and colleagues) are Christians: Ahmed Seid, Seid Abebe, Ahmad Molla, Ali Yimer, Gashaw Muhammad, and Hussein Muhammad. The influence of the Amharic language is evident on naming Muslims as well. This also happened due to conversion to Islam. Muslims names are also creeping into Christian names through conversion as it is implied in the above example.

Although I mentioned the practice of naming from my personal experience by listing people of my own acquaintances, there is a long tradition of "interfaith-naming" in the region influenced both by the two faiths and the language factors. I usually heard people (of other region) teasing on the culture of naming in Wallo saying "Sheikh Gebremariyam" and/or "Priest Muhammad". Such incidents, however, reveal both mutual influence and mutual tolerance between the two faith groups from a secularist perspective.

Moreover, both urban and mainly rural Muslims also modify Islamic/religious/Arabic names by giving "Ethiopic" style: for instance the name Omar is modified into Yimer, Imam is changed into Yimam, Muhammad into Muhe or Mamie, Abdallah into Abdu and Hussein into Wussen. Despite the connotation of such terms into ignorance of the Arabic language, this also implies how the Muslims in the region are localizing and adapting the foreign language.

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There are also many names that are shared by Muslims and Christians but with slight modifications. To mention but a few: Ibrahim (Abraham), Suleiman (Solomon), Dawud (David), Yusuf (Joseph), Meryem (Mary), Mussa (Moses), Isaac (Isaac), Ismail (Ishmael), Issa (Christ) and so forth. This proves that Muslims also name their children using names common in Christianity (which is one sign of tolerance).

Child Raring Practice

Once a man and a woman are married, they are more likely expected to have a child within a year or so since Muslims mostly do not use contraceptives for religious reasons. People usually show their good wishes to the couple to have a happy and prosperous marriage life. People also express their wish to the couple to have a healthy, attractive and pious child. If the bride does not become pregnant within three or five years of marriage, in many cases the couple will be divorced.

Many supplications are also done privately as well as in groups once the wife is pregnant hoping for safe delivery of the fetus. A special wadaja (supplication) called "Fatima qori" locally is conducted at the ninth month of pregnancy among the Muslim community in the region. This is the final good wish ceremony conducted by women only preparing a feast of porridge.

Once the baby is born, his/her father stand near the right side of the infant and perform azaan (a call which is similar to the call from the minaret) saying "Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar" (up to the end of the phrase) which means "Allah is Great! Allah is Great" to ensure that the first word the infant heard in this world is the name of its Creator. "The azaan is performed in low voice, audible only to the people inside the house in order not to harm the ear of the infant" (Informant Sheikh Idris, July 8, 2012).

When the infant is one or two weeks old, its hair will be shaved and circumcised (if it is male) and given a name by its father by preparing a ceremony called aqiqa: "an animal slaughtered for the newly born" to prepare a feast (Shakeir, 2004: 898). The feast is prepared and the neighbors are invited if the couple can afford the expense. Otherwise, the rest ceremonies will be conducted except the feast of meat.

Muslims in the region consider circumcision of male infants as religiously obligatory for purification reasons as prescribed in Islamic texts. This is consistent with the modern biomedical practice. Muslims believe that if the infant is not circumcised, it will be impossible for it to keep ablution, perform salat, read the Qur'an and even to perform hajj when grown up. That applies for the male infants more recently.

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Regarding the circumcision of female infants, there is a dispute in the community. Islamic texts do not consider the circumcision of female infants as obligatory. Hence, some Muslims in urban areas do not circumcise their female infants. If the circumcision of females is proved to be more likely creating birth complication during adulthood, the act should be forbidden. Many modern-age Muslims do not advocate the circumcision of females at all. Traditionally, however, a minor circumcision is done on a she-baby in order to prevent the baby from being over sexy when she is grown up. Muslims in the rural areas practice female-circumcision until recently and some of the local Sufis scholars advocate the practice: "Not circumcising female infants is allowing the girl not to be satisfied sexually by her husband only" (Informant Sheikh Ahmad, May 20, 2012). I personally rebuff the female circumcision since this may create birth impediments in the future life of the baby. I favor no circumcision for female infants as I did for my two daughters contrary to the tradition. Due to the interference of governmental bodies, however, the rate of the circumcision of female children is diminishing from time to time more recently in the region.

The father and mother are responsible for caring for new born babies but the responsibility of the mother is by far greater and more important than anyone else since she has to breast feed the child at least for two years as prescribed in the Qur'an (2: 233). This is also consonant with the modern child-care practice.The father is mostly responsible for covering household expenses including food and dressing. Besides the mother, older siblings, if any, and close relatives like aunts, sisters, grandmothers and even sister-in-laws participate in looking after the baby if the mother is not available in some cases. The role of the neighbors is also very crucial.

Once the children are four or five years of age, most Muslim parents send their children to the nearby Zawuya or mosque for Qur'anic education much earlier than the age of formal education in the modern schools. Ever since Kindergartens are being opened, the rate of teaching children Qur'anic texts is reducing in certain urban areas. As most children enter primary schools ate age seven, they begin attending Qur'anic education on part time basis or on weekends. Once the children are seven, they are told to practice certain Islamic practices like fasting, praying and so on. But they are not forced to do so by their parents since they are too young. At age ten, children are forced to practice prayer and fasting if they are strong enough and healthy despite the failure of many parents to do so. At age fifteen, children are considered in Islam as mature enough to shoulder the role of adolescents in most cases and hence they are considered as young adults.

The Spiritual Life

Islam has got five pillars: Witnessing that 'there is no god but Allah/God' and Muhammad is His last Messenger, performing prayers (Salah) at least five times within twenty-four hours, giving Zakah (the poor's due right from the rich), fasting the month of Ramadan, and performing pilgrimage (hajj) at least once in a life time.

Ablution (wudu). As it is recalled, it is an Islamic injunction that before offering the prayer, a Muslim must perform an ablution, unless he/she has done one earlier and kept it valid. Purity and cleanliness is a prerequisite for prayers and reading the Qur'an in Islam. This obligatory ablution is sometimes partial (e.g. washing only the face, hands, and feet) and sometimes complete (e.g. taking a bath) depending on his/her condition. If we remember that a Muslim has to offer at least five obligatory prayers every day in pure heart and mind, in clean body and clothes, on pure ground and intention, we can realize the vital effect and beneficial results of this single act for him/her (e.g. Qur'an, 4: 43; 5: 6-7; Sahih Al-Muslim,1:432-734). For this purpose, mosques are built in the region mostly with several water tapes and bathrooms in urban areas while rural Zawuyas are established at the nearest distance as far as possible to a water spring, a well or a river.

Salat. Many Muslims in Wallo practice prayers as I observed them on daily basis. Certain group of Muslims conducts prayers almost in all mosques in the region five times a day invariably. The number of attendants may, nonetheless, vary from time to time and even from day to day. Large crowds are especially evident on Fridays in urban areas. A great number of men, women and even children go to the nearby mosque in urban areas in the region (e.g. Dessie, Kombolcha, Haiq, Woldiya, and Khemisse) to perform prayers and attend Friday Sermons.

Generally speaking, Muslims in the rural areas are less concerned about prayers. They also do not know Friday prayers in many parts of the rural Zawuyas. I observed no Friday prayers in an Islamic school center which comprises even up to 350 students during the fieldwork. Rural Muslims are very reluctant to prayers when compared to urban Muslims (Sheikh Abdu, April 23rd 2011). The Sheikh appeared to be dissatisfied with the failure of the surrounding rural community to perform prayers.

> One of the major contributions of the rural Muslims in this area [Qallu, Wallo] is the fact that they give us food whenever we religious students ask them. The other only case these rural people experience with Islam is whenever a person died; they call all the religious teachers in the nearby Zawuyas to come with their students to perform prayers for the deceased. That is all. They differ from the Christians physically since they do not put crosses on their neck (Informant: Muhammad Awol, a religious student, April 22nd 2011).

Regarding the irregular attendance of prayers by the Muslim population, an informant said:

> Muslims are categorized into five groups based on their mosque attendance [prayers]: the first group attends mosque only once in a life time. That is when he/she is dead; the body is brought for supplication just before burial ceremonies. The second group attends mosque only two days within a year. That is during the two Eid Prayers (Eid al-Fatir and Arafa). The third group attends mosque for a month within a year. That is by praying during the Ramadan only. The fourth group attends mosque once in a week. That is by praying during Friday. The fifth group attends mosque five times per day. This is the group that represents the real Muslims. The other four groups are either half-Muslims or they are Muslims by name or "blood"; or they are Muslims by lip-service or they are hypocrites or Allah knows best about them (Informant: Sheikh Tuha, January 28th, 2011).

Fasting. Despite the reluctance of Muslims in the rural and urban areas to perform daily prayers, almost all Muslims in the region observe fasting during Ramadan. I understand that anyone who is interested to see the influence of Islam on Muslims in the region has to observe them during the month of Ramadan. Muslim men and women, young and old, almost all pass the month fasting, praying, reading the Qur'an and learning about Islam, giving charity to the poor, visiting relatives, neighbors, and the sick. Both rural as well as urban Muslims observe fasting during Ramadan. Mosques become crowded because of increased number of Muslim prayers. Consequently, hotels, tearooms, restaurants and cafes for Muslims are either completely closed by day (e.g. in towns like Dessie, Harbu, Khemisse and Kombolacha) or they are giving partial service for children, menstruating women, sick and old men, and non-Muslims.

Ramadan represents the whole of Islam: fasting, praying, giving Zakah, and performing *umra* (minor pilgrimage for Muslims who are rich enough). During this month almost all Muslims try to mind their acts and speech. They constantly remind each other not to speak bad words (e.g. insulting), not to lie, not to backbite, not to steal, not to deceive, not to quarrel with any human being, and even not to think of evil wishes.

> During the month of Ramadan, nearly all Muslims become generous by feeding the needy in their neighbors. They visit the sick, give money to the poor, and invite a sort of feast to anyone who visited them. This month is meant an educational institution where the people are taught and re-taught to be merciful, caring and generous to humans as well as animals. It is meant training not only to rituals but also an opportunity to make decisions to stop drinking alcohol, smoking, chat, and any other addictions (Informant: Sheikh Ahmed, December 29th 2012).

Almost all the spiritual activities are done invariably during Ramadan by Muslims who live in the region. It is not uncommon to see women and girls wearing hijjab, and veils, men and boys wearing Islamic dresses and hats during the month of fasting more than any other time. After the Eid Prayer, however,

mosque attendants as well as giving charity reduce very much as I observed throughout my life. It looks as if people were "worshipping Ramadan" but not Allah (Informant: Sheik Muhammad Hadi, August 18th 2012).

Islam has a much greater spiritual and psychological influence on Muslims than is normally thought. I understand that the primary feelings of guilt that many Muslims exhibit is in the final analysis connected to their relationship with Allah. This deep rooted overwhelming existence of God in the hearts of both practicing and non-practicing Muslims is a phenomenon that few westernized people can imagine. Even those Muslims who are addicted to alcohol, which is prohibited in Islam, do not start drinking without saying the words, bismi Allahi ar-Rehmaniar-Rahim! This shows the attachment of Muslims to Islam in spite of their sinful activity. When inviting one another to a certain sort of alcoholic drinks, the people both in the highland and lowland areas say: "by the Prophet! Just take one cup of areqi/tela or a bottle of beer and so forth" (Informant: Seid, June 12th 2012).

I have also noticed that many Muslims who regularly drink moderately or excessively, stop doing so during the long fasting month of Ramadan. It is also of interest to note that many who decide to stop drinking make an oath saying: "by Allah, I will never taste alcohol again". The person, then, is said to be *tobetagna* i.e. he has made an oath never to taste alcohol again. "In most cases this oath is never broken again" (Informant: Omar, April 23rd 2012). It is also quite common to find drinkers who go to pilgrimage in Mecca for Hajj will come back, to the surprise of their old friends, as obstinate abstinent (Badri, 1978:39).

Unfortunately, during this holy month, according to Muslims, many people flock to the urban areas to collect money through begging, an act that is considered as a sin save at unavoidable conditions. Fortunately, I do not experience Muslims in general begging for money in hotels and along roadsides in the name of the religion due to not only their abhorrence to money earned through selling alcohol and prostitution but also their negative attitude to the act of begging. Though not at institutional level, at personal level, there are many Muslims who live upon begging especially in urban areas.

Pilgrimage. Hajj and Umra are the major and minor pilgrimages respectively performed by Muslims by traveling to Mecca at least once in their lifetime (Qur'an, 2: 158; 196-203). In Wallo (and other parts of Ethiopia) people who performed pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah are traditionally addressed as *Hajji*. Certain Muslims used to perform the pilgrimage on foot (and by boats) from Ethiopia to Saudi Arabia before the introduction of the modern transportation systems.

I also understand that another area of "spiritual" influence of Islam on Muslims in the region is their participation in performing pilgrimage to local Sufi Shrines especially during the birthday (*Mawlid*) of the Prophet Muhammad. *Mawlid* is one of the three nationally observed Muslim holidays ever since the downfall of the monarch. During this day and even for about the following couple of weeks, rural as well as urban Muslims flock into the Sufi Shrines (e.g. Geta, Jema Negus, Dana, Tirusina, Dabat, Mejit and so forth). In some of these shrines male and female Muslims participate in the ceremony in different rooms as enshrined in Islamic teachings (e.g. in Mejit and Tiru Sina) while in other shrines there is no partition for gender differences which contradicts Orthodox Islam. Many of the local Muslims even venerate the tombs of these shrines and the tombs thinking the ancestral Sheikh as "Woliy" i.e. someone who possessed spiritual power to bless, heal, kill, and even make someone rich, or fertile. For this purpose, most of the attendants of the Sufi shrines carry with them certain items of gifts either in kind or cash to the care takers of the shrines. I have observed people carrying chat, and chickens, and taking sheep, goats, and even oxen and camels to be given to the shrines during the *Mawlid*. During the ceremony, the biography of the Prophet is read sometimes accompanied by *menzuma* (religious song in Arabic, Amharic or Oromigna) which is escorted with dancing, drumming, clapping and chorus responses. Meanwhile, certain people who are caught by "evil spirits" such as jins (Satan) in the form of zar may start jingling mixing with even unknown "language" leaving the persons involved in a frenzy state. That means the same Sufi shrines also serve as extorting "evil spirits". Surprisingly even certain non-Muslims visit such shrines (Endris, 2003) as certain Muslims also visit Church ceremonies.

The institutional manifestation of the religion in the form of Fiqh schools (Zawuyas) and urban mosques is relatively strong in the region despite obligations such as "prayers were observed irregularly by the majority of the population" (Braukamper, 1988:767).

Conclusions

The purpose of this Chapter was to explore the influence of Islamic education on the personal and social life of Muslims: dietary practice, cleanliness, marriage practice, mourning practice, healing tradition, and conflict resolution, among others.

One of the personal practice influenced by Islamic education, as mentioned above, is dietary issue. Almost all Muslims in the region eat, drink (and do other good acts) using their right hands as prescribed in the religious education. They also prefer sharing the food with others. Muslims also eat meat slaughtered based on the rulings of Islam unlike the practice abroad (where there is no difference of

butchery based on faith). They do not eat the meat of dead animals, swine, and blood. This is good for health purpose. Most practicing Muslims, if not all, also shun drinking intoxicants (despite taking stimulants like chat) influenced by the teaching of Islam.

The second practice influenced by Islamic education is cleanliness. Practicing Muslims who perform prayers regularly wash their faces, hands, and legs (including their private parts) at least five times per day. They also take shower at least once per week as dictated in the religious texts. This is helpful to them to safeguard their personal hygiene.

The third social practice influenced by Islamic education is marriage. Muslims in the region predominantly practice monogamy just like the rest faith groups. However, there are exceptions especially among predominantly Muslin ethnic groups like Oromo and Argoba and certain Amharic speaking Muslims since they practice bigamy since Islamic injunctions allow the Muslim man to marry even up to four wives simultaneously provided that he is physically potent and financially fit. The influence of Islam on Muslims on bigamy is too significant that this tradition has been given legal recognition for Muslims even in the secular court system of the region (and the country). There is also a practice of cousin marriage among Muslims in the region despite its low rate. This is also given recognition in the Civil law of the country for Muslims.

The fourth social issue I discussed is the mourning practice. Influenced by Islamic teachings, Muslims in the region conduct the burial ceremony without being accompanied by women not to harm their caring personality. They also do not cry out their eyes for long, nor do they cry loudly. They do not also wear black clothes which are traditionally worn by non-Muslims as a sign of grief. Muslims also do not construct tombs with concrete, cement or marble. They do not also use the wooden coffin. The body is buried shrouded with pieces of cotton cloth. All these reflect the influence of Islamic education.

One of the best practices in the Muslims cemetery is their practice of growing trees on the tombs of their relatives instead of constructing concrete statues. If such a practice is reinforced, the trees may have benefits for protecting erosion and maintaining humidity.

The fifth social practice influenced by Islamic education is healing tradition. Muslims in the region use spiritual healing practice (in addition to modern bio-medication) like bathing using "Qur'anic water", listening to Qur'anic recitation, massaging with olive oil and conducting wadaja (group supplication to

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exhort "evil spirit" by chewing chat and drinking coffee). Muslims in the region also use other treatments learned from the Prophetic traditions such as using tikur azmud (black seed) which is believed to be the cure for all diseases except death, drinking honey, cupping, using cumin and other related plants.

Among other social practices, the final issue I discussed was the conflict resolution practice of Muslims in the region. Like any other (traditional) cultural groups, Muslims may encounter different conflicts between and among individuals: murder, theft and abduction. I discussed these three crimes briefly earlier.

I know from experience that in many non-Muslim societies in the region, blood feuds are hardly stoppable without losing two, three or more number of family members. Once a person is killed, the relatives of the victim consider it obligatory to kill at least the murderer or even kill more people associated with the convict. This is a lose-lose approach to conflict resolution. That is not the case in South Wallo, especially southeastern part of the region. Muslims in the region have got strong traditional "court system" that bans any extra bloodshed. The Sufi Sheikhs, Abagars and elderly men and women strongly collaborate to make reconciliations for almost all kinds of disputes.

In the case of blood feuds, after months of negotiation between the two rival families, the Sheikhs serving as mediators, peace will be maintained and the families of the victim will be given blood-money (called diya). It is not for the tens of thousands of birr that the reconciliation is made. It is rather for the value of peaceful coexistence, love and trust among the community members since violence and aggression are evil acts that should be shunned by all. Muslims also believe that the killing of a person is as if killing the whole of mankind and hence a grave sin while saving the life of a person is as if saving the whole of humanity and hence the holiest of all acts. It is also believed that it is the duty of religious and elderly people to enhance peace and forgiveness. Muslims believe that he who forgives on earth will get forgiveness in heaven. Based on such values extracted from Islamic education, all sorts of conflicts or disputes (murder, theft and abduction included) are resolved and the people exist peacefully irrespective of past wounds.

To sum up, Islamic education significantly influenced the socio-cultural life of Muslims in the region. In doing so, Islamic education, I argue, contributed and will continue to contribute for the decent way of dressing, family establishment, proper personal hygiene and above all, the exercise of forgiveness, mercifulness and generosity by shunning theft, violence, revenge, aggression and injustice.

CHAPTER TEN: THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION ON THE ECONOMIC PRACTICE IN THE REGION

Introduction

Islamic education has influenced the personal and social life of Muslims. They do not eat the meat of dead animals, swine, and blood. This is good for health purpose. Most practicing Muslims, if not all, also shun drinking intoxicants (despite taking stimulants like chat). They also eat the meat of camels unlike their Christian neighbors.

The cleanliness tradition that Muslims practice for spiritual purpose is also of significant importance. Muslims in the region largely practice monogamy just like the rest faith groups. Nevertheless, there are exceptions especially among predominantly Muslin ethnic groups like Oromo and Argoba and certain Amharic speaking Muslims since they practice bigamy in view of the fact that Islamic injunctions allow the Muslim man to marry even up to four wives simultaneously provided that he is physically potent and financially fit. The influence of Islam on Muslims on bigamy is too significant that this tradition has been given legal recognition for Muslims even in the secular court system of the region (and the country) including the practice of cousin marriage.

The mourning practice, healing tradition, and conflict resolution strategies of Muslims including their everyday conversation all reflect certain level of influence by the Islamic education.

Islamic education significantly influenced the socio-cultural life of Muslims in the region. in doing so, Islamic education contributed and will continue to contribute for the decent way of dressing, family establishment, proper personal hygiene and above all, the exercise of forgiveness, mercifulness, generosity by shunning theft, violence, revenge, aggression and injustice as pointed out in Chapter Nine.

The aim of this Chapter is to highlight the influence of Islamic education on the business practice and work ethics of the people in the region. For this purpose, I first describe the practice of trade in the 19th century Wallo. Then, I discussed the concept of halal (permissible) and haram (impermissible) in earning income in Muslim traditions. Next, I explain the contemporary trade and work practice of the people in the region briefly.

Trade in South Wallo in 19th Century

The southeastern part of Wallo was commercially the most important part of the entire region in the nineteenth century. The revival of the Red Sea trade in the early decades of that century and the relative safety of the region for merchants and pilgrims to Mecca directly contributed to the increasing demands for Ethiopian goods like spices, musk, ivory, gold and slaves and the opening up of new trade routes (like the port of Tajura) was both a by-product of and a contributing factor to, the increase in the volume of domestic transit trade through southeastern Wallo. Recent studies have also shown that some of the Oromo chiefs of Wallo encouraged trade even before the 18th c. (Asnake, 1988).

Different factors contributed for the development of trade in the region: firstly, the strategic position of the region, since it directly faced the hinterland adjacent to the port of Tajura and secondly, the rise to power of the Qallu rulers who were the patrons of commerce and exercised effective control over the districts where the trade-routes converged.

The emergence of the Sultanate of Awsa in the 18th c. was also an important stimulus for the development of trade in the region (Abir, 1968). Although the frictions between the Shawan and Wallo rulers since the early 19th c. appear to have been politically-motivated, the main underlying factor was the desire to control and ensure the safety of the trade-routes between Shawa, Gondar and Tigray through the Wallo territory. Hence, a combination of strategic, political and economic factors turned the southeastern Wallo into a commercially crucial area possessing direct access to the coast.

The early communities of the region developed the capacity for economic growth and a hereditary ruling chiefdom owing to the diversity of its economic resources: grain, cattle, and cotton which were needed by the nomadic inhabitants of the lowlands and the tribute and trade.

In order to safeguard their privileged status as a commercial aristocracy, the merchants allowed no marriage with members of other professions, although they intermarried with other trade families who emigrated from Gondar. Weavers, smiths and fuqras (exorcists) were strictly prohibited from settling at the villages of the traders. There are most important markets in the region that survived even today including Arraf Libbe, Bora, Ancharro, Bati and many others (in Dawway and Qallu).

The major imported items included clothing fabrics, locally-woven cloth. silk, beds, carpets, gold bars, swards, muskets, silver-and gold-coated ornaments, bracelets and necklaces, candles, incense, rice and perfume, razors, needles, kohl, metal utensils and glassware (Abir, 1968) whereas hides and skins and slaves were the major export items. There was, and in some areas still is, practicing barter. Pepper was exchanged for cotton, salt for grain and coffee for butter.

The wealthy merchants were also noted for the support they gave to the local Muslim scholars and for their generosity in providing the sustenance of the clerics and their students. They procured for them books and other types of reading and teaching materials from Saudi Arabia (Hijaz), Egypt and Yemen. They also sold religious books at reasonable price to students. Thus the big traders can be said to have contributed to the preservation and continuation of traditional Islamic education at the local level. Some of the rich merchants also covered the expenses incurred by local Ulama during their pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina through the Tajura port instead of Massawa which is too far. Hence the leaders of the commercial community of the region were able to cultivate the friendship and to secure the alliance of the Muslim scholars as such.

Although piety and religious devotion might have played a part in their relationship with the local Ulama, there was also the desire on the part of traders to maintain strong links with those clerics who enjoyed a high reputation as religious leaders, scholars and arbiters in local disputes. Thus an alliance was forged between the big traders, the clerics and the chiefs (in Dawway and Qallu) from which all three benefited considerably. While the merchants ensured the continuity of their privileged position, and the flow of handsome returns on their investments, the Ulama, who were materially dependent on the generosity of the traders, were able to devote their efforts and experience to the dissemination and further consolidation of Islam.

Muslims in Wallo region mostly joined the business world since they were marginalized by the then imperial regimes. Due to the need to convert Muslims into Christianity, especially during the reign of Emperor Yohannes IV who forced local Muslims and even Sheiks to be converted to Christianity in order to maintain their land estate and even for some of them lordship. If not, the Muslims were forced to exile. "Many Sheiks preferred exile to disbelief except a few Sheikhs like Muhammad Ali who was baptized as Michael and given the position of ras and latter Negus and hence named Negus Michael" (Informant: Ato Yimer, December 29, 2012).

Many other Muslims were forced to live in exile while others were pushed to "downtrodden and despised occupations in the highland Amharic speaking community like trading, weaver and pottery during the reign of the emperors" (Informant Ato Endris, 10/08/2012).

Earning Income: Halal or Haram?

If there are concepts that are more frequently remembered by Muslims in all walks of life, these are the issue of *halal* and *haram* which means "permissible" and "impermissible" respectively from Islamic perspective. These concepts are reiterated during dietary, clothing, marriage and business issues. Consequently, whenever Muslims want to conduct certain means of earning a living, the first issue that comes to their mind is the question: 'Is it halal?" For this purpose, they ask the nearby religious scholar for clarification on their question. For example, the Prophetic hadith (and the Fiqh traditions) not only disapproved certain forms of business transaction, but have also laid down some basic conditions that should be fulfilled in every transaction if it is to be lawful. Some of these conditions are:

> First, things sold and money offered as their price to be lawfully acquired; second, goods not to be sold before obtaining their possession; third, goods to be bought in the open market; and finally, no trade and traffic in things, the use of which is prohibited by Islam (Siddiqi, 1972:793).

On this regard, Prophet Muhammad said, "Flesh [of a person] which has grown out of what is unlawful will not enter Paradise, but Hell is more fitting for all flesh which has grown out of what is unlawful" (Al-Tirmidhi Hadith, 2772). The Prophet also said, "Nobody has ever eaten a better meal than that which one has earned by working with one's own hands. The Prophet David used to eat from the earnings of his manual labor (Sahih Bukhari, 3:286). Consequently, it is better to die leaving one's children rich instead of poor (Sahih Bukhari, 5:273). One of the companions of the Prophet left fifty million and two hundred thousand dinar [gold money] to his heirs (Sahih Bukhari, 4:358). Begging is also not allowed in Islam: "No doubt, one had better take a rope (and cut) and tie a bundle of wood and sell it whereby Allah will keep his face away (from Hell-fire) rather than ask others who may give him or not", said the Prophet (Sahih Bukhari, 3:561). Supporting and feeding one's family is also considered rewarding religiously in Islam. Farmers are also encouraged: Allah's Apostle said, "There is none amongst the Muslims who plants a tree or sows seeds, and then a bird, or a person or an animal eats from it, but is regarded as a charitable gift for him" Sahih Al-Bukhari, 3:513). All these reveal that hard work is part of worshipping in Islam as far as it is done based on permissible acts, *halal* (al-Qardawi in Hassen 2008:50-67).

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Prohibited forms of Business

(a). Monopoly business. Since "monopoly means concentration of supply in one hand, it leads to exploitation of the consumer and the workers, it has, therefore, been declared unlawful" (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Zein, May 2nd 2012). The monopoly-dominated economic order betrays lack of harmony between private and social good and is, thus, a negation of the principle of maximum social advantage which the Islamic society sets out to achieve (Siddiqi, 1972:794).

(b). Speculative business based on selfish interest. Speculation means buying something cheap in bulk at a time and selling with high price at another, and thus, controlling the whole market to achieve personal gains. These speculators try to create artificial scarcity of goods and commodities and thereby create an inflationary pressure on the economy. As the poor masses have to pay for this, Islam condemns such speculative business and it is haram (e.g. Sahih Muslim 3: 3913-14).

(c). Interest transaction. All transactions involving interest are forbidden in Islam. Some people find it hard to submit to the injection prohibiting interest because they think interest and profit earned in trade are similar. "Capital invested in trade brings an excess called profit; capital invested in banking brings interest. Why should one excess be considered lawful and the other unlawful?" They fail to understand the basic differences between the two. Trade involves risk of loss. Moreover, it is not only the capital invested that brings profit which is equally the result of initiative, enterprise and efficiency of the entrepreneur. Therefore, its rate cannot be predetermined and fixed. Trade is also productive. A person reaps a benefit after undergoing labor and hardship. It creates conditions of full employment and economic growth. Trade further still acts as one of the dominant factors in the process of building up civilization through cooperation and mutual exchange of ideas. The spread of Islam and Islamic civilization has been mostly due to the efforts of Muslim traders. Interest has no redeeming feature at all. The fixed rate of which a person gets from a financial investment without any risk of loss and without augmenting it with human labor creates in man the undesirable weakness of miserliness and Shylockian selfishness and lack of sympathy while in the economic sphere it initiates and aggravates crisis (Siddiqi, 1972:794). Consequently, Islam forbids all transaction based on riba (interest and usury) (e.g. Sahih Muslim 3:380-81).

> Advancing money on interest, keeping deposits in a bank for the sake of earning interest or getting concessions in rates of goods or commodities against advance payments of price, mortgaging and utilizing an income-yielding property against a certain sum to be returned in

full when the property is redeemed and investing money in a trade against a predetermined and fixed rate of profit – are all unlawful business transaction because they involve riba (interest) in some form or the other (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Zein, May 2nd 2012).

Research findings also revealed that interest is responsible for the economic crisis in the world. With increase in the rate of interest, the margin of profit declines and the investor prefers to lend his/her money on interest rather than invest it in business and take the risk (Siddiqi, 1972:832).

(d). Transaction similar (in nature) to gambling. The Arabic equivalent to gambling is *maisir* which literarily means "getting something too easily"; "getting a profit without working for it". In Islam, any monetary gain which comes too easily, so much so that one does not have to work for it, is unlawful. Games that are based on pure lucks are also prohibited (Siddiqi, 1972:794). Consequently, many Muslims in the region do not buy lottery tickets since it resembles gambling.

(e). Transaction with commodities that are not healthy to the physical, and mental aspects of humanity. In Islam, it is forbidden to make transaction with alcoholic drinks, swine flesh, carcass and idols (e.g. Sahih Muslim, 3:3835-44). Many Muslims in the region shun these items.

Despite such Islamic injunctions, and many more others such as prohibition of deception in transactions (Al-Tirmidhi Hadith, 2874), prohibition of earning money through, magic and sorcery, prostitution and so forth (Sahih Muslim, 3:3803-08), the reality on the ground proves the opposite especially in urban areas since some Muslims, like their non-Muslim neighbors may sell alcoholic drinks and practice business fraud which is forbidden. In many cases, however, Muslims practice trading and any means of earning according to Islamic injunctions propagated through Islamic education.

Contemporary Trading and Work Practice among Muslims

Most of the people in the region are rural agriculturalists. They produce crops like barley, sorghum, teff, maize and other cereal grains. The amount of plots of land owned by the farmers has been diminishing from time to time due to population growth in the region. Consequently, many people were taken for resettlement to Southern Ethiopia (especially, Oromo region) mainly due to successive years of draught during the socialist regime. Most of the people practice mixed agriculture (by farming and breeding certain cattle).

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While farming is the major source of subsistence for rural people, trade is also common among the urban people. "Instead of hotels and restaurants, most of the urban Muslims are traders of different commodities such as daily consumptions, cloths, cereals, and construction materials" (Informant: Ahmed, November 19th 2012). Formerly, Muslim merchants were very honest that even some Christians used to keep their large sum of money with the Muslim merchants and holy men (Informant: Ahmed Muhammad, May 11th 2012).

Rural farmers, Muslims and Christians, work cooperatively during tilling the land and harvesting crops in a practice called *debo* (team work). Just like the idir, the people of the faith groups also work with teams during tilling, weeding and harvesting periods. In the highland areas, it is customary to prepare food and alcoholic drinks for the people working in *debo*. Muslims, who have not made up their minds to stop alcoholic drinks, enjoy drinking just like their Orthodox Christian colleagues.

In spite of the fact that the majority of the people in the region are farmers and many others are merchants, there are also other groups of people from the two faith groups who are weavers, iron smiths, silver smiths, and potters who live in rural as well as urban areas. Muslims believe that occupations related to agriculture, trading, iron/silversmith and carpentry are all *halal* and respected and lovely means of earning income even for holy prophets like Adam (who was a farmer), Noah (who was a carpenter), David (who was an ironsmith), Moses (who was a shepherded) and Muhammad (who was a merchant) (al-Qardawi in Hassen 2008:58). This contradicts the widely held discriminatory belief that craftsmen (ጠቢ have the power of evil-eyes. From Islamic perspective, no particular ethnicity, religious group or linguistic or professional groups are said to be evil-eyed. Rather, it is anyone's super affection towards something or someone that causes evil-eye. That is why one of the informants said "generally Muslims are keener to interact and create intimacy with craftsmen" (Informant: Gashaw, December 29th 2012).

Although Muslim merchants do not have a practice like the debo, they have also their own mechanism of collaboration. For instance, if a merchant buys goods that costs fifty thousand birr paying the price hand in hand, then the seller allows the buyer to take additional goods as much as another fifty thousand birr trusting the buyer to bring back the unpaid money without any interest after selling all the commodities that may last up to six or more months. This kind of lending money for the merchants who buy goods without any usury is, of course, not unique to the region. One of the informants is a merchant who buys cereals from Addis Ababa and sells here in Dessie. He himself reports:

Whenever I buy cereal crop from Addis Ababa, I commonly pay only one hundred thousand birr but my client, who is a practicing Muslim, gives me cereals that coasts another one hundred thousand birr to be paid later without any interest. He does this for anybody else as well so long as the person has got *amanah* (trust). Had it not been the case, we Muslim merchants might have remained the poorest since we do not borrow money from the banks due to impermissibility of interest in Islam. We never borrow on interest basis at normal circumstances here in Dessie unlike the Christian merchants.

Let alone for baking business Muslim merchants in Dessie even do not borrow from banks even for building houses since interest is forbidden in our religion. Almost all the newly constructed buildings from Shewa Ber to Piazza to Buwanbuwa Wuha are all built by Muslim merchants without taking any credit from banks. The Muslims did that for the purpose of developing the city to show their support to the national transformation project. Muslims prefer to borrow from one another instead of taking from the bank on interest basis. That, however, has made we Muslims to be labeled as 'terrorist' simply because we failed to borrow from the Government Banks. Because of that, many of the rich merchants are leaving from the town to Addis Ababa longing for freedom.

Of all the owners of the new buildings that coast five or more millions of birr, I know only a single Muslim merchant who borrowed seven hundred thousand birr just for the sake of not to be labeled a terrorist since nowadays the government is asking Muslims where they get the money from. He did that just to pay very soon since the amount of money is small as compared to the total cost of four million birr (Informant: Ahmed, November 19th 2012).

This implies the fact that although Muslims are allowed to save in government banks with interest-free, they are not allowed to borrow money without interest. This does not, however, mean that all Muslims in the region do not borrow from the government banks even with interest rates. There was rather an attempt to establish an Islamic Bank at national level called Zemzem Bank.

"However, the project of establishing the Zemzem Bank, which was intended to allow Muslims both to save and borrow money without any interest, was aborted following the Muslim-State confrontation in 2012" (Informant: Kubra, December 20th 2012) and thereby several banks, both private and governmental ones, were opened afterwards.

Of course, there are many Muslim (and Christian) merchants who are more or less abided by religious scriptures by avoiding lying, hiding defects of commodities, and giving less than the due price,. Such people are truthful and measure balances exactly. However, there are also considerable cases where deceptions are observed.

Moreover, despite the prohibition of drinking and selling alcoholic drinks, both rural and urban Muslims practice such acts just like their neighbors, Orthodox Christians, despite the recession of such activities following the revival of Islam in the region.

> My husband's sister is a Muslim. She lives in Dessie around Robit. She prepares tela (local beer) and sells it. That is her major source of income. She is grown up in a Muslim family and she knows that this is *haram*. But selling alcohol is her only means to survive. There are many Muslims who sell as well as drink alcohol in both rural and urban areas in this region (Informant: Hikma, Jan. 30th, 2012).

It is a public secrete that there are Muslims who drink as well as sell alcoholic drinks.

> It is just shocking that a woman with a hijjab was working in a hotel that sells beer. Hijjab is a walking sign of Islam, and if a person wears it, she should really have to watch her actions because her character and therefore Islam is being judged and if she does *haram* while wearing a hijjab, Islam is being misrepresented (Informant: Mahbuba, November 14th 2012).

I understand that although wearing an Islamic dress and then performing impermissible acts could lead to spoil the image of Islam, for a women, not to wear a hijjab is adding another sinful act. The same informant told me the acts certain women who wear hijjab even participating in illicit sexual acts. Although this calls for further investigation, I believe that those who wear hijjab are not angels and, hence, they may commit mistakes and that is all. Due to poverty and family breakdown, many Muslim girls and women practice prostitution mainly in urban areas in the region. A thirty year old informant who is a Muslim says the following explaining why she prostitutes herself:

> People should not criticize women or talk badly about us. They all say we have lost our way, but they never ask why we had to take this path. I do not have money to buy enough food or take my kid to the doctor. I have to do anything that I can to preserve my child, because I am a mother. My husband died of cancer before two years and I have no any family to support us (Informant: Ai'sha, November 23rd 2012).

This implies that poverty and family breakdown are two of the major reasons why women are forced to practice prostitution. The influence of Islam even on non-practicing Muslims is immense as the true story of one of the following prostitutes reveals:

> There were two ladies in Dessie named Aster and Hayat. The first one was a Christian whereas the second one was a Muslim. The two ladies were intimate friends and they joined prostitution at the same time. They have visited and worked almost in all famous hotels and night clubs in the region despite the dissemination of HIV/AIDS epidemic. Even worse, these ladies were addicted drunkards. Once upon a time, they happened to take blood-test for HIV/AIDS. They were very eager to know the result of their blood test with

mixed feeling of the hope of being free from the disease and at the same time with the fear of being HIV positive. To their dismay, laboratory blood test proved positive for both ladies. This was the time to know their commitment to their respective faiths.

The two ladies were very nervous, annoyed and cried the whole day and conducted the blood test for the second time in another clinic but in vain. Their feeling of lamentation in their past deeds increased. The first lady vowed to revenge all the men that approached her for sex since it is these kind of men that caused her to contract the disease while the second lady, after repeated contemplation, made up her mind to be veiled, hidden in her hijjab not be seen by men at all not to transmit the disease to others and thereby fired herself from the field of prostitution filled with broken heart but with a sense of sincere repentance for her past sins and she repeatedly started to read a verse from the Qur'an she learned recently which reads: *lataqnatu min rahmatillahi – Do not lose hope from the Mercy of God* (Informant: Ato Girma June 12th 2011).

This shows how religion can play care and sympathy for all humanity if it is understood well. Since the people in the region are religious (as the rest part of Ethiopia), coordination of the religious as well as the modern biomedical specialists could have contributed for the controlling and prevention of any sort of not only communicable diseases but also poverty.

The value of hard work ethics among the Muslim society is of great importance even during holidays (such as Friday and the period of pilgrimage). Moreover, Muslims mainly in urban areas also work throughout the seven days of the week. Influenced by the Muslims' working tradition, even non-Muslims in the region reduced the number of days observed within a month. This is specifically true for those people who make their living using grinding mills.

However, influenced by Sufi Islam in the region, Many Muslims in the rural vicinities mostly observe certain days of the week. In a "standardized" manner Muslims in rural Wallo (and a few people in urban areas) allotted the days of the week to the veneration or observance of particular saintly persons: Monday is remembered as the birthday of Prophet Muhammad; Tuesday is devoted to Nur Hussein; Wednesday to Abdul Qadir al-Djilani; Thursday to Prophet Idris; and Saturday to Said Khadir. Local saints have also their own day of observance, pilgrimages and sacrifices. This is almost identical with the practice of Muslims in other parts of Ethiopia such as Arssi (Braukamper, 1988:767). Such practices are, however, contrary to the rules of Islamic orthodoxy (especially by Salafis) while certain mainstream Sufis advocate the practices. Hence, the changes Islamization created on spiritual spheres of life proved to be significant.

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Fortunately, since the spirit and the body are intertwined in Islam, "pilgrims to the local shrines perform business. Merchants go to such shrines to sell their goods creating temporary open-market that serves both by day and by night" (Informant: Sheikh Ahmed, January 24th 2012). Such trading practices among pilgrims are common and legal in Islam since Muslims are allowed to make profits even in Mecca and medina during the period of hajj.

Consequently, many farmers believe that breaking the observance of these "holidays" may result in "crop destruction through over hailing, over flooding, creation of locust and other worms or heavy winds that destroy any plantations" (Informant W/ro Zewdie, November 16, 2012). Hence, there are specific days of the week in which many farmers refrain from farming, weeding or harvesting practices. If you oppose these practices and attempt to break this tradition, you will be outcaste by the villagers. You may even be cursed by the elderly people.

Unlike my own relatives in rural areas, I used to break such restrictive tradition when I supported my family on certain farm activities on weekends basis when I was a high school student. These "anti-productive" practices were generally receding from time to time until the recent confrontation between Sufis and Salafis in the region. "Today one may even find a caller in the rural village who orders people not to break such observance so as to prevent over flooding, wind or locust" (Informant: Seid, June 12, 2012).

Despite the fact that many Muslims joined the world of trading since they were uprooted from their lands and sidelined by the repressive regimes unless they are converted into Christianity, "trade is mostly depicted in the Islamic education as a Prophetic tradition and hence it is perceived as a blessed means of earning income" in the community (Informant Sheikh Idris, July 8, 2012).

Even nowadays, there are many more Muslim merchants than any other faith group in South Wallo who are making their livelihood on trading. Influenced by Islamic injunctions, almost all merchants make their business on "halal" (permissible) merchandizing items.

> For instance, Muslims in the region do not sell alcoholic drinks. They do not open hotels and bars especially in towns like Dessie, Kombolcha and Khemissie. They do not in many cases open pensions for hiring bedrooms. If at all they open pensions, they do not allow two opposite sexes to hire the same bedrooms unless they show their marriage certificates (Informant: Ato Endris, 10/08/2012).

I myself know couples of pensions in the region like Hira and Titanic Pensions which demand clients who come with their spouses to show marriage certificates in Dessie town. The Muslim owners demand marriage certificates for any couple since prostitution is a deadly sin from Islamic perspective. Similarly, Muslim restaurants do not allow selling alcoholic drinks since "those who make the alcohol, those who bottled the alcohol, those who transported and those who serve and drink the alcohol all are believed to be questionable in Islam" (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad- Hadi, May 26, 2012).

Certain Muslims in the region even do not hire their buildings for other people who sell intoxicants. For instance, in the newly opened Seid Yassin Building which is at the heart of Piazza in Dessie, no room is allowed to be hired for selling alcoholic drinks or practicing any other act that is forbidden in Islam as it is heard during the inauguration ceremony of the business center that was done on free invitation of the people in the town slaughtering eight oxen for Muslims and four oxen for the non-Muslims recently.

"Muslims in the region also do not allow any millionaire to construct mosques" or any other religious institution "unless the source of the income is proved to be purely on 'halal' (permissible) business type" (Informant: Ato Muhammad, February 11. 2012).

Another vivid impact of the Islamic education on trading in the region is the fact that many Muslims do not make any business deal based on usury and interest. In many cases, Muslims do not launch any business or constructions based on any loans from the private or governmental banks that operate based on interest rates. Many Muslims also decline saving in banks with interests in more recent decades. Consequently, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (or any other bank) has started opening accounts that function "without any interest rate" for any interested section of the society i.e. Muslims.

Refraining from selling alcoholic drinks, rebuffing business dealings that involve interest rates, demanding marriage-certificates for couples in pensions and the like all refer to Islamic values that are spreading as a result of Islamic education in the region influencing the business tradition of many Muslims.

Muslim costumes and business nomenclatures

In most cases, we do not see differences in commodity items used by Muslims and non-Muslims in the region. Nonetheless, following the revival of Islam, one can see Muslim costumes for men and women in open markets and boutiques. Jallabiyya (male dresses), circular white hats and male-scarves (imama) are displayed in markets and shops for men and boys while hijjab, abaya, jilbab niqab and other head-

scarves which are worn by women and girls are commonly displayed in larger quantity than ever before because of the increased demand for such commodities in more recent years.

In addition to dressing items, large number of Islamic literary works such as books, magazines, CDs, DVDs and Cassettes are available in markets although their numbers are reducing from time to time (Informant Ato Muhammad, 12/12/2012) due to the Government's attempt to control Muslims mainly the Salafi minorities.

Travel agencies, mainly to the Middle East, are also flourishing from time to time in the region.

There are also certain Muslim millionaires in the region who contributed for the development of the regional towns. Certain of my research participants even attributed the development of the regional (as well as the Ethiopian) economy as a result of the increased participation of Muslims in the economic as well as well as other sectors following the inclusive development plan of the country contrary to the discriminatory policies of the past regimes. That, of course, calls for an independent investigation in the future.

Moreover, business nomenclatures or trade-marks are also being given an Islamic flavor. For instance, it is not uncommon to find big buildings, business centers and supermarkets and other shops to be named after their founders or with any Muslim or Islamic name in the region: Hajji Muhammad Yassin Building, Hayat Building, Al-Nur Restaurant, Zakir Mobile Centers, Alif Restaurant, Mubarek Boucher, Nuredin Boutique, Amira Electronics and hundreds of other names are some of the business centers that I observed during the data collection in Dessie City Administration. Similar and even more lists can be presented from the other towns in the region. Such business nomenclatures were almost not common as such before nearly two decades.

Mutual Cooperation among Muslims

Muslims support one another at personal as well as community level in times of prosperity and adversity. The rich support the poor, the orphans, the elderly people and patients are visited by the local people. Though the aid is done in a disorganized manner in most cases, socially destitute and ostracized people are provided certain means of subsistence in kind or cash by the neighbors.

One of the institutions of Muslims that is used for supporting the destitute is called Zakah (Qur'an, 2:3, 273). The Zakah represents the due right of the poor taken from the wealth of the rich at a rate of 2.5%. It is an obligatory task religiously and it is not considered as a voluntary charity. The merchants in the

region give Zakah to the poor once in a year in cash while farmers provide Zakah in kind (e.g. grains or animals) as prescribed in the religious scriptures.

There is also an obligatory Zakah on all Muslims who have got enough food for one day. It is call Zakat al-Fitir. It is given to the people who do not have enough food even for a day. Most Muslims in the region give Zakat al-Fitir calculating the amount as one kilogram of grain or its equivalent market price in Ethiopian Birr per heads of the family.

Another important institution for supporting people within the Muslim community is called waqf. Waqf represents a voluntary gift (of a plot of land, house, animals, crops or even books) to be used by a person, a family or community as a whole. "Many Ulamas in the region live in houses and make their living farming a plot of land presented to them as waqf from the farmers voluntarily" (Informant Muhammad-Zein, October 20, 2012). During the repressive regimes in Ethiopia in the past, when the construction of mosques were not permissible, "merchants and other rich people presented their house buildings as gifts to be used as mosques or zawuyas" (Informant Muhammad-Zein, October 20, 2012). A person also gives any present to the poor, orphans and the elderly people. In some cases, a Muslim in the region presents a gift at old age or when he/she is seriously sick and hence more likely to die.

Next to zakah and waqf, there is another institution for Muslims called sadaqa that is used for feeding and dressing the poor, orphans, the sick and the elderly people on voluntary basis. Sadaqa is usually an invitation to a feast where people gather to eat whatever is ready. If the invited person is too weak or sick to attend the sadaqa, packed food is sent to him/her. In many cases sadaqa is meant for the destitute people living in shanty houses or in streets. Hence, uninvited needy persons are also allowed to join the feast. Had it not been for the institutions of zakah, waqf and sadaqa, the life condition of many Muslims would have been much more miserable. Moreover, the survival of Islamic educational institutions themselves might have been in question in the region since there is no well established organization that administers Muslim education.

In recent days, there was one Non-Governmental Islamic Organization in Dessie called Khadam. It was established and managed by the local people. It used to provide some amount of money to the orphans, Imams, the poor and the elderly on monthly basis in spite of its meager amount. However, following the

recent intra-faith conflict catalyzed by third parties in the region along the Sufi-Salafi (Wahabbi) dichotomy, the organization is banned and some of its administrators were jailed since 2012.

Muslims believe that through the practice of zakah and waqf, other than being religious commitments, such institutions can be used to lower the gap between the rich and the poor. Poor people can also be uplifted economically so that within a life span of one or two years, the poor can also join the status of being rich and thereby open their own business and begin providing zakah on their own part. Moreover, such institutions may also soften the relationship between the rich and the poor. As a result, there is no more enmity and envy among the poor and the rich in the region as such.

In many cases, however, the money from the Zakah may fall in the wrong hands. There are certain people in the region who consider begging as their "profession". Such people may have tens of quintals of grains in their rural homes. Others may have even possessed vehicles like taxis bought by begging. But they may keep on begging unrecognized by the general public. It was to reduce this kind of problems that Khadam was established as a Non-Governmental Organization locally by longsighted individuals in Dessie town. However, following the Muslims protest in 2012/13, the organization was banned or stifled. The mutual support among the community which, if properly handled, may contribute for poverty reduction, still continues as usual despite intra-faith disagreements in the region

Conclusions

The purpose of this Chapter was to explore the influence of Islamic education on the work ethics and business practice of the people in the region. It is recalled that trade, which was one of the mechanisms for the dissemination of Islam in the region, was influenced by the Islamic injunctions to some extent.

Muslims in the region, like their non-Muslim neighbors, make their livings on farming, trading, weaving, pottery and basketry. Many Muslims are merchants since they believe that trading is one of the most blessed occupations since Prophet Muhammad himself was a merchant once upon his life time. Moreover, Islam encourages hard work ethics more than anything else as far as the work is not "haram". Certain rituals of the religion like "hajj" and "umra" (terms representing major and minor pilgrimage respectively) also pave the way to make business as the Muslims go to and come from abroad (Mecca and Medina) since earning is permissible in such cases in the Qur'an. The local pilgrimage festivals in Sufi shrines in the region also encourage Muslims (and non-Muslims) to make business even overnights especially during the holiday of the Birthday of the Prophet.

If not all, many Muslims merchants are abided by the values of "halal" and "haram" i. e. they earn their income based on permissible goods while shunning impermissible items of commodities such as intoxicants. They also do not participate in business dealings that involve interest/usury and gambling. Because Muslims are not voluntary to save their money with interest rates, the Commercial bank of Ethiopia (and other banks) in the region has started to attract Muslims opening accounts without any interest rate although Muslims are dubious how this is done.

Influenced by Islamic teachings, many Muslims in the region do not also borrow money from banks based on interest rates since both lending to and borrowing money from someone (institution) is not allowed in Islam. For this reason, Muslim merchants, just like the farmers cooperation in toiling the land, collaborate by lending tens of thousands of birr to one another with zero-interest rate. Since they do not have organized institution for the purpose, they practice this based on personal level with high level of trustworthiness – an Islamic value that does not still dwindle in this world of high rate of market frauds.

Although most Muslims do not make their living on "haram" (unlawful) means like selling alcohol, certain Muslims make their living on selling a stimulant called "chat" locally. Innocent Muslims also consume a lot of "chat" considering it not only as a stimulant but also as a "blessed" leaf used for supplication during wadaja ceremonies as I described elsewhere.

Muslims cooperate not only through gifts in kind and cash but they also help and visit the sick, the poor, orphans and the elderly people in their neighbors by collecting even firewood and water. They also assist the sick by tilling the plot of land, looking after the cattle and even caring after his/her baby. Muslims traditionally believe that "giving even half of a date could save a person from hellfire" (Informant Sheikh Idris, July 8, 2012). No good act is considered useless to the needy, the sick or the elderly people. Muslims provide such assistances even to the non-Muslim neighbors. The collaboration among Muslims and non-Muslims in Wallo include exchanging gifts on holidays; accepting their invitations; lending money to one another; making reconciliation whenever there is dispute among them; accompanying during funeral processions and cooperating during the preparation of a wedding ceremony and the like.

To sum up, the practices of refraining from selling alcoholic drinks, rebuffing business dealings that involve usury/interest rates, demanding marriage-certificates for couples in pensions and the like all

refer to Islamic values that are spreading from time to time as a result of Islamic education in the region influencing the work and business tradition of many Muslims.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC SCHOOLING ON MODERN EDUCATION IN THE REGION

Introduction

Muslims in the region make their livings on farming, trading, weaving, pottery and basketry. Many Muslims are merchants since they believe that trading is one of the most sacred careers since Prophet Muhammad himself was a merchant once upon his life time. Moreover, Islam encourages hard work ethics more than anything else as far as the work is not unlawful. Certain rituals of the religion also pave the way to make business as the Muslims go to and come from abroad. The local pilgrimage festivals in Sufi shrines in the region also encourage Muslims (and non-Muslims) to make business even overnights especially during mawlid (the holiday of the Birthday of the Prophet).

Many Muslims businessmen are abided by the values of "halal" and "haram" i. e. they make their income based on allowable goods while rejecting impermissible items of commodities such as intoxicants. They also do not take part in business dealings that involve interest/usury and gambling. Most Muslims are not voluntary to save their money with interest rates. Accordingly, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (and other banks) in the region has started to attract Muslims opening accounts without any interest rate. By the same token, many Muslims in the region are not voluntary to borrow money from banks based on interest rates since both lending to and borrowing money from someone (institution) is not permitted in Islam. Since they do not have organized institution for the purpose, they practice this based on personal level with high sense of honesty.

No good act is considered useless to the needy, the sick or the elderly people. Muslims provide such assistances even to the non-Muslim neighbors. The institutions of zakah, waqf and sadaqa also enable the rich to provide the poor financial support in kind or cash. This may, if performed in an organized manner, narrow the gap between the rich and the poor as highlighted in Chapter Ten.

The aim of the present Chapter is to explain the impact of Islamic education on modern education. It is a bare fact that Islamic education precedes modern education like Church education as any other traditional education. Until recently, it could be almost impossible to get certain Muslims who are well versed in both Islamic and modern education in Ethiopia in general and in Wallo region in particular. The purpose of this Chapter is to explain the impact of Islamic education on modern education along with the

attitude of Muslims toward the modern education. I discussed the inclusion of Islamic history and concepts in the school curricula in modern schools through analyzing school textbooks as a reflection of the influence of Islam in the region (and the country as well). I also explained the controversy over school prayers and school dressing code which is becoming one of the top agenda in many educational institutions extending from primary schools to the Universities and other higher education institutions in the region.

Muslims' Attitude to Modern Education and their Participation

It is known that next to church education, Islamic education also predates modern education that was introduced in 1908 by Emperor Menelik II. Modern education was first and foremost introduced by Catholic missionaries in the country. It was associated with the faith of the Catholic Christianity. Consequently, like the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, Muslims in the region (like the rest Ethiopian Muslims) also considered modern education as "kufr" i.e. disbelief (Informant Sheikh Muhammad-Zein, August 22, 2012). Hence, both Orthodox Christians and Muslims showed negative attitude towards modern education. This was aggravated by the little attempt to integrate the traditional education with the modern education since the ambition was to achieve development without continuity which still remains elusive (Amare, 2005; Tekeste, 1996).

As the Orthodox Church controlled the modern education through the hands of the kings, its resistance was reduced. However, Muslims remained suspicious of modern education and maintained their negative attitude. The religious anthem which was sung in schools during the flag ceremony catalyzed their suspect.

> Moreover, the moral education (called "gibregeb timhirt") was taught from the perspective of Christianity instead of religions in general since Orthodox Christianity was the State religion especially during the reign of Emperor Haileselassie I (Informant Ato Endris, 10/08/ 2012).

One informant reports further:

> I completed high school during the reign of Emperor Hailesilasse I. There were considerable Muslim students in a town called Ancharo, Qallu. I attended my school from grade one to grade six (in Ancharo) and then from grade seven to grade 12 in Kombolcha town singing the Christian religious anthem which begins with 'Our Father who lives in the Heaven…'No one could oppose this practice since our religious knowledge was very little. Moreover, no one opposed this by that time since the King was assumed to be sent from God himself to govern Ethiopia (Informant Ato Seid Ahmed, Harbu, May 21, 2012).

Occasionally, however, there were a few students who were knowledgeable about the basic teachings of Islam in Ancharo Elementary School. One of these students was the son of Sheikh Tajju. Since he was a darassa (religious student) who boycotted fiqh education and joined the modern school, he refused to sing the religious anthem.

> Almost all the teachers roared at him for his refusal. He was taken to the governor of the region and asked why he refused to sing the religious song. He told him boldly that he is a Muslim and the song belongs only to Christians. The governor was polite enough that he advised the boy not to agitate other students to follow his bad example and allowed him to continue learning even if he did not sing the song. But he was given the last warning not to provoke others. (Informant Ato Seid Ahmed, Harbu, May 21, 2012).

Sheikh Tajju was a very progressive Islamic scholar in the region. He fist taught all his children Fiqh education and then interrupted them and got them registered in modern schools. As a result, the Sheikh was blamed by the Muslim community for despising Islamic education and preferring modern education for his children:

> The Sheikh defended his position saying 'I passed the whole of my life moving from zawuya to zawuya inflicted with fleas and bugs. I have taught my children the basic Islamic monotheism but I do not allow them to follow my path and remain suffering in zawuyas just like me.

Muslim critics also assert that ever since the inception of modern education to the downfall of the monarch in 1974, a period that extends for more than half a century, "Ethiopian Muslims had been marginalized from modern education. Consequently Muslims have been incapable of participating in knowledge production for long period of time" (Ahmedin, 2011: 9).

Anyways, most Muslims kept away their children from modern schools. This was the general trend and feeling of Muslims in the region until 1974. Moreover, during the period of the last Ethiopian monarch, modern education was meant in many cases to the privileged social groups concentrated around the circles of the ruling class in the region. That is, the children of Muslim tenants hardly got the opportunity to modern schools unlike the children of the land lords and other officials. In case certain Muslims showed interest to take their children to the modern schools, the distance from home to the schools were intolerable. In addition to that, Muslim parents used to benefit from child labor. Hence, sending their children to schools was considered as letting their children to be idle. All these causes contributed to reduction of the participation of Muslims in modern schools.

I remember my childhood experience when I was confined to learn only the Qur'an in the house of a Sheikh in my home town. I frequently asked my father to send me to the "*aschola*" but he told me that the school was meant only for non-Muslims.

Since I was very eager to know what that group of students was doing in that compound, I went to the school missing the Qur'anic lesson. But to my dismay, as I was gazing at the rooms which I had never seen before in my life, someone grabbed me by the neck and told me to leave the school campus as soon as possible and I ran away quickly like a rabbit. I wished the man had allowed me enter the school. My interest to join the school grew higher and higher. I tried this by day and now I intended to go to the school at dusk in order not to be recognized. When I arrived at the school, I found a few people and when they started class, I remained standing at the exterior part of the door. A certain man approached me and asked me whether or not I wanted to start class and my response was a quick positive. He ordered me to come with a pen, a pencil and an exercise book the following night. Now the future appeared to be bright. I started learning at night. But once upon a time, my peers in the Qur'anic school found me joining the night school which they considered it as a school for Christians. But the night school was teaching only reading and writing Amharic, English and arithmetic. My attendance in the "aschola" was heard by my Sheikh and I was asked to bring the exercise book and it was proved positive. Hence, I was punished severely. But I did not stop learning by hiding my exercise book under my clothes as far as I could. Since my peers were very cunning, they sometimes detect the hidden object and I was repeatedly beaten for that. But neither the Sheikh nor I was tired of the punishment. For me, both the modern school and the Qur'anic school were very vital to be sought after with whatever expense. That was what my childhood brain told me. Now I recognized that all that happened during the reign of the first few years of the reign of the Socialist system. What I was attending in the modern school was not a formal type. My parents were convinced to take me to the formal school three years after the down fall of the monarch.

While there were so many people who were banned from or delayed to join modern schools in the region due to parental religiousness, there were some fortunate Muslim people who were able to attend in the modern schools as mentioned earlier (Informant Said, October 1st 2012). Just like the Christian clergymen, certain Muslim Sheikhs (e.g. Hajji Muhammad Sani Habib) were also allowed to teach moral education in one of the modern schools in the region during the period of the monarch (Al-Quds Magazine, 2008:20).

When a proclamation was made to send children to schools as compulsory, Muslims established Islamic schools (ye Islam timihirt betoch). Consequently, the first official Madrasa school (Nadil Itifaq al-Islamiya) was established in 1910 (Nega, 1986). After that, many other schools were established: Salafiya School (1934); Jaliyya School (1942); Islam Timihirt Bet, Dessie (1936); Ustaz Ali (Awoliya School) (1962) ; Geyi Madrasa in Harar (1919) (Isaac, 2012:41-46).

Many of these schools encountered oppositions from their establishment to their Islamic nomenclatures (Isaac, 2012). After the madrasa school in Harar was accused of having link with the Somalia Youth Movement League, the incident was used as an opportunity to close all Islamic schools in the country. The then vice Minister of Education passed the following decisions in August 1940:

> First, all schools established in Harare should be administered by the Ministry of Education. Second, from now onward, no Muslims are allowed to open their own schools. Thirdly, Islamic schools in Addis Ababa, Dessie and Jimma are allowed to teach temporarily but they should change their names and gradually be made public schools without any religious differences. However, there were also other Islamic schools that were given recognition by the then MOE (Isaac, 2012:45).

The moral education that was given in modern schools was interrupted following the down fall of the monarch in 1974. The fate of the limited Islamic schools was not different because of the secular atheist socialist education system (Isaac, 2012). I understand that "modern education, which was resisted by the church and clergymen during its inception" (Hailegebriel, 1969:68), was also perceived by Muslims with suspicion for years.

The general tendency of modern education during the monarch was, like the state apparatus, in favor of the dominance of one faith group and hence, marginalized Muslims considerably. Instead of searching for common values of the two Abrahamic faiths so as to inculcate among the young generation the essence of good character, honesty, truthfulness, hospitability and other shared values, the two faiths were perceived as rivalry. Even worse, the essence of moral education was aborted when the atheist socialist regime came to power.

After the downfall of the Emperor Hailesselasie I, the Socialist System came to power. That resulted in the separation of Church and State in Ethiopia. Meanwhile Muslim parents started to send their children to the modern schools. The practice of associating modern education with disbelieve among Muslims is reduced. However, "since the Socialist regime was anti-organized religion, the resistance to modern education among Muslims did not vanish swiftly" (Informant Ato Endris, 10/08/ 2012). Even so, since

more schools were constructed than the previous regime somewhat closer to many Muslim communities, the number of Muslim children increased considerably compared to that the past. I myself along with thousands of others attended primary and secondary school during the Socialist period and joined college in 1991/92.

After the Socialist regime was toppled down in 1991 after a long civil war, the FDRE Government increased the access and equity of modern education in the region. Consequently, Muslim children flocked into the modern school without any fear of anti-religious ideology in an unprecedented manner in history.

> However, even to these days, the influence of Islam on modern education is negative i.e. since Islam acknowledges adolescence at age fifteen, many girls are subjected to early marriage and thereby forced to be dropouts without even completing grade eight (Informant Ato Endris, 10/08/ 2012).

It is not only Islam that acknowledges early marriage, however. Many traditional societies prefer early marriage until recently. Nonetheless, the claim of my research participant appeared to be true since it was difficult to find a Muslim girl educated more than grade eight before two decades in the region due to early marriage. A school teacher in Beke General Primary School in the region reports further: "Twenty-four girls were married before completing the second semester in my school during the 2013/14 academic year" (Informant: W/ro Asselefech, April 20, 2014). Even nowadays, despite the increasing trends of girls' participation with the help of legal protection of girls from early marriage, many Muslim girls are exposed to early marriage without even completing the general primary school. This is true especially in rural areas of Wallo, of course.

Although Islam asserts the fact that "Seeking Knowledge is obligatory on all Muslims" (Ibn Majah, Hadith, vol. 1 No, 224), and orders people to seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad-Zein, Dec. 15th 2012), there is a disconnection between Islamic education and Muslim's tradition in the region on this agenda. Most rural Muslims still cannot read and write as such. It is only in my age that most Muslims in the region began to develop trust in modern education. At the present, you can see Muslim graduates in different fields of study even from universities. That was not the case before two decades as such. In recent days, it is not uncommon to see young Muslims versed in both Islamic and modern education. "Muslims in the region also have started to think of Qur'anic education as reinforcement for further academic career in modern education" (Informant: Ato Endis,

10/08/2012). In that case, Islamic education is perceived to have positive influence on modern education despite the fact that this calls for further research.

Inclusion of Islamic Concepts and Personalities in the School Curricula

Whether it is due to the influence of Islam at global or local levels, modern school curricula at Regional as well as Federal levels incorporate Islamic history, places and personalities. The inclusion of Islamic history is not a recent phenomenon. Rather, it was started as modern education was expanding in the country in subjects like, Social Science, Geography and History especially during the reign of Emperor Hailessilasie I (1931-1974). Accommodation of Islamic history and the history of Ethiopian Muslims continued to the period of the Socialist regime and the present FDRE Government. I analyzed some of the texts of the school curricula in the region in both primary and secondary schools as a proof to increase my argument.

Islamic concepts were found specifically in subjects like Social Sciences (given from Grade 5 to Grade 8), Civics and Ethical Education (Grades 5 to 12), and History (Grades 9 to 12). While the subject Civics and Ethical education deals specifically with religious freedom and equality in general across grade levels, subjects like Social Sciences and History cover issues related to Islamic history, places and personalities. Let us see the ensuing specific examples.

The concept of religious equality is discussed in the subject Civics and Ethical Education for Grade Six (MOE, 2010: 28-29). World religions including Islam is discussed in the subject Social Science for Grade Eight (MOE, 2010: 15-16).

In certain grade levels (e.g. History for Grade 10), there is no discussion related to any religion or religious group at all. In other grade levels, details of explanations are given in some grade levels. For instance, History for Grade 11 presents very detailed history of Muslims states in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa up to 1529. The text particularly covers the rise and fall of the Sultanate of Shewa, the Sultanate of Ifat, the Sultanate of Hadya, the Sultanate of Bali, the Sultanate of Sharke, the Sultanate of Dawaro, the Sultanate of Dera, the Sultanate of Fatagar, the Sultanate of Arbabini, and the Sultanate of Adal (MOE, 2006:154-161).

History for Grade 12 also adds further stories about Harar Emirate and the Sheikhdoms of Asosa, Benishangul and Komosha (MOE, 2006: 8-11). The school curricula clearly depict how Islam and Muslims influenced Ethiopian history and its political atmosphere by establishing their own sultanates or Muslim kingdoms in the Kingdom.

One of the strength of the school curricula is the unbiased content coverage of Islamic history and Christianity. However, regional Islamic historical places and Muslim personalities (i.e. the shrines and Sheikhs) renowned in Wallo region or even in Amhara National Regional State are not addressed at all even at Primary School level. Instead of dealing with the history of Islam and Muslims in Wallo, the school textbooks deal with Islam and Muslims in other parts of Ethiopia (such as Harar and Jimma) while appropriately covering Christian heritages in the region. Student textbooks for the primary schools depict little or nothing about Islamic heritages in the region as if there were no Muslim Shrines and Muslim personalities which is not true.

There are also other cases that imply the influence of Islam on the education system in the region. These are the recent establishment of Madrasa schools in the region that provide modern education in line with the secular Ethiopian Education Policy (TGE, 1994); the provision of Arabic as a foreign language in these Madrassa; the establishment of Arabic language unit in Wallo University; the invitation for conduction of research workshop on Muslims' oral literature (Manzuma) in the university and so forth.
Moreover, graduate students in the field of anthropology, philology, history and sociology studied Islamic historiography and biography of Sheikhs for obtaining Bachelors, Master's and Doctoral degrees in the region although the area is still under researched (Hussein, 2001; Endris, 2004; Endris, 2003 and Gashaw, 1994).

Although it is known that the Education Policy clearly indicates the right of people to learn a foreign language of their choice other than English, private madrassa schools in the region which provide Arabic language as a school subject "are sometimes given letters to ban teaching Arabic for school children" (Informant Abdulmalik, June 24 2012) and at other times they are given permission to teach Arabic. A student in Grade Six said, "Whenever they want, they teach us Arabic; whenever they do not want, they stop teaching us Arabic" (Informant Shemsiyya, September 26, 2012).

The Controversy over School Dressing Code and School Prayers

Since Ethiopia is a multicultural country wherein different linguistic, ethnic and religious faith groups interacted and live together, so are its classrooms in different schools, colleges and universities. Consequently, you may find certain students who speak a different language, believe in a different faith system, and dressed somewhat differently from that of yours.

In recent years, it is not uncommon to hear controversies over school dressing and school prayers from students, teachers and even mass media. "The attempt to ban headscarves" specially the one worn by "female Muslim students (hijjab) in schools has been simmering for nearly twenty years" (Informant: Muhammad, a high school teacher, October 17th 2012). However, he added, since the students were reluctant to persist on wearing hijjab, the issue was simply neglected "once the headscarves are collected and burnt and/or thrown into the garbage". Nowadays, following the religious revival in the region, the issue of school dressing (like hijjab) has become one of the top agenda in schools, colleges and even universities. Even the FDRE Ministry of Education of Ethiopia has also been said to be concerned and thereby developed a draft entitled "A Guideline for Worshipping in Educational Institutions" in 2007 and 2009. According to the draft guideline, within the educational institution, the following acts and behaviors are forbidden: wearing a religious hat, gabi, holding a long walking stick (maquwamiya), praying in groups (salat-al-jama'a), visiting colleagues (ziyara) on religious grounds and wearing niqab (face cover) (MOE, 2009). Commenting on the guideline, one of my research participant reports:

> The guideline draft which was sent from the Ministry of Education in order to ban worship practices is directed to discriminate Muslims since the ban specifically reiterates jama'a salat and wearing niqab. The ban on holding maquwamiya usually used by Orthodox Christians is not after all a common practice in modern educational institutions except on holydays. Besides that, holding a walking stick and wearing a gabi (natala) are not as such serious religious practices as salat (Informant: Ahmad, November 12th 2012).

I understand that any religious artifact has got its own priceless values and meaning for a particular faith group. But I do not think all religious behaviors of a particular faith group are equally important: some could be mandatory while others are optional. For instance, the act of wearing niqab (face cover) for female Muslims is not obligatory. Nevertheless, covering the hair and the rest part of her body except her hand and face is obligatory for a mature, sane woman (Qur'an, al-Nur: 30-31). What the guidelines ban is niqab and not the hijjab. This is appreciable and Muslims should applaud the approval of wearing hijjab by the MOE.

From Muslims perspective, the most serious issue is the issue of banning jama'a salat. This calls for asking "What is salat for a Muslim?" There is a prophetic hadith that states, "the demarcation between being a Muslim and a non-Muslim is salat" (Informant: Abdullah, December 22nd 2012).

Another question that deserves asking is "Why the MOE banned worship practices in educational institutions?" The draft guideline mentions the reasons: first, education is secular; second, religious gatherings could create further divisions; third, religious activities in schools may create religious fundamentalism and extremism; competition and violence (MOE, 2009; Isaac, 2012: 261). I understand that if the practice of worshipping does really exacerbate extremism, violence and terrorism instead of mutual respect, mutual tolerance and peaceful co-existence, then, it is time to rethink over the agenda. However, research participants told me that the ban was done out of the blue (Informant: Kedir, September 27th 2012).

Here, the research participant raised crucial issues from religious perspective. I understand that devoted Muslims stop or miss performing salat only when they die (Qur'an, 15:99). Even prisoners in Guantanamo Bay (Cuba) are allowed to perform salat (Kurnaz in Binyam, 2010:130). This is true here in Ethiopia as well. "There is a mosque and a church in the prison in Dessie. We prisoners performed salat with freedom" (Informant: Sitrallah, December 29th 2012). So do Muslim combatants in battle fields. Even sick people at their death beds perform salat in a laying position. However, what the administrators of universities and schools are saying is that in a secular institution no religious worship should be done. The constitution of the FDRE government enshrined under Article 11 that the government (and the education system) is secular. Nonetheless, other than the non-interference of the state in religious affairs and religion in state affairs, the constitution "fails to elaborate the specific meaning of secularism" (Isaac, 2012:261). Hence, it is imperative to see the experience of certain more secular and democratic states than Ethiopia.

To begin with, in USA many states allowed group prayers. The major challenge to democracy in America is not school prayers and niqab; it is gun shooting even in schools and the classrooms (Burstyn et al, 2001:1). America is a secular state. But most of its educational institutions allow Muslims to perform prayer by providing prayer and ablution rooms. Muslims students are allowed to perform salat even in Catholic schools in a particular room made for that purpose (Isaac, 2012). This contradicts the discourse in Ethiopia.

France is also a secular state. Wearing hijjab in educational and other public institutions is banned across the board. Wearing a cross is also equally banned in such institutions in France. However, India is also a secular state. But Indian government, despite the plurality of faiths more than any other nation in the world, recognizes the value of its religious values and heritages. Consequently, the Indian government subsidizes and constructs worship houses and mosques (Isaac, 2012:262). An Ethiopian student in one of the universities of Europe, University of Twente, Netherlands, reports:

> By the time you arrived in the university campus, you will see a roadmap of the institution. On the map you can see clearly where the mosque is located. In the University of Twente, it is located at the third floor; just at the midway for those living upstairs and downstairs. The mosque is well furnished with Islamic books, CDs, and DVD's. It has got ablution rooms, bathrooms, WC and all what is needed in a modern mosque for Muslims. You have complete freedom to practice your faith (Informant: Abebe, a PhD student, May 21st 2013).

In Canada, educational institutions have started giving Muslims houses for worship purpose. Muslims in Europe and America are not more than five percent whereas Ethiopian Muslims constitute thirty four percent of its population according to the 2007 census. Research participants argue that unlike our foreign equals we do not demand the government to build a mosque inside an educational institution but we demand just the permission to perform salat and still there is no positive response. The secularization of education in the Ethiopian constitution under Article 90 (2), Muslims argue, should not be interpreted as secularizing students (Hussein, 2007; Isaac, 2012).

Following the banning of niqab and jama'a salat in educational institutions, especially in colleges and universities, certain number of students boycotted schooling. This is naïve since it contradicts the value of education in Islamic teachings. A fourth year engineering student reports:

> Most of the bans on both niqab and salat-al-jama'a are enforced deliberately during mid or final exams. This is done for the purpose of disturbing the psychological make-up of Muslim students. I am compelled to conclude so following the dismissal of hundreds of Muslim students from the Bahir Dar University during the first semester of this academic year. A convoy from the Amhara Regional State Bureau came to the University. When the students demanded for the permission of praying in the institution and otherwise they will be forced to leave the campus, the response from government members were provoking the students to leave the campus peacefully instead of meeting their demands since that is the best means to 'avoid violence'. That is disturbing for me (Andargachew, December 15th 2012).

Like a new album, the news this day is about terrorists, extremists and fundamentalists.

> Nine students spoiled the spaghetti food served to them in one of the regional universities recently. Instead of categorizing this problem as disciplinary one, the notice board reads 'nine extremists spoiled food and they are banned from the University'. Fortunately, several of these students were non-Muslims. Had they been all Muslims, they would have been taken to Akaki Prison sued for terrorist acts (Informant Amar, December 27th 2012).

There are many stories related to the banning of female students in relation to hijjab. Six female students in Wallo University (Kombolcha Campus) were first accused of violating the dressing codes and later taken to the Federal Prison in Addis Ababa for "more serious crimes":

> These female Muslim students were first banned from the university by a letter written by the then President. The reason for the ban was wearing niqab and gloves. But none of these students and even no one else in the campus wears the head and face cover, niqab. Actually these female students were the first to wear hijjab in the short life span of the campus. To the dismay of the university administration, as the news of the ban of the students due to hijjab was heard, the hijjab wearers increased from six to thirty-eight. These new hijjab wearers were also banned from class but not dismissed unlike the former ones. The former students applied for the MOE to be readmitted and their appeal was accepted by the MOE since the students only wear hijjab, not niqab. Since the students missed one semester, the letter they were given by MOE compelled the administration of the university to compensate the missed semester by giving tutorial and thereby it allocated 128,000 birr for lecturers. In this way the six students compensated the lost instructional time. But the administration was disappointed by the loss of the battle. Hence, it designed another drama with a third party. The six students were invited for a certain party prepared for them as an excuse for the wrong doings of the university administration. The students first refused the invitation but after a daylong negotiation, the six students went out of the campus for the orchestrated invitation. Sooner than later, all the six students were hijacked by certain security forces and taken to Kality prison in Addis Ababa. They were accused of acts of extremism and terrorism just only for wearing hijjab which is even allowed by the MOE. After a couple of months in prison, the students were released from the prison and they missed once again final exams. These students suffered due to false allegations. By now, three of them have graduated while a couple of them are still attending their school. Had it been today, none of these students might be readmitted even for false charges (Informant: Ato Jamal, December 2nd 2012).

The controversy on dressing style appeared following the introduction of the western style of dressing and the revival of Islam which created considerable awareness on women to cover their bodies except their faces and hands (palms). "Hijjab increases my beauty and serves me as a defense from harassment in addition to my fulfillment of religious obligation" reports a third year university student (Hayat, December, 13th 2012). Islamic scholars also applaud hijjab as a means to protect women from being raped by not only hooligans but also indecent bosses (Naik, 2007:19; Ahmadin, 2007). In contrast, Muslim women wearing hijjab are being insulted by street vagabonds, drunkards and discriminated along urban streets (Isaac, 2012).

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Thus, Instead of beating around the bush, the real danger of salat in public institutions should be investigated including how many people were injured by the salat. My research participants told me that they only demanded performing salat but not a mosque in the institutions since they can do it in any open space.

In sum, I understand that Muslim students have the right to demand permission to perform salat-al-jama'a in higher institutions. Until the administration feels safe, secure and willing, however, Muslims should not dropout of universities and colleges until justice is made through negotiation with stakeholders. They should rather convince others their peacefulness. They should prove to others that performing salat does not mean extremism or terrorism. Regarding the ruling on hijjab, I found the regulation in the draft of the MOE and Wallo University acceptable since it allows covering the whole body except the face and the hands. Moreover, the disciplinary guideline-document of Wallo University also bans indecent nudity that contradicts local decency. Higher Education Institutions should also make the dressing codes clear to the students early rather than confusing students during exam times. The secularization of educational system which is welcomed by all Ethiopians need also be discussed whether it includes secularization of students as well which, I think, is not the case. School dressing code guidelines should also be developed at different levels since certain hate-mongers suppress school children burning their headscarves as I observed in certain schools in the region.

Conclusions

The purpose of this Chapter was to highlight the influence of Islamic education on modern education. To do so, I analyzed three issues only since its impact is not as such huge: Muslims' attitude to modern education and their participation; inclusion of Islamic history and concepts in the modern school curricula and the controversy over school dressing code and school prayers.

Regarding the attitude of Muslims towards modern education, it was not different from their non-Muslim neighbors: they had negative attitudes. While the resistance and negative attitudes of the Church diminished through times as it stretched its hands into the State apparatus, Muslims remained at distant looking modern education with suspicion. Their low interest to modern education was aggravated by the discriminatory system of the monarch. Especially the religious anthem that was sung during flag ceremonies aggravated their suspicion and they went to the extreme that attending modern education was considered as an outright disbelief. For this reason, many parents, particularly during the reign of the monarch, abstained from sending their children to schools. However, there were exceptional, far-

sighted and forbearing Muslims, including certain prominent Islamic scholars in the region, who allowed their children to join modern schools after they completed the basic Qur'anic and sometimes Fiqh education, of course so that their children could not easily be attracted and thereby converted to other faiths. Anyways, the educational participation rate of Muslims in modern education was very low.

When the imperial monarch was toppled down by the socialist system of governance in 1974, the separation of State and church appeared to be attracting many Muslims children to the modern schools since there was no more religious anthem. That gave Muslims the opportunity even to be recruited in the military and other public institutions which gave the impetus to relatively higher participation of Muslims in the schools. However, since the socialist system itself was anti-organized religions, Muslims were still dubious about the essence of modern education. I remember the last words of advice of my father: "if they teach you anything about Allah contradicting the Qur'an, never believe them but take care so that they will not force you to repeat grades because of your religious attitude".

High participation of Muslims in modern schools (from primary schools to tertiary levels) appeared to be realized during the present FDRE government. Even so, many Muslims still prefer dropping out of school and joining the world of work (mainly business) instead of earning degrees in many cases. Those who graduated from colleges and universities still prefer other occupations instead of being civil servants which is not good for the Ummah.

In Islam the lowest age limit to be young adult is fourteen for both girls and boys. Consequently, there is high rate of early marriage especially for girls before joining secondary schools. This reduced the participation of Muslim girls in secondary schools in the region. This negative impact still persisted despite the interference of the government to rebuff early marriage in the region.

Another area of the influence of Islam (Islamic education) on modern education, as mentioned earlier, is the inclusion of Islamic history and concepts in the school curricula at regional (and Federal) level. The analysis of subjects like Social Studies and Civic and Ethical Education across grade levels revealed the inclusion of contents like "religious equality" and "world religions" including Islam. More detail presentations and explanations on the history of the Muslim Sultanates in Ethiopia (and the Horn of Africa) are given in History textbooks (Grades 11 and 12). Almost thirteen Muslim Sultanates and emirates are discussed in these two grade levels depicting how Islam and Muslims influenced the medieval politics of the country.

The establishment of private Madrasa schools, the provision of the Arabic language as a school subject in such schools, the conduction of academic research on Islam and Muslim clerics and their cultural heritages in universities in different departments (like History, Sociology, Political Science and International Relations, Philology, Anthropology etc.) depict the ever increasing presence and impact of Islam on modern education directly or indirectly.

The final contested issue I discussed in this Chapter is related to school dressing and prayers. Following the religious freedom and religious revival in the region, Muslim students have started to display their Islamic identity even in school dressing and prayers (salat). Certain Muslim girls have also started wearing school uniforms with hijjab (head cover) and still very few others wear niqab (face veil) and they also started performing congregation prayers until the ban was levied on them in 2009 in the region since schools and universities are secular public institutions. For about two decades, there were no controversies in universities regarding salat. When I was a student in Bahr Dar University, Muslims were given a dormitory as a mosque by the administration. But now that is not the case due to the ban on such acts.

Following the ban on the face veil and the congregation prayer in educational institutions in the region, many girls and certain boys boycotted schools and universities and colleges after, of course, they were accused of spreading "extremism" and jailed temporarily.

It is naïve to boycott schooling for the simple reason that the face-veil is banned since MOE approved the wearing of hijjab (head cover) despite the fact that the ban on congregation prayer is a serious matter from Muslims perspective. This could also be temporarily accepted instead of withdrawals from schools and universities while continuing the demand for it until the MOE feel safe, secure and willing. In sum, though limited it is, Islam and Islamic education appear to be influencing modern education in the region by the inclusion of its contents in the school curricula, revelation of Muslims cultural values through school dressing and school disciplinary rules.

CHAPTER TWELVE: INTERFAITH PRACTICES: DIETARY, MARRIAGE AND HEALING TRADITIONS

Introduction

Muslims were pessimistic towards modern education especially at its inception like their non-Muslim neighbors. Most Muslim parents, particularly during the reign of the monarch, abstained from sending their children to schools. As a result, the educational participation rate of Muslims in modern education was very low.

Their attitude and participation appeared to be improved during the period of the Socialist governance. However, since the socialist system itself was anti-organized religions, Muslims were still doubtful about the essence of modern education. High and genuine participation of Muslims in modern schools (from primary schools to tertiary levels) appeared to be realized during the present FDRE government despite the preference of many Muslims to drop out of school and join the world of work (mainly business) even today.

Although with limited extent, Islam and Islamic education emerge to be influencing modern education in the region by the inclusion of Islamic history and Muslim personalities and Islamic contents in the school curricula along with revelation of Muslims cultural values through school dressing and school disciplinary rules as explained in Chapter Eleven. The increasing demand of Muslims for more public space, influenced by Islamic injunctions, resulted in the depiction of their values in many aspects of life.

The objective of this Chapter is to explore the interfaith influences with particular reference to dietary practice, interfaith marriage and interfaith healing traditions.

Interfaith Dietary Practice

Meat slaughtered by Christians is not traditionally eaten by Muslims while at the same time the meat slaughtered by the Muslims is not also eaten by (Orthodox) Christians. More recently, however, certain people from the young generations of the two faith groups in the region have started eating meat slaughtered by either of them. Protestants and many young Salafis share such food items more than any religious group in the region. Young Muslims often quote from the Qur'an: "the food (slaughtered cattle, eatable animals) of the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians) is lawful to you [Muslims]

and yours is lawful to them [Jews and Christians]" (Qur'an, 5:5). Rural Muslims, and mainstream Muslims in urban areas, of course, oppose the acts of the young generation.

> Nowadays, many Muslims eat meat in Christian hotels such as Aytegeb Hotel in Dessie. Once upon a time, I went to the hotel and all of a sudden I met my Muslim colleagues who were eating lunch and shamelessly they invited me to eat the meat slaughtered by a Christian. I responded: 'You guzzle it! It cannot pass through my throat'. Both young and adult Muslims who have passed certain level of modern education almost indiscriminately eat the meat from a Christian butchery or hotel. 'Allah will ask us about what we did, not what we ate. The Qur'an and the Hadith also never ban meat slaughtered by Christians', claimed young Muslims. Similarly, many Protestants and a few Orthodox Union Christians are also eating meat slaughtered by Muslims. The same do Muslims. I also suspect you eating meat from Christian hotels, don't you? [She asked me laughing] [I nodded my head in response.] Of course, you do. You all guzzle that meat! Your colleagues also do the same. You all are shameless and that surprises me! (Informant: W/rit Kubra, November 15th 2012).

For rural Muslims and Christians, this kind of dietary practice is unpalatable probably due to prolonged years of segregation on sharing that sort of food. However, neighboring countries and that of Muslims and non-Muslims abroad do not have different butchery in most cases based on religious affiliations.

The Practice of Interfaith Marriage

Interfaith marriage, which is also traditionally called mixed marriage, refers to marriage between partners professing different religions, Islam and Christianity, in this case. Interfaith marriage typically connotes a marriage in which both partners remain adherents to their distinct religion, and as such it is distinct from concepts of religious conversion.

Islamic Law has different regulations on interfaith marriage, depending on which of the two spouses is Muslim. A primary legal concern is that the children are assured to all be Muslim. Islamic Law permits a Muslim man to marry up to four non-Muslim women from the People of the Book (that is, Christians and Jews), however, they must be chaste and all of the children usually must be brought up Muslim. Nevertheless, Muslim women are prohibited by Islamic Law from marrying outside of Islam (Qur'an, 5:5). Islamic scholars like Philips (2006) contends that the verse that permits Muslim men to marry non-Muslim women is not valid anymore today due to several reasons including its misunderstood interpretation.

Marriage between Muslim woman and a non-Muslim man is possible only in the condition if he accepts Islam completely so that he shall boycott the other faith and believe only in what Allah says and what is

written in the Qur'an. "If he accepts it just for the sake of marriage, the marriage will not be possible i.e. it is religiously illegal" (Informant: Sheikh Ahmed, January 1st 2013).

Some churches may forbid interfaith marriage, drawing from 2 Corinthians 6:14, and in some cases Deuteronomy 7:3, depending on the interpretation of these scriptures. Such marriage is supported indirectly by part of the Pauline privilege, with the central sentence: "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified through his (believing) wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified through her believing husband" (1 Corinthians 7:12–14).

As it is implied in the religious scriptures of both faith groups, the issue of interfaith marriage is allowed based on certain prerequisites, especially in Islam. Mainstream Muslims and Christians also relentlessly condemn interfaith marriage in the region. Despite condemnations from families, neighbors and friends, there are many cases of the practice of interfaith marriage in the region.

> In urban areas, the tradition of interfaith marriage is developing. My own relative named W/ro Fantaye is a Muslim. She is married to a Protestant Christian named Ato Girma without the consensus of her families here in Dessie. This couple has got two children so far. Whenever, the family needs meat, W/ro Fantaye called for a Muslim to slaughter the animal at hand since her husband does not mind eating meat slaughtered by Muslims. Her relatives are, however, constantly nagging her either to divorce him or convince him to change his religion.
>
> Another couple who are also my own friends live in Woldiya. Ato Said is a Muslim but his wife, W/ro Almaz is a Christian. Whenever her husband goes for field works to a far off areas, his wife prepares food slaughtered by Christians but in his presence they eat meat slaughtered by a Muslim. Hence, I know many Muslim and Christian people who are married despite their difference in faith (Informant: W/rit Kubra, November 15th 2012).

I know also a couple who is married despite their religious differences. The husband is a Muslim while the wife is a Christian. In spite of the fact that the Muslim family of the husband demands him to attract her into Islam and the Christian family of the wife demands her to attract him to Christianity. The two families even advise the couple to choose either Christianity or Islam. The couple, however, seems to be negligent and live their own life without any difficulty so far as their faiths are concerned.

Many of the couples within interfaith marriages, however, appear to be ignorant of what the religious scriptures recommends. They are simply attracted to each other due to love. The frequent interaction of the two interfaith groups at schools, market places and in the overall daily activities, young men and women from the two faith groups "fall in love with one another and they get married" (Teshome,

2012:54). According to my research participants, interfaith marriages are relatively more common in urban areas than in rural ones. The problem of interfaith marriage is mostly created not when they live together but when one of the couple dies due to controversy where to bury the body (in a Church grave yard or in a Muslim graveyard) (Informant: Belaynesh April 23rd 2012).

All in all, the tradition of interfaith marriages is becoming common these days compared to the past despite the fact that it is mainly conducted in disguised forms especially in urban areas. The role of interfaith marriage for maintaining one's religious identity and increasing the window of tolerance to the other faith group, however, is immense.

Health Care Practice

Both the extended as well as the recently introduced nuclear family are responsible for the health and well-being of each member. Whenever a person from the family is sick, the first measure most of the people in the locality take is using traditional herbs and holy water despite the fact that there are also many people who rely on modern biomedical medicines. I understand that almost all people in the region use both the traditional as well as the modern medicine for treating patients (Conrad and Kern, 1994; Zerihun, 2005).

Indigenous Healing

In Wallo, as elsewhere in Ethiopia, alternative forms of healing exist alongside the modern biomedical system. In case of healing diseases and other kinds of afflictions, it has been and still widely is the norm that people first had recourse to healers and traditional medicine, before they looked for modern medicine.

> Whenever we get sick, we first of all perform *wodaja* as an attempt to cure the sick. After we repeatedly tried the wodaja and if the patient is not cured, then we take the patient to the nearby clinic or hospital. That is our tradition (Informant: Hussein, October 14th 2012).

I have even observed that those people who give preference to the modern biomedical treatments eventually resort to traditional healers (both herbalists and spiritualists) whenever the medications in hospitals and clinics fail to cure their illnesses.

The concept of healers includes various types of specialists, most of them connected to magic and/or the religious sphere. Healers may be herbalists, spirit mediums (spirit possession cults), priests,

sheikhs, fuqras or traditional scholars and other people who are believed to be possessors of special skills and a certain connection to the supernatural. However, traditional healing is not only of a spiritual nature but also includes methods such as the use of bleeding, herbal medicine and massage, which are widely practiced and can be most effective (Assefa, 1992; Zeinu, 2009).

In their miraculous healing, Muslim (and non-Muslim) holy men/women commonly employed recitation of certain verses and chapters of the Qur'an (the Bible), bathing the patient with the water on which the Qur'an is recited, soil from saintly places, prayers (such as wodaja), and amulets, as curative devices. Four models of healing may help to explain the continuum within the Muslim communities in the region. The first model might be described as Islamic healing. This includes the recitation of the holy Qur'an, bathing the patient with the water on which the Qur'an is recited by pious Sheikh or Ustaz or a Dacon (who reads texts from Christains' holy books). This is the tradition from the life time of Prophet Muhammad and it is verified in the Qur'an itself and in the Prophetic Sunnah in the case of Muslims (Redwan and Abu Usama, 2007:12-27; Al Jewziy' in Ahmed, 2011).

The second model concerns the healing practice of certain Sufi "Sheiks" (or Deacons called Dabtaras locally), some of whom engage in occult (involving supernatural or magic) or herbal healing or both. The best example for this type of healing is the works of the fuqras. The fuqras are often believed to nurture evil and other evil spirits, who are said to advise them on appropriate treatment options for clients just like the Dabtaras in Christianity. Sometimes such a spirit might direct the fuqra to concoct an herbal remedy, or make an amulet that the patient can wear around his/her waist or neck or write a magic scroll that may be attached to the body or placed in the house of the afflicted individual. Some even trail lines on the soil or read cups on which coffee was just served or open a certain book that shows predictions to indicate what the client should do and should not do (for example, traveling to a certain holy spring, slaughtering an animal usually a sheep, a goat or a chicken with black, white and red colors). One of the informants described a similar scenario:

> While I was a religious student, I went to northern Wallo (east of Wuchalle) to collect tooth-sticks to be sold. All of a sudden, I felt hungry and I went to a certain house and said 'aselamu alykum' as a sign for begging certain food as it is known in the vicinity. The residents of the house invited me to enter the house. To my dismay, I was given not food but six differently colored chickens to be slaughtered for the zar of the women. I told them that I do not know how to slaughter chickens. But they insisted me to do so. In the meantime, I hesitated to escape from the compound but I observed that the man was sitting displaying his spear and

sword. My body was soon covered with sweat. Now I learned that I have no mechanism to escape but cut the necks of these chickens.

The woman presented me six chickens with different colors 'rahilo' (white), 'chenger' (white and black), 'anbeso' (red) 'tikur bala' (black) and the like. I never experienced such an incident before. The woman seems to have taken orientation about which color of chicken is to be slaughtered and which follows. She picks up the chicken and brings it closer to her mouth, feeds her saliva to it from her mouth and then she rotates the chicken first over her head and then around her body three times and utters 'please, help me to stay in good health up to next year and then I will also slaughter for you by then' and eventually she handed it to me and I slaughter it. When I slaughter the first chicken in the proper Islamic way by cutting its neck as soon as possible, the woman screamed at me saying 'you spoiled it'. But I told her that I do not know how the zar-chickens are slaughtered and I finished my job at once and left that house without tasting a morsel of bread in spite of their invitation. When I informed the case to my friends, they told me that the zar-animals are slaughtered based on the instructions of the fuqras and magicians in a non-Islamic manner, by letting the blood of the animal to trickle down slowly so as to be collected by the woman with a container made of leaves to be preserved and probably used latter. Because of that, both the meat and the blood of the animal are not lawful in Islam. The illiterate Muslims learn such non-Islamic ways of slaughtering animals for chelle, rahilo and mawokal from the fuqras and magicians who claimed to be Muslims by lip-service (Informant: Sheikh Seid, December 2nd 2012).

The fuqras and qalichas (and the dacons) can be consulted for relieving from Satan (jin), searching for lost property (e.g. money, cattle), making rain, stopping rain (whenever there is too much flood), making a person rich, healthy and/or fertile (Informant: W/ro Zewdie, November 16th 2012). While some of such necessities (e.g. the need of rain during drought) can be sought by properly Islamic supplication (performing Salatal istisqah), the so called fuqras and their associates tend to practice non-Islamic acts:

Sheikh Hassen Kedijo is a famous scholar on the exegesis of the Qur'an next to Sheikh Adam Mussa. When the people from the vicinity gathered for Salatal Eid during Eid al-Fatir, he teaches the people about their non-Islamic acts. 'You qalichas and fuqras! You gather at the *barigaz* (a place for making sacrifice) and then make sacrifices that are not legally slaughtered and then you let the illiterate farmers eat the impurities. For getting rain, it is allowed in Islam to perform salat and then supplicate to God. It is not allowed in Islam to make sacrifices for getting rain. There is no evidence for that in Islamic sources (Kutub). Fortunately, the rain failed to fall. Had it rained, you would have said you made the rain'. Shame on you!

You illiterate farmers! You put your head turban and go to the *barigez* and cry your eyes out there. Instead of crying for the idols, you have to perform your salat properly…. If you refuse to refrain from worshipping and making sacrifices for the idol, I will see the Sheikh who will perform prayers whenever you die.' In this way, he warned the people to stop worshiping idols contrary to the works of the fuqras and qalichas (Informant: Sheikh Seid, December 2nd 2012).

This proves that Sufi Ulemas oppose the acts of fuqras and magicians (Hussein, 1988:189) since their acts are not supported by the Qur'an and the Prophetic Sunnah in the same way as the synods or

priests oppose such acts in Christianity. Since there are so many local people who excessively practice such healing traditions, stakeholders on health issues should attend the works of such fuqras (and other bala wuqabi) for any degenerative health practices before it is too late to correct.

The third model is the institution called wodaja. Wodaja is a ceremony of prayer and supplication and it is synonymous with *qimhah* [chewing chat] (Hussein, 1988:196). During the qimhah, a large quantity of chat and coffee is consumed by the abagar (a leader of a ritual ceremony like Wodaja) and other senior men who make *chat* an object of worship instead of a means to worship and supplication, unlike ancient Sufis.

The wodaja can also be run by a large assembly of women called Duberti or Ruffo, which performed functions analogous to the men's supplication (Hussein, 1988:189). The Wodaja is conducted whenever a family or member of a family is ill or afflicted with certain physical, social or even economic problems.

Unlike herbalists who mainly depend on plants, minerals and parts of animals, birds and insects, spiritual healers, both men and women, in the region use different mechanisms to initiate healing: "chewing chat, smoking incense, clapping, dancing, drumming, playing flute, or *masinko* [a guitar like local musical instrument with two separate strings]" (Informant: W/ro Zewdie November 16th 2012).

The fourth model could be, as implied above, the healers without any religious function but with special knowledge of treatments, normally passed from father or mother to son and/or daughter. Herbs, butter, parts of animals, and minerals can be applied by them (Assefa, 1992). In addition to diseases, the herbalists may also treat infertility, contraception and abortion (Lonfernini, 1997:133-44). One unpleasant practice on the transmission of traditional medicine-knowhow from the parent to the child is that parents kept their knowledge secretive and tell secretes of herbs only to one of their offspring. I found that hiding wisdom from people is irritating.

Traditional medicine in the region is rooted in the culture, family, community, local materials, and social practices of the people, lending them a holistic view of illness (emphasizing treatment of the whole person, including body and mind). Their concerns about bodily well-being cannot be separated from their social, philosophical, and spiritual beliefs or from their understanding of the causes of their everyday problems. Illness is seen as a type of misfortune, the roots of which lie in a multitude of physical, spiritual, and social wrongdoings.

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Interfaith Healing Practice

I have attempted to explain earlier the interfaith marriage issue in the region. I also mentioned the budding stage of interfaith feeding practice (sharing meat slaughtered according to either of the faiths). All this imply how Muslims and Christians are living with mutual respect, cooperation, and mutual tolerance. Moreover, I learned the practice of interfaith spiritual healing practice as well which is very fascinating.

Before dealing with interfaith healing practices, I found it imperative to say a word about the herbalists. In Wallo (as in the rest part of Ethiopia), both Muslims and Christians have got the tradition of getting treatment from the herbalists and *wogeshas* (bone setters). "It is a common practice that Muslims get treatment from the Christian-herbalists and the Christian get treatments from the Muslim-herbalists" (Informant: Sheikh Ahmed, January 25th 2013). The people in the vicinity get treatments from the indigenous healers of the two faith groups not only for humans but also for their animals.

What is more surprising is the practice of the two faith groups to search for spiritual treatment form the other faith practices. One of the common spiritual institutions frequently used for healing practice by the people in the vicinity is wodaja. Wodaja is performed by a group of male or female qamate (chat chewers). Mainstream Muslims almost invariably practice wodaja whenever they are afflicted with diseases or any other calamities. Certain Christians also invite the qamate (Muslim wodaja doers such as abagars, qalichas, and /or fuqras or dubartis).

> When I was a religious student in Tita learning from Sheikh Genfoch, there was a Christian merchant who annually comes to the Sheikh with two big he-goats and a big bundle of chat as gifts to the Sheikh. The Sheikh supplicate to the Christian merchant saying 'let you live longer; let you be profitable; let you be healthy; let Allah make you rich; let Allah keep diseases away from you and your family; let Allah give you *hidaya* and so forth. In all of these good wishes the man says 'amen' continuously. Hence, many Christians invite Muslims to perform wodaja (du'a). This is a common tradition in this region (Informant: Sheikh Endris, November 14th 2012).

Another informant also told me even a priest who serves in one of the churches in Dessie invites Muslims for performing wodaja on yearly basis.

> The priest conducts the wodaja, not here in Dessie town, but at the suburb called Boru Meda with his families, not to be recognized by his colleagues. The priest yearly buys a goat which has got three colors of which black, white, and red are equally distributed all over its body. Then around 4:00 pm the goat is slaughtered and the feast is served at dusk. All the people in

the neighborhood are invited. Local beer (tela) and bread is also served. The wodaja is performed with a huge consummation of chat and the supplication takes over the whole night (Informant: Mekonnen, November 15th 2012).

A related story was told by another informant:

> Of all the wodajas I have done, the best one is the one that is done for a Christian. The Christian frequently invite me for wodaja during Pagume [the thirteenth Ethiopian month]. During this time, I am invited to participate in the wodaja for five or sometimes six consecutive days and nights together with my colleagues. What makes such wodajas the best is not only we are given some amount of money but after we have eaten the feast two or three times, the host collects all the meat and *injera* and gives us to take it to our homes since the Christians do not eat the meat slaughtered by a Muslim (Informant: Sheikh Seid, November 21st 2012).

The wodaja performers usually do a lot of supplications for the host: "Let you be healthy; let you be free from evil eyes; let you be free from magicians; let you be profitable in your business; let you live long" (informant: W/ro Tsehay, November 13th 2012).

While the wodaja ceremonies can be performed by fuqras, magicians and qalichas, it can also be run by the commoners (both Muslims and Christians) since its purpose is for good wishing to the host. However, when a person (either Christian or Muslim) is sick of "evil spirits", a special group of qamate (chat chewers) is invited in order to perform exorcism (driving out evil spirits). As a matter of tradition, this cannot be done by the commoners.

Another area of interfaith healing practice is related to using the holy water either from mosques, churches or holy springs. The common Muslim holy springs are Sheikh Ali Jirru (Bilen), Harbu *fil wuha* (hot spring) and Gattira (in Wurgessa, north Wallo). Both Muslims and Christians take baths in such springs usually under the prescription of the *fuqras* or *dabtaras*. Churches like Emanuel and Tekle Haimanot have got their own holy spring.

> Muslims usually come and take baths using the holy water from Gabriel Church, and Emmanuel Church. Since the priests do not approach patients in Emmanuel holy water, many Muslims prefer taking baths here in order to get cure from their sickness. Tekle Haimanot holy water is also believed to cure any sort of wounds and both Muslims and Christians take bath here as well. The priest massages the wound with the cross and Muslims also get the service.

> Here in Dessie as well as in Tossa Felana, Muslims go to Christian holy waters while Christians also go to Muslim holy springs to get spiritual treatment. Both sheikhs and priests give the service without any discrimination. Whenever the Christians or Muslims want to go to a certain holy spring, first they draw a lottery i.e. they first write the names of the famous holy springs

(Emmanuel, Teklehaimanot, Gebriel Toleha, Shiekh Ali Jiru, etc.) and then draw one out of the available ones and got the luckiest lot. (Informant: W/ro Zewdie, November 16th 2012).

This kind of interfaith healing tradition was also reported in a study conducted by Slikkerveor (1990:200) who states that "Muslims seeking a healing sometimes consult Christian holy men" in Gondar despite the limitation of the study to report the fact that Christians also consult Muslim holy men/women for healing purposes.

I understand that both Muslims and Christians, in addition to practicing interfaith healing modalities, they also practice like zar, mewokal, and chelle. These acts, I presume, are neither supported by Christianity nor by Islam. It seems to me rather the influences of the pre-Christianity and pre-Islamic traditional practices mainly associated with ancestral worships.

Neighborhoodliness

Neighbourhoodliness is one of the major social values that is given credence and high importance in Islam as in other religion. Muslims are constantly warned not to strain their relationships with their neighbors irrespective of differences in their religion, social status, ethnicity and language. Islam allows even to allow his/her neighbor to fix a wooden peg on his/her wall {whenever constructing a house] (e.g. Sahih Bukhari, 3:643). Islam also orders Muslim women not to look down any gift from their neighbors even if the gift is as small as the trotters of a sheep [fleshless part of the legs] (Sahih Bukhari, 3:740). There are innumerable injunctions from the Prophet on this regard:

> The Prophet said, Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day should not hurt (trouble) his neighbor (Sahih Al-Bukhari Hadith, 7:114); Gabriel continued to recommend me about treating the neighbors kindly and politely so much so that I thought he would order me to make them as my heirs (Sahih Al-Bukhari Hadith, 8:43);by Allah, he does not believe! By Allah, he does not believe! By Allah, he does not believe!" It was said, "Who is that, O Allah's Apostle? He said, 'That person whose neighbor does not feel safe from his evil' (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 8:45); Anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day should not harm his neighbor, and anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day should entertain his guest generously and anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day should talk what is good or keep quiet (i.e. abstain from all kinds of evil and dirty talk). (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 8:47); anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day, should serve his neighbor generously, and anybody who believes in Allah and the Last Day should serve his guest generously by giving him his reward (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 8:48); Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should serve his guest generously; and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should unite the bond of kinship (i.e. keep good relation with his kith and kin); and whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, should talk what is good or keep quiet (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 8:160).

Consequently, the people who belong to the two faith groups have got strong intimacy and love to their neighbors irrespective of their differences in their religion. Both urban and rural Muslims and Christians participate in holydays, weddings and burial ceremonies and other festivals.

> During a Christian wedding, the host prepares feast for both Christian and Muslim neighbors slaughtering animals in their respective faiths. Similarly during a Muslim wedding, the host prepares the feast for both Christian and Muslim neighbors. Otherwise, the wedding or any other ceremony appears to be incomplete and disgusting for the host (Informant: Mekonnen, December 13th2012).

The same is true when someone dies in the neighborhood. There are many idirs that constitute both Muslims and Christians especial in highland rural and urban areas. Observing Muslims wearing huts and Hijjabs crying their eyes out during the death of a Christian neighbor is very common. Christians also do the same whenever a Muslim dies in their neighborhood (Teshome, 2012:54).

There are cases where all the idirs are Muslims or Christians alone in areas like Harbu and Khmissie. However, both faith groups participate in the burial ceremony in many cases or they go to the house of the deceased person for forwarding their condolence to the family. There are also recent establishments of separating the Muslim and Christian idirs following the revival of Islam in the region. However, even such people have got their own informal idir called evening idir wherein all the neighbors gather for three successive nights for the purpose of consoling the family of the deceased irrespective religious differences.

Conclusions

The socio-cultural influence of Islam on Muslims in the region is immense. This is exhibited in their personal lives such as dressing codes, dietary rules, marriage practice and even business transaction rules despite the existence of certain exceptions as in every culture. The overall personal and social related rulings of the faith, from neighborhoodliness to business dealings are trust, mutual respect, tolerance and peaceful coexistence. The teaching of Islam as well as the practice of Muslims is toward developing the hospitability and generosity of the Ethiopian people but not disintegration of the culture. For this reason, both Muslims and Christians cooperate in times of not only prosperity (such as weddings and holidays) but also during adversity.

Of course, there are a few cases where, for instance, Muslims developed their own idir (an informal association for burial occasions), separate from the Orthodox Christians idir just like the Protestant

Christians in the region. That is, although not widely practiced, recommended in the teachings of the faith. No Muslim woman is allowed to accompany funeral procession even if her mother, father, sister, brother or any other relative dies. Consequently, there is no reason that women are forced to participate in funeral processions while a non-Muslim dies in an interfaith idir. This is, however, interpreted as the acts of extremists and terrorists by contemporary critics.

This brief analysis of the socio-cultural condition of the people in the region shows that the two faith groups have got many common agenda to in areas of nurturing collaboration towards development, solving personal conflicts, and combating diseases and poverty. Their collaboration, for instance in areas of interfaith healing practice, however, need to be supported by modern biomedical practices through creating integration between the traditional and the modern approaches.

Moreover, in the name of traditional health practices, there could be certain selfish group of people in the community who may prescribe phony medicine for the sake of filling their pockets and stomachs. The government has to follow up such egoistic individuals and give appropriate correction before it is too late to intervene. Cooperation among the different systems, accelerate as members of indigenous healing families become doctors, nurses, pharmacists, and public health experts, and then take their knowledge back to their families since there are so many healers from the two faith groups in the region. More formal cooperation occurs when the government offers biomedicine-based teaching programs to indigenous healers and midwives in the hope that they will serve as health educators and public health experts in disease-prevention programs.

The strong socio-cultural integration, mutual respect and mutual tolerance, love and affection of the two faith groups is also manifested through the practice of interfaith marriage despite the fact that clergymen from both faith groups deny recognition for such couples. Of course, if properly interpreted Holy Scriptures from both faith groups allow interfaith marriages with certain restrictions, of course. That needs to be addressed and developed for better mutual understanding.

Similarly, poverty reduction projects could also be integrated with faith through the teachings of interfaith scholars in order to curb the ongoing deception and corruption in the field of business transaction and any other means of earning income. This could begin with joint efforts to safeguard the young generation from addiction in alcohol, hashish, chat and other illicit sexual relations, if a really genuine and indigenous development strategy that springs from within the culture is sought for.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: ISLAMIC MORAL AND ETHICAL VALUES: THE NEED FOR CHARACTER EDUCATION

Introduction

There is high level of interfaith practice in the region i.e. Muslims and non-Muslims, each with their own religious identities, share certain values from one another especially in dietary, marriage and spiritual and herbal traditional practices.

Sharing the meat slaughtered by either of the faith groups has been a taboo for millennia unlike the practice abroad. That sort of tradition appears to be challenged by certain young people from either faith groups despite the fact that the majority of the people in either faith still shun the practice.

There is also interfaith marriage in the region especially among the young people who live in urban areas. The most crucial co-religious influence in the region is observed in the use of spiritual healing strategies. People from either of the faith groups visit the spiritual treatment centers to search for cure from sheiks and/or priests. Such practices are believed to strengthen the social cohesion of the two faith groups in the region by increasing their mutual trust and interdependence as discussed in Chapter Twelve despite oppositions from certain clerics from either side.

In this Chapter, I will discuss specifically the Islamic moral and ethical value in order to highlight the role of religious values. Such moral and ethical values, that are assumed to be thinning across ages, are believed to be crucial for improving the social, economic and even political relations in the region if such values are inculcated in the educational system that is dominated by the scientific-mathematical model. Some of the concepts that belong to human values include: honesty, truthfulness, freedom, equality, patience, peacefulness, courage, compassion and forgiveness. I believe that these moral qualities are not unique to Islam but preached and practiced by other world religions especially by the other two Abrahamic faiths (Christianity and Judaism). I understand that such traditional moral and ethical values are threatened in the contemporary world because of the emphasis on individualism, consumerism and materialism.

Consequently, the need for character education distinct from civic/political education is explained as well. Such school courses shall be designed not only from rationalistic and intellectual perspective per

se (since to know the good is not necessarily to do the good) but also on intuitive knowledge of which religious ideals come to the fore.

The Concept of Morality

The dimensions of morality in Islam are numerous, far-reaching and comprehensive. The Islamic morals deal with the relationship between man and God, man and his fellow people, man and the other creatures in the universe, and man and his innermost self. The Muslim has to guard his external behavior and his manifest deeds, his words and his thoughts, his feelings and intentions. In a general sense, his role is to champion what is right and fight what is wrong, seek what is true and abandon what is false, cherish what is beautiful and wholesome and avoid what is indecent. Truth and virtue are his goals. Humbleness and simplicity, courtesy and compassion are his second nature. To him, arrogance, and vanity, harshness and indifference are distasteful, offensive and displeasing to God (Abdal-Ati, 2007:59; Hassen, 2012).

More specifically, the Muslim's relationship with God is one of love and obedience, complete trust and thoughtfulness, peace and appreciation, steadfastness and active service. This high-level morality will nourish and reinforce morality at human level. For in his relationship with his fellow men, the Muslim must show kindness to the kin and concern for the neighbor, respect for the elderly and compassionate for the young, care for the sick and support for the needy, sympathy for the grieved and cheer the depressed, joy with the blessed and patience with the misguided, tolerance toward the ignorant and forgiveness of the helpless, disapproval of the wrong and rise above the trivial. Moreover, he must respect the legitimate rights of others as much as he does his own. His mind must be occupied with constructive ideas and serious pursuits; his heart must beat with compassionate feelings and goodwill; his soul must radiate with peace and serenity; his counsel must be sincere and courteous (Abdal-Ati, 2007:59; Al-Ghazali in Abdul-Aziz, 2012).

Sated positively or negatively, the moral principles of Islam designed to build in the human being a sound mind, a peaceful soul, a strong personality and a healthy body. There is no doubt that these are necessary requirements of the general welfare and prosperity of mankind. The five pillars of Islam are meant to achieve the above goals. Moreover, to protect man from insanity and degeneration, from weakness and indulgence, from indecency and temptation, Islam has prohibited certain things pertaining to food, drinking, recreation and sex. Among these are the following:

　　All kinds of intoxicating wines, liquors and spirits (Qur'an, 2:219; 4:43; 5:93-94);

> The meat and products of swine, of wild animals that use claws or teeth to kill their victims (e.g. tigers), of some birds of prey like vultures, of rodents, reptiles, worms and the like, of dead animals and birds that are not slaughtered properly (Qur'an, 2:172-173;5:4-6);
> All forms of gambling and vain sports (Qur'an, 2:219; 5:93-94) and
> All sexual relations out of wedlock and all manners of talking, walking, looking and dressing in public that may instigate temptation, arouse desire, stir suspicion or indicate immodesty and indecency (Qur'an, 23:5-7; 24:30-33; 70:29-31).

Muslims believe that all these prohibitions are meant for the spiritual and mental well-being of humanity. To show all prohibitions are acts of mercy and wisdom, two Islamic principles are worth mentioning. First, extraordinary emergencies, necessities and compulsions allow the Muslim to do what is normally forbidden (Qur'an, 2:173; 5:4). Secondly, God has inscribed for Himself the rule of mercy: those who do evil because of ignorance but thereafter repent and amend their conduct, will be forgiven (Qur'an, 6:54). The range of morality in Islam is so inclusive and integrative that it combines at once faith in God, religious rites, spiritual observance, decision-making, intellectual pursuits, habits of consumption, manner of speech and all other aspects of human life (Abdal-Ati, 2007:62).

In short, all the moral qualities may fall under two headings: (1) those which enable man to abstain from inflicting injury upon his fellow-men/women, and (2) those which enable him to do good to others. To the first class belongs the rules of conduct which direct the intentions and actions of man so that he may not injure the life, property or honor of his fellow-beings by means of his tongue (insulting) or hand (kicking or killing) or eye (violating the privacy) or any other member of his body. The second class comprises all rules calculated to guide the intentions and actions of man in doing good to others by means of the faculties or in declaring the glory or honor of others or in forbearing from punishing an offender or in punishing the offender in such a manner that the punishment turns to be a blessing for him/her (Galwash, 1963:124).

Some of the major moral values in Islam (and other world religions?) include chastity, honesty, peacefulness, politeness, forgiveness, kindness, courage, veracity/truthfulness, patience, sympathy, freedom and forgiveness (Abdal-Ati, 2007; Al-Ghazali in Abdul-Aziz 2012; Galwash, 1963). Most of these values are found to be consistent with the ethical principles taught in modern schools in Ethiopia. Brief explanations are given on each value as follows.

Chastity. A man or a woman is said to be chaste when he/she abstains from illegal intercourse and its preliminaries which bring disgrace and ruin upon the head of the sinner. Abstaining from sex before the formal marriage is also chastity advocated in Islam. In Islam, none is more wicked than the infamous villain who causes the loss of a wife to her husband (and vice versa) and that of a mother to her

children, and thus violently disturbs the peace of the whole household, bringing ruin upon the head of both the guilty and the innocent spouse and children. Nonage, impotence, emasculation or old-age nullifies the existence of the moral quality called chastity since that refers to natural conditions without the slightest attempt of suppressing the temptation of sex. Regarding the need to control lower desires, the Prophet announced "He is not the true courageous who overcomes his enemies, but the truest is he who overcomes and controls his lower passion". The Qur'an also reads:

> Ask the believing men to lower their gaze and to be modest. And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest, and to display of their adornment only which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms and not to reveal their adornment save to their own husbands (Qur'an, 24:30-31)

In addition to advising Muslims to take care of their dressing, waking and avoidance of exposure to Music and dance, fasting and eating light food items are recommended to maintain chastity (Galwash, 1963: 127). Other than banning practices that lead to fornication or adultery for the sake of maintaining chastity, Islam does not accept celibacy and monasticism. The institution of hijab and seclusion in Islam is established so that both men and women should be restrained from intermingling freely since that may lead to the danger of the excitement of the passion that may cause sexually transmitted diseases (Galwash, 1963: 127).

Honesty. This quality which is called *amanah* in Arabic refers to not causing injury to others by cheating them or taking unlawful possessions of their own properties. The Qur'an warns the danger of misusing the property of orphans, of old people and of mentally retarded people. The Qur'an warns "not to consume each other's wealth unjustly, nor offer it to judges as a bribe, so that their aid you seize other men's property dishonestly" (Qur'an, 2:188). Another verse also reads: "God enjoins upon you to give back faithfully any trust to its owner. God hates the unfaithful. By the same token, the Qur'an also instructs to give just measures, and to use an exact balance while selling and buying goods. It also instructs to avoid corruption (Qur'an 26:181-183).

I understand that most religious Muslims are honest just like other faith groups. It is, however, known that recently market frauds are commonly practiced in big towns even by people with Muslim identities. As a matter of fact there are also very honest individuals among the faith groups. Indris an elementary school teacher in Kutaber werada, near Dessie reports:

> Last year, a casher came to the school and paid the salary of all teachers and other staff members. I woke up early on the following day and went to the school as usual. No one else arrived as early as I did. I entered the staff room to wear my gown. I drew the drawer and got 7757 birr. 'That poor casher must have forgotten it yesterday', I murmured to myself. I

counted it repeatedly and put it in my pocket waiting for my staff members to tell them the story. As I informed my colleagues about the amount of money I got in my pocket no one believed me. They thought that I was just teasing. The more they took the matter as a joke, the more I made my mind to show the money only to the official director. A little while, the school director arrived and entered his office. I followed him and told him about the money I got this morning. I showed him and he counted it and proved it to be 7757 birr. We assumed that it must belong to the casher. He called her and checked if she has missed the money and she came to the school running. She received the money and went back after forwarding her gratefulness to me, the school director and the staff in general.

The problem began here. By now almost all the staff members in the school started laughing at me simply because I gave the money honestly to its owner. One of my own colleagues called me "foolish". Another one called me "balager" i.e. uncivilized. Still others called me "fara" i.e. not smart. All these disturbed me and I was shocked to have no appreciation for my honesty. Sooner than later, the information was heard in the nearby town called Kutaber and almost all the people who saw me pointed their finger at me, laughed at me and blamed me for giving the money back to its owner. Almost all the people especially the younger generation appear to be eager to do any sort of corruption let alone giving back a lost property. I will never do that in my life. My father was a Sheikh in a village called Ruga, at the back of Mt. Tossa. While he was at his death bed, he warned me 'Take care! Allah will forgive all types of sins except that which belongs to the right of human beings. Never take the property of other people!' His words of advice still whisper in my head. Even if I get the same or more amount of money, I promise to Allah to give it back to its owner (Informant: Ato Indris, March 20th 2011).

There is a clear indication here for the deterioration of moral values recently and yet the incident implies a glimpse of hope for the amelioration of moral values on the part of traditional religious education. I also experienced a couple of other related cases which is promising.

Peacefulness. This refers to refraining from causing harm or injury of any sort to another person and thus living a peaceful life upon the earth. While greeting Jews say "Shalom" while Muslims say "As-Salam Alaykum" (Peace be upon you). There is no major world religion that does not emphasize peace. "All the major world religions preach peace yet have to face occasions when war has become inevitable for one reason or another" (Nasr, 2002:216). Christ spoke turning the other cheek yet for centuries in Europe many wars were fought in the name of Christianity. To appreciate how Islam approaches the question of peace, one has only to consider a few elementary facts about Islam. Peace and Islam are derived from the same root and may be considered synonymous. One of Allah's names is Peace. The concluding words of the daily prayers of every Muslim are words of peace. The daily salutations among the Muslims are expressions of peace. The adjective 'Muslim' means, in a sense, peaceful. Heaven in Islam is the abode of peace (Abdal-Ati, 2007:54; Kemal and Mustafa, 2012). This is how fundamental

and dominant the theme of peace is in Islam. Muslims are ordered to live at peace with God, with the self and with the fellow people and other creatures.

However, in the West Islam is often singled out being warlike and the "religion of the sword" in contrast to primarily Christianity as the religion of peace. In most areas the history of Islamization was a gradual process. Like any other religion, the history of Islam is intertwined with a sacred epic, but that does not mean that Islam is any more or less the "religion of the sword" or the "religion of peace" than any other religion (Nasr, 2002:217). Even the so-called modern West has fought more deadly wars than any other civilization even eradicating whole ethnic groups with impunity because they were not Christians.

The Qur'an emphasizes that war must be only for defense of one's homeland and religion and not be offensive and aggressive (Nasr, 2002:218). Everyone today speaks of peace even while waging war. The production of mass destruction weapons may force people to speak of peace even at lip-service. But from Islamic perspective, there is also an innate yearning for peace in the soul of human beings that is hardly derived from experience.

Since it is a celestial quality, peace is not easy to attain either outwardly or inwardly. For Muslims, "To have outward peace, one must be at peace with oneself and to be at peace with oneself, one must be at peace with God" (Nasr, 2002:218). Muslims believe that if there is no peace within, there will be no peace without. This does not, however, mean that Muslims cannot make peace with other faith and ideological groups. Based on the principle of the sacredness of humanity, Islam teaches people to come to terms with all humanity to live peacefully and harmoniously at whatever worldly expense. The Shari'ah forbids people to strive for their selfish satisfaction at the expense of the general public. Consequently, such evil acts like theft, bribery, dishonesty, breaking the promise, robbery, usury, adultery, cheating in business or any other social dealings are all forbidden (Muhammad, 1994, 150). Furthermore, the Shari'ah forbids lying, backbiting, blaspheming, gambling, and other innumerable bad acts are banned by Islam (Kemal and Mustafa, 2012).

Politeness. The preliminary stage of this quality as witnessed in a child is cheerfulness. Before the child learns to speak, the cheerfulness of its face serves the same purpose as kind words in an adult man. The Qur'an reads:

> Speak gently and politely with one another.
> Let not a group scoff another group, it may be that the latter are better than the former. Nor let (some) women scoff at other women other women, it may be that the latter are better than the former. Nor defame one another, nor insult one another not even by calling by nickname (Qur'an, 49:11). O you who believe! Avoid much suspicion; indeed some suspicions are sins. And spy not, neither backbite one another….(Qur'an, 49:12). And follow not (i.e. say not, do

not, or witness not) that of which you have no knowledge. Verily, the hearing, and the sight and the heart, each of those one will be questioned (by Allah) (Qur'an, 17:36). And walk not on the earth with conceit and arrogance … (Qur'an, 17:37).

Forgiveness. The person to whom a real injury has been caused has the right to redress by bringing the offender to law for punishment or himself dealing out some punishment to him, and, therefore, when he forgives his right of redressing and forgives the offender he does him a great favor. The Qur'an reads:

> Those who spend (in Allah's Cause) in prosperity and in adversity, who repress their anger and who pardon men; verily Allah loves the good-doers (3:134). The Prophet also said: "The strong is not the one who overcomes the people by his strength, but the strong is the one who controls himself while in anger (and forgives the one who caused his anger) (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 8: 135). The Qur'an further reads: The recompense for an evil is an evil like thereof; but whosoever forgives and makes reconciliation, his reward is with Allah. Verily, He likes not the oppressors (Qur'an, 42:40).

Here is a golden Islamic rule for forgiveness of evil. The rule laid down is that evil must be requited by punishment proportional to the amount of wrong committed. This is a very just and necessary restriction. But the verse furnishes a guiding rule as to the occasions of forgiveness. There is in Islam neither the one extreme of "a tooth for a tooth" nor the opposite one of "turning the left check when the right is smitten". Forgiveness in Islam is highly commanded, but it is preached in such a manner as to make it not impracticable; it is the beautiful means that forgiveness may be exercised it will mend the matter and do good to the wrongdoer himself. If the behavior of the offender is not to be improved by forgiveness then punishment may work. As there are persons of vindictive nature that carry the spirit of revenge to excess, there are others who are ready to yield and are prone to forgive on every occasion (Abdal-Ati, 2007; Galwash, 1963).

Anyways, influenced by Islamic teachings, Muslims in Wallo region especially Qallu are known for their sociability and forgiveness compared to the other people in the highland areas as I discussed it elsewhere.

> Abagars, Sheiks and elderly people in the region are known in their conflict resolution skills and blood feud is not known as such since the community elders ensure reconciliation and the relatives of the victim are open to forgiveness without further bloodshed (Informant: Sheikh Hussein, April 1st 2011).

Goodness. This refers to do good to others. This also refers to kindness which is also followed by another highest quality called tenderness. The commandments in the Qur'an (e.g. 16:90) call attention to three stages in the doing of goodness. The lowest stage is that in which man does good to his

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benefactors only. Even an ordinary man who has the sense to appreciate the goodness of others can acquire this quality and do good in return for good. From this there is advancement to the second stage in which man takes the initiative to do good to others. It consists of bestowing favors upon persons who cannot claim them as a right to it often attaches the infirmity that the doer expects thanks or prayers in return for good he does, and the slightest opposition from the object of compassion is termed ungratefulness. The Qur'an warns here: Do not render in vain your deeds of charity by reminding of your generosity or by injury them like him who spends his wealth to be seen of men…. (2:264). If there is no sincerity in the deeds, alms are no effect, but being mere show. A third stage, therefore, has been described in the Qur'an which is free from every imperfection. To attain this perfection, man should not think of the goodness he has done, nor expect even an expression of thankfulness from the person upon whom the benefit is conferred (e.g. Qur'an, 76: 8-9). I have observed Muslims in the region practicing Zakah, waqf and sadaqa.

Courage. Courage is a virtue resembling the instinct of bravery. The virtue of courage cannot be displayed but after a good deal of reasoning and reflection and a full consideration of the propriety of the act (Galwash, 1963). The Qur'an reads:

> Those (believers) to whom (hypocrites said, 'verily, the people (pagans) have gathered against you (a great army), therefore, fear them'. But it (only) increased them in Faith, and they said: "Allah (alone) is sufficient for us, and He is the Best Disposer of affairs (for us) (Qur'an, 3:173).

The moral quality of courage, according to the teachings of Islam, is not a mechanical movement depending upon passions and following in one direction only, but is utilized in two ways, viz. with its aid the faithful resist and overcome the passions of the flesh and besides they utilize it to resist the attacks of oppressors when it is available to do in the cause of the truth (Galwash, 1963:136-137). The truly courageous do not display their bravery in an insolent manner and with a view to appear with ostentation to other men, but their only consideration is the pleasure of God who wishes them to resist evil by their courage and to be patient under hardships. All this leads to the conclusion that true courage takes its root in patience and steadfastness. The courageous man resists his passions and does not fly from danger like a coward, but before he takes any step, he looks to the remote consequences of his action (Al-Ghazali in Abdul-Aziz 2012).

Veracity/Truthfulness. So long as there is no motive to tell a lie, man is naturally inclined to speak the truth. He is averse to lying from his very nature and hates the person who is proved to have told a plain lie. Unless a man is purged of the low motives which bar him from truth, his veracity is

questionable. For if he speaks the truth only in the matters in which truth produces no harm to himself and tells a lie or holds his tongue from the utterance of truth when his interest or property or honor is at stake, he can claim no superiority over the untruthful (Al-Ghazali in Abdul-Aziz 2012). In fact, no one speaks untruth without a motive, and there is no virtue in restoring to truth so long as there is no apprehension of harm. The only circumstance which can serve as a test of truthfulness is the occasion when one's life, honor or property is in danger. "So shun the abomination (worshipping) of idols and shun lying speech (false statements)" (Qur'an, 22:30). The shunning of idols and falsehood is enjoined in the same breath; it indicates that falsehood is an idol and the person who trusts to it in a manner that the idolaters and the heathen used to do. The Qur'an orders not to conceal true testimony. It also reads:

> O you who believe! Stand out firmly for justice, as witness to Allah, even though it be against yourselves, or your parents or your kin, be rich or poor…. So follow not the lusts (of your hearts), lest you avoid justice; and if you distort your witness or refuse to give it, verily, Allah is ever well-acquainted with what you do (4:135). O you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah as just witnesses; and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just…. (5:8).

Truthfulness and justice are enjoined in these verses since one value hardly prevails without the other (Abdal-Ati, 2007; Kemal and Mustafa, 2012; Galwash, 1963). Consequently, untruthful people are not respected in the community.

Patience. Everyone has more or less to suffer misfortunes, diseases and afflictions which are the common lot of humanity. Everyone has also, after much sorrowing and suffering, to make his peace with the misfortune which befalls him/her. But such contentment is by no means a noble moral quality. It is a natural consequence of the continuance of affliction that weariness at last brings about conciliation. The first shock brings about depression of spirit and wails of woe but when the excitement of the moment is over, there is necessarily a reaction, for the extreme has been reached. Both the disappointment and the contentment are the result of natural inclinations. It is only when the loss is received with total resignation to the will of God and in complete resignation to His predestination that the deed deserves to be closed under virtuous moral qualities. That noble quality is called patience. "And certainly, We shall test you with something of fear, hunger, loss of wealth, lives and fruits but give glad tidings to the patient" (Qur'an, 2:155). The influence of such Islamic injunction is usually observed among believing Muslims. For instance, whenever one's beloved ones die, there is no practice of tearing clothes, scratching the face and crying non-stop.

There are three kinds of patience from Islamic perspective: (a) patience to perform what is laid as religious obligation regularly; (b) patience to shun what is described as impermissible acts and (c) patience with whatever adversity and/or prosperity befalls on you (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Zein, March 26th 2011). This instructs people that no trial or misfortune can disturb the course of life of the people with such moral quality.

Sympathy. People of every nationality and religion are naturally endowed with the feeling of national sympathy and in their zeal for the interest of their countrymen or co-religionists; they do not hesitate to wrong others. Such sympathetic zeal, however, does not proceed out of moral feelings, but it is an instinctive passion and is witnessed even in lower animals especially ravens, of which the call of one brings numerous others. "Sympathy and co-operation are enjoined upon you towards deeds of goodness and piety but you must not co-operate towards sinful or transgression deeds" (Qur'an, 5:2). It also reminds Muslims "Not to be a pleader for the treacherous" (4:105).

Compassion and Mercy. Nasr (2002) asserts that the idea of certain Western scholars and Christian apologists that Islam is a religion "of justice but not of Mercy, Compassion, Forgiveness and Love is totally false" (Nasr, 2002:203). God's Mercy, Compassion, Forgiveness and Love are mentioned in the Qur'an more than are His Justice and Retribution. All the four concepts (Compassion, Love, Peace and Beauty are the Divine Names whose reflections must consequently be part of the very substance and root of the existence of human beings as well as that of other creatures (Nasr, 2002:204). The Qur'an reads, "My Mercy and Compassion embrace all things" (Qur'an. 7:156). Those who do good works, the Infinitely Good will appoint for them love" (Qur'an. 19:96). "God is He other than Whom there is no god, the Sovereign Lord, the Holy One, Peace" (Qur'an, 59:23). A hadith also reads, "God is beautiful and loves beauty".

As verses from the Islamic Scriptures bear witness, the Mercy and Compassion (rahmah) of God embraces all things. This truth is emphasized by Sufis who claim that the very substance of cosmic existence is the "Breath of the Compassionate" (Nasr, 2002: 204). Compassion is therefore at the root of existence, the gate through which both revelation and creation were brought forth and therefore a central reality in all aspects of human life. Every aspect of the traditional life of Muslims over the ages has been intertwined with *rahmah* and inseparable from it, since compassion is woven into the very fiber of human existence (Nasr, 2002; Hassen, 2007:18).

Compassion and mercy function concretely in Islamic life at four levels of relationships: The relation of God to the individual, the individual to God, human beings to each other and humanity to the rest of creation. Leaving the other relationships, the relation between human beings is recommended and required by the Shari'ah to be based on not only acts of compassion, charity and mercy toward the poor, the sick, the weak, the captives, orphans and the needy, but based on the model of the Prophet, emphasizing over and over again the importance of the virtues of compassion and charity, mercy and forgiveness (Nasr, 2002:206-7; Hassen, 2007). Moreover, Islamic teachings themselves emphasis that compassion, mercy and kindness must be extended to animals and plants as well. Nasr (2002: 208) argues further, "Already in medieval Islamic cities there were animal hospitals and endowments established for the keeping of horses and donkeys that had become ill or incapacitated". Influenced by such teachings, I observed people concerned of giving food to cats and dogs whenever these animals approached their doors.

Love. One of God's Names is al Wadud, Love (Qur'an, 11:90; 85:14). The assertion that Muslims do not know Divine Love is as absurd as claiming that Muslims know nothing of Divine Compassion (Nasr, 2002:210). It is important to note that in the Islamic perspective God's Compassion for the world is not identified with Suffering. Rather, it is translated into love. "Therefore love runs through the vein of the universe and, like compassion, is inseparable from existence" (Nasr, 2002:211).

Practically, love in the life of Muslims has its exemplar in the love of God for the Prophet and the Prophet for God. "For human beings the love of God necessitates the love of the Prophet and the love of the Prophet and the saints, who are his spiritual or biological progeny, necessitates the love of God" (Nasr, 2002:211). Moreover, there are many levels of love natural to human beings: romantic love, love of children and parents, love of beauty in art and nature, love of knowledge and even love of power, wealth and fame, which, however, since they are turned toward the world, pose a danger for the soul if not handled properly. In the Islamic perspective, all worldly love should be in God and not separated from the love of God and any love that excludes God and turns us away from Him is an illusion that can lead to the ruin of the soul. The Islamic sages have in fact asserted the doctrine that only the love of God is real love all other love is metaphorical love. However, metaphorical love is also real on its own level and is in fact a Divine gift, if it is understood properly and used as a ladder to reach real love, which is the love for the Source of all love, which is God (Nasr, 2002:211-12; Sautool Islam Magazine, October 2nd, 2007).

Freedom. Freedom has been denied from many individuals, groups and nations. It has often been misunderstood and abused. The fact is that in no human society can man be free in the absolute sense of the concept. There must be some limitations of one sort or another, if the society is to function at all (Abdal-Ati, 2007: 51). Apart from this general idea, Islam teaches freedom, cherishes it and guarantees it for the Muslim as well as non-Muslim. The Islamic concept of freedom applies to all voluntary activities of man in all walks of life. Every man is born free in a pure state of nature. This means that man is born free from subjugation, sin, inherited inferiority and ancestral hindrance. His right of freedom is sacred as long as he does not deliberately violate the law of God (or the law of the land?) or desecrate the rights of others. One of the main objectives of Islam is to emancipate the mind from superstition and uncertainties, the soul from sin and corruption, the conscience from oppression and fear and even the body from disorder and degeneration. This can be achieved through profound intellectual endeavors, constant spiritual observance, binding moral principles, and even dietary regulations.

The question of freedom with regard to belief, worship and conscience is also of paramount importance in Islam. Every man is entitled to exercise his/her freedom of belief, conscience, and worship (Qur'an, 2:256). Furthermore, Islam presents the Truth of God in the form of an opportunity and leaves the choice for man to decide his own course: "The Truth is from your Lord. Let him who will, believe and let him who will, disbelieve" (Qur'an, 18:29). Thus, the individual's right is as sacred as his right of life (Abdal-Ati, 2007: 51-52; Hassen, 2012).

Equality. One basic element in the value system of Islam is the principles of equality or better yet, equity. Islam teaches that all men are equal but they are not necessarily identical. There are differences of color, ethnicity, abilities, potentials, ambitions, wealth and so forth. Yet, none of these differences can by itself establish a status of superiority of one man or race to another. The only distinction is the distinction in piety and the only criterion is the criterion of goodness and spiritual excellence (e.g. Qur'an, 40:13). One of the proofs for this can be the absence of different mosques for Arabs and non-Arabs, or black and white in the history of Islam.

Tolerance. Currently, the concept of tolerance is overheard not only at individual, family and Kebele levels but also at national and international levels (Teshome, 2012:2). The issue of intolerance is not as such the problem of Ethiopian people since they have lived for millennia with mutual respect and tolerance. The mainstream media fanned the problem favoring certain sectarian groups. While the problems of intolerance, insecurity, violence, extremism and terrorism do exist almost in all parts of the

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world with varied level of intensity (Be'ir, 2010:3), Islam and Muslims are used as scapegoats. There are rules of war in Islam:

> Do not burn churches; do not cut trees; do not kill animals; do not damage crops; do not attack women and children; do not fight with unarmed men; do not attack old religious people....All these Islamic rules of war should be strictly observed (Be'ir Magazine, 2010:4).

Islam, which cares even for non-human creatures (like ants) during battles, does not approve killing non-combatant civilians. Those groups who advocate such propaganda will be rewarded not paradise but hell, just to use the religious argument. Islamic teachings are full of mutual respect, mutual tolerance and peaceful coexistence starting from its inception during the life time of Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet (and Muslims in general) is constantly advised to be patient in all afflictions:

> And endure patiently all that they say (against you), stay aloof from their way (and part from them) in a becoming manner (not as they treat you, rather with forbearance and good advice) (Qur'an, 73:10). We suffice you against all those who mock (Qur'an, 15:95).

In this manner, the Qur'an teaches Muslims to be patient and peaceful even when attacked.

> Islamic ethical reform gives spiritual strength. Waging revenge and its contemplation is the weakness of the self. The self which is weak can force you to surrender to external attacks. If the self is strong, it cannot surrender to external pressures. Despite all the hatred and hassles, the self which is strong does not stretch its hand for revenge (Al-Quds, 2008:15).

Instead of hatred, revenge and violence, Muslims have to emulate their Prophet by being compassionate, merciful and caring to each other and to other non-Muslim fellows. The Prophetic saying, "I am sent to teach good conduct" should be practiced by Muslims wholeheartedly. Whenever confronted with blasphemy and harassment, Muslims are advised not to act with violence, taking the matter into their own hands. Rather they are reminded to react in the prophetic manner which is peaceful, caring and loving even to enemies (Kemal and Mustafa, 2012).

Islam is a way of life. In this life, there are different faith groups: Jews, Christians, Buddhists, and so forth. Islam calls these faith groups "People of the Book" since they were given the Torah and the Gospels (Al-Quds Magazine, 2008:15). The rights of such non-Muslims to life, property, religion and freedom of thinking (so long as this does not endanger the society) are observed in Islam. Consequently, Christians and Jews have lived with mutual tolerance, respect and caring atmosphere with Muslims from the life time of the Prophet to the period of the five Caliphs and other genuine Islamic leaders.

> Even though we differ in religious matters with non-Muslims, we have common agenda in neighborhoods; we have common agenda in national affairs; we have common agenda in

peace and security; we have common agenda in development projects. The Qur'an has taught all these issues (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad-Hadi, Dec. 29th 2012).

This is how Islamic scholars understand mutual coexistence with other faith groups. "There is no completion in the Religion [Islam]. (Qur'an, 2:256). This is the major indicator for freedom of belief. The Qur'an further reads: "You have your religion (with whatever it will bring you), and I have my religion (with whatever it will bring me)" (Qur'an, 109:5-6). Islam teaches Muslims to give religious freedom for others even long before the modern world constitutional decree unlike any other religious dogmas.

Mutual Tolerance during the Life Time of the Prophet

Once the Islamic community was established in Medina, one of the major tasks accomplished by the Prophet was writing the Islamic constitution called "Dustural Medinah". In this document, the Prophet included very crucial human right issues that are celebrated even in this modern world as if they were novel innovations (Luqman Magazine, 2011:35). This constitution, which is the fruit of the seventh century Muslims, dealt not only with the faith groups but also other faiths practiced in the town. Some of the fundamental human rights enshrined in this document include:

> The right to human respect; the right to life; the right to freedom; the right to equality; the right to justice; the right of minority groups; the right to freedom of religion; the right to property; the right to work; the rights of employers and employees; the rights of wives; the rights of husbands; the rights of children; the right to education; the rights of neighbors; the right to residence and movement; the right to participate in social affairs; [and so forth] (Hassen, 2008:177-178; Luqman Magazine, 2011)

Islam teaches not only about human rights it also teaches about animal rights and even the right of plants.

> Allah's Apostle said, "While a man was walking he felt thirsty and went down a well and drank water from it. On coming out of it, he saw a dog panting and eating mud because of excessive thirst. The man said, 'This (dog) is suffering from the same problem as that of mine. So he (went down the well), filled his shoe with water, caught hold of it with his teeth and climbed up and watered the dog. Allah thanked him for his (good) deed and forgave him." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Is there a reward for us in serving (the) animals?" He replied, "Yes, there is a reward for serving any animate" (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 3: 551).

> Allah's Apostle said, "A woman was tortured and was put in Hell because of a cat which she had kept locked till it died of hunger." Allah's Apostle further said, (Allah knows better) Allah said (to the woman), 'You neither fed it nor watered when you locked it up, nor did you set it free to eat the insects of the earth.' (Sahih Al-Bukhari, 3: 553).

The pious ancestors of Muslims (*salafs*) had had the real living model from the Prophet. Let us see a few examples from the Prophet himself. First, the Jews who used to live in Medina had had their own

protected synagogues for worshiping. They had also an educational institution called Bayt-al-Madrasa. Second, when a convoy of Christians from Yemen (Nejran) visited the Prophet in Medina Mosque, the Christians performed their prayers in his Mosque (the second most holy mosque for Muslims in the world) after the Muslims' prayer (Informant: Muhammad-Zein, May 7th 2011). Third, the Prophet gave freedom for the Christian priests to teach their Christian community. Fourth, the Prophet allowed political cooperation between Muslims and Christians. A non-Muslim convoy was sent to Abyssinia to Nejashi appointed as an Ambassador. Finally, when Mecca was conquered, all the captives, who were enemies of Islam and Muslims, were not imprisoned but given amnesty. The Prophet gathered and asked the residents of Mecca, "What do you expect from me in dealing with you?" The crowed answered, "We expect from you mercy" (Al-Quds Magazine 2008:15-16). Then the Prophet responded: "You are all freed!"(Hassen, 2008:366). The Prophet did not revenge his enemies who forced him to live in exile and killed his beloved uncle and many of his other companions.

Tolerance in the Period of the Caliph Omar ibn Khatab

Omar was the second Caliphate in Islamic history. His teacher was the Prophet himself. Let us see a few cases of mutual tolerance in his leadership. First, the Caliph, Omar, ordered his governor of Syria in order to appoint a person from the Greek Christians as a Minister for the Muslim empire. Second, when Jerusalem was conquered, Omar refused to pray in the church despite the invitation from the priests. He rather prayed outside the Church but adjacent to its compound. When asked why he did that he replied that if he prayed within your church, his fellow Muslims might transgress the rights of the Christians claiming the church as their mosque where their Caliphate prayed there (Muhammad and Abu al-Yazid, 2001:243-244). Third, Muslims were given the keys of the Basilica Church by Omar and they preserved the keys up to the present times. Fourth, Muslims snatched the land of a certain Jews and constructed a mosque during Omar's Caliphate. Omar heard this injustice against the Jew and ordered the Muslims to demolish the mosque and return the land to that Jew. Fifth, once upon a time, a certain young Christian was insulted by the son of the governor of Egypt. Omar heard this incident and he was annoyed since no measure was taken for insulting the Christian. Then Omar wrote the following letter to the governor: "if the matter I heard is true, the Persian governance was doing more justice than ours". The governor of Egypt asked the insulted boy for apology. Then after, Omar said, "Who allowed you to enslave people who are born freed by their mothers". Sixth, when Jerusalem was conquered, there was an agreement between Omar and the Christians. The covenant reads:

In the name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate. This covenant is an agreement for peace and security with the people of Jerusalem. We have agreed for the protection of their life, their churches, their crosses, and all their religious rights and related issues. It is not allowed to change their church into a residential room; it should be preserved as it is and it is not allowed to reduce from its site. All Christians should not be subjected to injustice or any harm due to their religion (Al-Quds Magazine 2008:16).

There are also other historical evidences that support the mutual tolerance and respect of Muslims and non-Muslims. For instance, the Jews and Christians lived with Muslims peacefully in history. Non-Muslims still live with tranquility in Muslim countries. When the Jews were dismissed from Spain, Muslims not only allowed them to live in their own lands but also gave them protection and allowed them to live with freedom practicing their own religion (Al-Quds Magazine 2008:16; Unal, 2007). The prophets of Christianity and Jews are also the prophets of Islam. The Qur'an states:

(O Muslims! You) declare we have believed in God (without associating any partners with Him), and that which has been sent down to us, and that which was sent down to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and the prophets who were raised in the tribes, and that which was given to Moses and Jesus, and that (knowledge, wisdom, and prophethood) which was given to all other prophets from their Lord, we make no distinction between any of them (in believing), and we are Muslims (submitted to Him wholly and exclusively (Qur'an, 2:136).

Muslims are ordered in the Qur'an to invite the People of the Book into Islam with respect and wisdom (e.g. Qur'an, 3:64). For peaceful coexistence, although one is not better than the other, it is indispensable to accept the "Other" as having good character just like "Us".

Consequently, Muslims have long history of living with tolerance with other faith groups: Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, Zoroastrians and Sikhs. Muslims living as majority or minority social groups have never been known in history as hate- or war-mongers (Al-Quds Magazine 2008:16).

These episodes bring to the spotlight one of the most significant features of Islam, namely tolerance. There is no way Muslims who abide by the true spirit of Islam and stick to its real essence, could ever persecute non-Muslims (Muhammad and Abu al-Yazid, 2001:244).

Thus, all religious groups should strive for tolerance and peaceful coexistence using the common values of all Abrahamic faiths: love, faith, and being God-fearing. I understand that that is the ultimate message of Islamic teachings. Whenever dealing with mutual tolerance, it is not uncommon to quote the long years of tolerance of even non-Muslim societies as if Muslims were devoid of such experiences. What I have attempted in this subsection is to shovel a spike of experiences from the pious ancestral Muslims who are emulated by the Sufis and Salafis.

It should also be recalled that Islam and Muslims are the torch-bearers of mutual respect, tolerance and peace contrary to their depiction in the hate-mongering mainstream media mainly operated by non-Muslims. The non-extremism view of Islam (and Muslims) is summarized by Unal (2007) as:

> Islam is neither spiritualism, nor materialism, neither realism nor idealism, neither capitalism nor socialism, neither individualism, nor statist, nor collectivism, neither absolutism nor anarchism, neither this-worldly and hedonism, nor purely other-worldly and monastic [neither rationalism, nor passion]. As it is unique in its worldview and social, economic and political aspects, it is also unique in the moral education it gives to individuals (Unal, 2007:1555).

Stated differently, the mission of Islam is "freedom, brotherhoodness, justice, universal peace and tolerance among religious groups" (Hassen Taju, Africa Satellite Television Channel, 26/95/2013).

Above all, Islam, like the great world religions, teaches the basic human values: Compassion, love, peace, freedom, development, tolerance, justice and human rights for all. Oppression, injustice, indignity, and deprivation of freedom of a group of people, large or small, due to their faith, identity, or culture are some of the causes that force good people to turn evil.

The Need for Character Education

Prior to the Socialist revolution in 1974, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church held a dominant position in the political and social life of the country. One of the positive aspects of that form of education was its provision of moral education to school children despite its discrimination on other faiths (Be'ir Magazine, 2009: 5). But after 1974 when the Socialist Derg came to power and it imposed a communist dictatorship on Ethiopia, the domination of the church came to an end. "They confiscated the properties of religious institutions. There was no place for the religions in the communist thinking" (Informant: Ato Yimer, November 29th 2012).

Marx, Lenin, Stalin and other home grown communists stood for science and materialism while being hostile to religion. The first move of the communists, after coming to power, was to secularize, socialize and centralize the Ethiopian education. Consequently, a conceived drive began to separate church (in some areas mosque) and school. No religious or private bodies were allowed to establish their own rival school system. Instead, a universal and free education system, completely under state control was set up. The communists believed that religion is hostile to science and materialism, which is essential for the betterment of human life in the world. "Teachers were warned that they had to abandon either their religion or their profession" (Informant: Seid, July 13th 2012).

The modern emphasis still to these days is on science, technical education and toward modernization in methods and curriculum making. Ethiopian education is criticized for placing more emphasis on intellectual training and too little on character formation. The child was brought up in such environment, so that to believe in no other than communist ideology. The education for communist, therefore, means indoctrination and the so-called academic freedom is just a myth (Amare, 2007; Raghuvansh, 2004).

Developers of the Ethiopian constitutions both during the Socialist Derg and the present FDRE government were conscious that the future of Ethiopia depends on secularism. I understand that it is one of the basic factors needed for progress as well as the unity and stability of the country, much divided on the basis of ethnicity, language, regions and religion. The Federal system of political administration is also believed to be conducive for pluralistic society. That will enable to accommodate multicultural societies to develop their own indigenous cultural heritages.

Education is one of the important factors which are responsible for any social change in the society. Therefore, if handled properly, it can develop the national character in a desired form. Education can play an important role in the process of modernization but only when fertilized with indigenous values (Amare, 1998; Tekeste, 1996). The only effort made by the previous and the present governments in this direction is to review the contents of textbooks. It was assumed that once textbooks were freed of religious bias, the task of inculcating modern and secular values would become a lot easier. The Ethiopian modernization project was assumed to be based on making the education system the copycat of the western model. Another success story on the part of FDRE is the provision of the subject "Civic and Ethical Education" in all Schools.

Except sporadic clashes, the spirit of tolerance has characterized Ethiopian history throughout ages. "Live and let live" has been the principle of Ethiopians in all spheres of life. From time-to-time, different religious groups having their own culture came here and got absorbed into the mainstream culture. Thus, the present Ethiopian culture is the result of the synthesis of many different religions and traditions. Ethiopian culture is a fusion of many strands including Christians, Muslims, ancestral beliefs and the western culture. But today, this long tradition of tolerance tends to be challenged by fanaticism unless an intervention is done in the form of character education.

Although there has been much talk of national integration, genuine integration has proved elusive, due to the emerging intense social and economic differences, which selfish people seek to exploit to serve their own narrow ends. Among issues thus exploited are those of culture, language and social injustice. Linguistic fanaticism and chauvinism raise their ugly heads every now and then. To these familiar

factors has been added quite recently another – activities of the extremists and terrorists, who seek to create fear as well as a sense of uncertainty.

Unless an era, where all communities live in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, cooperation and love, developed through knowledge of each other and creatively strive together to build a modern and progressive society is generated, it is difficult to lay the foundation of secularism. There will always be mistrust, prejudices, hatred and fear between the communities and an attempt insidious or open, violent or not so violent; to destroy the other community will continue destroying the country in the process, if a permanent and positive treatment is not planned out. This can more likely be done through formal education i.e. character education. Therefore, secularism's best hope for the future in Ethiopia lies in its classrooms. It is sad to say that education at present is not serving its true objective: liberalizing young peoples' outlook from superstitions; broadening their vision; seeking all sorts of truth and promoting a sense of appreciation. The emphasis of modern education has been for the last millennia on scientification, technification, intellectuality, individualism and materialism (Palmer, 2007) at the expense of Ethiopian indigenous values of spirituality, emotionality and cooperativism. For this reason, there is a need to reconstruct the whole educational system to integrate intellectuality, spirituality and emotionality. Nowadays, information about increases in murder, rape, muggings, child abuse and other domestic violence, drug addiction, drug related crimes, white-collar crime, corporate violation of tax, environmental and price rigging laws is cumulatively depressive (Starratt,1994:4). Children grownup in this kind of society have to wonder whether the daily media reports of all of the above do not indicate that this kind of behavior is the norm rather than the exception in human social living.

Besides the violence, depravity and deception found in public life, children and youth encounter appeals to the most self-indulgent, childish manipulative and pornographic fantasies in the entertainment and advertising media. Children are exposed daily to television shows depicting violence, murder, and casual sex. They watch commercials in which sex is used to sell everything from beer to bath soap, from shaving cream to automobile (Starratt, 1994:4). In many urban areas, people are required to pass through metal detector frames in order to enforce the prohibition against carrying guns and knives in public institutions. I.D. cards are also requested in order to follow up the background of clients in case something goes wrong. Checkpoints are established almost in all public institutions to ward off violence and/or theft. Most schools and urban centers are awash in graffiti on buildings, buses, taxis and sidewalks by young people. Cell-phone-, book- and pen-theft is also common in schools.

According to Fox and Demarco (1990) there are three general moral principles which everyone is obliged to honor: (a) do not harm; (b) do not be unfair and (c) do not violate another person's freedom. The first and the second principles refer to the ethic of care and the ethic of justice (Starratt, 1994). Starratt (1994) argues further:

> The schools are tilted too much in one direction towards certain values and that this tilt ignores competing values, which, if attended to, would provide a more balanced value foundation for ethical [character] education. The schools are tilted too much toward individualism, toward competition, toward a superficial form of rationality, toward privatism and individual achievement and toward conformity to authority (Starratt, 1994:16).

I understand that modern schools in the Ethiopian context are not different. The challenges of individualism, materialism and consumerism are becoming the common threats everywhere unless moral/character education is given to the young generation before it is too late. I argue that that has to be started with the separation of civics and ethical education into two distinct subjects: (1) Civics and (2) Character Education. Civic and ethical education has contributed considerably for "raising students' awareness on democratic and human right issues as well as political understanding" (informant: Asnake, December 25th 2012). However, my research participants said that it overemphasizes rights with little concern for duties and responsibilities (Informant: Fantahun, September 20th 2012). Moreover, since "there is a difference between knowing the right thing to do and doing the right thing" (Mohanty, 2005: 174), students with the highest score in this course are not necessarily exemplar in their tolerance, patience, decency and integrity. Consequently, Civics which is taught based on rational/cognitive knowledge per se needs to be separated from ethical education which is taught based on intuitive knowledge and values from the world religions.

> In other countries, Civics and Ethical Education are taught in schools as two distinct subjects since their philosophy is completely different. If that is done here in Ethiopia, it would be good. But at its present condition more time and content coverage is given to Civics while very little coverage is given to Ethical Education. Moreover, in primary schools, the assumption is that teachers who teach this subject are considered necessarily member of the EPRDF and this inculcates the misconception that the subject is meant indoctrinating the politics of the ruling party instead of the ideals of a democratic state (Informant: Ato Asnake, December 25th 2012).

My research participants, who are teaching the subject civics and ethical education, agree on the need for separating Civics from moral education.

> Civics and Ethical Education represent two different subjects. Ethical education refers to moral or character education. We call it superficially ethical education which in reality it is all about Civics and Political education. The essence of moral education is eradicated from Ethiopian education system. The basis of moral education is religion. Today, the young do not know the need to respect elder people, for instance. The focuses are on being profitable and earn more money without being truthful to fellow citizens. For this and other related reasons, the moral

values of our country are at the verge of collapse unless the young is taught character education (Informant: Ato Seid, December 23rd 2012).

The present assumptions of Ethiopian Education policy seems to be that the objectives of secularism will be served if (1) No religious education is provided in the government/public schools and (2) In the private institutions no religious instruction is made for any child.

> But many educationists, leaders and thinkers feel that the present situation of communal disharmony and intolerance is due to the total ignorance of one's own religion as well as other religions. They feel that total indifference to religion is not a solution of the present problem at all but that a sympathetic and objective understanding of all religions is essential for a healthy society. Students must not only understand their own religion and have faith in it but at the same time should understand and have respect for other religions. They should treat religion as a purely personal affair which does not prejudice social and national policies (Raghuvansh, 2004:4-5).

My research participants told me that in the contemporary world, if parents want their child to be raised with good character, Christians send their children to Church education while "Muslims send their children to Qur'an education instead of modern schools" (Informant: W/ro Meryema, August, 25th 2012). It appears that "modern schools" are meant for learning science and "foreign language" (Hailegebriel, 1969). I argue that since the future of Ethiopia rests on the young generation, who are now attending modern schools, schools should endow this generation not only with science and foreign language but also with indigenous values that are mostly embedded within the world great religions – Christianity and Islam in the Ethiopian context.

The need for a distinctive and separate school course on Character Education becomes evident when we realize the moral recession almost in all wok of life. Other than theft, robbery and embezzlement in public institutions, there is a growing tendency on alcoholism, addiction to hashish and chat, nudity-dance in night clubs, pornography, and indecent sexual elicit. I have also heard the number of homosexuals increasing from time to time in big cities.

According to Starratt (1994:3), some of the challenges for the provision of character/ethical education include (1) there is a charm between objective, scientific knowledge and subjective character preferences; (2) there is a growing indifference to the need for a common value, i.e. more and more adults have accepted a privatized ethic of Social Darwinism, where the individual is pitted against everyone else in an aggressive pursuit of self-interest, and (3) shortage of teachers trained in character education. There is no free lunch especially in the education of the young and other citizens of the nation. Hence, although the cost of establishing a new school course is demanding, it has to be weighed

by its anticipated benefits especially in maintaining the moral heritages of the nation. All religious institutions and other stakeholders should discuss and develop common values for the school children.

Conclusions

The major threats in the contemporary world are corruption, theft, business fraud, rape, violence and other related crimes. Such acts of cruelty appeared to be increased from time to time. Such indecent acts are rebuffed by the three Abrahamic faiths: Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Islamic moral and ethical values, which are also acceptable in many cases by other faith groups in traditional as well as modern societies, include, among others, chastity, honesty, truthfulness, peacefulness, patience, forgiveness, compassion, love, equality and freedom. Such values are acceptable in many cases among all humanity since these ideals are more or less universal.

However, because of the overemphasis of materialism and individualism usually at the expense of such moral values in modern education, the aforementioned threats are booming instead of receding. Religious extremism, violence and terrorism are also becoming potential threats in many countries. The call, therefore, is towards peace education, security, tolerance and the like.

Ethiopia is known for its traditional values such as trustworthiness, hospitability and respectfulness. Such values are mainly strong in the traditional education context. However, since such values are taught in schools from the rationalist perspective under the subject Civic and Ethical Education, a subject that was partially rejected from the school curriculum of the socialist junta, under the assumption that "to know the good is to do the good", no major successes seemed to be achieved on the part of the school generation except inculcating certain democratic principles which mainly emphasized rights over duties. For this reason, I understand that the subject Civic needs to be detached from the Ethical/Character Education and such moral education should be based on not only on intellectual aspects but also on the emotional, spiritual and intuitive knowledge extracted from the values of the world great religions in general and Islam and Christianity in particular. This can help, on the one hand, to develop the emotional and moral intelligence of the school generation, and on the other hand, to reintegrate the modern education with the cultural heritages of the country. Hence, morality should not be confused with knowledge acquisition and/or with political education.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: COMPATIBILITY OF FAITH AND SCIENCE WITH REFERENCE TO ISLAMIC SCRIPTURES

Introduction

Ethiopia is known for its traditional values such as trustworthiness, hospitability and respectfulness. Such values are mainly strong in the traditional education context though not in modern schools. Moral or character education need to be given for young students as a distinct school subject different from other subjects that are based on the cognitive and psychomotor domains. Moral education that could predominantly address the affective or normative domain of education demands moral or emotional intelligence that would guide human behavior and thinking.

Islamic moral and ethical values, which are also acceptable in many cases by other faith groups in traditional as well as modern societies, include, among others, chastity, honesty, truthfulness, peacefulness, patience, forgiveness, compassion, love, equality, justice and freedom. Such values explained in Chapter Thirteen are suitable in many cases among all humanity since these ideals are more or less universal.

So far we were discussing the historical, political and socio-cultural influence of Islam directly or indirectly. In this Chapter, we will see one of the most contested issues: faith and science. One of the reasons why young Muslims are attracted and influenced by Islamic education is assumed to be the compatibility of certain Islamic ideas with the modern scientific knowledge. Addressing this issue is the purpose of the present Chapter. One of the reasons why religious moral values are kicked off the school curricula is the assumption that religion stifles science and development. Is that true? 19th and early 20th century scholars and phylosophers neglected religions erroniously influenced by modern science and technology. Contrary to the experience of most African nations, many western countries provide religion education in their universities and colleges. The relationship between religion and science has been a subject of study since classical antiquity, addressed by philosophers, theologians, scientists, and other commentators. Perspectives from different geographical regions, cultures and historical epochs are diverse. This issue is discussed briefly first in this Chapter. Then, a brief description is given on Islam and Science specifically. Finally, the concept of the Creation of the Universe, the moon's and the sun's orbits, the water cycle and human reproduction are discussed based on the verses from the Qur'an vis-à-vis the findings of modern science.

There are over hundreds of verses that describe natural phenomena in the Qur'an (Naik, 2007, Ibrahim, 1997) but I have limited the discussion only to the issues indicated just to highlight the compatibility of the faith and science. Since this section demands multi-scientific disciplinary and encyclopedic knowledge, I have based the analysis on the works of Bucaille (1978), a French Medical Doctor and Naik (2007), an Indian Medical Doctor and Islamic preacher, in addition to the works of other Muslim and non-Muslim scientists.

The Relationship between Religion and Science

The relationship between religion and science has been the subject of investigation since time immemorial. Recent commentators have characterized the relationship as one of four categories: conflict, independence, dialogue, and integration. Discussions of what is science and what is not science, the demarcation problem in the philosophy of science, have intersected with discourse on religion in some instances and both have had complex relations in their historical interactions (Baker, 2012).

The conflict thesis remains generally popular for the public ever since the trial of Galileo, though most historians of science no longer support it (Baker, 2012; Evans, 2011). Other contemporary scientists hold that religion and science are non-overlapping magisterial, addressing fundamentally separate forms of knowledge and aspects of life. Some theologians or historians of science propose an interconnection between them calling for integration of the two fields of studies (Baker, 2012; Evans, 2011).

 Kuhn (1962) asserted that science is made up of paradigms that arise from cultural traditions, which is similar to the secular perspective on religion.

Science is merely a commitment to universality that protects against subjectivity and has nothing at all to do with personal detachment as found in many conceptions of the scientific method. All knowledge is personal and therefore the scientist must be performing a very personal if not necessarily subjective role when doing science. Hence, the scientist often merely follows intuitions of "intellectual beauty, symmetry, and 'empirical agreement'". Science requires moral commitments similar to those found in religion (Golshani, 2003:110).

 It is claimed that "the methods of science and religion have much in common." Both fields—science and religion—have "a threefold structure—of experience, theoretical interpretation, and practical application." Science, like religion, "advances by creative imagination" and not by "mere collecting of facts," while

stating that religion should and does "involve critical reflection on experience not unlike that which goes on in science." Religious language and scientific language also show parallels (Golshani, 2003: 110).

Dialogue between Religion and Science

The religion and science community consists of those scholars who involve themselves with what has been called the "religion-and-science dialogue" or the "religion-and-science field." The community belongs to neither the scientific nor the religious community, but is said to be a third overlapping community of interested and involved scientists, priests, clergymen, theologians, and engaged non-professionals.

Overall, scientific and theological perspectives often coexist peacefully. Certain faiths have historically integrated well with scientific ideas, as in the ancient Egyptian technological mastery applied to monotheistic ends, the flourishing of logic and mathematics under Hinduism and Buddhism, and the scientific advances made by Muslim scholars during the Ottoman empire. Even many 19th century Christian communities welcomed scientists who claimed that science was not at all concerned with discovering the ultimate nature of reality.

The Relationship between Islam and Science

From an Islamic standpoint, science is considered to be linked to the concept of *Tawhid* (the Oneness of God), as are all other branches of knowledge. In Islam, nature is not seen as a separate entity, but rather as an integral part of Islam's holistic outlook on God, humanity, and the world. This link implies a sacred aspect to the pursuit of scientific knowledge by Muslims, as nature itself is viewed in the Qur'an as a compilation of signs pointing to the Divine. It was with this understanding that the pursuit of science was tolerated in Islamic civilization, specifically during the eighth to sixteenth centuries, prior to the colonization of the Muslim world (Iqbal, 2007)

Theoretical physicist Al-Khalili believes the modern scientific method was pioneered by Ibn Al-Haytham (known to the west as "Alhazen") whose contributions he likened to those of Isaac Newton. Alhazen helped shift the emphasis on abstract theorizing onto systematic and repeatable experimentation, followed by careful criticism of premises and inferences. Briffault (1929), in *The Making of Humanity*, asserts that the very existence of science, as it is understood in the modern sense, is rooted in the scientific thought and knowledge that emerged in Islamic civilizations during this time (Rosanna, 2003).

Muslim scientists and scholars have subsequently developed a spectrum of viewpoints on the place of scientific learning within the context of Islam, none of which are universally accepted. However, most

maintain the view that the acquisition of knowledge and scientific pursuit in general is not in disaccord with Islamic thought and religious belief.

In the history of science in the Muslim world, science refers to the science developed under Islamic civilization between the 8th and 16th centuries, during what is known as the Islamic Golden Age. A number of modern scholars such Abdu-Salam (1994) and (Nasr, 2003) consider modern science and the scientific method to have been greatly inspired by Muslim scientists who introduced a modern empirical, experimental and quantitative approach to scientific inquiry. Some scholars, notably Donald and Ahmad (2003), Abdus Salam, (1994) and Saliba (1994), have referred to their achievements as a Muslim scientific revolution, though this does not contradict the traditional view of the Scientific Revolution which is still supported by most scholars. It is believed that it was the empirical attitude of the Qur'an and Sunnah which inspired medieval Muslim scientists, in particular Alhazen (965-1037), to develop the scientific method (Ahmad, 2002). It is also known that certain advances made by medieval Muslim astronomers, geographers and mathematicians was motivated by problems presented in Islamic scripture, such as Al-Khwarizmi's (780-850) development of algebra in order to solve the Islamic inheritance laws, and developments in astronomy, geography, spherical geometry and spherical trigonometry in order to determine the direction of the Qibla, the times of Salah prayers, and the dates of the Islamic calendar (Ahmad, 2002).

The increased use of dissection in Islamic medicine during the 12th and 13th centuries was influenced by the writings of the Islamic theologian, Al-Ghazali, who encouraged the study of anatomy and use of dissections as a method of gaining knowledge of God's creation. The Prophetic Hadith also states, "There is no disease that Allah has created, except that He also has created its treatment." (Bukhari 7-71:582). That is, for every disease there is a cure. This culminated in the work of Ibn al-Nafis (1213–1288), who discovered the pulmonary circulation in 1242 and used his discovery as evidence for the orthodox Islamic doctrine of bodily resurrection.

Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (1149–1209), in dealing with his conception of physics and the physical world in his *Matalib*, discusses Islamic cosmology, criticizes the Aristotelian notion of the Earth's centrality within the universe, and explores the notion of the existence of a multiverse in the context of his commentary, based on the Qur'anic verse, "All praise belongs to God, Lord of the Worlds" (Qur'an, 1:2). He raises the question of whether the term "worlds" in this verse refers to "multiple worlds within this single universe or cosmos, or to many other universes or a multiverse beyond this known universe." On the basis of this verse, he argues that God has created more than "a thousand thousand worlds (*alfa alfi 'awalim*) i.e.

one million worlds beyond this world such that each one of those worlds be bigger and more massive than this world as well as having the like of what this world has" (Setia, 2004:11).

According to many historians, science in the Muslim civilization flourished during the Middle Ages, but began declining at some time around the 14th to 16th centuries. At least some scholars blame this on the "rise of a clerical faction which froze this same science and withered its progress" (Ahmad, 2002).

Religion and science have always been considered to be twin sisters by Islam and today at a time when science has taken great strides, they still continue to be associated especially for people who passed through the modern education. Furthermore, certain scientific data are used for a better understanding of the Qur'anic text (Bucaille, 1978; www.iip.com.sa).

Muslims Reaction to Modern Science

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, modern science arrived in the Muslim world but it was not the science itself that affected Muslim scholars. Rather, it was the transfer of various philosophical currents entangled with science that had a profound effect on the minds of Muslim scientists and intellectuals. Schools like Positivism and Darwinism penetrated the Muslim world and dominated its academic circles and had a noticeable impact on some Islamic theological doctrines. There were different responses to this among the Muslim scholars: These reactions, according to Golshani (2003), were the following:

Some rejected modern science as corrupt foreign thought, considering it incompatible with Islamic teachings, and in their view, the only remedy for the stagnation of Islamic societies would be the strict following of Islamic teachings. Other thinkers in the Muslim world saw science as the only source of real enlightenment and advocated the complete adoption of modern science. In their view, the only remedy for the stagnation of Muslim societies would be the mastery of modern science and the replacement of the religious worldview by the scientific worldview.

The majority of faithful Muslim scientists tried to adapt Islam to the findings of modern science; they can be categorized in the following subgroups: (i) Some Muslim thinkers attempted to justify modern science on religious grounds. Their motivation was to encourage Muslim societies to acquire modern knowledge and to safeguard their societies from the criticism of Orientalists and Muslim intellectuals. (ii) Others tried to show that all important scientific discoveries had been predicted in the Qur'an and Islamic tradition and appealed to modern science to explain various aspects of faith. (iii) Yet other scholars advocated a re-interpretation of Islam. In their view, one must try to construct a new theology that can establish a viable relation between Islam and modern science. They need to seek for a theology of

nature through which one could re-interpret the basic principles of Islam in the light of modern science. (iv) Then there were some Muslim scholars who believed that empirical science had reached the same conclusions that prophets had been advocating several thousand years ago. The revelation had only the privilege of prophecy (Golshani, 2003). Finally, some Muslim philosophers separated the findings of modern science from its philosophical attachments. Thus, while they praised the attempts of Western scientists for the discovery of the secrets of nature, they warned against various empiricist and materialistic interpretations of scientific findings. Scientific knowledge can reveal certain aspects of the physical world, but it should not be identified with the alpha and omega of knowledge. Rather, it has to be integrated into a metaphysical framework—consistent with the Muslim worldview—in which higher levels of knowledge are recognized and the role of science in bringing us closer to God is fulfilled (Golshani, 2003).

I understand that despite the fact that Islam gives priority to revealed knowledge it has also given great reputation to reasoned knowledge as well. One of my research participants said, "If the real and objective life experience is found to be contradicting to religious texts on worldly matters, Islamic scholars made the consensus to accept the real life experience" (Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Zein, April 20th 2012).

The Qur'an and Modern Science

Whenever there is textual proof of the existence in the Qur'an of statements that are in agreement with modern knowledge, the stock response is that, during the period, Arab scientists made discoveries in various disciplines which enabled them to arrive at these supposed adaptations. This approach takes no account whatsoever of the history of the sciences. But the great period of Islamic civilizations, during which science made considerable progress, came several centuries after the communication of the Qur'an to man (Bucaille, 1978; Naik, 2007; Ibrahim, 1997).

These Muslim apologists argue that if at all there is a mismatch between the issues indicated in the Islamic scripture and the fact on the ground, the translators may mistranslate a passage because they do not possess the scientific knowledge required to understand its true meaning. A further point is that translators may have been influenced by notes provided by ancient commentators often came to be regarded as highly authoritative, even though they had no scientific knowledge – nor indeed had anybody else at that time. They were incapable of imagining that the texts might contain allusions to secular knowledge, and thus they could not devote attention to a specific passage by comparing it to other verses in the Qur'an dealing with the same subject – a process that often provides the key to the

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meaning of a word or an expression. From this perspective, the fact that any passage in the Qur'an that gives rise to a comparison with modern secular knowledge is likely to be unreliably translated. The only way to avoid such errors is to possess a scientific background and to study the Qur'anic text in the original language i.e. Arabic (Bucaille, 1978). The following are some of the points which arise from a reading of the Qur'an:

(a) a concept of the creation of the universe; (b) statements concerning the movements and evolution of the heavenly bodies; (c) a prediction of the conquest of space; (d) notions concerning the water cycle in nature and (e) the nature of human reproduction and embryonic development (Bucaille, 1978; Naik, 2007; Ibrahim, 1997).

That does not mean to say, however, that the statements in the Qur'an – especially those concerning man – may all of them be examined in the light of the findings of modern science. The creation of man as described in both the Bible and the Qur'an totally eludes scientific investigation of the event per se. Science does not explain miracles, for by definition miracles are inexplicable, thus, when we read in both the Qur'an and the Bible that man was molded from the soil, we are in fact learning a fundamental religious principle. I understand that the same may be true regarding the existence of Paradise, Hell and Angeles.

Side by side with the main religious aspect of such reflections on man, we find in the Qur'an statements on man that refer to strictly material facts. They are quite amazing when one approaches them for the first time.

The many statements in the Qur'an that may thus be compared with modern knowledge are by no means easy to find. Research of this kind requires scientific knowledge covering many different disciplines. It is not easy, however, for Islamic scholars to acquire such knowledge, for they possess a mainly literary background. Only a scientist, thoroughly acquainted with Arabic literature, can draw comparisons between the Qur'anic text – for which he must be able to read Arabic – and the data supplied by modern knowledge. There is another reason why such statements are not immediately apparent: verses bearing on a single theme are scattered throughout the Qur'an. The book is indeed a juxtaposition of reflections on a wide variety of subjects referred to one after the other and taken up again later on, often several times over. The data on a precise theme must therefore be collected from all over the Book and brought together under a single heading (Bucaille, 1978).

The Basic Processes of the Formation of the Universe

The Qur'an presents in two verses a brief synthesis of the phenomena that constituted the basic process of the formation of the Universe. Sura 21, verse 30: "Do not the Unbelievers see that the heavens and the earth were joined together, then We clove them asunder (apart).... Will they not then believe?" Sura 41, verse 11: God orders the Prophet to speak after inviting him to reflect on the subject of the earth's creation: "Moreover (God) turned to the Heaven when it was smoke and said to it and to the earth..." There then follow the orders to submit. The important things to remember at present are the following:

a) The statement of the existence of a gaseous mass with fine particles, for this is how the word 'smoke' (dukan in Arabic) is to be interpreted. Smoke is generally made up of a gaseous substratum, plus, in more or less stable suspension, fine particles that may belong to solid and even liquid states of matter at high or low temperature;

b) The reference to a separation process (fatq) of a primary single mass whose elements were initially fused together (ratq). It must be noted that in Arabic 'fatq' is the action of breaking, diffusing, separating, and that 'ratq' is the action of fusing or binding together elements to make a homogenous whole. This is referred to as the Big Bang theory (Naik, 2007: 8).

This concept of the separation of a whole into several parts is noted in other passages of the Book with reference to multiple worlds. The first verse of the first sura in the Qur'an proclaims the following: "Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds." The term 'worlds' reappears dozens of times in the Qur'an. The Heavens are referred to as multiple as well, not only on account of their plural form, but also because of their symbolic numerical quantity: seven. This number is used 24 times throughout the Qur'an for various numerical quantities. It often carries the meaning of 'many' although we do not know exactly why this meaning of the figure was used. The Greeks and Romans also seem to have used the number 7 to mean an undefined idea of plurality. In the Qur'an, the number 7 refers to the Heavens themselves (samawat). It alone is understood to mean 'Heavens'. The 7 roads of the Heavens are mentioned once: Sura 2, verse 29: "(God) is the One Who created for you all that is on the earth. Moreover He turned to the heaven and fashioned seven heavens with harmony. He is Full of Knowledge of all things."
Sura 23, verse 17: "And We have created above you seven paths: We have never been unmindful of the Creation."
Sura 67, verse 3: "(God) is the One -who created seven heavens one above another. Thou canst see no

fault in the creation of the Beneficent. Turn the vision again! Canst thou see any rift?"

Sura 71, verse 15-16: "Did you see how God created seven heavens one above another and made the moon a light therein and made the sun a lamp?"

Sura 78, verse 12: "We have built above you seven strong (heavens) and placed a blazing lamp."

Here the blazing lamp is the Sun. The commentators on the Qur'an are in agreement on all these verses: the number 7 means no more than plurality. There are therefore many Heavens and Earths, and it comes as no small surprise to the reader of the Qur'an to find that earths such as our own may be found in the Universe, a fact that has not yet been verified by man in our time.

Verse 12 of Sura 65 does, however, predict the following:

"God is the One Who created seven heavens and of the earth (ard) a similar number. The Command descends among them so that you know that God has power over all things and comprehends all things in His knowledge."

Since 7 indicates an indefinite plurality (as we have seen), it is possible to conclude that the Qur'anic text clearly indicates the existence of more than one single Earth, our own Earth (ard); there are others like it in the Universe. Another observation which may surprise a modern reader of the Qur'an is the fact that verses refer to three groups of things created, i.e.

(a) things in the Heavens; (b) things on the Earth and (c) things between the Heavens and the Earth. Here are several of these verses:

Sura 20, verse 6; "To Him (God) belongs what is in the heavens, on earth, between them and beneath the soil."

Sura 25, verse 59: "...the One Who created the heavens, the earth and what is between them in six periods."

Sura 32, verse 4: "God is the One Who created the heavens, the earth and what is between them in six periods."

Sura 50, verse 38: "We created the heavens, the earth and what is between them in six periods, and no weariness touched Us."

The reference in the Qur'an to 'what is between the Heavens and the Earth' is again to be found in the following verses: Sura 21, verse 16; Sura 44, verses 7 and 38; Sura 78, verse 37; Sura 15, verse 85; Sura 46, verse 3; Sura 43, verse 85. From these verses Bucaille (1978) identified the concepts:

1) Existence of six periods for the Creation in general.

2) Interlocking of stages in the Creation of the Heavens and the Earth.

3) Creation of the Universe out of an initially unique mass forming a block that subsequently split up.

4) Plurality of the Heavens and of the Earths [planets]

5) Existence of an intermediary creation 'between the Heavens and the Earth'.

The Expansion of the Universe

The expansion of the Universe is the most impressive discovery of modern science. Today it is a firmly established concept and the only debate centers around the way this is taking place. It was first suggested by the general theory of relativity and is backed up by physics in the examination of the galactic spectrum; the regular movement towards the red section of their spectrum may be explained by the distancing of one galaxy from another. Thus, the size of the Universe is probably constantly increasing and this increase will become bigger the further away the galaxies are from us. The speeds at which these celestial bodies are moving may, in the course of this perpetual expansion, go from fractions of the speed of light to speeds faster than this. The following verse of the Qur'an (Sura 51, verse 47) may perhaps be compared with modern ideas: "The heaven, We have built it with power. Verily We are expanding it." 'Heaven' is the translation of the word *sama'* and this is exactly the extra-terrestrial world that is meant. 'We are expanding it' is the translation of the plural present participle *musi'una* of the verb *ausa'a* meaning 'to make wider, more spacious, to extend, or to expand' (Bucaille, 1978).

Until the dawn of the 20th century, the only view prevailing in the world of science was that "the universe has a constant nature and it has existed since infinite time". The research, observations, and calculations carried out by means of modern technology, however, have revealed that the universe in fact had a beginning, and that it constantly "expands". This contradicts the static universe model that was dominantly accepted by then (Naik, 2007:7).

This fact was proved also by observational data in 1929. While observing the sky with a telescope, Edwin Hubble, the American astronomer, discovered that the stars and galaxies were constantly moving away from each other. A universe where everything constantly moves away from everything else implied a constantly expanding universe. The observations carried out in the following years verified that the universe is constantly expanding. This fact was explained in the Qur'an when that was still unknown to anyone. The inflationary theory was developed in 1970s. The inflationary theory holds that very early in its life, the universe expanded much more rapidly than it now expands (Pasachoff, 2008; Naik, 2007).

The Existence of the Moon's and the Sun's Orbits

The information the Qur'an provides on this subject mainly deals with the solar system. References are, however, made to phenomena that go beyond the solar system itself: they have been discovered in recent times. There are two very important verses on the orbits of the Sun and the Moon:

Sura 21, verse 33: "(God is) the One Who created the night, and day, the sun and the moon. Each one is traveling in an orbit with its own motion."

Sura 36, verse 40: "The sun must not catch up the moon, nor does the night outstrip the day. Each one is traveling in an orbit with its own motion."

Here, an essential fact is clearly stated: the existence of the Sun's and Moon's orbits, plus a reference is made to the traveling of these bodies in space with their own motion. A negative fact also emerges from a reading of these verses: it is shown that the Sun moves in an orbit, but no indication is given as to what this orbit might be in relation to the Earth. At the time of the Qur'anic Revelation, it was thought that the Sun moved while the Earth stood still. This was the system of geo-centrism that had held away since the time of Ptolemy, second century B.C., and was to continue to do so until Copernicus in the Sixteenth century A.D. Although people supported this concept at the time of Prophet Muhammad, it does not appear anywhere in the Qur'an, either here or elsewhere. The Arabic word falak has here been translated by the word 'orbit'. Others translated it as: a sort of axle, like an iron rod that a mill turns around; a celestial sphere, orbit, sign of the zodiac, speed, wave . . ., but adding the following remark: Allah knows best (Bucaille, 1978, Naik, 2007; Seeds, 1981).

The Movement of the Moon and the Sun in Space

This concept does not appear in those translations of the Qur'an that have been made by men of letters. Since the latter know nothing about astronomy, they have translated the Arabic word that expresses this movement by one of the meanings the word has: 'to swim'. They have done this in both the French translations and the otherwise remarkable, English translation by Yusuf Ali. The Arabic word referring to a movement with a self-propelled motion is the verb sabaha (yasbahuna in the text of the two verses – 21:33; 36:40). All the senses of the verb imply a movement that is associated with a motion that comes from the body in question. If the movement takes place in water, it is 'to swim'; It is 'to move by the action of one's own legs' if it takes place on land. For a movement that occurs in space, it is difficult to see how else this meaning implied in the word could be rendered other than by employing its original sense. Thus, there seems to have been no mistranslation, for the following reasons:

The Moon completes its rotating motion on its own axis at the same time as it revolves around the Earth, i.e. 29.5 days approximately, so that it always has the same side facing us.

The Sun takes roughly 25 days to revolve on its axis. There are certain differences in its rotation at its equator and poles, but as a whole, the Sun is animated by a rotating motion. It appears therefore that a verbal nuance in the Qur'an refers to the Sun and Moon's own motion. These motions of the two celestial bodies are confirmed by the data of modern science, and it is inconceivable that a man living in the Seventh century A.D. – however knowledgeable he might have been in his day (and this was certainly not true in Muhammad's case) – could have imagined them. This view is sometimes contested by examples from great thinkers of antiquity who indisputably predicted certain data that modern science has verified. They could hardly have relied on scientific deduction however; their method of procedure was more one of philosophical reasoning. Thus the case of the Pythagoreans is often advanced. In the Sixth century B.C., they defended the theory of the rotation of the Earth on its own axis and the movement of the planets around the Sun. This theory was to be confirmed by modern science. By comparing it with the case of the Pythagoreans, it is easy to put forward the hypothesis of Muhammad as being a brilliant thinker, who was supposed to have imagined all on his own what modern science was to discover centuries later. In so doing, however, people quite simply forget to mention the other aspect of what these geniuses of philosophical reasoning produced, i.e. the colossal blunders that litter their work. It must be remembered for example, that the Pythagoreans also defended the theory whereby the Sun was fixed in space; they made it the centre of the world and only conceived of a celestial order that was centered on it (Bucaille, 1978).

It is quite common in the works of the great philosophers of antiquity to find a mixture of valid and invalid ideas about the Universe. The brilliance of these human works comes from the advanced ideas they contain, but they should not make us overlook the mistaken concepts which have also been left to us. From a strictly scientific point of view, this is what distinguished them from the Qur'an. In the latter, many subjects are referred to that have a bearing on modern knowledge without one of them containing a statement that contradicts what has been established by present-day science.

The Roundness of the Earth

"He has created the Heavens and the Earth for Truth. He wraps the night up in the day, and wraps the day up in the night" (The Qur'an, 39:5). Other related verses include 31:29 and 79:30.

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In the Qur'an, the words used for describing the universe are quite remarkable. The Arabic word that is translated as "to wrap" in the above verse is "takwir". In English, it means "to make one thing lap over another, folded up as a garment that is laid away". The information given in the verse about the day and the night wrapping each other up includes accurate information about the shape of the world. This can be true only if the earth is round. This means that in the Qur'an, which was revealed in the 7th century, the roundness of the world was hinted at (Naik, 2007:12-13).

It should be remembered, however, that the understanding of astronomy of the time perceived the world differently. It was then thought that the world was a flat plane and all scientific calculations and explanations were based on this belief. The verses of the Qur'an, however, include information that we have learned only in the 19th century.

The Sequence of Day and Night

At a time when it was held that the Earth was the centre of the world and that the Sun moved in relation to it, how could anyone have failed to refer to the Sun's movement when talking of the sequence of night and day? This is not however referred to in the Qur'an and the subject is dealt with as follows:

Sura 39, verse 5: "...He coils the night upon the day and He coils the day upon the night." There are also other verses with similar ideas: Qur'an, 7:54; 36:37 and 31:29.

'To coil' or 'to wind' seems to be the best way of translating the Arabic verb *kawwara*. The original meaning of the verb is to 'coil' a turban around the head; the notion of coiling is preserved in all the other senses of the word. What actually happens however in space? American astronauts have seen and photographed what happens from their spaceships especially at a great distance from Earth, e.g. from the Moon. They saw how the Sun permanently lights up (except in the case of an eclipse) the half of the Earth's surface that is facing it, while the other half of the globe is in darkness. The Earth turns on its own axis and the lighting remains the same, so that an area in the form of a half-sphere makes one revolution around the Earth in twenty-four hours while the other half-sphere, which has remained in darkness, makes the same revolution at the same time. This perpetual rotation of night and day is quite clearly described in the Qur'an. It is easy for the human understanding to grasp this notion nowadays because we have the idea of the Sun's (relative) immobility and the Earth's rotation. This process of perpetual coiling, including the interpenetration of one sector by another is expressed in the Qur'an just as if the concept of the Earth's roundness had already been conceived at the time-which was obviously not the case (Naik, 2007).

The Water–Cycle: The Formation of Rain

How rain forms remained a great mystery for a long time. Only after weather radar was invented was it possible to discover the stages by which rain is formed. Accordingly, the formation of rain takes place in three stages. First, the "raw material" of rain rises up into the air with the wind. Later, clouds are formed, and finally raindrops appear (Ahrens, 1988). The Qur'an's account of the formation of rain refers exactly to this process. In one verse, this formation is described in this way:

> It is God Who sends the winds which stir up clouds which He spreads about the sky however He wills. He forms them into dark clumps and you see the rain come pouring out from the middle of them. When He makes it fall on those of His slaves He wills, they rejoice (The Qur'an, 30:48).

Now, let us examine these three stages outlined in the verse more technically.

First stage: "It is God Who sends the winds...." Countless air bubbles formed by the foaming of the oceans continuously burst and cause water particles to be ejected towards the sky. These particles, which are rich in salt, are then carried away by winds and rise upward in the atmosphere. These particles, which are called aerosols, function as water traps, and form cloud drops by collecting around the water vapor themselves, which rises from the seas as tiny droplets.

Second stage: ".... which stir up clouds which He spreads about the sky however He wills. He forms them into dark clumps..." The clouds are formed from water vapor that condenses around the salt crystals or dust particles in the air. Because the water droplets in these clouds are very small (with a diameter between 0.01 and 0.02 mm), the clouds are suspended in the air, and spread across the sky. Thus, the sky is covered in clouds (Ibrahim, 1997; Miller and Thompson, 1975).

Third stage: "…and you see the rain come pouring out from the middle of them". The water particles that surround salt crystals and dust particles thicken and form raindrops, so, drops that become heavier than the air leave the clouds and start to fall to the ground as rain. As we have seen, every stage in the formation of rain is related in the verses of the Qur'an. Furthermore, these stages are explained in exactly the right sequence. Just as with many other natural phenomena on the Earth, the Qur'an gives the most correct explanation of this phenomenon as well, and made it known to people centuries before it was discovered. In another verse, the following information is given about the formation of rain:

> Have you not seen how God drives along the clouds, then joins them together, then makes them into a stack, and then you see the rain come out of it? And He sends down from the sky mountain masses (of clouds) with cold hail in them, striking with it anyone He wills and averting it from anyone He wills. The brightness of His lightning almost blinds the sight (The Qur'an, 24:43).

Scientists studying cloud types came across surprising results regarding the formation of rain clouds. Rain clouds are formed and shaped according to definite systems and stages. The formation stages of cumulonimbus, one kind of rain cloud, are these:

1st stage, being driven along: clouds are carried along, that is, they are driven along, by the wind; 2nd stage, joining: then, small clouds (cumulus clouds) driven along by the wind join together, forming a larger cloud; 3rd stage, stacking: when the small clouds join together, updrafts within the larger cloud increase. The updrafts near the centre of the cloud are stronger than those near the edges. These updrafts cause the cloud body to grow vertically, so the cloud is stacked up. This vertical growth causes the cloud body to stretch into cooler regions of the atmosphere, where drops of water and hail formulate and begin to grow larger and larger. When these drops of water and hail become too heavy for the updrafts to support them, they begin to fall from the cloud as rain, hail, etc (Ibrahim, 1997; Miller and Thompson, 1975).

These three stages are described in the Qur'anic verse in the correct order. We must remember that meteorologists have only recently come to know these details of cloud formation, structure and function, by using advanced equipment like planes, satellites, computers etc.

The Fecundating Winds

In one verse of the Qur'an, the "fecundating" (i.e. fertilizing) characteristic of the winds, and the formation of rain as a result are mentioned: "And We send the fecundating winds, then cause water to descend from the sky, therewith providing you with water in abundance" (The Qur'an, 15:22).

In this verse, it is pointed out that the first stage in the formation of rain is wind. Until the beginning of the 20th century, the only relationship between the wind and the rain that was known was that the wind drove the clouds. However, modern meteorological findings have demonstrated the "fecundating" role of the wind in the formation of rain. This fecundating function of the wind works in the following way: on the surface of oceans and seas, countless air bubbles form because of the water's foaming action. The moment these bubbles burst, thousands of tiny particles, with a diameter of just one hundredth of a millimeter, are thrown up into the air. These particles, known as "aerosols", mix with dust carried from the land by the wind, and are carried to the upper layers of the atmosphere. These particles carried to higher altitudes by winds come into contact with water vapor up there. Water vapor condenses around these particles and turns into water droplets. These water droplets first come together and form clouds,

and then fall to the Earth in the form of rain. Winds "fecundate" the water vapor floating in the air with the particles they carry from the sea, and eventually help the formation of rain clouds. If winds did not possess this property, water droplets in the upper atmosphere would never form, and there would be no such thing as rain (Miller and Thompson, 1975). The most important point here is that this critical role of the wind in the formation of rain was stated centuries ago in a verse of the Qur'an, at a time when people knew very little about natural phenomena.

The Concept of Human Development in the Qur'an

Statements referring to human reproduction and development are scattered throughout the Qur'an. It is only recently that the scientific meaning of some of these verses has been appreciated fully. The long delay in interpreting these verses correctly resulted mainly from inaccurate translations and commentaries and from a lack of awareness of scientific knowledge.

Interest in explanations of the verses of the Qur'an is not new. People used to ask the prophet Muhammad all sorts of questions about the meaning of verses referring to human reproduction. The Apostle's answers form the basis of the Hadith literature.

> He makes you in the wombs of your mothers in stages, one after another, in three veils of darkness.

This statement is from Sura 39:6. We do not know when it was realized that human beings underwent development in the uterus (womb), but the first known illustration of a fetus in the uterus was drawn by *Leonardo da Vinci* in the 15th century. In the 2nd century A.D., *Galen* described the placenta and fetal membranes in his book on "The Formation of the Fetus." Consequently, doctors in the 7th century A.D. likely knew that the human embryo developed in the uterus. It is unlikely that they knew that it developed in stages, even though *Aristotle* had described the stages of development of the chick embryo in the 4th century B.C. The realization that the human embryo develops in stages was not discussed and illustrated until the 15th century (Moore and Persaud, 1983; Ibrahim, 1997).

After the microscope was discovered in the 17th century by *Leeuwenhoek,* descriptions were made of the early stages of the chick embryo. The staging of human embryos was not described until the 20th century. *Streeter* (1941) developed the first system of staging which has now been replaced by a more accurate system proposed by *O'Rahilly* (1972).

The three veils of darkness" may refer to: (l) the anterior abdominal wall; (2) the uterine wall; and (3) the amino chorionic membrane. Although there are other interpretations of this statement, the one presented here seems the most logical from an embryological point of view. "Then We placed him as a drop in a place of rest." This statement is from Sura 23:13. The drop or *nutfah* has been interpreted as the sperm or spermatozoon, but a more meaningful interpretation would be the zygote which divides to form a blastocyst which is implanted in the uterus ("a place of rest"). This interpretation is supported by another verse in the Qur'an which states that "a human being is created from a mixed drop." The zygote forms by the union of a mixture of the sperm and the ovum ("The mixed drop").

"Then We made the drop into a leech-like structure." This statement is from Sura 23:14. The word "*alaqah*" refers to a leech or bloodsucker. This is an appropriate description of the human embryo from days 7-24 when it clings to the endometrium of the uterus, in the same way that a leech clings to the skin. Just as the leech derives blood from the host, the human embryo derives blood from the deciduas or pregnant endometrium. It is remarkable how much the embryo of 23-24 days resembles a leech (Appendix 3). As there were no microscopes or lenses available in the 7th century, doctors would not have known that the human embryo had this leech-like appearance. In the early part of the fourth week, the embryo is just visible to the unaided eye because it is smaller than a kernel of wheat (Moore, 1983).

"Then of that leech-like structure, We made a chewed lump." This statement is also from Sura 23:14. The Arabic word "*mudghah*" means "chewed substance or chewed lump." Toward the end of the fourth week, the human embryo looks somewhat like a chewed lump of flesh. The chewed appearance results from the somites which resemble teeth marks. The somites represent the beginnings or primordial of the vertebrae (Ibrahim, 1997; Hickman et al, 1979; Moore, 1983).

"Then We made out of the chewed lump, bones, and clothed the bones in flesh." This continuation of Sura 23:14 indicates that out of the chewed lump stage, bones and muscles form. This is in accordance with embryological development. First the bones form as cartilage models and then the muscles (flesh) develop around them from the somatic mesoderm.

"Then We developed out of it another creature." This next part of Sura 23:14 implies that the bones and muscles result in the formation of another creature. This may refer to the human-like embryo that forms by the end of the eighth week. At this stage, it has distinctive human characteristics and possesses the

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primordial of all the internal and external organs and parts. After the eighth week, the human embryo is called a fetus. This may be the new creature to which the verse refers (Moore and Persaud 1987).

"And He gave you hearing and sight and feeling and understanding." This part of Sura 32:9 indicates that the special senses of hearing, seeing, and feeling develop in this order, which is true. The primordial of the internal ears appear before the beginning of the eyes, and the brain (the site of understanding) differentiates last.

"Then out of a piece of chewed flesh, partly formed and partly unformed." This part of Sura 22:5 seems to indicate that the embryo is composed of both differentiated and undifferentiated tissues. For example, when the cartilage bones are differentiated, the embryonic connective tissue around them is undifferentiated. It later differentiates into the muscles and ligaments attached to the bones (Ibrahim, 1997; Hickman et al, 1979).

"And We cause whom We will to rest in the wombs for an appointed term."

This next part of Sura 22:5 seems to imply that God determines which embryos will remain in the uterus until full term. It is well known that many embryos abort during the first month of development, and that only about 30% of zygotes that form, develop into fetuses that survive until birth (Bucaille, 1978; Moore and Persaud, 1983). This verse has also been interpreted to mean that God determines whether the embryo will develop into a boy or girl. Other Qur'anic verses related to the early stage of embryonic development include 22:5; 40:67; 75:37-38; 96:1-2. I have also observed the local Sheikhs interpreting such verses with similar meanings while they were teaching *tafsir* both in urban and rural areas.

The interpretation of the verses in the Qur'an referring to human development would not have been possible in the 7th century A.D., or even a hundred years ago. We can interpret them now because the science of modern Embryology affords us new understanding. Undoubtedly there are other verses in the Qur'an related to human development that will be understood in the future as our knowledge increases (http://qibla.msa.upenn.edu/alim_online/yali_trans/yasurahl.htm).

In sum, as Muslims contributed for the preservation and development of scientific thoughts during its heydays inspired and influenced by Islam, many contemporary Muslims are also attracted to their religious scripture as they found out consistency in the religious and modern ideas related to natural phenomenon. While the Islamic scripture is being interpreted vis-à-vis modern scientific findings, its agreement attracted intellectuals and hence, Islam is influencing the intellectual culture of people as

well. The consistency of the secular science with the religious science also calls for integration of the two fields instead of fanning the conflict theory.

Conclusions

The relationship between science and religion has been a subject of study since classical antiquity. At times, however, the conflict theory was popular ever since the trial of Galileo which is an odd experience in Islam and nowadays it is dwindling in other faiths as well.

In modern times, scientific progress has enabled to acquire definitely established, experimentally verifiable ideas on natural phenomena, thereby excluding theories which by their very nature are liable to change. It has hence been possible to study some aspects of the natural processes as presented in the Qur'an and compare these ideas with modern knowledge. The results arrived at by natural scientists themselves are very clear-cut: the textual analysis revealed the consistency between Qur'anic statements and scientific facts especially on issues related to the creation of the universe, movements of heavenly bodies, human reproduction, and the water cycle and rain formation.

Islam teaches that God has given man the faculty of reason and therefore expects man to reason things out objectively and systematically for him/herself. At times, however, Muslims abandoned their scientific search for fear of over-worldliness due to the influence of Sunni Islam in general and mystical Islam in particular since they cling on revealed knowledge rather than reasoned knowledge. This contradicts even the very teachings of Islam itself. At theoretical level, however, I understand that even rural Qur'an interpreters in Ethiopia give compatible explanations to most of the natural phenomena as understood in modern science despite lack of modern education on the part of the religious teachers.

I also understand that the consistency between the identified modern facts (as discussed in this Chapter) and Qur'anic verses proves for a window of hope to integrate the modern and traditional education. The objective knowledge and the intuitive knowledge appeared converging in Islam: a pedagogical principle that is hardly approved in modern education.

The scientific facts highlighted in this Chapter are not the only ones found in the scriptures. There are many more facts including oceanography, roots of mountains, fertilization of plants, the nerve-cells, finger prints, and tens of scores of other facts.

Just like its heydays, wherein Muslims reserved and developed scientific outlooks, today Muslim (and non-Muslim) scientists are influenced and influencing the interpretation of the Qur'an and in turn people

with considerable level of modern education are influenced and thereby attracted by Islamic sciences. It is recalled that the Islamic civilization was inspired and influenced by the Qur'anic thoughts.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCES OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION ON CULTURES

The Issue

This study was introduced to explore the development of Islamic education and its features, relevance, and influence on Muslim culture in particular and Ethiopian culture in general by taking the case of Wallo and sought to understand its social, political, economic and educational influences. In order to focus on addressing the issues, the research set out to answer three sets of questions:

i) What are the ultimate goals of Islamic education system? How were the types of Islamic education system developed in Wallo (Ethiopia)? How are the curricular contents of the Islamic education organized? What are the major pedagogical methods of teaching employed? How consistent and/or contradictory is Islamic education with modern science?

ii) How does Islam influence Ethiopian culture (political, social, economic and educational) aspects? How relevant is Islamic education to the everyday life of Muslims and what implications does it have to the life of non-Muslims?

iii) How is character education reflected in Muslim education? Does Islamic study instigate violence and war or peaceful co-existence and tolerance?

The study was grounded in my understanding (from philosophical and theoretical analysis) that Islamic education has significant internal and external influences on the culture of the people.

I used a multi-method research approach, which draws on philosophical, historical and ethnographic methods. The methods of analysis combined historical narratives (for showing the continuities of the historical process), textual analysis (as depicted in the quotations from scriptures) and my personal reflections and understandings based on the voices of research participants and evidences from different literatures on the issues.

Conclusions

I concluded the thesis under seven themes: a) Dissemination methods of Islamic education to influence culture; b) The influence of Islam on culture; c) Intolerance: a myth or fact?; d) Transformation within Islamic traditions; e) Culture influencing education; f) Misconceptions related to Islam and g) Tradition and modernity: two sides of the same coin. Each will be explained in the ensuing subsections followed by future implications.

Dissemination Methods of Islamic Education to Influence Culture

Once Islam was introduced into Ethiopia by foreign Muslim clerics, the greatest impetus for the expansion of Islamic education has been done by Ethiopian Muslim clerics themselves supported by merchants and farmers for their subsistence.

The teaching and learning process was and still is, according to oral traditions and documentary evidences, conducted in teachers' houses, then in Zawuyas (rural Islamic hut schools). Mosques and Madrassas are recent developments in Ethiopian Islamic education. Side by side its propagation in such institutions, Sufi shrines which include *tariqa* schools (for teaching Sufi orders) played dominant roles in attracting the commoners during holidays (especially the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad) and *hadras* (supplication gatherings).

In this way, the dissemination process of Islamic education has had two forms: formal and informal. The rural F*iqh* schools, *Nahwu* centers and *Tefsir* schools are considered as formal Islamic Schools whereas *tariqa* schools and *hadra* gatherings can be considered as informal schools.

In the modern sense, mosques and madrasas are centers for formal Islamic education. However, in Ethiopian context, the establishment of such schools is very recent and less developed in most parts of the country compared to the traditional Islamic Fiqh schools. Many madrasas and mosques are also being stifled nowadays due to internal and external confrontations within the Muslim communities.

Regarding the dominant methods employed in rural Fiqh Schools, since all texts of Islamic education are predominantly written in Arabic, translation is one of the commonly used methods of teaching (and learning) from the lowest to the highest level. Another dominantly used method is group discussion. Peer grouping, peer teaching, and one-to-one tutoring are also some of the other commonly used methods of teaching. Above all, question and answer method is used during the teaching-learning process.

In addition to academic subjects, students also learn character education. Manner of speaking, controlling anger, avoidance of revenge and exercise of forgiving, respect for the elderly, generosity and mercifulness and love to the fellow human being are some of the issues directly or indirectly inculcated in the hearts and minds of the religious students from the master teachers called *Shahochu* locally.

Consequently, there is high level of emotional attachment between the teacher and his students and among students themselves. I understand that the general emphasis in Islamic schools is not only the development of students' knowledge but also their spirit and emotion. In this way, the methods

employed and the contents conveyed attracted both the mind and the heart of students first and then graduates leave and then either establish their own schools or start their own way of life in trading, farming or weaving by teaching the basic Islamic decrees to their family, friends, neighbors and villagers, formally or informally. In this manner, Islamic injunctions begin to influence the culture of the people.

The Influence of Islam on Culture

The influence of Islamic education on Ethiopian culture in general and on Muslim culture in particular is significant. I categorized this influence roughly into three aspects; (i) Its influence on Muslims' way of life; (ii) Its influence on the larger Ethiopian (political) culture and (iii) The two-way influence of the two faith groups. I explain these issues in the ensuing subsection briefly.

(i) Islamic influence on Muslims' way of life: This refers to the internal influence of Islam/Islamic education on Muslims themselves. One may argue the importance of internal influence of a certain religion. But I understand that if there is no influence within, there would be no influence without. Moreover, one of the best way to study the culture of Muslims is by studying certain aspects of the Islamic injunctions (such as rituals, dietary, dressing, marriage, etc) and the application of these ideals in the daily life of Muslims.

My observation on such personal and social issues revealed that considerable portion of the Muslim population practice Islamic rituals such as prayers on daily basis, fasting for one solid month on yearly basis and performing pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj) on at least once upon a life time basis. Pilgrimage to local Sufi saints is also very common especially for those who fail to afford the skyrocketing air-ticket price to Mecca. Such practices strengthen the relationship among Muslims at local and international levels.

The provision of Zakah (charity taken from the rich as a due right to the destitute) for the needy, the sick, orphans and the physically disabled people is also practiced among the Muslim community. A great deal of mutual support is also observed during the month of Ramadan since the rich share their money and even food among the poor in their neighborhoods. This may contradict the modern corporate greed but it is compatible with the general Ethiopian cultural practice of generosity, hospitability and cooperation among the haves and the have-nots. Such traditional practice which includes visiting and supporting the sick, the elderly, orphans, the handicapped ones and other sects of the people who are at a state of destitution is very deep-rooted among Muslims (like the other faith groups). However, the institution of

Zakah in Ethiopia is not as such well organized in a modern way and, consequently, in many cases huge amount of money goes to the wrong people who have made begging their "profession" despite the fact that Islam teaches begging as an act to be shunned by people except at a time of unavoidable necessity. This bad tradition is evident in urban areas during the Muslims' fasting month.

Another area of the impact of Islam on the way of life of Muslims as implied earlier is the marriage tradition. Of course, the dominant marriage among Muslims, like their Christian neighbors, is monogamy. This is befitting to the Islamic teaching. However, there is also a practice of polygamy (one man marrying two, three or four wives) at a time among certain Muslim people in spite of the fact that the rate varies from region to region and from ethnicity to ethnicity. The Qur'an teaches that it is impossible to treat two wives with justice. It is also demanding economically and physically. As a result, polygamy in the Muslim community is the exception rather than the rule.

One may argue the practice of marrying more than one wife simultaneously to be contributing to reduction of prostitution and single-parenting while others challenge the practice not only for spreading sexually transmitted diseases but also violation of the equal rights of a woman with a man which is enshrined in the constitution of FDRE government. It is known that this case may be punishable by law but certain women live with their husband without taking the case to the court. Moreover, if it is done on the concent of the first wife, bigamy is given legal recognition in the Ethiopian Civil Code.

A more recent tradition of marriage which is not known as such among highland people is the practice of first cousin-marriage. This is introduced following the revival of Islam in the region and it is relatively more common in urban areas than in rural vicinities.

Still another aspect of the tradition of Muslims is the dietary practice. In many cases, their dietary practice is similar to that of the Christians except that each faith group does not eat the meat of the animal slaughtered by the other faith group. Swine meat is banned while the meat and milk of camels is permissible among Muslims. This is a good alternative food source especially for people in lowland areas. Camel-meat is permissible in Islam. Horse-meat is also permissible despite its consideration as a taboo in the region.

Other dietary permissions include all sorts of fish, small birds (like pigeons) and ducks. However, the people in the region never found many of the meat of these birds palatable.

The most differentiating tradition of diet among Muslims from their Christian neighbors is the permissibility of meat, milk and butter even during the month of fasting. I understand that this is good for body nourishment.

Further still, another area of influence of Islam on Muslims is trading. For Muslims the concept "work" is usually meant "trading". As a result, there are many Muslims in the region whose means of earning income is business. Muslims, especially those who possess considerable level of Islamic education, consider trading as a blessing associating it to the trading moments of the Prophet Muhammad. That might have been also triggered by their deprivation of land ownership by early regimes in some parts of Ethiopia. However, alongside merchants, there are many more Muslim farmers just like Christians. Hard working is the basis of life especially to establish one's own family. Almost in all cases, a girl is not forced to be married to a lazy, jobless, dishonest and ill-tempered and cruel person.

The influence of Islamic education on earning income among Muslims is evident by the abstinence of considerable people from selling alcoholic drinks and saving in banks that function with interest rates since such acts are unlawful in Islam.

The conflict resolution practice among Muslims in the region is also proving how they are influenced by the Islamic values of forgiveness, mercifulness, and peacefulness contrary to their depiction on hate-mongering media. The Sheikhs and the elderly people are able to stop blood feuds and the practice of revenge, a practice that is difficult to enforce even in modern courts. It is fascinating to learn to leave peacefully with a person who murdered your father or brother without any sence of revenge in your heart. A lot of lesson can be taken from this for peace education in this conflict torn world.

Finally, one of the areas of influence of Islam on Muslims which is even contested in the educational and political arena more recently is the institution of hijjab. I understand that the practice of covering all parts of the body of a woman/mature girl except her face and hand is not unique to Muslims. Christian women also traditionally practice it especially during public gatherings and church rituals. Thus hijjab is a sign of maintaining Ethiopian decency particularly in highland areas. What is alien to the Ethiopian culture is the act of covering the face (*niqab*). This has been practiced following the religious resurgence in the country by certain Muslims. I understand that the most recommended religious practice on the code of dressing is the traditional one – covering the whole body except the face and the hand. Girls should not boycott schooling (especially from higher education) for the simple reason that *niqab* is banned. I am even grateful to the government for the permission of hijjab for girls in public institutions and Muslim girls

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should also be abided by this code of dressing and preserve this practice and their identity instead of confronting with the banning of *niqab* which is allegedly done for the purpose of security reasons.

These are not the only areas of Islam on Muslims' way of life. I just depicted the highlights. Most of its impacts are positive and designed to protect personal and social degeneration. Thus, instead of endangering, Islam enriches the traditional Ethiopian culture.

(ii) The influence of Islam on the Ethiopian political culture: It is recalled that Abyssinia (Ethiopia) was the first country in the world for giving political asylum for two batches of Muslim migrants during the life time of Prophet Muhammad. Hence, its diplomatic ties with Muslims began in 615 AD. Ethiopia served as the safe haven for the Muslim migrants because of the just, hospitable and generous King and people. I understand that the scenario was one of the milestones for the establishment of pluralistic society in the country. That sort of relational trust existed for long centuries until the reign of Imam Ahmed in the 16th century and the so called "Solomonic" dynasty in Ethiopia. Imam Ahmed spread Islam while the Christian Kings spread Christianity in Ethiopia. We have seen how the efforts to unify the country religiously resulted in twin failure from either side as attempted by the Imam and Yohannes. Other than such sporadic clashes between Christian rulers and Muslim Sultanates, however, the Christian-Muslim encounter has been peaceful.

As the Muslim Sultanates died out due to external and internal conflicts, the last Sultanate, the Sultanate of the Gibe region, was collapsed by the imposition of big tax, and the general tendency was accommodation of Muslim personalities even in the parliament of the Monarch despite their limited number. At constitutional level, the monarch declared that all people have the freedom to practice his/her faith and to work in the country despite the announcement that the official religion of the state was Orthodox Union Christianity. However, Muslims were banned from serving in the military and other public institutions in some parts of the country.

There was another external factor that hindered the Christian-Muslim relation and at the same time facilitated the influence of Islam: the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Based on the policy of "divide and rule", the Italian forces crossed ports and the Ethiopian lowlands under the slogan "We have come to grant you freedom from the oppression of the Christian Emperor". Being victims of this poisonous propaganda, many Muslims supported the invaders. However, it should be understood here that Muslims were not the only faith groups who favored the colonizing power. There were people from the Orthodox Christianity and Catholic believers who backed the Italian force as well. To attract Muslims,

the Italian forces constructed mosques and assigned qadis (Muslim judges) in many parts of the country. All these tantalized certain groups of Muslims.

However, both Muslim clerics and commoners were also among the partisans. Others also served as internal partisans just like non-Muslims did to fight the foreign invaders. Hence, the claim that all Muslims were supporters of the invaders is not true and this should not be understood differently from what other faith groups did during that period of invasion.

The toppling of the Christian monarch by the military junta enabled the separation of Church and State and thereby the suppression of Muslims receded. Following the downfall of the monarch, Muslims conducted an historical demonstration and demanded the transitional military government over ten human rights related questions of which only a couple of the demands were fulfilled: the recognition of Ethiopian Muslims (instead of the discriminatory phraseology "Muslims who live in Ethiopia") and the observance of the three Muslim holidays at national level: Eid Al-Adha, Eid Al-Fatir, and the Birthday of Prophet Muhammad. The military junta further accepted the demands of Muslims two years after it took power by giving permission for the establishment of the Mejlis for the first time in the history of Islam in Ethiopia. The Socialist regime which was anti-organized religions had paradoxically increased the influence of Islam through allowing the continuity of the Shari'ah courts despite the suppression of religious freedom as a whole. This was done due to the pressing demands of the Ethiopian Muslims.

Even if there was political oppression by the atheist regime on all faith groups, mainstream Muslims and Christians lived peacefully and collaboratively. They cooperated in national defense during the invasion of Somalia (and more recently with Eritrea). They also collaborated whenever natural disasters such as draught and flood erupted. There is also strong and trustful relationship between the two faith groups at local community level in informal associations such as *idir* and *qub* (which served for burial service and saving money respectively).

The prolonged civil-war and the draught devastated the rural Islamic education. Religious students were also forced to join the military in some areas of the country. As a result, many Islamic teaching centers were closed.

Although it appears odd, Muslims enjoyed considerably better religious freedom during the atheist Socialist regime compared to the previous repressive political atmosphere that forced Muslims to be second class citizens. Muslim parents also started sending their children into modern schools without

reluctance since there was no faith related rituals in the schools. Muslims were also allowed to serve both in the military and other public institutions without restrictions.

However, this did not mean that there was full religious freedom. There were cases wherein religious leaders were killed, tortured and imprisoned. Mosques were also closed and confiscated by the regime in some areas. Young Muslims were also victims of the Red Terror like the young Christians.

Many Muslims were also killed during the civil war. That long civil-war and oppression in Ethiopia ended when the Socialist junta was deposed by the EPRDF and thereby the Federal Transitional Government was established as a sigh of relief for all Ethiopian people, nations and nationalities.

Ethiopian peoples, nations and nationalities enjoyed better religious, cultural and political freedom under the federal system in unprecedented manner in history. Unfortunately, the downfall of the Socialist regime was followed by the succession of Eritrea from Ethiopia. Like its predecessor, the FDRE government enshrined in its constitution the separation of State and religion. All faith groups have been provided religious freedom so long as they are practicing their faith peacefully.

Consequently, Muslims were one of the advantaged faith groups. The federal political system has given many Muslim dominated regions to participate in the decentralized administration and they joined the Ethiopian parliament through democratic elections in a manner unparalleled in history.

Moreover, mosques were built in many towns since the ban put by previous regimes no longer functioned. The ban imposed on Islamic books was also lifted. English and Arabic books began to be sold in some Islamic bookshops. The freedom of the Press also facilitated the availability of Islamic books, cassettes, CD's and DVD's in some vernacular languages (such as Amharic, Oromigna and Tigrigna). Islamic films and messages were propagated on software and hardware programs.

Muslim and non-Muslim merchants imported Islamic dressing styles such as hijabs/jilbab (females' dress) and jelebiyyas (males' dress).

Learning about their own religions using the print and audio-visuals and wearing the Islamic dress codes, young Muslims who particularly passed through modern education have begun to display their Muslim identity and Islamic culture. The more this young people understand their religion, the more they flocked into mosques for the purpose of worshipping mainly under the influence of Salafiyya and Tabligh.

Discarding the traditional Islamic (Sufi) practice of saint veneration, chewing chat and drinking excessive coffee, young Muslims (called Wahhabis by their enemies but who call themselves Salafis) confronted with the Sufis in many parts of the country especially for the last two decades. Consequently, the traditional Sufis, who have been upset by the young Salafis (but it was out of their control to curb the "irrligiousity" of Wahhabiyas due to the religious freedom in Ethiopia) now wanted the Salafis to be punished by the hands of the government in the name of fighting extremism and terrorism.

Until recently, the Salafis were enjoying considerable religious freedom in the country. Covertly, however, the Sufis have been planning for any sort of revenge to the Wahhabis. The Ethiopian Mejlis, instead of serving all Ethiopian Muslims, started to marginalize the so-called "Wahhabis" openly and even accused them as "fundamentalists", "extremists", and even "terrorists" well before any third party dared to say so. Following the internal chasm, the FDRE government arrested the Salafis representatives suing them for plotting to establish an Islamic State in the country. Supporters and sympathizers of the Salafis protesters asserted that they have no any political agenda except demanding their right to religious freedom.

The existence of terrorist groups who are affiliated to Al-Qaeda in the horn of Africa exacerbated the marginalization of this faith group and, therefore, the 2012 Mejlis election conducted outside mosques for the first time in the history of Ethiopian Islam excluded the so-called "Wahhabis" in many regions. The traditional Sufis wanted the government to ban and even punish this anti-Sufi Islamic cultural movement infiltrated from Saudi Arabia.

I understand that Islam is imported particularly from Saudi Arabia and from the Middle East in general just like Christianity. I am disgusted with the act of certain Muslim clerics who add fuel to the fire to minor religious differences instead of attempting to reconcile and accommodate young Muslims groups for the sake of peace and development of the country. Muslim protesters (mostly young Salafis) have been demonstrating in certain parts of the country, at least on weekly and mosque-bounded basis, for more than one solid year despite lack of replies to their demands.

Considering the budding democracy and the freedom given to all religious groups, it can be said, Islamic revival reached its highest stage in Ethiopia during the FDRE government. However, the banning of a couple of Islamic newspapers and magazines and the exclusion of the Salafis from the Mejlis proved contrary to the essence of religious freedom and democracy as a whole.

I understand that the Ethiopian government and the peoples under its sovereignty have the right and the mandate to fight extremism and terrorism. This is the concern of all Ethiopians irrespective of differences in ethnicity, language, gender, religion, region and even political affiliation. However, this should not be done under false-alarms on terrorism. While religious freedom is what the law of the land permits, harassment, marginalization and imprisonment of a person due to his /her dressing or beard style is unacceptable. This violets the country's old tradition of mutual respect and tolerance. Muslim protesters are proud of Ethiopia since it served as the safe haven for the first Muslim migrants. Conversely, the absence of organized modern institutions (such as Islamic universities, Muslims' recreation centers etc) for the last over fourteen hundred years irritates the young Muslims. I am not here attempting to open old wounds but I am demystifying areas of dissatisfaction of protesters other than their open demands: stopping the imposition of the ideology of Ahbash, conductiong free and fair elections of the Mejlis and establishing a neutral boady to administer the Awoliya institution in Addis Ababa.

Peaceful co-existence may be achieved through mutual respect of intra-and inter faith groups. Hence, re-institutionalization of certain faith groups and demonization and deinstitutionalization of another faith group may not help to achieve the desired goal. I understand that despite the fact that terrorist groups like al-Qaeda and al-Shabab are advocates of Salafism, the consideration of Ethiopian Salafis as extremists is superficial. More than that, terrorists by their very nature thrive in contexts where there are sectarian tensions and hence, igniting such tensions may have its own consequences.

The confinement of their demonstrations in mosques on Fridays, and their peaceful protests for more than two years so far depicted how the young Muslims are eager and determined to exercise their freedom of religion which in turn implies the demand to move towards more room for democratization. At the present that peaceful demonstration is stopped by the crackdown of the government's anti-riot military forces firing tear-gas and using buttons.

Other than being sued for their covert political agenda and other than participation in regional and federal elections and, of course, demanding their own religious rights and freedom, however, the political leadership participation level of Muslims remains low both in quantity and maturity compared to other faith groups who participate actively in FDRE government apparatus and even in the establishment of opposition political parties.

(iii) The two-way influence of the Muslim-Christian encounter: The interaction of Muslims and non-Muslims at interpersonal, neighborhood and other levels is so complex that it can hardly be reduced into one-way influence per se. Consequently, the two faith groups have been influencing one another at personal and social levels. The first area of influence is conversion. Voluntary conversion into either of the faiths is common especially in vicinities where considerable adherents of Christianity and Islam live together. Unlike the past (as in the cases of Emperors and Imam Ahmed), the conversions are done peacefully based on the interests of individuals and there is no mass conversion.

The second aspect of interfaith influence is interfaith-marriage practice. That means a Christian man/woman is married to a Muslim woman/man without changing the religion of either of the couple. This is mainly known to be practiced in urban areas in more recent times despite its low rate. While the practice of interfaith marriage may help for maintaining the religious cultural identity of the people involved, mainstream Christians and Muslims still predominantly practice endogamy (i.e. marriage within their own faith group). Many people from either of the two faiths rebuff interfaith marriage and consequently couples may be socially ostracized.

The third area of interfaith influence in the region is the interfaith healing tradition. As a matter of tradition, many people in rural areas still give precedence to traditional healers such as herbalists. In that case, a Muslim goes to a priest or a Christian goes to a Sheikh looking for an herbal medicine. The herbalists do not necessary be clerics but adherents of either of the faiths. This is the commonest practice and it is not surprising to most people.

The surprising aspect of interfaith healing is when a Muslim who is sick visits the priest or the church (e.g. for bathing with the holy water) for diseases like gonorrhea and/or mental illnesses. It is common to see a Muslim who has got wounds on his/her body and takes a bath with the holy water while being massaged the body with a cross by a Christian clergy man murmuring words of prayers.

It is not also uncommon to see a Christian, who is sick, visiting Islamic Shrines for fulfillment of oaths or seeking for a cure from the Sheikh or the holy place. The commonest practice is what is locally called *wadaja* (supplication performed by older Muslim men or women). Wadaja is practiced mainly by Muslims as good wishes or curing diseases, or to ward off certain sort of affliction from people (both Muslims and Christians). Non-Muslims also join the *wadaja* for group supplication especially on yearly basis on the eve of the Ethiopian New Year.

Young Muslims and Christians have also started sharing the meat served by either of the faith groups or in hotels irrespective of the traditional religious practice.

All these show not only the mutual respect and mutual recognition of the two faith groups but also the mutual trust between Muslims and Christians which is the bed rock for peaceful co-existence.

Intolerance: a Myth or Fact?

The issue of peaceful co-existence of Muslims with other religious and cultural groups is not a sudden inclusion to the tenets of Islam. It is an in-built entity within Islam for over fourteen hundreds of years. We imagined like other religion in the world Islam gives emphasis to peace and peaceful coexistence. Whenever Muslims great people they say "Peace be up on you" – as-Selamu alaykum. During their prayer alone they articulate this message at least more than thirty times per day. This show the weight Islam gives to the importance of peace. Peaceful co-existence and respect for humanity begins with recognition of multiplicity of world civilizations.

Ever since the beginning of the third Ethiopian millennium, the general discourse especially among politicians and the mass media is "fundamentalism", "extremism", and "terrorism". I understand that creating awareness among the general public about the aggression done by radical groups such as al-Qaeda, al-Shabab and al-Ithihaad is crucial in order to maintain the security of Ethiopian peoples, nations and nationalities. However, the accusation done on Muslims in general for instigating intolerance and violence is contested. No Muslim is caught forcing a non-Muslim at gun point for conversion. If at all there was such a case, it might be instigated by ethnic or economic reasons but not by faith related agenda solely. And once more, if at all there is such a case, it must be initiated by certain narrow-minded irreligious groups who are misled by nationalistic propaganda from OLF or ONLF. That might have also been done for tit for tat. Such groups do not and cannot represent Ethiopian Muslims. This act of terror is not acceptable in Islam at all. Mainstream Ethiopian Muslims are peaceful just like the rest Ethiopians. I understand that there is no distinction in this regard to what is called Sufis or Salafis. Let me explain my observation further.

Whenever there is a wedding, graduation or mourning ceremony, both Muslims and Christians prepare two types of feasts: one for the Christians and the other for the Muslims. Neighborhoods enjoy the festival or the feast without discrimination based on religious affiliation. The conduction of a feast or festival without the invitation of one or the other faith group is considered as a half-success on the part of the hosting household in many cases even today.

Moreover, as it is implied earlier, a Muslim boy may fall in love with a non-Muslim girl and the vice versa. In this manner, a family is established whose grandmothers/fathers are from both Muslims and Christian's family. That increases the family bond, respect and love to one another in many cases. It is becoming difficult to count one's family linage that does not mention a Christian/Muslim person (especially in Amhara region) where both faith groups live together considerably. The bond between the two faith groups is becoming much stronger through the passage of time. Their relationship, instead of being blurred by intolerance and violence, breeds mutual trust and mutual respect. For such groups, the exaggerated discourse related to increased religious intolerance is a myth. Consequently, the discourse has to be reversed into brotherhood/sisterhood, unity and mutual respect and recognition of not only the two faith groups but also secularist, modernists and atheists (if at all available) as well.

In terms of their commitment to tolerance, I understand that there are three groups of people countrywide. The first group which I mentioned above is the best befitting people for peaceful co-existence. Under this group fall those people of the two faith groups who practice interfaith medication, interfaith marriage and those who feel any festivity without the presence of the other faith group as incomplete. This group considers the existence of intolerance between the two faith groups as a myth.

The second groups of people are those of either faith groups who attempted to follow and practice their own religions without mixing into it any alien rituals. They do not show the slightest sign of practicing any foreign veneration other than their own religious tenet. These people consider practices such as interfaith marriage and interfaith spiritual healing as being out of the fold of their "parent" religion. However, they do not have problem of establishing good rapport with the other faith group since they cooperate in times of adversity as well as prosperity. Since such people have got more or less better modern and religious understanding, they may not consider eating the meat slaughtered by either Christians or Muslims as a taboo. Other than that these people are conscious of their religious and cultural identity in dressing, eating, recreation, work and other behaviors. The young Salafis (and the Protestants) may fall under this group.

The third groups of people are those who consider the acts of the second group of people (who are mainly Salafis) as fundamentalist, and extremist and hence intolerant. This third group is calling to re-direct the thinning tolerance in the country by one way or the other, suppressing and/or, if necessary crashing the so called "extremists" (which is becoming more and more synonymous with certain Muslim groups) since they are considered not only to be instigating violence but accused of establishing an

Islamic state in Ethiopia. This group has got strong backup from traditional Sufis. At the contemporary context, in the name of "counter-terrorism", anyone with any symbol of Salafism can be a suspect and taken into custody for further investigation by any police.

Certain Sufi activists, guarded by the police forces, have been wishing not only to marginalize the Salafis but also see them wiped out from mosques through the heavy hands of the third party. I understand that the most dissatisfied sections of the population by the Salafis in the region are Sufi shrine caretakers, black magicians, and musicians (both traditional and modern). Such groups of people are strong rivals to Salafis since this Islamic revivalist groups are threats to their economic sources. The Salafis reject shrine and saint veneration, the practice of black magic or fortune telling (just like the Protestants). They also rebuff alcoholic drinks and any sort of music unlike the commoners. As a result of the influence of Salafis, shrine attendants reduced and people who seek Devine intervention from such holy men diminished relatively during the last two decades which means the weaning of gifts which is the lifeline of such traditional people. That is being reversed more recently, however.

For the traditionalists and other stake holders, tolerance and peaceful coexistence can be maintained if and only if the "Wahhabis" are banned and excluded from any form of religious, social, and political participation. Such exclusionist strategy has already begun during the Mejlis election in October 2012. From that perspective, I understand that the conflict between Sufis and Salafis is, instead of religious, power and resource related.

While the truth was that Ethiopian Muslims hardly ever experienced intra-faith war (fitnah), I understand that the general tendency of marginalizing one faith group and enthroning the other may eventually nurture radical ideologies from either side. Consequently, instead of reverberating the assumption that 'Ethiopian Islam is Sufism', Islamic scholars and all other stakeholders need to call for dialogue based on the principle of accommodation of Islam and secular democracy. Those who are blazing the fire behind the screen thinking that they are hidden from the eyes of the people need to withdraw their hands from catalyzing because once fire is broken out, it does no, as a matter of fact, discriminate friends from foes save burning.

Millions of young Salafis are disenfranchised by the overall measures taken to them in the country for the last two years and that could be a potential force for instigating violence. Hence, appropriate but non-violent intervention should be done to such ostracized group before it is too late.

Transformation within Islamic traditions

Major transformations occur today in most or all major religious traditions. Islam is not the exception. These transformations are mainly due to modernization and its after-effects, including a return to roots, understood in various ways. These returns to roots do not necessarily entail patterns of beliefs or behaviors which is called "fundamentalism". There is a growing mistrust of the "westernized" and "uprooted" culture especially among the Muslim societies. Dress habits, music, movies and television, all seem to carry the same message; the traditional cultures which were the carriers of religious inherited attitudes are on the decline. It is to fight against this decline, which is not perceived as irrevocable, that the progress of such revivalist movements struggles. Revivalism under its various garbs may be the most visible reflection of the transformations of Islamic (and other religious) traditions today and the foreseeable future.

However, we must remember that this is not the only one. Nor is it, necessarily the most fundamental aspect of the contemporary transformation of the religious scene. After all, "revivalism" reflects a secondary behavior, one of reaction against a leading trend. This trend which is a by-product of modernization, insists on the global, collective and shared aspect of human existence from the end of twentieth century (Stroumsa, 1994).

People coming from all cultures and geographical areas are able to recognize that they have much to share and that what divided them is not always of the deepest significance for their lives. Consequently, there is a growing recognition of the value of other people's experience including religious experience. This shapes anew the traditional religions.

Another trait of religious transformations in the modern era is the chasm often happening between religious faith and religious practice. Due to the ever broader influence of scientific ideas, as well as to the pervasive character of modern life, people from all traditions tend to ignore, reject or doubt the varying levels some of the inherited beliefs and/or behavioral patterns. For instance, modern Salafis (and Protestants) rebuff saint veneration and other superstitions which are commonly practiced by the commoner Sufis. The fact that people develop skepticism as to the truth value of some marginal beliefs of their religious traditions does not always mean that they distant themselves from those traditions. The cognitive dissonance developed can seemingly be reflected in a certain lack of practice or seriousness in practice and/or in a practice somewhat disconnected from some of the beliefs which it is in theory established. Thus, the friction between the traditional Ethiopian Sufis and contemporary Salafis is partly

the influence of modern life. It is however, paradoxical that while the Salafis call for clinging to the basic teachings of the Qur'an and the Prophetic Sunnah and the Sufis call for clinging to the local traditions of Islam, it is the former that is more compatible to the modern life since Salafism attracted more young people who have taken modern education from local to global level. This can hardly be eclipsed. It may be more appropriate to call this kind of transformation "conservatism" – clinging to the roots of the cultural heritages of Islam.

Whatever the case maybe, efforts have to be made for the adoption and application, in Ethiopia, of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion and Beliefs, adapted ever since 25 November 1981.

Culture Influencing the Education

So far we have seen how Islamic education influenced culture. When we reverse the table, we could get culture influencing education which is a bare fact though rarely studied. Many cases can be discussed on this subject. However, I highlighted only four examples. The first case indicating the influence of culture on Islamic education is related to the feeding system of the religious students in Wallo (and the rest part of Ethiopia as well). Since the students are not sponsored by any ruling party or state especially after the collapse of the Muslim Sultanates, students are forced to move from home to home and from village to village begging for food. This system of getting subsistence through begging has been grafted to the Muslims from the tradition of the Orthodox Union Christianity in the country wherein students of the church (yekolo temariwoch) beg for food while pursuing their academic career. This is a plain cultural influence since the Islamic tenets hardly permit any dependency (such as begging unless it is done in case of unavoidable necessity during temporary circumstances).

The second understandable case that is associated with the influence of culture on the education is the mystical practice of the Sufi scholars. Mysticism is strongly condemned by the Holy Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions. But when Islam and Muslims began to be influenced by the Christian culture, Sufi scholars accepted it and started to live like the nuns and popes in monasteries.

The third case that indicates the influence of culture on the education might be the outlook of considering the body and the spirit as separate entities. In orthodox Islam, there is no dichotomy between the body (flesh) and the spirit (faith). There is no concept of treating this worldliness with that of

the hereafter as two separable entities. Rather, the personal, social, economic and political issues are all embodied as one holistic feature of life. That is why Muslims believe even honest hardworking as an act of worship. However, certain sects of Muslims did not escape the influence of the Christian culture. Consequently, the needs of the body appeared to be subdued since many Sufis prefer shunning being active in the political as well as economic agenda of the nation by leading low social profile and tending to be even apolitical.

The fourth and last case that may indicate the influence of culture on education is associated with the limited propagation of the Maliki Fiqh school of thought. In Ethiopia, there are different Fiqh schools: Shafi'I, Hanafi and Hanbali. All these schools have got considerable adherents in the country though their numbers vary from place to place. However, of all the fiqh schools, the Maliki school of thought has got limited rate of propagation and hence very few adherents in the country despite its being one of the first Fiqh schools established in the Muslim world. I understand that one of the causes for its limited acceptance and propagation might be its leniency regarding its dietary laws. Certain food items or animals and their products that are strictly considered as taboos by the other Fiqh schools (and the rest Ethiopian culture) are considered edible. Other than the Maliki Fiqh School, almost all the Fiqh schools advocate similar dietary rules with that of the rest Ethiopian culture in most cases.

These examples could be sufficient examples to depict how culture influences the education. This, of course, calls for further investigation in the future. Anyways, observing the influences of the education on culture and vice verse (i.e. the influence of culture on the education), I can say education and culture are inseparable and hence as is the culture, so is the education.

Misconceptions related to Islam

I understand that religion is a universal cultural trait. Even so, there are so many peculiarities within each world religious rites and tenets. In this regard, there are a number of misconceptions mainly among the commoners and to some extent, among religious scholars themselves in Islam. Such misconceptions may hamper personal, social and even political developments. Let me explain six cases to support my argument: the issue of dressing code, holiday celebration, dietary practice and the concept of jihad, the primacy of local tradition over the religion and calling a Muslim as "Islam".

(a) *Dressing codes*: One of the acceptable modes of dressing in Islam is the one that involves covering the body from head to foot except the face and hands for females and from the belly to the leg for males. Niqab (face covering cloth) could not have been the cause to spark religious tensions since it is optional. However, many young Muslims consider this code of dressing a mandatory religious act. Pursuing such dressing practice in this time during which terrorists exploit Islamic institutions for their hidden agenda may be fatal for Muslims as well as non-Muslims. Moreover, while the traditional Ethiopian costume among women (that covers all the body except the face and the hand) is an acceptable form of hijjab, there is a general misconception that "tibeb" wearing is not as such appreciated among young female Muslims (as well as non-Muslims) unlike the black gown.

By the same token, the wearing of jalabiyya (male's dress) a loose garment which is designed to be the most suitable for hot areas like the Middle East and regions like Afar and Somalia in Ethiopia since its white color minimizes the heat from the scorching sun. However, there is a misconception here in some parts of Ethiopia that wearing that white-loose garment by men as a religious act (and commitment) even in ice-cold areas like Dessie and Addis Ababa. 'Shirit", a waist garment is also worn as a sign of religiosity among students in traditional Fiqh schools even in the coldest regions of Ethiopia. Such misunderstandings might even cause deadly sicknesses. There is no Islamic injunction that forbids the wearing of thick clothes including pairs of trousers.

Worse still, such misconceptions are further followed by other discriminatory ideas when certain people consider it as "Arabaisation" of Ethiopia as observed recently. This is an exaggeration since Ethiopian Muslims are known for preserving their religious and nationalistic identity without, for instance, changing their culture and vernacular languages unlike Sudan.

(b) *Holiday celebration*: By "holiday" I mean the Ethiopian New Year which is observed on September 11 every year. It is not uncommon to hear certain Muslims considering this holiday as non-Islamic since it is different from the three Muslim holidays observed in Ethiopia (Eid al-Fatir, Eid al-Adha, and the Birthday of the Prophet, mawlid). Indeed, it is not Islamic. However, since it is the beginning of the Ethiopian New Year, it is the holyday for all Ethiopians. Of course, since the Ethiopian New-Year is based on the Indigenous Christian Calendar, it might sound odd for Muslims. This is not the only incident that Muslims are unfamiliar with. There are also other occasions and nomenclatures that are confounding to Muslims. For instance, "The Ethiopian Red Cross Association" may be a case in point. Nonetheless, this nomenclature did not and cannot prevent the Ethiopian Muslims communities from being members of the Red Cross Association and donating blood to enrich its blood bank. Doing so is not only a moral

obligation but also part of meeting the demand of the national objectives. Certainly, the same institution is labeled as "The Red Cross and Red Crescent Association" in a non-discriminatory terminology. This kind of inclusive terms may give a relief to the sick Muslims taken by an ambulance car decorated by the emblems of the crescent and the cross. As a matter of fact, those who think that the Red Crescent represents Muslims are also falling under the trap of misconception since Islam is a religion without any effigy of human or non-human. There is no any Islamic teaching that states even the "moon" be used as an emblem for the mosque minarets and Red Crescent associations contrary to the practice. However, for the commoners, the terminologies of such public institutions may be repulsive and/or attractive for the participation of a particular faith group.

(c) Dietary practices: While practicing Muslims abroad (e.g. in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Turkey) have no any ban on meat slaughtered by Christian and Jewish religious groups, this is considered as a taboo in Ethiopia by both faith groups (Christians and Muslims). This dietary practice is now being challenged by certain young people, however. While the Islamic religious scriptures permit eating the meat of animals slaughtered by people of the Book (i.e. Christians and Jewish), almost all Ethiopian Muslims do not practice it. As it is implied earlier, young Muslims who passed through modern education appear to me exceptional here (just like certain Pentecostals). They are more tolerant to that sort of dietary practice. I understand that this kind of misconception which is prevalent in the country may be a barricade for genuine tolerance and mutual respect and this should be minimized and if possible avoided by the help of religious scholars of all faith groups as it is started to develop awareness among the young.

Other than differentiation on that sort of food, mainstream Muslims and non-Muslims do not teach their children hatred towards other faith groups as a whole. That is one of the bases for peaceful coexistence.

(d) The concept of "jihad": More often than not, the concept "jihad" is misunderstood both by non-Muslims and Muslim fanatics. Some of the reasons for legitimizing war in Islam include ensuring the freedom of religion; preventing oppressions and killing of people due to their faith or ethnicity; preventing the destruction of mosques, synagogues and churches; preventing people from exile from their home land and so forth. By twisting its Islamic interpretation which states that qital or jihad is a last resort and self-defensive war, the terrorists use the concept as "a provocative war" on combatants and non-combatants alike to meet their own agenda. This is ridiculous and has no any Islamic basis since in Islam one of the prerequisite to open war is the need to discriminate combatants from non-combatants. One of the reasons the so called terrorists give to justify the killing of innocent civilians may be 'the non-

Muslim combatants killed our civilian people at their beds'. Even so, in Islam, this kind of justification is unacceptable due to the belief that by no means, the aggression of the non-Muslims or Muslims cannot be the role model for the age-old war ethics of Islam which includes avoiding the killing of non-combatants including women, children, priests, monks and other sorts of people. The burning of churches and synagogues is also not allowed. Muslim war-men are not even allowed to kill animals and burn crops.

Similarly, the misconception of forcing a non-Muslim to be Muslim is also overheard. This also has no Islamic basis since "faith" by its very nature should be done voluntarily (Qur'an 2:256). Since violence breeds violence, aggression can hardly be a good way to win the hearts and minds of people. Moreover, the idea of killing a non-Muslim simply because he/she is not a Muslim is also the greatest crime on earth both by the law of secularists and religious law since Islam gives anyone the right to believe in God or to deny God: "Whosoever wills, let him believe; and whosoever will, let him disbelieve (Qur'an, 18:29).

Further still, the practice of suicide is completely alien to Islam and there is a prophetic saying that describes an event of committing suicide by a certain Muslim and then destined to hell. The Qur'an also reads "Do not put yourself in destruction" (Qur'an, 2:195). Hence, the ideology of the terrorists does not represent the teaching of Islam and mainstream Muslims utterly oppose such actions.

(e) The primacy of local traditions over the religion: There are certain obsolete local traditions that are still practiced among contemporary Muslims (and non-Muslims). There are people who still consider alien traditions to be part and parcel of Islamic teachings. Such perceptions are common among the traditional Muslims and radical groups. For instance, many traditional Muslims consider black magic and fortune-telling as a religious act which is not true. Moreover, these magicians demand their clients to commit sever crimes (such as beheading a person and bringing certain organs of the body like the skull). Such barbarous acts should be banned instead of being preserved in the pretext of preserving the traditional culture.

Moreover, radical Muslims also ban the education of girls and learning in modern schools (as in the case of a handful of Takfirs in Ethiopia and Boko haram and the Taliban abroad). Such discriminatory acts of boys and girls have no Islamic basis at all since Prophet Muhammad himself used to teach women in his life time in a special program. Moreover, any endeavor of seeking knowledge is obligatory for boys and girls provided that that learning is expected to bring about worldly and/or "heavenly" merits.

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Consequently, the banning of students from modern education is nothing but the result of misconception since in Islam seeking knowledge is an act of faith for both males and females. It is recalled that Muslim scholars preserved and transformed scientific outlooks during the heydays of Islam. Contrary to that, radical groups nowadays attempt to ban modern education as a result of misunderstanding. I understand that this very misconception has led the Muslim world be outdone in science and technology by its own students.

(f) Calling a Muslim as "Islam": The commoners and even many educated Ethiopians prefer calling Muslims as "Islamoch" probably failing to understand between the religion (Islam) and the followers of the religion (Muslims). This is similar to calling a person who believes in Christ as Christianity, a case probably never heard in Ethiopia. As we call the followers of Christianity as "Christians", we should also call the followers of Islam as "Muslims". This will reduce the miscommunication of equating Islam with Muslims.

Overall, there are many misconceptions that still prevail among Muslims as in any traditional society. Unless these and other related misunderstandings are tackled by the involvement of all stakeholders through educating the people the basic sources of Islam (the Qur'an and the Sunnah) and the role of secular education, the development agenda of the country could be delayed or remain elusive. Instead of working on such "awareness raising programs", religious scholars and certain stakeholders, I am afraid, seem to be engaged in creating a chasm by sparking minor intra-faith differences. They also appear to be engulfed in catalyzing the practice of zar/spirit possession, magic and fortunetelling thinking that as a weapon to weaken the so-called 'Wahhabism". The personal wellbeing, the social and political development should be given precedence instead of such regressive acts. That should be corrected early before it is too late to do so since it does not help Muslims themselves and the peoples, nations and nationalities of Ethiopia at large. I understand that the blame for the spread of such misconceptions rest on the Muslims but not on Islam. Thus, what is being echoed on mainstream media in considering Islam as the root cause of radicalism, violence and backwardness needs to be redressed for genuine interventions.

Tradition and Modernity: Two Sides of the Same Coin

The Islamic world remains today a vast land stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with an important presence in Europe and America, animated by the teachings of Islam and seeking to assert its own identity. Its expansion and influence may continue. Islam has also been serving as the cradle of modern science and technology. Despite the presence of nationalism and various secular ideologies in their

midst, Muslims wish to live in the modern world but without simply aping blindly the ways followed by the West. The Islamic world wishes to live at peace with the West as well as the East but at the same time not to be subjugated by them. It wishes to devote its resources and energies to building a better life for its people on the basis of the teachings of Islam and not to squander its resources in either internal or external conflicts. It seeks finally to create better understanding with the West and to be better understood by the West. Peaceful co-existence and respect for humanity begins with recognition of multiplicity of world civilizations.

Consequently, the destinies of the Islamic world and the West and other civilizations cannot be totally separated and therefore, it is only through understanding each other better that they can serve their own people more successfully and also contribute to a better life for the whole of humanity.

Many of the accepted Islamic religious and cultural traditions were established between the 7th and 10th centuries, during the classical period of Islamic history. However, Islamic culture continued to develop as Islam spread into new regions and mixed with diverse cultures. The 19th-century occupation of most Muslim lands by European colonial powers was a main turning point in Muslim history. The traditional Islamic systems of governance, social organization, and education were undermined by the colonial regimes. Nation-states with independent governments divided the Muslim community along new ethnic and political lines.

Despite the political and ethnic diversity of Muslim countries, a core set of beliefs continues to provide the basis for a shared identity and affinity among Muslims. Yet the radically different political, economic, and cultural conditions under which contemporary Muslims live make it difficult to identify what constitutes standard Islamic practice in the modern world. Many contemporary Muslims draw on the historical legacy of Islam as they confront the challenges of modern life. Islam is a significant, growing, and dynamic presence in the world. Its modern expressions are as diverse as the world in which Muslims live.

From an Islamic standpoint, science, the study of nature, is considered to be linked to the concept of *Tawhid* (the Oneness of God), as are all other branches of knowledge. In Islam, nature is not seen as a separate entity, but rather as an integral part of Islam's holistic outlook on God, humanity, and the world. The Islamic view of science and nature is continuous with that of religion and God. This link implies a sacred aspect to the pursuit of scientific knowledge by Muslims, as nature itself is viewed in the Qur'an

as a compilation of signs pointing to the Divine. It was with this understanding that science was studied and understood in Islamic civilizations, specifically during the eighth to sixteenth centuries.

According to most historians, the modern scientific method was first developed by Islamic scientists. They assert that the very existence of science, as it is understood in the modern sense, is rooted in the scientific thought and knowledge that emerged in Islamic civilizations during this time.

Even nowadays, most Muslims maintain the view that the acquisition of knowledge and scientific pursuit in general is not in disaccord with Islamic thought and religious belief. For this reason, there is a general tendency to open up personal reasoning specially with natural world by discarding teqlid (imitative knowledge) since this kind of thinking is assumed to be one of the major reasons for the decline of the Islamic civilization.

As tradition is imagined and invented, it is also reinvented. By reinvention, it is meant the ongoing process by which tradition is invented and reinvented to meet new social needs and challenges (Schulz, 1997). Modernity is also subject to being imagined and reinvented. Modernity must create its normativity out of itself. I understand that modernity is not a monolithic whole, but is unevenly experienced and that globalization is ultimately experienced and reinterpreted locally. Therefore, modernity is imagined and reinvented in local, national and transnational contexts. Furthermore, the reinvention of modernity necessitates the re-examination of tradition. The imagining and (re)invention of tradition and the imagining and (re)invention of modernity are two sides of the same coin.

Education is widely recognized as an important part of how a society engages modernization and globalization. There are many ways in which Muslim community has used education to appropriate the materials of modernity and subsequently (re)invent them. Young Muslim activists (mainly Salafis) have "created" an educational system to address the educational needs of a modernizing society and at the same time, to guard against the perceived moral decay that comes with modernization and globalization.

Graduates of modern education are becoming experts in a number of secular fields but also have a relatively significant religious background. Many students study modern school subjects by day and religious subjects in the evening, early morning and weekends.

Throughout the modern ages, the ongoing question for the Islamic community (and the rest faith groups?) has been how to create a pious and faithful Islamic society in the context of a modernizing, globalizing and secular state. Through developing a seemingly hybrid educational system in Madrasas,

Muslims have supported the national development policies while striving to firmly establish Islamic values.

Unfortunately, the majority Classicalists (Sufi Muslims) hardly recognized the urban based and Salafi affiliated Madrasas as true Islamic schools despite the fact that both belong to Sunni Islam and the line that divides them is very thin.

Prior to nearly three decades, formal Islamic education was given only in the rural Islamic Fiqh (Tefsir and Nahwu) schools. None of these traditional schools attempted to provide modern education unlike the recently introduced Madrasa schools.

Most of the rural religious students traditionally did not attend modern education. Many Sufi scholars even consider modernity as dangerous. They specifically consider films and television as central components in a dangerous modernity. I understand that one of the reasons why the Ethiopian Sufis despise the Salafis is that they are educated in the modern schools mingled with the opposite sex.

When I arrived with a tape recorder in one of the rural Fiqh centers, I was astonished to ask permission before taping. The Sheikh forbade me to record the menzuma (religious song) since the event could be played in the "filthy" urban areas such as hotels. This shows how some of the Classicalists considered the urban areas as "sinful".

The Salfais (reformists) also oppose films and television channels that promote sexism, nudity, pornography and alcoholism. However, since most of the Salafis are educated in the modern sense, they utilize the modern communication technologies for learning and disseminating Islamic values.

In addition to seeing modernity as potentially threatening, imagining modernity also involves conceptualizing modernity as something that can be (re)invented. One basic way Muslims imagine a co-optable modernity is found in the maxim that states 'one should continue old ways that are good and adapt new ways that are better'. Muslims want the technology and the benefits of political and economic modernism so long as moral recession, consumerism and individualism are reduced (and if possible, avoided) with accommodation of religious values (and Islamic modernity). By shifting the definition of modernity to "a frame of thinking" Muslims have placed it in the same realm as religion and hence they are able to insert certain values and morals in their conceptualization of modernity. These values include Islamic brotherhood, selflessness, simplicity in living and self-sufficiency. Also included is a concern for social justice and serving the needs of the poor. Taken together, these values define modernity quite

differently from that generally practiced in the west. This implies the possibility of being modernized without necessarily being westernized. Hence, modernity is imagined as malleable.

The madrasas give English instruction (as stipulated in the Education Policy) and Arabic instruction for religious lessons (conducted out of school hours) while the rural Islamic centers (and mosques) give only Arabic instruction (with translation). The focus on English and Arabic instruction implies one way in which the madrasas are constructing modernity and tradition. English was viewed as the language of modernity and globalization across the board without which one cannot escape a peripheral position in the world economic and political order. Arabic was viewed as the language of a worldwide confessional community and was hence seen as a way of connecting Ethiopian Muslims to the rest of Islamic world. The teaching of Arabic is reinforced through much of the religious curricula provided on ad hoc basis. There is even a wider belief in which Arabic is made synonymous with Islam as if there were no Arabic speaking Christians in the world (if not in Ethiopia).

Unlike the mainstream Muslims, extremists and radical groups imagine the relationship between tradition and modernity as antagonistic. This contradicts the very essence of co-existence and mutual tolerance among different cultural groups and needs to be discriminated carefully to preserve the multi-religious values and other cultural groups in Ethiopia.

I observed the head of a certain madrasa every morning praying over water so that the residents of the town may take it home or bath with it in the compound in order to heal their sickness. This shows how Muslims in a modern madasa practice the age old tradition to cure diseases. The use of bio-medication from hospitals is also encouraged among the community.

Modernity (in its modern education) contributes in the production of huge knowledge reservoir. However, there is a clear symptom in its failure in character development. For this reason, modernity needs to borrow normativity from religious values. I understand that in this respect the values of modernity (i.e. individualism, consumerism and materialism) may be reduced. By the same token, religious traditions should also be reinvented to allow for knowledge creativity. As far as Islam is concerned, research, reflection and pondering over the creation is permitted and made articles of the faith. The cause for the backwardness of Muslims in science and technology is not Islam but certain Muslim groups who, at some point of time, in the past banned the use of personal reasoning and research in fear of being engulfed with materialism. I understand that that sort of narrow mindedness mainly practiced among Classicalists seems to be receding.

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In order to construct an Islamic modernity, Islamic traditions must be imagined as compatible with modernity. Things that are truly compatible do need to be proclaimed as such. The act of proclaiming tradition and modernity as compatible is an act of imagination in which the two are seen as working together when they could just as easily be imagined as inextricably opposed. Once modernity and tradition have been so imagined, they are susceptible to being (re)invented.

Salafists are not the only Muslims who wrestle with the dilemma of being both religious and modern. However, in the Ethiopian Muslims context, engineers, doctors, economists and teachers are more of Salafis than any other branch of Islam since they possessed certain level of religious and modern knowledge.

Generally, those Muslims who have got considerable knowledge of both religious and modern education consider that religious cultural traditions and modernity are no more non-overlapping magisterial. The scrutiny of religious texts and the behavior of many young Muslims revealed that tradition and modernity may feed one another. For instance, the development of modern science and technology are being used in the examination of religious scriptures. Moreover, modern communication technologies are being used for the propagation of religious values across the globe using both foreign and indigenous languages. Religious cultural values such as care and compassion to all creatures (including animals and even plants), hard work ethics and rebuffing laziness and begging, respect and care for the elderly, the sick and the poor, shunning adultery and fornication and many other values may contribute for the development of society in the modern world.

The acquisition of knowledge of modern science and technology, instead of eroding their religious tradition, appeared to be playing a role in the preservation and propagation of religious values. Thus, faith groups of any sort accept the science and technology with appreciation except a few oppositions. Modernity should also develop its normative dimension by borrowing from religious values. In that way, modernity and tradition may feed one another and they are two sides of the same coin.

Future Implications

Before and beyond awarding certificates

It is a common practice that once students completed a coursework in modern education, diplomas of different types and grades are awarded after a succession of final examinations and/or research projects. The strategies used for providing awards is predominantly associated with academic competence i.e. knowledge acquisition or research skills. My observation in Islamic education revealed

somewhat a different but inspiring case. In Muslim education, "awards" from the head-teacher are not given for merely cognitive competence. The normative (moral) competence of students as informally assessed throughout his school-age by the head-teacher, student-teachers and other peers is also taken into consideration. To put it more vividly, if a student is found to be committing socially unacceptable acts persistently (e.g. stealing, lying, drinking alcohol) or found o be committing one grand crime (e.g. raping, killing or prostituting), he will never be awarded the certificate (or given the *baraka* or blessing in the case of Sufis) despite his exemplar academic caliber. This is done in the context where cheating or guesswork in exams is unknown since there is no paper-and pencil test at all.

No one can interfere with the decision of the head-teacher regarding the promotion and/or certification of students unlike the tradition in modern schools. I understand that extensive interference in the teaching-learning process will bring about deterioration of the quality of education.

Anyone should not be awarded degrees for merely passing exams especially in a context where there is high probability of cheating in exams accompanied with the fallacy of raters. Other crucial criteria like being responsible and caring for others; being self-disciplined; being trustworthy, tolerant and so forth should be added in the overall assessment strategies. Otherwise, limiting the system of provision of awards to knowledge acquisition mistaking it for morality may end up in producing educated monsters that are aggressive, ruthless, selfish and corrupted.

I know there are cases wherein awards are peeled off certain people in the modern world but this is mostly done with plagiarism, not with crimes done against humanity in general. Hence, much more needs to be done to furnish the mind and the heart of the future generation who would be potential doctors, engineers, lawyers, Generals and teachers whose caring or aggressive behaviors can save or destroy the lives of millions.

Balancing the process of acculturation with enculturation
Like in all other societies, cultural factors have been the primary determinants of education in Ethiopia especially until the advent of modern education. Since the primary function of education is enculturation, all traditional Ethiopian societies sustained themselves through that form of education that seeks to inculcate social norms and mores in the young. The same type of education seeks to prepare each person for his or her future role in society. It inculcates the skills needed for survival in the immediate environment and mobilizes all available human energies and talents for holistic social development no matter how rudimentary it is in the eye of a foreigner. The introduction of modern education (mainly by

colonizers) changed radically the objectives of education from enculturation into the indigenous culture to learning about another culture and in the language of that other culture.

Although Ethiopia is known and has served as a model for African independence since it survived the aggressive colonial invasion, paradoxically it is not as such different from the colonized ones as it has fallen easy prey to the tantalizing westernization projects.

It is recalled that modern education in Ethiopia was introduced at the backdrop of indigenous and traditional education system of the Ethiopian Orthodox church and mosque (Zawuya) whose education systems were and still are the basis for the moral values and code of conduct of their respective followers. Without trying to accommodate such a cultural context, it was like "the colonies in Africa" modeled after the western schooling system to the extent of adopting foreign medium of instruction and instructors initially. Consequently, modernization was and still is conceived as any movement away from Ethiopian mannerism to that of the west. Nonetheless, Ethiopian critics have called for greater acknowledgement and respect on the part of 'modernizers' or 'civilizers' for traditional culture.

People in Ethiopia have high interest which is attached in many spheres to agriculture, healing practice and conflict resolution, which is called indigenous-knowledge-systems. Due respect should be given for these rich educational and cultural heritages as the potential source for future development.

For millennia, African values in general and that of Ethiopians in particular were persistently condemned for hampering modernization. One may argue that such problems of marginalizing indigenous Ethiopian cultures and traditions are mainly caused by the influence of the West. However, the problem is equally home grown.

I recognize there is new stance towards indigenous cultures at national and global levels in the contemporary world. However, unless the current world-wide resurgence of indigenous cultural movements allows scope for the development of criteria of value from other than Eurocentric traditions, the problem will remain vicious. I understand that the problem we faced is not the question of whether or not the Ethiopian education system is inflicted with Eurocentric or west-centric values. The issue here is the need to re-establish and re-synthesis the education system based on the indigenous cultural and traditional heritages. This shall be done on the basis of exploiting the three functions of education: socializing function, innovative function, and liberalize function. I understand that modern schools in Ethiopia do perform some of these functions despite the variation of commitment to each. The least

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utilized function of education in the Ethiopian context appeared to be the socialization function. Consequently, the questions are: Does the school wide environment promote tolerance, respect for diversity and for human rights? Are we inculcating deep senses of social responsibilities and commitment to the society? Is the culture of openness, honesty, pluralism, truthfulness and hard work developing in our society at large and the educational system in particular? I understand that these are difficult questions to answer. However, these are some of the major issues which require major deliberations especially whenever the educational system is to be reintegrated with the Ethiopian cultures and traditions.

Hence, both the content and intent of schools should be socialization of the generation so that citizens are prepared for life in the society as well.

Since the overall model of modern education in Ethiopia has been copied from the West, emphasis is given to acculturation process at the expense of enculturation and thereby children in modern schools have been alienated from their indigenous cultural milieu. Incognizant of the determining role of indigenous cultures for national economic and social development, school graduates in Africa and in Ethiopia in particular despise not only religious traditions but also indigenous healing practices, traditional products and rural ways of life. Because of his lack of economic, political and social consciousness, the African intelligentsia has been indifferent to the problems of the masses and plays only lip-service for their uplift for many years and at time ashamed of his/her own cultural heritages. There is a window of hope at the present since there is indigenous cultural development agenda at least at policy documents and at media coverage.

The reality on the ground, however, revealed that the education system is being pressed towards science and technology and objectification. Other than applauding indigenous dancing, clothing, and diets, genuine efforts of re-synthesizing western education with the indigenous knowledge and balancing the process of acculturation with that of enculturation remains elusive.

Thus, the dominant problems of the modern education viz. acculturation, technification, objectification and erosion of spirituality need to be solved by appropriate reform efforts in domesticating and re-contextualizing the school by giving room to the process of enculturation (e.g. using local knowledge, recognition of subjective knowledge just like the objective knowledge in natural sciences and provision of moral education) reflecting the rich Ethiopian cultural values.

Rethinking the Concept of Development: the Moral Alternative

Conventionally, development has been controlled by two power groups: the state and the commercial system, with little or no regard for the people concerned. Time has come to correct this misconception of development. From this perspective, development is ultimately about people i.e. about enabling them to participate fully in the process and to make informed choices and decisions on their future. Presupposed here is that millions of men and women in the contemporary world lack not merely power but also the recognition of their fundamental and potential humanity. People have been denied their humanity: their freedom, their equality, their right to participate to the fullest in development (Levinus, 1990). This denial cannot be undone by means of charity or aid; rather their humanity must be restored as a matter of moral exigency.

The link between morality and development must be emphasized. Morality here is meant faith in human life and human freedom. It must concern itself with relations between and among human beings; it is both human and community centered.

The overemphasis on materialism, individualism and consumerism at the expense of morality has brought about the assumption that 'every human being is like a wolf to other humans'. This shall be changed and instead, we opt for responsibility by and for the other.

Prior to any government or political contract, prior to any law guaranteeing human freedom, there exists the basic condition of inter-subjectivity, the face to face encounter with the other person in human life. Even conflicts and wars presupposed this encounter, which acknowledges the presence of the Other as radically different. In ordinary life, the Other manifests him/herself not only as different but often vulnerable. Faced with the Other and his/her weakness, one discovers morality. The Other being weak and vulnerable appeals to concerned people ethically and ask them to respond, to be responsible for the Other. The Other requests the self to control the wolf within the self and instead to acknowledge the Other's right to life, to freedom, to equality and to be responsible for the Other's well-being. This responsibility constitutes the ethical basis of justice and human rights. This humanism of the Other goes beyond the classical humanism of the self; it goes beyond individualism.

For this purpose, education has to be redirected towards not only for the cognitive and creative dimension but also for the normative dimension. The normative relates education to norms and values. The purpose of education should be humanization as well as human development. This goal must be upheld, both by individuals and by the community. Through education, we must strive to overcome

injustice and oppression: ethnics, racial, religious and gender oppression. To this end, education must inculcate justice and equality, freedom and democracy as well as communality. Through this normative dimension, instead of excluding or treating ethical/character education superficially, personal as well as social values should be emphasized in the education system as a distinctive course.

This type of education will not only facilitate human development but also the humanization of the world in which we live. This demands an alternative pedagogy. In this context, development transcends the economics of contemporary society: it is a moral rather than political or economic issue per se. In other words, morality must provide the framework which development ought to take place.

Economic models that are lopsided assumed that if you increase the gross national products and the per capita income, then that is development. This criterion said little or nothing about peace and cooperation in society, about popular participation, about self-reliance. To counteract such one-sided models of development, there is a need for an authentic development that is to be need oriented, endogenous, self-reliant and participatory.

Nevertheless, not only the economic models were at fault perhaps more destructive were the de-humanizing attitudes underlying these models. That happened ever since liberalism had come to be recognized within the western world as the vanguard of human progress. Reinforced later by neo-capitalism, it advocated the end of ideology by privatizing religion as well as morality. The subsequent separation of politics and morality and the enforced dichotomy between fact and values in the physical and social sciences (including economics) directly served the advancement of liberal politics. It was found to be questionable when scholars – particularly in the social sciences and education – allowed their socio-political interest to influence their studies.

Objectivity was said to be the ultimate virtue and any subjective involvement was to be avoided. Despite the attraction on liberal scholarship, greater and deeper damage was already done both in material and non-material terms. The politics of self-interest has over the years produced a generation of people that suffers from seemingly incurable egocentrism. Among the poor such self-centeredness is a matter of sneer survival: the survival of the fittest. The middle classes adhere to "enlightened" self-interest, as they try to institutionalize the status quo for the sake of their own private security. Lastly, among the rich, self-interest tends to ratify almost limitless greed and to justify through bribery and corruption an unqualified struggle for more and more power.

Moreover, the struggle for human rights itself is exploited for the same end: to promote selfish, individual interests. The western conception of law is thus fully endorsed in Ethiopia (Africa): to protect and safeguard the individual over and against society. The idea of African (Ethiopian) law which seeks – traditionally – to maintain society over and above the individual seems irrelevant.

Authentic human development acknowledges the human person and the rights of that person as essential to human life. But equally essential is the community and the good of that community: the public or common good. There is need for a communalistic ethics, in which the main criterion of goodness is the welfare or well-being of the community. But nothing so radical will happen unless individuals first become fully aware of their responsibility for the Other. To bring this about, education that addresses the intellectual, emotional and spiritual aspects is indispensable.

Understanding the culture of the self and the other for proper dialogue
The influences of Islam on the way of life of people as well as the inter-faith influence will continue even to the far future. Hence, the long standing practice of co-existence of all the faith groups should be protected and preserved even at non-religious institutions, for instance, through teaching the moral values of the two faith groups in schools (e.g. character education or gibregeb timhirt). Another mechanism for mutual understanding may be the conduction of religious dialogue among faith groups (not on absolute truthfulness) but on the prophetic histories of the Abrahamic faiths, their generosity, courage, compassion, mercifulness, wisdom and miracles and peacefulness and coexistence. The dialogue may also include strategies for peaceful coexistence from religious as well as secular perspectives. Such holy acts shall be conducted not only in faith institutions but also in universities, colleges and schools as well. All educational stakeholders, modern and/or traditional, should strive for preventing the future generation from degenerating because of the budding moral recession as observed in recent days: theft, market fraud, corruption, indecency, addiction to hashish, and lack of self-discipline.

The initially more democratic political atmosphere in Ethiopia since the 1991 regime change facilitated the public expression of religion. Consequently, revivalism and polemical consciousness increased among different faith groups (especially Muslims and Protestants). The opportunities of religious freedom and the freedom of the press should be used for exhorting to be better religious people and cherish their own faiths. Polemists of different faith groups should stop maligning and demonizing other faiths and faith groups. There were cases in which periodicals, newspapers and preaching were directed

to de-legitimize the faith of the others. That was not peculiar to Islam and Muslims. Other faith groups also share the blame. That should be stopped and replaced by re-establishing the peace culture. Any polemic activity by any faith group should be done with mutual respect, care, and mutual trust since we have many more national and social development agenda. Otherwise, considering the polemics of one particular faith as a threat to the nation and other faiths and thereby causing the closure of its publication apparatus while the other faiths and sects are given more opportunities may in the long run breed challenges not only to the present secular state but also to the whole nations, nationalities and peoples as there are certain groups who attempt to define nationalism based on religion and even ethnicity contrary to the FDRE Constitution.

Moreover, over echoing on the mass media the issue of one particular faith or ethnic group as if it were maligned or sidelined by the other faith or ethnic group should be avoided. The media, both print and non-print, should serve all peoples with the sense of equity. I understand that the media have got the power to enhance either peace or violence depending on the agenda set.

One of the contemporary evil for humanism in general and multiculturalism in particular is terrorism. All people have to unite to counteract any act of violence. But it should not be done by making the copycat of the terrorists themselves i.e. by killing more people. It should rather be done through compassion, mercy and forgiveness especially to those who are not involved in active terror. It should also be known that instead of maligning all Muslims (and Islam) by considering them synonymous with terrorism as portrayed in the mass media, it should be known that they are the vanguard victims of the violence. They should be invited to have a part in the re-establishment of peace culture.

Consequently, the vanguard task of the Ethiopian intelligentsia should be discrimination of radical and terrorist groups from the innocent practicing religious people (mainly Muslims). If not, violence breeds violence and the problem will be vicious and "peace" will remain elusive. I do not need to see that in Ethiopia. Hate mongers should withdraw their hands from opening old wounds as well as from creating speculatively future-wounds since this erodes relational trust.

In the name of security, the democratic as well as human right or political rights of any group should not be violated so long as the people concerned do it according to the law of the land.

Following the freedom of movement, many young Muslims go to and come from abroad. Some of these youngsters join foreign Islamic schools exposing themselves to different ideologies that may contradict

to the Ethiopian cultures. One of the main reasons why young people flee abroad is the absence of standard modern Islamic university. The traditional Islamic Fiqh schools in Ethiopia function under sever hardships (lack of food, shelter, clothing, medication and books) and the young are hardly attracted to such institutions. Unless such problems are solved, alien ideologies slotted into the countries may continue confounding the people, especially the young.

One area of emphasis for mutual understanding may possibly be strengthening multicultural education and multicultural projects. There are certain people who are skeptical about the importance of multiculturalism especially following the recent world economic recession. But I understand that the importance of multiculturalism is like the multiple organic systems to an organism for its existence as long as mutual trust, mutual respect, mutual care, and responsibility to the "Other" are maintained.

Understanding the cultures of the self and the other is one of the major strategies for narrowing the rift between "us" and "them". Step by step, as the spiritual and emotional intelligences of people develop overtime, they will in turn develop trust in their relationship through moving from the "I – It" to the "I-Thou" type of relationships. I do not expect this development to take place soon as long as "materialism" is given precedence to "spirituality". There should always be a balance.

Muslims should also exert their thoughts and efforts to prove their commitment to peacefulness, tolerance and coexistence with themselves and their non-Muslim neighbors. They should further still never be sympathizers for any party or nationalist group linked with terrorism since it may have its own hidden agenda. No one should also take the law in one's own hand whenever disagreements occur. One has to be abided by the law of the land.

To sum up, "putting people first" in all development agendas shall be stressed since people themselves are one of the most endangered species on this planet. I understand that no one has the monopoly over wisdom. Hence, both secular as well as religious ideals shall be integrated for developing brotherhood and sisterhood and thereby universal humanism, not through overemphasizing individualism but through working for the common good as well without denying the rights of the individual. This demands the efforts of the "think-tanks" of the country: modern, traditional, secular and religious or even atheists, if any. As a final point, I would like to call all peoples, nations and nationalities (in land and abroad) to collaborate each other not with aggression and hate mongering but with reconciliation and re-establishing the culture of peace through dialogue and mutual understanding despite the differences in religion, region, wealth, gender, language and ethnicity:

Help one another in virtue, righteous deeds and piety: but do not help
one another in sin (crimes) and transgression (aggression)
(Qur'an, 5:2).

Contribution of the Research to Knowledge, Society and Policy Makers

A research at this level is expected to have certain merits to knowledge development, society and policy makers. From this perspective, this research has got methodological merits. The research also represents a case of substantive value to understanding of the Islamic education and Muslim culture. I have depicted elsewhere that few studies were done on the synthesis of traditional and modern education in Ethiopia. This research will further contribute to bridging this knowledge gap. It can also serve as a springboard to the exploration of the cultural foundation of education in general and curriculum design and development in particular in Ethiopia and elsewhere in the world as education is confused with the learning of other cultures looking down the indigenous cultures.

In addition to its approaches of combining historical and ethnographic evidences, the use of varied theoretical and philosophical perspectives in interpreting the evidences could make the text interesting reading to a variety of national and international readers. It is not uncommon to perceive Islamic/Muslim education as instigating violence and hatred to the non-Muslims. This study has, however, shown the opposite. Muslims (just like the non-Muslims) are peaceful, cooperative and tolerant. Hence, the overall essence of Islamic education is the preservation of the life, property, faith, progeny and the mind of people based on equality, justice and peace.

The use of power to solving intrafaith or interfaith conflicts was found to deter the development of the culture of Ethiopians' ancient values: dialogue, hospitability, mutual respect and deliberativeness.

This study has lesson to the national and international community that tradition and modernity not only coexist but also enrich one another.

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Appendix 1: A Glossary of Terms

Allah: God who is the only Creator of the universe and its inhabitants; who neither begets nor is begotten

Alaq: The clot clinging to the wall of the female womb

Amanah: Trust or any responsibility which the society or an individual or God places in someone's charge

Aql: Reasoning and reflection to make a conclusion; the intellect which does the reasoning

Darasa: A religious student in Islamic education

Dhikr: Remembrance or recollection of God's Names

Du'a: Prayer and supplication

Fatwa: A legal verdict given on a religious basis

Fiqh: The science of Islamic Jurisprudence

Fuqra: Exorcist

Hadith: The record of Whatever Prophet Muhammad said, did or tacitly approved

Halal: Religiously permissible since the act does not have destructive effect on the life, mind, body, honor, progeny and property of the self and/or others involved

Haram: Religiously impermissible since the act can have destructive effect on the life, mind, body, honor, progeny and property of the self and/or others involved

Harima: The term refers locally to the rural Islamic teaching centers

Hifz: Saving the whole Qur'anic text through memorization without missing even a sound

Ijtihad: A scholar's exerting the sum total of his capacity in order to deduce laws on new issues from the basic source of Islam (namely the Qur'an, Sunnah and Ijma)

Ilm: Knowledge based on the Revelation

Imam: The leader during the prayer; the leader of Muslims especially in religious matters

Iman: Cretan belief or faith

Injil: The Devine Book which God gave to the Prophet Jesus

Islam: The Devine Religion which god has appointed for human kind and revealed through all Prophets

Jahiliyyah: Any doctrine or worldview and way of life based on rejection of heavenly guidance communicated to mankind through Prophets and Messengers of God

Jihad: Striving or doing one's utmost to achieve something; striving in God's cause with one's possessions and person

Jinn: Invisible being like angles

Khalifa: Caliph; one who exercises the authority delegated to him

Kursi: Chair

Kutub al-sita: The six hadith collection curricula

Mahr: The bridal due to be give to the spouse at the time of marriage (required from the husband)

Masalih al-mursalah: Law of taking what is suited to the public benefit and discarding what is harmful

Mubah: Permissible (but neither preferable nor obligatory to be done)

Munkar: Any thing disapproved by common sense, public view and God

Mustahab: preferable to be done and rewarding but not punishable if not done

Muslim: Anyone who believe in Allah and practices Islam

Nikah: Marriage contract according to God's law

Nutfah: A drop of seminal fluid

Qada wa'l Qadar: The Divine Destiny and Decree; the Divine Destiny and its
enforcement

Qadi: A Judge

Qimaha: The act of chewing chat

Qamate: People who chew chat

Qital: Fighting, war, warfare

Qiyas: Analogy

Ramadan: The 9th month of the (Islamic) lunar calendar which the Muslims spend fasting

Salat: The Prayer done by Muslims after proper ablution

Shahadatein: Believing and witnessing that Allah is the Only and True Creator
deserving worship and Muhammad is his last Messenger

Shahochu (Sheikh): A scholar in the Islamic sciences; a person who is the head-teacher
of an Islamic school

Shari'ah: The way God has laid down for His creatures to follow in their daily lives

Sunnah: The way of Allah's Messenger; something to be rewarded if it is done but not
punishable if not performed

Tablighis: A group of Muslim preachers assimilated with the Sufis and traveling to convey Islam to
people

Tajwid: Proper and distinct Qur'anic recitation

Ummah: A community following the same way (of belief and life style)

Umrah: The Minor Pilgrimage

Urf: A generally accepted social practice and norm which is not opposed to Islam

Wajib: Obligatory to be performed

Warra: An Oromo term referring to "community".

Wodaja: The act of supplication by a group of men or women by chewing chat and drinking coffee and
tea

Wudu: Ablution

Zakah: The due right of the poor from the rich taking 2.5% of the income on yearly basis

Zar: A belief in spirit possession; it also refers to a healing dance that is sung and performed by a group
of people (mostly women)

Zawuya: A hat with thatched roof (a house with corrugated iron) which has multiple functions including
learning Islamic sciences (Fiqh, Nahw, Sorf or Tefsir), supplication, social gathering and even seclusion

Zuhd: Renouncing excessive worldly pleasure and resisting extreme carnal desires for God's pleasure

APPENDIX 2: Oral Informed Consent for Interview

(Researcher's ethical principles)

Thank you for accepting to participate in this research entitled *"The Development of Islamic Education System in Ethiopia and its Influences on the National Culture".* My purpose is to undertake research as a requirement for PhD qualification at the Addis Ababa University, with your cooperation for a better understanding of how the Islamic education system developed in Ethiopia, how the curricula are organized and how the education is being conducted and how it affects the culture of the nation. At present the idea of traditional education, especially the teachings of Islamic education, is highly contested. Through this research I want to understand what teaching and learning strategies are used; what the roles of the teachers and the students are; how relevant is the teaching to everyday life of Muslims; the historical development of Islamic education in Ethiopia and so forth. I will also try to understand problem areas to the implementation of the traditional Muslims education. Data will be collected through interviews with you, in addition to text analysis and observation.

The information you share with me will be secured with the utmost confidentiality and your personal identity kept anonymous. Pseudonyms will be used in case names are needed in the report. There are no known risks and discomfort so far associated with the study. This is what I want to know from you. The expected benefits associated with this study are the discussion results that may be helpful to improve our indigenous and modern educational systems. I would be happy to share the findings with you after the research is completed or even while in process. I assure you once again, your name will not be associated with the research findings in any way, and your identity as a participant will be known to me only.

Principles and procedures for the research

The framework consists of my ethical principles and procedures. I am willing to discuss these principles with you in pursuit of an agreed upon and amended framework. Do not hesitate to ask any question about the study either before participating or during the time you are participating or even a few days after your participation.

1. Participation in the research is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw from the research any time.

2. Information given to me (by your will) will be treated as belonging to you; and it can be used only with your permission.

3. Observations and interpretations made by me will be treated as belonging to me. Whenever implicated in such observations and interpretations, you will be invited to comment upon their fairness, accuracy and relevance;

4. I will seek your permission to create or use audio-visual records. You have the right to refuse, change your mind even after being recorded or withdraw your recordings. You can edit or change them as you are invited to listen to taped information. Copies of transcriptions will also be shown to you for checking for correct transcription;

5. I will securely store data;

6. In case views may be revealing, the presentation of these views will be negotiated with you;

7. Full anonymity of your identity and confidentiality of the information you share with me will be maintained;

8. Except for the purposes of professional collaboration in the project, no data arising from the interviews will be disclosed in any form to third parties without your explicit and prior consent. Where data are shared for the purposes of professional collaboration these protocols and procedures apply to all those involved in that collaboration;

9. I am willing to discuss these principles and procedures with you in pursuit of an agreed framework for the research and to amend them as necessary and

10. You have the right to get any benefits during your participation.

THANK YOU!

Signature_____   Date_____
ALI YASSIN ALI, RESEARCHER

Appendix 3: Interview Guide Protocol

Personal issues (name, age, experience, roles, etc)

The life of Sheiks and religious students

Structure and aims of Islamic education

Student-teacher interactions

Dissemination of Islamic education

Perils and opportunities of Islamic education

Modern education and Muslims

The issue of prayers and dressing codes in schools

Islam and knowledge

Character education in Islam

Islam and Muslims

The personal, family and business life

Cleanliness and healing practices

Islam and politics in Ethiopia

Islam, Muslims and terrorism

The issue of jihad

Intra-faith issues

The October 2012 *Mejlis* election

Interfaith issues

Muslims and non-Muslims

N.B The focus of the interview varies based on the experience, knowledge and roles of the research participants.

Appendix 4: Integration of Contents among the Qur'an, the Hadith and Fiqh Course Materials

No.	Contents	Chapters and Verses of the Qur'an	Volume and Hadith Number of Sahih Muslim	Pages of the Shafii's Fiqh (*manhajul talibin*)
1.	Faith issues	2:144,196-203;4:103; 5:6;7:31;22:2730,77;25:23;29:45;112:1-6;etc.	1:1-431	22 (Faith issues are dealt at lower level)
2.	Purification	5:6;4:43;5:6;7:31;8:11;9:28;25:48;25:48;57:12;87:14;91:9; 2:138-140etc.	1:432-576, 663-734	9-20
3.	Menstruation	2:222	1:577-662	19-20
4.	Salat/Prayer	1:1-7;3:8,26-27,147, 191-194;4:103;11:114; 17:80;etc	1:735-1754; 2:1755- 2133	21-63
5.	The Poor's Due Right/ Zakat (2.5% of property to be given to the poor)	2:43,83,110,177,261-262,267;4:77;5:48;9:11,18,34,103;30:39;22:41;6:141;etc	2:2134-2360	64-73
6.	Fasting	2:187,183-185,187;4:92; 5:89,95;19:26;33:35etc	2:2361-2646	74-79
7.	Hajj/Pilgrimage	2:158,196203;3:97;5:2;22:26-33	2:2647-3230	82-93
8.	Marriage and family life	2:228,229,230-234, 236-37;264;4:4,19, 20,22-24,34;5:2,5; 33:33;etc.	2:3231-3472	204-223 209-268
9.	The issue of Divorce and reunion	2:228-232,234,235-237;33:49;65:1-7;etc.	2:3473-3607	226-258
10.	Business transaction Means of earning income	2:275-280,282; 4:12,29;83:1-6;6:152; 17:26-29;4:58;24:33; 28:26-27;etc.	3:3608-3927	94-179
11.	Rules of Inheritance	2:180,240;4:79,11,12,19,33,176;5:106-108	3:3928-4016	180-197
13.	Issues of Vows and Oath	2:224-227;5:89;16:94; 24:22,53;66:2;etc.	3:4017-4034 3:4035-4174	326-335
14.	Penal Laws/Hudud	4:135;5:3334,38,49;17:32;24:2, 6-9,23;38:26; 43:86;etc.	3:4175-4243	268-292 298-302
15.	Judicial issues	4:59,135;5:8;42:15, 40-43;57:25;99:7-8.	3:4244-4291	345-357
16.	The Issue of Jihad (Conflict and Peace)	2:216,190-193;246-251;3:186,200;4:35,71; 8:61,65,72,74,75; 9:12-16,20,26;10:10, 109;22:39-41;etc.	3:4292-4472	308-316
17.	The issue of Governance	4:59;2:144;5:33:34;42:14,38;45:17	3:4473-4731	
18.	Game, Hunting &	5:94-96	3:4732-4817	317-319

	Slaughtering Animals			
19.	The Issue of Sacrifices	22:34-37	3:4818-4878	320-321
20.	The Issue of Drinks and Food (halal wa haram)	2:219;5:90;37:45;76:21;2:168;172,173;5:1,3-5, 88;6:118,119,121,145, 16:114-118;etc.	3:4879-5125	303-304 322-324
21.	Clothing and Decorations	7:26-27;24:30-3133:59	3:5126-5313	51-52
22.	Good Manners	2:83,188,263;3:152;4:148;5:87; 6:108,151,152; 7:33,95;46:15-17etc.	3:5314-5373 4:5580-5601	297-302
23.	Salutations and Greetings	4:86;10:10;14:23;33:44;25:75;24:61	3:5374-5482; 4:5483-5579	
24.	The Issue of Poetry	36:69;26;224227; 69:41	4:5602-5612	
25.	The Issue of Vision/Dreams	12:4	4:5613-5652	
26.	Excellent Qualities of the Prophet and his Companions	3:159;9:61;21:107;33:21;68:4;9:100;59:8-9; 48:18-19,29	4:5653-6179	
27.	Virtues, Good Manners, and Kinship	2:83,188,263;3:152;4:148;5:87; 6:108,151,152; 7:33,95;46:15-17etc	4:6180-6389	
28.	The Issue of Destiny	2:20;3:32,140-142,152 ,153-155;4:78-79	4:6390-6441	Destiny is dealt at lower level
29.	The Issue of Knowledge	20:114;39:9;56:95;90:8-10;69:51;96:1-5;102:5-7;58:11;etc	4:6442-6470	
30.	Remembrance of Allah, Supplication, Repentance and Seeking Forgiveness	7:205;15:6,9;8:205;15:6,9;4:48, 110;39:53; 63:9	4:6471-6595	
31.	Repentance/Tauba	4:17;6:54;4:18;4:25	4:6610-6697	
32.	Descriptions of the Day of Judgment, Paradise and Hell	53:15;18:107;23:11;3:15,198;4:57;5:119;7:43;9:72;16:77;22:1;30:12;4:56;7:48;11:119;1:16-17;22:19-22; 88:2-7;etc.	4:6698-7057	
33.	The Issue of Piety and Softening of Heats	2:2-5;21,41,63,187,197 ,3:17,134-136etc.	4:6596-6609 4:7058-7150	
34.	Interpretation and Commentary of the Qur'an/Tafsir	Many verses of the Qur'an are interpreted by other verses within the Qur'an itself	4:7151-7190	

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declared that this dissertation is my work and has not been presented for any other degree here in Ethiopia or abroad and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Candidate's Name: <u>Ali Yassin Ali</u>

Signature: _____

Date: <u>JULY 28 2014</u>

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as the candidate's University advisor.

Advisor's Name: <u>Amare Asgedom (PhD)</u>

Signature: _____

Date: <u>28/07/2014</u>