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# Curriculum of Hatred and intolerances in Pakistan: A glimpse into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa textbooks

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#### **Abstract**

This is Qualitative study conducted in Swat, a District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, situated in Northwestern Pakistan. The target population of this study was Educationist, Intellectuals, secondary school teachers, University and College Lecturers, Members of KP curriculum board and Lawyers. The aim of this study was to know the nexus between hatred, intolerance and design curriculum of KP. For such purpose a total 30 in-depth interviews were conducted with expert in such field to examine the dilemma critically that how the course curriculum and textbooks influence the young minds. All these interviews were semi-structured, and the respondents were selected randomly. It was found that there is a strong nexus between hatred, intolerance and the design curriculum of KP. The analytical and critical investigation of the study not only disclose the connection between violence, hatred and course curriculum but also project some valuable recommendations which will eventually drag the attention of policy makers toward this context.

**Keywords**: Hatred, Intolerance, Curriculum, Textbooks, Extremism, Peace.

## Introduction

The education system of a country can be called a culture DNA, which contains all the hereditary genetic blueprint shaping what the society is going to become tomorrow. Forward oriented or fixated on the past, elected or authoritarian, classless or discriminatory, tolerant or intolerant, peaceful or violently engaged in civil wars and so on- the choices between such option are made when generation passes to the next one its morals and preferences. It is up to those in the offices, whether they adopt the primitive, modern or modest thinking in the education system. But unfortunately, in Pakistan, dogmatic imperatives enjoy significance in the state-sponsored

textbooks as they used it as a vital instrument for the formation of national identity and to groom the children as a patriotic citizen of the state (Hoodbhoy, 2000).

At the time of Independence, Pakistan inherited the British education system of Colonial era, that was mainly developed by the British to tighten its grip over the Indian Subcontinent (Tharoor,2016). Shashi Tharoor (2016) argue that they were not interested in educating the Indian masses, either Hindu or Muslims because the cost of education at the time was very expensive, while the benefit was too low. They used the English language as a tool of colonization and taught it to those who would serve as mediators between the rulers and the ruled. According to Laal (2018), the British left the Indian subcontinent with a literacy rate of 16% and the situation in the region which were to make up Pakistan was worst then the rest of Indian-Subcontinent.

Saigol (2003) call the Sharif report of 1959 as the manga Carta of education in Pakistan. The prime aim of this system under Ayub khan was the modernization of society, where he adopted a liberal form of Islam. He also shifted the responsibility from the state for universal education to the parents, which result in the massive numbers of the private institution throughout the country.

The separation of East Pakistan December 1971 influenced Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto that single curriculum is prerequisite for national unity. That's why, parliament passed an act which makes it compulsory for provincial's governments to follow the national curriculum, design by the federal government. The mixing of religious nationalism and national ideology reached its peaks under the leadership of Zia al-Haq (1977-1988) (Lall,2004). Where, he ordered the Islamization of every section of the society and ordered the re-writing of history at all level, to redefine the meaning of Pakistan (Hoodbhoy,2016). However, the education system of Pakistan adopted its religious colour in 1947 at the national curriculum conference held in Karachi. In the said conference, Urdu and Islamic studies were made compulsory at school level which was a tool for unifying the diverse nation. In 1949, the main aim of education policy was to improve the quality of education, achieved 80% of literacy and bringing about 75% of children of going age to schools was never been achieved.

The national education policy of 1979 aimed to Islamize the youth, that's why the Islamic studies and Arabic, in general, was made compulsory even for medical, engineering and commerce students. Additional marks were also to be given for the memorization of the Quran. Despite the

democratic revival in the country, the education policy and curriculum which were adopted by the government of Benazir (1988-1990), ((1993-1996) and Nawaz Sharif (1990-1993), (19997-1999) were the same as adopted and followed by Zia's regime. That's why after the tragedy of 9/11, the textbooks of Pakistan, particularly the KP which were glorifying Jihad comes under the spotlight of the Western world, which results in the creation of national curriculum of 2006 (Hoodbhoy,2016).

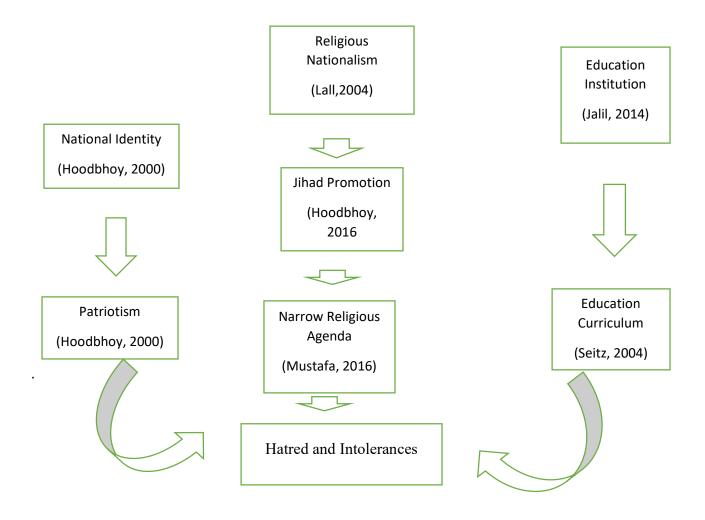
In Pakistan, many critical educational experts believe that there is a strong link between hatred and the design curriculum, Particularly Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The subject under study despite its greater significance has been overlooked by researchers. Apart from newspapers' articles hardly few research studies are part of literature in Pakistan which clearly manifest that the subject requires more critical and analytical studies. Narrowing the gap and adding some quality analytical work to the existing literature, we attempted to study the nexus between hatred, intolerance and the designed curriculum of KP. In this paper, we are interested to examine the particular dilemma critically that how the course curriculum and textbooks influence the minds of youth because we assume that violence and hatred can also be judged through the lens of course curriculum and Khyber Pakhtoonkwa textbooks in this regard are taken into account. To address the issue this study proposed some remedies in the second part as well. The analytical and critical investigation of the study not merely reveals the connection between violence, hatred and course curriculum but also projected some lucrative recommendations which will eventually drag the attention of policymakers towards this context.

# Operationalization of terms

The term curriculum refers to lessons and academic content taught in a school or in a specific course or a program of university and college. It is characteristically referring to the knowledge and skills students that are expected to learn; the lessons that the teachers teach during the school, the assignments and project given to students, and the books, material, videos, presentations, and reading used in a specific program to assess the students (Ark, 2017). While, the term 'textbook' was defined by the English Oxford dictionary as a book used as a standard work for the study of a subject, i.e. English, Islamiat, Urdu or Pakistan study.

According to the English Collins dictionary (1979) "Hatred is the extremely strong feeling of dislike for someone or something. It is an extremely strong feeling of dislike (Cambridge dictionary, 1995). A violent act against other for some is also an act of hatred when it is based on the strong, tenacious and negative perception of other, who we intend and desire to hurt, terminate or make suffer. Hatred is often expressed in the form of work, expression or deed but it ultimately results in violence a violent act against others is also an act of hatred (Novarro, 2013).

## **Conceptual Framework**



According to Hoodbhoy (2000) In Pakistan, dogmatic imperatives enjoy significance in the statesponsored textbooks as they used it as a vital instrument for the formation of national identity and to groom the children as a patriotic citizen. The promotion of national identity and patriotism give birth to intollerent society which promote hatered. According to Lall (2004) the religious nationalism in Pakistan promoted jihad culture in the era of zialulhaq, the religious nationalism was at peak which uphold the narrow religious agenda in the country that resulted hater and intolerance in society (Mustafa, 2016).

According to Jalil (2014) the role of education institutions is very important. The curriculam which has been designed in the education institutions have played pivotle role in the mind building of a generation. The curriculam based on hatered promote intolerance in the society (Seitz, 2004).

## Research Methodology

The approach of this study to identify the nexus between hatred and designed curriculum of KP is qualitative, while Qualitative research is a type of social research which work with non-numerical data that seeks to understand the meaning from these data and help us to resolve the problem through the study of target people and places (khan,2014). The primary sources for this study are the school teachers, educationist, lawyers and intellectuals while secondary data was collected from different books of KP curriculum board. Keeping in view the broadness of this topic, the study was delimited to district swat, situated in the northern part of the province. purposive sampling technique was utilized to access the respondents, while semi-structured interviews were conducted from the respondents because it gives an opportunity to enquirer to skip a certain question and change the sequence of the question which bring more necessary information forward. The number of participants was chosen thirty in order to acquire multiple perspectives about the research questions. While conducting the interviews enough time were provided to the respondents just to record theirs coherently.

# **Findings and Discussion**

The following passage consists of the nexus between the designed curriculum and hatred in KP. The discussion focuses mainly on the hatred and designed curriculum, identified during the interviews with professionals in their field, particularly the educationist and scholarly community. Firstly, the possible relationship between the curriculum, hatred, intolerance and peace were discussed with more stress on the primary statements of respondents and the information from the

previous literature and at the end, a possible suggestion for the elimination of such curriculum was given.

## Peace, tolerance and Education

It is a general phenomenon that Education is the main driver toward peace, prosperity and tolerance. It helps in the transformation of the precarious security situation into a peaceful environment & can lead to political stability and social development. Many studies suggest that education can help in reducing the risk factor of people turning to violent activities by engaging them in economic and political activities (Thompson, 2015). The said argument was also supported by Khan and Yusuf (2011) where he stated that there is a relationship between conflict outbreak and low education attainment, countries with the lowest rate of education show greater chance of conflict. Ubogu (2016) stated that the inclusion of peace education at the school level can bring positive changes in the behaviour and attitude toward each other, which can enable the adults, youths and people from every walk of life to avert conflicting situations, whether it might be intrapersonal, inter-personal, inter-group, intra-group, national and international level. One of the respondent from the professional category explained;

"Lack of peace education in our curriculum is the prime cause of violent behaviour in KP. He further stated that during the era of Gen Zia's. literature regarded wars and jihad was inducted in the school curriculum which inspired many youths and inclined them toward Jihad in Afghanistan and Kashmir"

During his thesis Lall, (2004) elaborate the situation and stated that the national education policy of 1979 sets to Islamize the upcoming generation by giving religious angle to the textbooks. During the same year, Pakistan became the ally of the West against the Soviet Union, which result in the steady promotion of madrasas throughout Pakistan, particularly in KP. All these madrasas were funnelled with financial support from the west and Arab countries, particularly the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to promote the Wahabis form of Islam. (ICG Asia report 2002) stated that the aimed of such actions was to fight the communism. Furthermore, the mosque and madrasas were to be used to spread primary education and every imam of the mosque would be considered as a regular primary school teacher. In the discussion of a good and bad, Islam could no longer unite the masses, because the imposition of the Sunni brand of Islam further deepens the gulf between

Sunnis and Shias. Furthermore, it also provide grounds to the ethnic riots in Karachi between Pashtuns and Muhajirs, increased hatred and intolerance toward the Ahmadis and finally a split amongst the Sunni sect, particularly the Deobandi and Baralvi school of thought. The process of Islamization during Zia's years in Pakistan result in the explosion of Jihadi and sectarian culture. It was in the environment of Zia's periods that our country drifts into radicalism and intolerance commenced.

## Hatred, Intolerance and Design Curriculum of KP

Seitz (2004) suggests that education can also make the situation worse for the group or society if mishandled or badly-organized. Curriculum, textbooks and other learning materials that promote hatred and intolerance are least coexistence for peace (Khan and Yusuf 2011). There are some empirical examples around the globe, where education is part of the problem instead of a solution. In many cases, it further split the different groups, sects and races (Bust and Saltarelli,2000). One of the respondents from the professionals explained;

"Our curriculum is spreading hatred; he further stated that it is taught to the student that Hindus of Subcontinent were the enemies of Muslims and Islam, that's why Muslims of subcontinent worked for day and night under the leadership of Quaid-e Azam and thus achieved a separate homeland".

Since, the independence of Pakistan, education has been used to unified the nation and promote Pakistan's ideology. That's why, religion had been dragged to strengthen this ideology & brotherhood. Furthermore, Islam has always been an important tenant for national identity in Pakistan (Apple,2001). Nayyar and Khurshid stated that textbooks in Pakistan had hardly mentioned the non-controversial Indus valley civilization but it had totally ignored the Buddhist and Hindu period of history. (Salim and Khan (2004) stated that mostly in Pakistan's textbooks, the two-nation theory begins with the arrival of Mohammed- Bin Qassim to the Indian-subcontinent, where it was further cemented by the Ghaznavid expeditions. The social studies book for grade VI praises Mehmood of Ghazni while Salim and khan (2004) called it the distortion of history, Ghaznavid is label as a Hero where all his lootings were totally ignored. The showcase of History in such a narrow constraint is totally religious. Textbooks describe Hindus being scheming and conniving, always would not let any opportunity to destroy and attack Pakistan.

Indoctrinating children in such way provokes the young minds, where they begin to hunt for an enemy in their neighbouring and then across the borders, in this way it creates hatred and intolerance in their minds against other religions and cultures.

Huntington in his thesis as the clash of civilization (Ahmad,2015). Huntington, a US political scientist who published an essay in Foreign Affairs magazine, called "The Clash of Civilizations", where he urged that the post-cold war conflict would be marked by civilizational conflicts. He further wrote the human are being divided into cultural lines; i.e. the western culture, the Islamic, The Hindu and so on. He called the "Islamic civilization" as the most dangerous and harmful because their primary attachment is toward their religion, instead of a nation-state (Brooks,2011). Such arguments can only be brought into practice through widespread manipulation of education, which is very harmful to the global peace (Lall,2014). One of the respondents reacted to the question asked about the mixing of religion and politics;

"Since the independence of Pakistan, religion is always being promoted through politics, which is very dangerous. Our Curriculum portrayed Hindus as inferior and treacherous, furthermore, Madrasas are the nurseries of extremism throughout KP".

According to Khan and Yousuf (2011) Madrasas in KP might not be actively engaged in producing militants as portrayed by the west but it is producing graduate with narrow-minded ideological biased. Christine Fair (2006) argued that such cadre is deeply sympathies with Islamist militants from where they got the inspiration to join them in the future. Jalil (2015) our education institutions has become the factories of hatred, where a teacher taught religion even in classes of history, English and Pakistan study. It is a great dilemma in Pakistan that teachers and religious scholars taught the students as per their perspectives; if he is from Shia school of thought, he will give religious orientation to the lessons according to his belief. Peter Jacob quoted some of the passages from textbooks where non-Muslims were described as negative minded, treacheries and inferior. Recently, in a launching ceremony of a report, "State of religious freedom in Pakistan" by Jinnah institute at Islamabad, MNA Dr- Ramesh Kumar raised the issue and said, the curriculum in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa declare non-Muslims as "Kafir" (Infidels), he suggest to amend it urgently to prevent the spreading of hatred against the Minorities. Responding to a question about the root cause of the intolerance in our curriculum one of the respondents replied;

"Radicalization came into the system since the era of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, but after that, it arose from two-nation theory and then the objective resolution."

Aurangzeb was a religious extremist who disturbs the peace of empire through his intolerant actions against the non-Muslims, which result in the weakening of the Mughal empire (Chettry,2018). The Re-imposition of Jizya (Tax on Non-Muslims), massive input of ulema in state affairs, temple desecration, such as the demolition of temples in Rajputana, Keshavanath temple in Mathura and Vishwanath temple in Banaras are the prime examples of Aurangzeb intolerant policies towards other religions. According to Prof K. Ali, such acts alienated the Jhats, Sikhs and Rajput's which resulted in the open rebellions against the Mughals in Mewar, Mathura, Punjab and Marwar. Zia's quest for the inclusion of great Islamic figures of subcontinent goes beyond from Jinnah's to Aurangzeb. Salim and khan (2004) cited one of our textbook which portraits him as the great ruler, and praises such acts in the following words;

"Aurangzeb Alamgir, expel all the liberal elements from his Darbar. He strictly follows Shariah Law in the empire and handed over the administrative affairs of the state to the clerics".

To strengthen the base for the Islamization of the state and the adaptation of intolerant and antiliberal approach, history of the subcontinent was badly manipulated; Akbar rule of fifty years was simply ignored because the tolerant, secular and cultural amalgamated approach does not fit with the concept of two-nation theory (Salim and Khan (2004). According to the book of Pakistan study Class 9<sup>th</sup>, (KP Text Book Board, Peshawar)

"Sir Syed was the first Muslim leader who put forward the concept of two-nation theory, where he stated that Muslim and Hindus are the two separate nations, as per their religion, norms, values, tradition and even language, who cannot live together in the future".

Jahangiri, (2004) criticized such an approach toward history and called it India-centric and stated that such narrow constrains toward history results in hatred and intolerance. He further said that one such alteration is two-nation theory, which led to the wrong belief that Pakistan was created

by Jinnah and others as a religious state. In the discussion of two-nation theory, one of the respondents replied;

"If Muslim and Hindus of the subcontinent cannot live together, where was the twonation theory, when Muslims was the rulers of Indian Subcontinent for one thousand years? If it is true, that both Muslims and Hindus cannot live together then why are the 201 million Muslims living in India? If it is still applicable, then what is the status of non-Muslims in Pakistan? Why we have issued nationalities to them? Why do they have representation in Pakistan's parliament? And if, Muslims of the whole world is a single nation, then why there is a visa requirement for Muslims in Pakistan and other Islamic countries?"

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the father of nation while addressing the constituent assembly on August 11, 1947, said, "You are free to go to your mosque, you are free to go to your temples and another place of worship in the state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, caste or Creed, it has nothing to do with the business of the state (Dawn, 2015)". With this statement, while addressing the first constituent assembly of Pakistan, the father of nation 'Jinnah' made it clear that religion had no role in the future politics of Pakistan. To prevent the spreading of hatred and intolerance in Pakistan, this statement of Jinnah should be enough to set aside the two-nation theory and taught it to the students in a true sense (Jahangiri, 2011). The objective resolution had also affected the objectives of education in the form of manipulation of textbooks. The result of such steady radicalization of the curriculum was devastating; the first crisis came in 1953, in the form of agitation against Ahmadis in Lahore. Such biased in the curriculum was not only affected the religious minorities, but even women, the most vulnerable part of our community were also not spared. Responding to a question one of the respondents replied;

"You will have noticed pictures of boys in the textbooks while playing in the field and their sisters serving and cooking food; She further added that it does not share love and respect; the concept of us being Shia, Sunni and Hindu must be removed. Glorifying war and Jihad must be stoped and the since of being Human must be promoted."

Since the 1980's, the militarism and lessons regarded war and jihad had badly impacted the minds of youths. The U-Turn of Parveez Musharraf after the 9/11 had put Pakistan on defensive and it's education system which was clearly glorifying Jihad comes under the spotlight of the western world (Hoodbhoy,2016).

Mustafa (2016) cited a comprehensive survey of Tahira Abdullah about textbooks published by KP textbook board that our curriculum is spreading hatred and intolerance; She further added, it is glorifying war and Jihad. Distortion of history and stereotyping of women is another sad dilemma. Textbooks were used to promote their narrow religious agenda and achieved nefarious political goals. She also said that the successive government in KP, since 2002, particularly the MMA and PTI (In coalition with JI) had inflicted the young minds through textbooks.

ANP, (emerged from the non-violent movement of Bacha khan) a secular in nature, took three years to change the pattern of textbooks but did not implement its policies in full-spectrum because they were out of office in 2013 General election. But up to some extent, ANP had significantly softened the textbooks during their five years term but after that, the Coalition government of PTI (2103-2018) along with the conservative Jumat-i-Islami and possibly on the advice of Maulana Sami-ul-Haque made some radical changes. For example, a new chapter was added to the KP textbook that glorifies Ghazi Ilm din, almost a century later after he killed a blasphemer (Hoodbhoy,2017). Even they (PTI) removed the slogan of peace added by ANP government at the front and back cover of textbooks. Mustafa (2016) further stated that there is a nexus between the textbooks and the militancy, hatred, intolerance, extremism, radicalism and Jihadist element in KP: such hatred and intolerance is not only restricted to the terror hit province of KP" but the education system of the whole country is adding fuel to the fire. Those in power understand that only controlling the minds of youths through textbooks can resist reforms and help them in achieving their political goals (Mustafa,2016). In the national education conference, November 27, 1947, the father of the nation made it clear in the following words that;

"The future of our state deeply depends upon the type of education we give to our children today, what we must do is to mobilize our future generation. We must also not forget that we must compete with the rest of the world, where they are moving very fast in this direction. In short, we must build the character of future generations based on their education policy.

Unfortunately, this clear message of Quaid was deliberately ignored by the policymakers on different occasions. Successive government have failed to design a sound education policy which can contribute to the tolerant Pakistani society who can compete with the rest of the world. Hasnain and Nayyar cited Maulana Bashir Ahmad Qadri where he said it is hard that our education system is contributing toward the tolerance and democratization of society. From the above analysis, it is concluded that educating youth in such a nationalistic and fund-mentalistic way can only increase hatred and intolerance, which is very harmful to the entire community.

The second part of this research is composed of the possible suggestion for the improvement of the current education system of KP. Education is the main driver toward the peaceful, prosperous and tolerant Pakistan. To compete and assure the rest of the world that it is indeed peaceful and tolerant, Pakistan must change its course curriculum and amended its textbooks, Particularly in KP. Hate materials that are biased in nature must be eliminated from the textbooks. Minorities students from all faiths should be allowed to study their own religions instead of Nazareth of the Holy Quran. The approach of peaceful co-existence and religious diversity should be promoted through textbooks, while heroes from all the faiths must be included in literature. Over Islamization of textbooks, use of religion for political purposes and meshing of Pakistani nationalism with religion must stop; stereotyping of women, distortion of history and Glorifying of war and Jihad must be immediately eliminated from textbooks. Furthermore, the holistic concept of peace, conflict resolution, prevention and conflict transformation must be promoted through curriculum; while lessons like disarmament, human rights, human solidarity, universal humanity, self-respect and respect of others, lessons regarded gender equity and tolerance must be priorities in the textbooks. Lessons of intercultural and interfaith must added the in course curriculum, while Preference should be given to Non-violence and Important Non-violent movements of the history in the textbooks of KP. To establish a soft and tolerant version of Islam on the ground, lessons regarded Sufism and important saints of Islamic history should also be added to the textbooks.

Apart from the course curriculum and the textbooks of KP, Madrasah education also needed urgent reforms which can allow and prepare the Madrasah graduates for modern economies to earn a livelihood for a decent life, while retaining their faith-based focus. The aim of such reforms must not be the secularization of textbooks but reverting the contents included on various occasions,

particularly during Zia's years because that would meet resistance from the conservative class of society. Furthermore, the primary aim should be the removal of distortion of history and the content that may endanger the conservative mindset to a violent-one. Suggested policy measure may not bring the change overnight but will set a right path in the decade that follows.

## Conclusion

Education is the main driver toward peace, prosperity and tolerance; many studies suggest that education can help in reducing the precarious, violent and conflicting situation into sustainable peace. But From the above discussion, it is concluded that there is a deep nexus between the hatred and designed curriculum of KP. The intervention of the state in Islamization of textbooks and the biased that have been taught to the students have altered the young minds. The current textbooks have distorted the historical facts, encourage religious intolerance, glorifying wars, Jihad and militarism. In the textbooks of KP, Pakistani nationalism was mixed up with Islam which further strengthens the conservative class of our society. On the other hand, the cadre, graduates from Madrasahs are deeply sympathized with radical Islamist, from where they got the inspiration to join them in future. Today, the outcome of such a curriculum in Pakistan manifests itself in the form of Violent and intolerant society, who also lack critical mindset and unity amongst the nation. If Pakistan is to emerge a stable, peaceful and tolerant country, it must adopt abrupt changes, not only in the curriculum of KP but all over the country.

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