



TEACHING INTOLERANCE IN PAKISTAN

RELIGIOUS BIAS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

United States Commission on International Religious Freedom

Front cover: Students attend lessons at a school on the outskirts of Islamabad, Pakistan.
(REUTERS/Zohra Bensemra)

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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RELIGIOUS BIAS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

PEACE AND EDUCATION FOUNDATION

ISLAMABAD

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USCIRF is an independent, bipartisan U.S. federal government commission created by the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA) that monitors the universal right to freedom of religion or belief abroad. USCIRF uses international standards to monitor religious freedom violations globally, and makes policy recommendations to the President, the Secretary of State, and Congress. USCIRF Commissioners are appointed by the President and Congressional leaders of both political parties. Their work is supported by a professional, nonpartisan staff. USCIRF is separate from the State Department, although the Department's Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom is a non-voting, ex officio Commissioner.

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PEF is a Pakistan-based non-governmental organization dedicated to promoting peace and tolerance by building civil society capacity and empowering religious actors to play a critical role in (1) countering violent extremism (CVE); (2) preventing and arresting the spread of intolerance and violence that stems from inappropriate use of religion; and (3) enhancing education and its role in peace-building. Through its capacity-building and engagement programs, PEF has engaged and trained more than 11,000 religious actors in Pakistan, including madrasah teachers and faculty, mosque imams, and interfaith leaders. The PEF workshop alumni have initiated numerous interventions within their communities to halt the spread of extremist narratives, developed various peace- and tolerance-building programs, facilitated educational enhancement initiatives, and established sustained mechanisms to protect embattled minority communities from extremist violence in some of the most vulnerable and conflict-affected areas in Pakistan.

The PEF approach is to leverage the collective power of religious actors and civil society organizations, as well as to build extensive local and international networks and infrastructure to maximize the reach and impact of its programming. This unprecedented collaboration with religious leaders and their representative bodies resulted in the development of (1) the *Peace Education and Islam* textbook—the first such textbook designed by madrasah teachers for use in teaching peace-building to madrasah students—as well as (2) five *Madrasah Teacher Training Centers* to institutionalize and sustain the madrasah improvement process. Most influential public-sector universities have been engaged to offer certificate courses for madrasah teachers and for mosque imams to bridge the centuries-old gap of distrust between modern higher education and traditional religious education systems. The PEF *Interfaith Dialogue and Peace Champions Program* has prepared Muslim, Christian, and Hindu religious leaders to counter faith-based violence, promote inter-religious dialogue, and prevent violence against minority communities more than any other program in Pakistan.

Through these strategic and innovative programs and PEF's extensive network of religious actors at every level of Pakistani society, Pakistan's madrasahs are on the path to enhancing their curricula; teaching peace-building, critical thinking and tolerance to their students; and systematically modernizing their institutions and teaching methods. The PEF programming is setting a new standard in quality, reach, impact, and sustainability in the most conservative and hard-to-reach religious seminaries.

PEF staff have led or conducted several major research projects in Pakistan and throughout the world, particularly on curriculum development, textbook biases, sectarianism, and peace education, in partnership with internationally-renowned institutions such as the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), the International Center for Religion & Diplomacy (ICRD), the Karuna Center for Peacebuilding, Critical Connections, and various prominent Pakistani research centers such as the PAIMAN Alumni Trust and the International Research Council for Religious Affairs (IRCRA), among others.

In the last six years, PEF's programs have been evaluated by leading third-party organizations such as American University's Salam Institute for Peace and Justice, the South Asia Centre for Peace (SACP), and Community of Evaluators Pakistan (COEP).

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Introduction

School textbooks represent the political perspectives and national ideologies of whole educational and government systems. As such, school textbooks are one of the most important indicators of official and popular perspectives of the cultural and political communities they depict both in words and images.

The major findings of this report are that the content of Pakistani public school textbooks related to non-Islamic faiths and non-Muslims continue to teach bias, distrust, and inferiority. Moreover, the textbooks portray non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan as sympathetic towards its perceived enemies: Pakistani Christians as Westerners or equal to British colonial oppressors, and Pakistani Hindus as Indians, the arch enemy of Pakistan. These perceptions predispose students early on that the non-Muslim population of Pakistan are outsiders and unpatriotic. These grossly generalized and stereotypical portrayals of religious minority communities signal that they are untrustworthy, religiously inferior, and ideologically scheming and intolerant. These messages are reinforced by the absence of deeper content addressing the complexity of religions, the rights of religious minorities, and the positive contributions of religious minorities in the development and protection of Pakistan.

The content of Pakistani public school textbooks related to non-Islamic faiths and non-Muslims continue to teach bias, distrust, and inferiority.

Outright errors about minority faiths and cultures are a major problem. Another significant issue is the inclusion of widely-disputed historical “facts” presented as settled history. Consider this quote found on page 23 of the tenth grade Urdu textbook: *“Because the Muslim religion, culture and social system are different from non-Muslims, it is impossible to cooperate with Hindus.”* This kind of education closes all doors for a new generation of Pakistani Muslims to see a peaceful future with Hindus of India, and worse yet, it provides a rationale to treat Pakistani Hindus as outsiders. In contrast, it ignores how Hindus and Muslims have cooperated and coexisted peacefully for centuries in the sub-continent.

Another quote from the Sindh province seventh grade Urdu textbook mixes facts and conspiracies, portraying Hindus and Christians as partners to destroy Muslims.

“There were two enemies of Muslims, the Englishmen and Hindus. Both of these were against the formation of Pakistan. On one hand, the Englishmen renounced the division plan of Hindustan, while on the other hand, Hindus were planning to occupy the entire Hindustan and enslave Muslims. . . .” Urdu Textbook, Grade 7, Sindh Textbook Board, p.14.

In 2010–2011, the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy (ICRD) conducted a review of Pakistan’s primary and secondary education systems to assess the level of prejudice and intolerance against religious minorities, particularly Hindus and Christians, in both the curriculum and attitudes of teachers and classmates. These research findings, along with ICRD’s analysis and recommendations, were published by the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) in 2011 under the title: “*Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan.*”

As a follow-up to USCIRF’s *Connecting the Dots* study, the overall objective of this research is to determine the degree to which negative stereotypes and/or biased portrayals of religious minorities (Christians, Hindus, Ahmadis, Sikhs, and Jews) remain in current textbooks. The research compares the current instances of intolerance and bias in the public school curriculum with *Connecting the Dots’* findings to determine the extent of Pakistan’s progress in eliminating religious bias from its public school textbooks.

Summary of Findings

Using a baseline of 25 examples of religious intolerance found in the 2011 textbooks, it was found that most had been removed from the current textbooks. A majority (16) have been removed, while three have remained more or less unchanged, and six had been changed or expanded in a way that retained the original objectionable material. According to the baseline assessment, the Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) Textbook Boards have been somewhat effective in removing objectionable content, while the Sindh and Baluchistan Textbook Boards have made little to no progress in removing the biases found in *Connecting the Dots*.

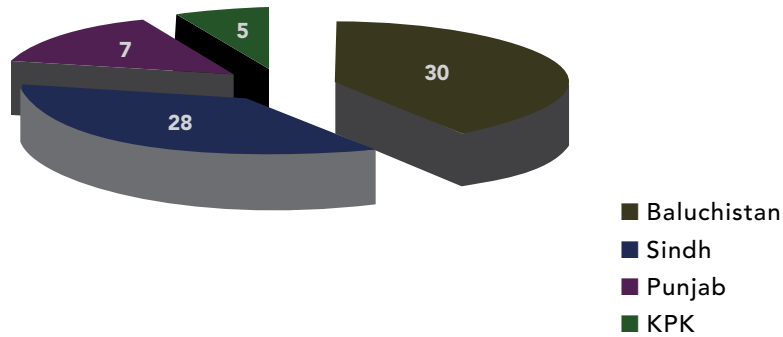
COMPARATIVE DATA OF TEXTBOOK BIASES					
	2011 Data Findings		2015 Findings		New Biases Found ¹
	Baseline Excerpts	Removed	Unchanged	Expanded	
Punjab	13	10	0	3	7
Sindh	4	1	1	2	28
Baluchistan	4	1	2	1	30
KPK	4	4	0	0	5
Total	25	16	3	6	70

¹ See Appendix B for details

However, these results are tempered by the inclusion of new examples of religiously intolerant passages. This study's review of 78 current textbooks² exposed 70 new examples of religious intolerance and biases in 24 books, similar to the kind of materials found in the baseline assessment. Of the 70 new examples, 58 (84%) came from books published by the Baluchistan and Sindh authorities, while the remainder came from Punjab (7) and KPK (5).

The success of Punjab and KPK provinces can be credited, in part, to the advocacy efforts of PEF at the provincial level from the time when the *Connecting the Dots* report was published in 2011. PEF's President met with Punjab Governor Chaudhry Mohammad Sarwar, provided him with a copy of *Connecting the Dots*, and pointed out biased quotes against religious minorities in Punjab textbooks. PEF also worked extensively with its influential partners in Punjab and KPK to raise awareness of biases against minorities in the education system and the potential danger of violence against religious minorities if the biases are not removed. Similarly, PEF made several visits to KPK and met with Elementary & Secondary Education Ministry officials providing them a copy of *Connecting the Dots*, and requested that they remove biased quotes from the textbooks. In addition, the PEF President met with the most senior advisor to Imran Khan, Chairman of Tehrek-e-Insaf, and briefed him on the possible violence against minorities if the provincial textbooks continue to include biased and intolerant passages about religious minorities. (It should also be noted that other organizations have raised similar concerns, such as the National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP)).

NEW EXAMPLES OF OBJECTIONABLE CONTENT



² A total of 78 books from all four provinces have been studied. The books included Urdu, Islamic Studies, Pakistan Studies, and Social Studies/History from grade 5 to 10 of all four provinces of Pakistan. 24 out of 78 books were found to contain biases.

In addition we found a promising improvement from the Provincial Textbook Boards of Sindh³, Punjab⁴ and KPK⁵, which have dedicated Web sites and provide guidelines for textbook editors and authors consistent with the National Curriculum Policy of 2011. They also provide helpful tools for scholars, researchers and Pakistani citizens to provide feedback and comments if the textbooks fail to meet the National Curriculum Policy. We could not find the Web site of the Baluchistan Textbook Board.

Explanation of Findings

The findings of this study must be understood in the context of the past decade of educational and curricular reform in Pakistan. The 2011 USCIRF *Connecting the Dots* study examined the last textbooks produced under the central authority of the Federal Ministry of Education's Curriculum Wing, which was dissolved in 2010 following the passage of the 18th amendment to the Pakistani constitution. This amendment, which sought to remove the sweeping powers that military rulers such as Zia ul-Haq and later Pervez Musharraf had amassed in the executive branch, shifted ultimate control over the curriculum guidelines and textbooks from the federal to the provincial level.

With authority over textbooks devolved to the provincial level, governmental agencies such as the Provincial Textbook Boards became responsible for the content in textbooks. Lacking either the will or capacity to create new curriculum guidelines, each province voted to adopt the last guidelines produced by the Federal Curriculum Wing, which were developed in 2006 as a modest improvement over the particularly biased previous version. The 2006 curriculum, however, was not yet implemented by 2010. In addition, if the new textbooks were written based on the 2006 curriculum policy, we found none that were distributed before 2011.

The textbooks that are currently being distributed in each of the four provinces are under the sole authority of each Provincial Textbook Board, but reportedly follow the 2006 federal curriculum guidelines, with the exception of Sindh, which is still using textbooks from the 2003 curriculum guidelines. There has been no demonstrable effort at the provincial level to improve on the 2006 curriculum, which has been shown in studies, such as A.H. Nayyar's recent work entitled "*A Missed Opportunity*" (2013), to continue to violate the constitutional rights of religious minorities by integrating Islamic ideology into most subjects and to promote a national Islamic identity at the expense of Hindu, Christian, and Sikh children.⁶

3 Web site Sindh Textbook Board: <http://stbb.edu.pk/STBBEDUPK/index.html>

4 Web site Punjab Textbook Board: <http://www.ptb.gop.pk>

5 Web site KPK Textbook Board: <http://kptbb.gov.pk/index.php/guidelines-for-authors>

6 A.H. Nayyar, "A Missed Opportunity: Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms", Jinnah Institute, Islamabad, June 2013, Available at: <http://eacpe.org/content/uploads/2014/05/A-Missed-Opportunity.pdf>

Method and Objectives

The original study used a mixed-methods approach that combined a desk review of both the government and madrasah curricula with focus group discussions with teachers and students throughout Pakistan. The primary findings from the 2011 study were: (1) a strong correlation existed between Pakistani nationalism and Islamic identity; and (2) attitudes towards religious minorities in the curriculum and as reported by teachers and students are decidedly mixed. The study revealed clear demonstrations of tolerance, understanding, and acceptance in both public schools and madrasahs on the one hand and equally clear expressions of bigotry, ignorance, and hostility on the other.

As a follow-up to USCIRF's *Connecting the Dots* study (2011), the overall objective of this research is to determine the degree to which negative stereotypes and/or biased portrayals of religious minorities (Christians, Hindus, Ahmadis, Sikhs, and Jews) remain in current public school textbooks. This study conducts a review and analysis of derogatory information identified in the previous study to assess whether this content in public school textbooks still exists or has been replaced by more inclusive language in new textbook editions. Additionally, PEF researchers have identified and catalogued a significant amount of new intolerant or biased content.

Public school textbooks, which reach over 41 million children, portray religious minorities in a negative and stereotypical manner, offering an Islam-centered perspective as the only valid and rational school of thought.

Snapshot of Pakistani Education Today

The education system in Pakistan is comprised of more than 260,000 institutions and provides educational opportunities for well over 41 million students with a full-time teaching staff of more than 1.5 million teachers. The system includes 180,846 public institutions and 80,057 private institutions. Thus, 31 percent of educational institutions are run by the private sector while 69 percent are run by the state.⁷ As evidenced by the findings of this and the previous study, public school textbooks, which reach over 41 million children, portray religious minorities in a negative and stereotypical manner, offering an Islam-centered perspective as the only valid and rational school of thought.

Historically, a major impetus behind the development of Pakistani public school curriculums and textbooks has been the desire to teach a sense of patriotism and nationalism and instruct students about the rationale for creating Pakistan. Along these lines, many textbooks use the circumstances surrounding the creation of Pakistan as an opportunity to highlight and

⁷ Aftab Hussain, "Education System of Pakistan: Issues, Problems and Solutions", 2 March 2015, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPR), Available at: <http://www.ipripak.org/education-system-of-pakistan-issues-problems-and-solutions/>

accentuate alleged animosities Hindus have of Muslims and tensions between Muslims and the British (and Christian) colonial power in pre-partition India.

Public school textbooks tend to overlook Pakistan's religious, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. As a result, textbooks seem to discredit the potential for friendly relations across religions and cultures, and do "not portray the various facets of [Pakistani] identity."⁸ Attempts to remove this content have often been limited and unsuccessful, but recently the Punjab Textbook Board removed some previously identified biases from its lower grade textbooks.

Overview of the Findings

The curriculum review and analysis illuminates several key issues that exist in public school textbooks.

Polemic Historiography

In the social studies, Pakistan studies, and history curriculums students are taught a version of history that promotes a national Islamic identity of Pakistan and often describes conflicts with India in religious terms. The conflation of national and religious identities creates a narrative of conflict and historic grievance between Pakistani Muslims and Indian Hindus.

Examples of polemic historiography from the curriculum:

- i. *"Hindu racists wanted to eliminate not only Muslims but all non-Hindus; Christians and other minorities become victims of racist and biased policies on a regular basis. Even a half century after the creation of Pakistan, these organizations are still working to eliminate Muslims. As a result, violence has occurred between Hindus and other groups living in Pakistan, which resulted in the destruction of Babri mosque and Hindu-Muslim riots in Gujarat . . . in the past Shuddhi and Sangathan movements were launched to bring back the minorities into the fold of Hinduism. The present behavior of Indian Hindus is similar to some 150 years ago."* Social Studies Textbook, Grade 8, Sindh Textbook Board, p.97 (Urdu version), p.95 (English version).
- ii. *"Whenever Hindu leadership got the chance they tried to suppress rights of Muslims, and destruct their culture, tradition and language."* History Textbook, Grade 8, Punjab Textbook Board, p.17.

Emphasis on Islamic Faith

Despite Pakistan's religious diversity, throughout the curriculum, Islam is projected as the paramount feature of Pakistan and the Pakistani identity. This comes into conflict with the religious

⁸ "What is the most blatant lie taught through Pakistan textbooks?", Herald Exclusive, 15 August 2014, Available at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1125484>

beliefs of religious minorities, as demonstrated in the following examples from a tenth grade Urdu textbook from the Punjab Textbook Board:

- i. *“In the case of South Asia, in which people of different religions, colors and caste live, Muslims did not want to live as a minority under the domination of a nation (Hindus) whose practices are opposite to Islamic teachings, caste system, social discrimination and idol worship, etc.”* Urdu Textbook, Grade 10, Punjab Textbook Board, p.24.
- ii. *“[. . .] The Islamic religion, culture and social system are different from non-Muslims; therefore, it is impossible for them to cooperate with Hindus.”* Urdu Textbook, Grade 10, Punjab Textbook Board, p.23.

These findings substantiate much of the evidence found in the 2011 study and analysis that textbooks typically emphasize the concepts of communalism and Islam. Conflation of these concepts is an attempt to build a nation-state anchored in religion, which was pursued by the Bhutto, Zia, Nawaz Sharif, and Musharraf governments from 1971–2008.⁹

This theme ignores not only the religious diversity of Pakistan and the many contributions of religious minorities throughout the nation’s history, but also places religious minority students in a precarious status of either inherently flawed Pakistani citizens at best, or foreigners and enemies of the state at worst. If the theme is carried further, religious minority students are not only outsiders, but also dangerous contaminants to the Islamic national identity by virtue of their non-Muslim faith.

There are frequent examples of bias and intolerance against the beliefs and traditions of religious minority students throughout the curriculum.

Glorification of War and Violence

The foremost reoccurring trend in textbooks from all grade levels is an overemphasis on the glorification of war and war heroes. In particular, the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad bin Qasim and 17 famous attacks by Sultan Mehmood Ghaznavi are included proudly in every textbook. Highlighting these two events as the beginning of civilization in the sub-continent, while ignoring the evolution of art, architecture, and culture, remains a key problem in textbooks. In post-independence history, wars with India are emphasized and examples of peace initiatives are largely ignored, resulting in an unbalanced historical discourse focused on intractable conflict. This narrow nationalism only fulfills the task of educating Pakistanis in the most superficial way.

9 Bela Raza Jamil, Curriculum Reforms in Pakistan – A Glass Half Full or Half Empty?, p.11, Available at: www.itacec.org/document/.../NCERT%20Pakistan%20paper%20BRJ.pdf

Misrepresenting Other Religions

There are frequent examples of bias and intolerance against the beliefs and traditions of religious minority students throughout the curriculum. Much of this rhetoric is aimed specifically at Hindus and their traditions, including Hindus' perceived ill treatment of widows and the less fortunate, which are contrasted unfavorably against the practices of Pakistani Muslims. Christians also are portrayed as untrustworthy missionaries, and as aligned with British oppressors who were colonizers and continue to conspire against Muslims.

Examples of religious misrepresentation from the texts:

- i. *"The influence of Christian pastors had increased immensely and they were openly preaching their religion aided by their ruler. They freely visited cities and villages, organized gatherings to describe the qualities of Christianity, and degraded other religions."* Social Studies Textbook, Grade 8, Sindh Textbook Board, p.99 (Urdu version) and p.96 (English version).
- ii. *"Hinduism persistently tried to absorb Islam into itself like it had done with other systems (of belief)."* Pakistan Studies Textbook, Grade 9, Punjab Textbook Board, p.21.
- iii. *"After getting rid of the illegal and ignorant rule of the Church, Europe progressed in the fields of modern/worldly knowledge, political acceptance and the arts."* Pakistan Studies Textbook, Grade 10, Baluchistan Textbook Board, p.24.
- iv. *"Most of the leading nations and religions of the world make a loud claim about equality, but do not act upon it. Everyone is familiar with the system of caste discrimination among Hindus. A person born as Shudra is untouchable and will always be."* Islamic Studies Textbook, Grade 7, Sindh Textbook Board, p.38.

Research Findings

The following list has been developed based on desk research, a comprehensive review of the textbooks from the 2014–15 school year, and a comparative analysis of the previous list of biases identified in *Connecting the Dots* (2011). See Appendix A and Appendix B for data tables.

Baseline Comparison

The data tables in Appendix A use 25 problematic excerpts found in the original 2011 study as an evaluation tool. In order to gauge any progress made by the Provincial Textbook Boards in their first five years of authority over their respective curriculums, desk researchers examined the same textbooks from the 2014–15 school year to determine if the intolerant content had been removed.

According to this assessment, of the 25 baseline examples of religious intolerance and bias, 16 have been removed completely, while nine either have been preserved in their original form

or have been altered in a way that does not eliminate their bias. The findings also demonstrated that the most progress was made in Punjab and KPK provinces, which removed nearly all of the previously identified content, while Baluchistan and Sindh demonstrated very little progress in removing religiously biased passages.

New Biased or Intolerant Content

Although the removal of some biases from the curriculum indicates a positive trend, the presence of new biased or intolerant content in current textbooks demonstrates the need for a more comprehensive curriculum reform effort. The textbook review identified 70 new excerpts, which indicates that the trend toward a more biased curriculum towards religious minorities is accelerating. As the tables in Appendix B demonstrate, the new content is not only intolerant of religious diversity, but is also ethno-centric and provides misleading accounts of historical events.

Conclusions

1. Some objectionable content is being removed, but a much greater effort is needed:

The majority of excerpts from the *Connecting the Dots* report that formed our original baseline have been removed, but many new ones remain. The progress made is laudable and may have represented a hard fought political and social debate. However, preexisting and new intolerant and biased content in public school textbooks is still prevalent. The government of Pakistan and the provincial governments should be encouraged to take every measure to detect and remove pejorative content until the curriculum is completely free of intolerance.

2. The public school system is still fundamentally intolerant of religious minorities:

In public school classrooms, Hindu children are forced to read lessons about “Hindus’ conspiracies toward Muslims,”¹⁰ and Christian children are taught that “Christians learned tolerance and kind-heartedness from Muslims.”¹¹ This represents a public shaming of religious minority children that begins at a very young age, focusing on their religious and cultural identity and their communities’ past history. A review of the curriculum demonstrates that public school students are being taught that religious minorities, especially Christians and Hindus, are nefarious, violent, and tyrannical by nature. There is a tragic irony in these accusations, because Christians and Hindus in Pakistan face daily persecution, are common victims of crime, and are frequent targets of deadly communal violence, vigilantism, and collective punishment.

10 Pakistan Studies Textbook (2014-15), Grade 10, Baluchistan Textbook Board, p.15

11 Islamic Studies Textbook (2015), Grade 6, Punjab Textbook Board, p.84

Recommendations for Curriculum Development

The Peace and Education Foundation recommends the following so that Pakistani textbooks will be more inclusive and fair toward religious minorities:

1. Constitutional guarantees provided to all Pakistanis of religious freedom should be reflected in textbooks' contents.
 - Pakistan's constitutional protections for religious freedom and tolerance, and its international obligations, should be taught to students;
 - Provincial Educational Ministers and their direct reports should be held responsible for adhering to constitutional guarantees provided to minority rights;
 - Absolutely no content should be taught to students that celebrates one religion at the expense of another religion; and
 - As guaranteed by the constitution of Pakistan non-Muslim students should not be required to learn from Islamic texts.
2. Negative indoctrination must end and impartial content for better critical learning should be adopted.
3. The curriculum should inculcate a sense of constructive patriotism rather than a sense of fear.
 - More educationally accurate and nuanced approaches are needed towards Western countries and Christianity to avoid gross generalizations that lead students to conspiracy theories.
4. Overemphasis on Islam as being the "only correct" faith must be eliminated from the textbooks.
 - Peaceful coexistence and religious diversity in Pakistan should be acknowledged so that students learn to respect all faiths;
 - Proportionate examples of heroes from minority groups should be included in the textbooks; and
 - National heroes from all groups in the fields of science, literature, medicine, and sports should be included.
5. Historical omissions and misrepresentations of different events must be eliminated to avoid controversial historiography, and diverse viewpoints should be included.

Appendix A
Comparison of 2011—2015 Passages

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Changes in 2015 Textbooks

1: HISTORY TEXTBOOKS (PUNJAB)

Content Removed Since 2011 (4)

1. "To keep the Islamic identity and existence intact it is necessary for our country to safeguard religion and its values. Pakistan is the only country which came into being in the name of Islam." (Grade 6, p.6)
2. "Before the Arab conquest, people were fed up with the teachings of Buddhists and Hindus." (Grade 6, p.97)
3. "The foundation of [the] Hindu set up was based on injustice and cruelty. The system of Islam, which was based on justice, equality and brotherhood as described earlier, impressed the Hindu culture and set up a lot." (Grade 6, p.100–101)
4. "Some Jewish tribes also lived in Arabia. They lent money to workers and peasants on high rates of interest and usurped their earnings. They held the whole society in their tight grip because of ever-increasing compound interest [. . .] In short, there was no sympathy for humanity. People were selfish and cruel. The rich lived in luxury and nobody was concerned with the needy or suffering." (Grade 7, p.13)

Content expanded with the same idea in Current Textbooks (1)

Text from 2011:

"Everybody enjoys the same status in the eyes of the law and holds a pivotal position in Islamic society." (Grade 7, p.17)

1. Current Text:

"Muslim society was based on rule of law and brotherhood, which was new for Hindu society as they believed in a caste system, and *Shudra*¹² are the most inferior caste. The just and transparent system of Islam greatly inspired Hindus. Hindus were treated very fairly by Muslims. Hindus had religious freedom. They could go to their religious places and worship freely. There were equal opportunities for progress for everyone. Even a slave could acquire a higher post/position on the basis of his capability and intelligence." (Grade 7, p.59)

Comment: In the current textbook the passage has been expanded.

¹² The *Shudra* perform functions of serving the other three higher castes: Brahmins (priests), Kshatriya (those with governing functions) and Vaishya (agriculturalists, cattle rearers and traders).

2: URDU TEXTBOOKS (PUNJAB)

Content Removed Since 2011 (2)

1. Chapter presents a biased view about Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. (Grade 6, p.21)
2. "Upon conquering the Holy Land in October 1187, his fair treatment of his enemies is historic. In stark contrast to this is Prince Godfrey's treatment of Muslims where the bloodshed caused the victorious army's horses to slip. Saladin not only let all Christians leave with all their property intact, but also paid for the freedom of several prisoners from his own pocket." (Grade 6, p.31)

3: SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS (PUNJAB)

Content Removed Since 2011 (3)

1. "The religious beliefs of Muslims and Hindus are absolutely different. Hindus worship many Idols. They have many Gods and Goddesses. Muslims believe in one Allah who is Almighty and who is Creator of the universe. The Muslims worship Allah. In the Hindu religion, the men are divided into different classes by their system of caste and creed, whereas in Islam all Muslims are equal and brotherly with one another. In the Hindu religion, women are given a low status. Whereas Islam teaches to treat women with respect." (Grade 5, p.2)
2. "In the beginning, the Hindus and the Muslims jointly started a struggle to get freedom from the British. When this movement became popular, the Hindus started asking for an independent Government by the Indian National Congress all over India after freedom from the British. In this way they wanted to govern all over India." (Grade 5, p.2-3)
3. "Foreign cultures are having deep influence over Islamic values because of the electronic media. There is a real danger that we may lose our cultural identities. In such circumstances and because of the vast changing cultural and religious situations, it is necessary for us that we must fully defend our political borders, and take care of our basic views with love and devotion for Islam.

This can ensure the safety of our country. Anti-Islamic forces are always trying to finish the Islamic domination of the world. This can cause danger for the very existence of Islam. Today, the defense of Pakistan and Islam is very much needed." (Grade 5, p.7)

3: SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS (PUNJAB)

Content expanded and evolved with the same idea in Current Textbooks (2)

Text from 2011:

“Muhammad Bin Qasim respected the Hindu Pandits and they had full freedom to worship in their own ways. Much of the Muslim Governments’ works were handed over to the Hindus, who carried them out nicely.” (Grade 5, p.88)

1. **Current Text:**

“[. . .] [T]he people of Sindh welcomed Muhammad Bin Qasim. After the conquest of Sindh, Muhammad bin Qasim established the system of Justice and Equality, which greatly inspired Hindu society. Hindus of the lower caste were particularly impressed by the behavior and kindness of Muhammad Bin Qasim and his companions and embraced Islam. Muslims opened madrasahs for education. Hindi books were also translated into Arabic.” (Grade 6, p.28)

Text from 2011:

“Englishmen seized all [Muslim] lands and gave it to the Hindus.”

Subject: History, Chapter: Pakistan Movement, (Grade 8, p.70)

2. **Current Text:**

“Englishmen treated Muslims very badly. Their properties were confiscated; they were forced out of jobs, their businesses were ruined and they became victims of misery and bankruptcy.” (Grade 8, p.3)

4: PAKISTAN STUDIES TEXTBOOKS (PUNJAB)

Content Removed Since 2011 (1)

1. “Islamic society was devoid of every kind of evil, but gradually the Muslims began turning away from the Islamic principles and un-Islamic ways popularized, which became one of the reasons for the Muslim downfall.” (Grade 9/10, p.4)

5: PAKISTAN STUDIES TEXTBOOKS (KPK)

Content Removed Since 2011 (2)

1. "Hindu leadership has not only shown their religious hatred toward Pakistan, but also expressed their political hatred by refusing to celebrate their independence day on the same day. They proposed 15 August 1947, as their independence day because they never wanted to celebrate with Pakistan on the same day and this shows their psyche of narrow-mindedness." (Grade 9/10, p.9)
2. "Hindus were against the creation of Pakistan. Despite their utmost opposition, when Pakistan was created, they used all means to weaken and harm Pakistan. Hindus in 'East Pakistan' started mobilizing their fellow citizens against 'West Pakistan.'" (Grade 9/10, p.31)

6: SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS (KPK)

Content Removed Since 2011 (2)

1. "[. . .] Hindus never cooperated with Muslims. They were not ready to accept the existence of Muslims in the sub-continent. Due to this, the social, religious and political differences between Muslims and Hindus persisted and there was a growing concern towards partition." (Grade 5, p.6)
2. "Under Muslim reign in Jerusalem, Muslim rulers' treatment of non-Muslims, including Christians and Jews, was very fair and just. They have always provided Christians full protection and had granted them all rights they deserved, but Christians never appreciated nor liked Muslim rule over Jerusalem [. . .] They provoked Christians to fight against the Muslims by claiming that those who die in a battle against a Muslim will have a reward and all their sins will be forgiven." (Grade 7, p.14)

7: ISLAMIC STUDIES TEXTBOOKS (SINDH)

Content Removed Since 2011 (1)

1. "Hindus have tried all their means to harm Muslims of the Indian Sub-continent and killed millions of Muslims. They were deprived of their assets and properties." (Grade 5, p.59)

8: SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS (SINDH)

Content Still Present in Current Textbooks (1)

Text from 2011:

“The social equality and justice to all freed the caste-ridden Hindu society and paved the way for the spread of Islam. The Hindus belonging to lower casts were tortured, insulted and disgraced.” (Grade 6, p.82)

1. **Current Text:**
Same

Content expanded and evolved with the same idea in current textbooks (2)

Text from 2011:

“Christian Missionaries took full advantage of the British occupation of Asia and, under their patronage, started converting people of different religions to Christianity.” (Grade 8, p.96)

1. **Current Text:**
“The influence of Christian pastors had increased immensely and they were openly preaching their religion aided by their rule. They freely visited the cities and villages, organized gatherings to describe the qualities of Christianity and degraded other religions.” (Grade 8, Urdu version p.99; English version p.96)

Text from 2011:

“The British and Sikh soldiers insulted the Muslim women and killed the children. Great numbers of Muslims were forced to vacate Delhi and only one-fourth of the total Muslim population remained in the city.” (Grade 8, p.98)

2. **Current Text:**
“The British consider Muslims to be their rivals so they fell victim to their vengeance and were given death penalties in a large numbers. The dead bodies were thrown into the river in Delhi and in one day 24 princes were hanged. Some of the British officers went mad in taking revenge. They stitched the dead bodies of Muslims in the skins of pigs and threw them in the river. Some of the dead bodies were burnt and some were shot by canons. The British and Sikh soldiers insulted the women and killed the children. A great number of Muslims were forced to vacate Delhi [. . .] The Jamiya mosque of the city was made a gunpowder house. Some English newspapers wrote that mosques should be turned into churches.” (Grade 8, p.99)

9: SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS (BALUCHISTAN)

Content Removed Since 2011 (1)

1. “There were many reasons for the downfall of [South Asian] Muslims. The most important reason was the internal conflicts which resulted in the division of their state in several small states. The second important reason was the end of the spirit of Jihad among Muslims.” (Grade 6, p.107)

Content Still Present in Current Textbooks (2)

Text from 2011:

“All those who created the Two Nations Theory were primarily the supporters of Hindu-Muslim unity. However, what made them take first steps towards the preservation of a separate Muslim identity was the racist mentality of Hindus.” (Grade 8, p.111)

1. **Current Text:**
Same

Text from 2011:

“[. . .] Hindus and Sikhs had started [a] massacre in the Muslim settlements in Bharat (the new name of India after partition). In order to protect their lives, property and honor, 12.5 million Muslims started migrating to Pakistan.” (Grade 8, p.119)

2. **Current Text:**
Same

Content expanded and evolved with the same idea in Current Textbooks (1)

Text from 2011:

“Muslims bury their dead while Hindus burn them. [. . .] In Islam there is no caste system while Hind[u] society is divided into caste systems.”

1. **Current Text:**
“Muslims bury their dead while Hindus burn them. [. . .] In Islam there is no caste system while Hindu society is divided into caste systems. [. . .] Hindus have a caste system in their society where Hindus of different caste don’t even sit together nor are there any intra-caste marriages. Whereas in Islam all human beings are equal and they eat together.” (Grade 5, p.6-7)

Comment: In the current textbook, the entire chapter contrasts between Hindu and Muslim cultures and civilizations, including their worship and socio-cultural values. The purpose is to teach students that these are two different nations, the Muslims are superior, and peaceful co-existence in a single country is improbable.

Appendix B

New Intolerant Passages in 2015 Textbooks

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TABLE 1: NUMBER OF NEW INTOLERANT PASSAGES BY SUBJECT IN ALL PROVINCES

Subject	Grade							Total
	5	6	7	8	9	9/10	10	
Urdu	1	1	7	-	-	4	4	17
Social Studies	3	3	10	10	-	-	-	26
Pakistan Studies	-	-	-	-	-	3	11	14
History	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	5
Islamic Studies	1	1	1	3	1	1	-	8
Total	5	5	19	17	1	8	15	70

TABLE 2: NUMBER OF NEW INTOLERANT PASSAGES BY SUBJECT IN BALUCHISTAN

Subject	Grade							Total
	5	6	7	8	9	9/10	10	
Social Studies	3	-	8	5	-	-	-	16
Pakistan Studies	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	11
Islamic Studies	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	3
Total	4	-	9	5	-	1	11	30

TABLE 3: NUMBER OF NEW INTOLERANT PASSAGES BY SUBJECT IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA (KPK)

Subject	Grade							Total
	5	6	7	8	9	9/10	10	
History	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	3
Urdu	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Social Studies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pakistan Studies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Islamic Studies	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	5

TABLE 4: NUMBER OF NEW INTOLERANT PASSAGES BY SUBJECT IN SINDH

Subject	Grade							Total
	5	6	7	8	9	9/10	10	
Urdu	1	-	7	-	-	4	-	12
Social Studies	0	3	2	5	-	-	-	10
Pakistan Studies	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Islamic Studies	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3
Total	1	3	9	7	-	8	-	28

TABLE 5: NUMBER OF NEW INTOLERANT PASSAGES BY SUBJECT IN PUNJAB

Subject	Grade							Total
	5	6	7	8	9	9/10	10	
Urdu	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Pakistan Studies	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
History	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Islamic Studies	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	-	1	-	2	-	-	4	7

New Intolerant Passages in the Baluchistan Curriculum

This appendix presents biased or intolerant content from seven textbooks in five grade levels as outlined below. All of these texts were published in 2015 under the authority of the Baluchistan Textbook Board.

Total books reviewed from Baluchistan curriculum = 16
30 intolerant passages found in seven textbooks

Textbooks with Intolerant Passages:

GRADE 5	GRADE 7	GRADE 8
Social Studies Islamic Studies	Social Studies Islamic Studies	Social Studies
GRADE 9/10	GRADE 10	
Islamic Studies	Pakistan Studies	

NEW INTOLERANT CONTENT BREAKDOWN (BALUCHISTAN)						
	Grade 5	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Total
Social Studies	3	8	5	-	-	16
Pakistan Studies	-	-	-	-	11	11
Islamic Studies	1	1	-	1	-	3
Total	4	9	5	1	11	30

BALUCHISTAN TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 5 – SOCIAL STUDIES (3)

Chapter: Need for Creation of Independent Muslim State (p.8)

1. “[T]he Hindus made a coalition with the Englishmen and they provoked anti-Muslim sentiments in them. They committed atrocities against Muslims and killed them. [Muslims] were deprived of jobs. In contrast, Englishmen treated Hindus fairly.”

Chapter: Sinister Aims of India (p.12,15)

2. “At first, [Indians] committed atrocities against Muslims who were left over in India. Hindu thugs massacred Muslims, confiscated their property, and forced them to leave India and move to Pakistan [. . .] India also purposefully blocked river water flow towards Pakistan to destroy its agriculture [. . .] India also blocked Pakistan’s assets so that the country was weakened financially; and it also stopped the flow of weapons so that the newly established state remained fragile in defense.”
3. “Despite all of Pakistan’s efforts, India did not turn away from its sinister plans.”

Comment: The title of the chapter itself shows its bias. The chapter focuses on India’s hegemonic aims and injustice against Pakistan. This is particularly the case on page 13, which discusses the topic of India’s illegal occupation of Kashmir.

BALUCHISTAN TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 5 – ISLAMIC STUDIES (1)

Chapter: Jesus (p.114–115)

1. “The Governor of Rome remained neutral as he knew the deceitfulness of Jews. He left the decision [of Jesus’ punishment] on religious scholars of Jews. Upon the decision of the Crucifixion of Jesus, the Jews became happy. They tortured Jesus badly. Jesus was surrounded by a crowd of Jewish enemies.”

BALUCHISTAN TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 7 – SOCIAL STUDIES (8)**Chapter: Islamic Society (p.19)**

1. “. . . [But] European Christians provoked people against Muslims and the Pope of Rome declared war against Muslims. The Pope told them that whoever will participate in this war, his sins will be forgiven. As a result a huge number of Christians gathered and begin fighting. . . .they committed atrocities on Muslims, mosques were demolished, houses were set on fire, and their brutality was on peak. . . .”

Chapter: Muslim World and the Colonial System (p.23–30)

2. “Christians made repeated efforts to take away the domination of Muslims in field of trade, but all their efforts were in vain. Because they couldn’t succeed, the Christian governments made an alliance and attacked Syria and Palestine so that they could force Muslims out of Jerusalem and occupy the city, but under the leadership of Noor-Uddin-Zangi and Salah-uddin-Ayubi, the Muslims fought bravely and defeated them. They [Christians] had to go back to Europe, but they never forgot their defeat.”
3. “Due to the sinister plans of non-Muslim countries, the province broke up into Pakistan and Bangladesh.”
4. “Jews were few in number but the Englishmen treated them fairly. They promised to establish a Jewish state before they came into power [. . .] The Jews occupied a large area, this created restlessness in Arabs and several disputes surfaced, but the British kept supporting the Jews [. . .] Israel exterminated all the Muslims in the region and those who remained were exiled from their own country. Arab people stood against the Jews but the United States, United Kingdom and other western nations supported/helped the Jews at every step.”

Chapter: Muslim Freedom Movements (p. 38,44)

5. “Jews forced out thousands of Palestinians from their own country and they become homeless. Due to this threatening attitude from the Jews, 14 Arab state representatives gathered in Cairo.”
6. “In 1969, when Israel set fire to the Aqsa mosque, the act created distress in Muslim world.”

BALUCHISTAN TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 7 – SOCIAL STUDIES (8)

Chapter: Pakistan Movement (p.47–52)

7. “The Urdu-Hindi dispute and the division of Bengal unleashed the evil aims of the Hindus. With the passage of time, their anti-Muslim activities reached a peak.”
8. “After coming to power, the Hindus planned to destroy Muslim civilization. [. . .] Musical instruments were played during prayer times in front of the mosques. At some places, innocent Muslims were slaughtered. The rights of Muslims were openly suppressed. In short, atrocities on Muslims had no end and their lives were made hell [. . .] the Pirpur report¹³ also provided evidence of brutality of the Congress against Muslims and proved that Hindu majority can never be benevolent to Muslims.”

BALUCHISTAN TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 7 – ISLAMIC STUDIES (1)

Chapter: Salhuddin Ayubi, (p.113)

1. “Christians occupied Al-Aqsa Mosque (Dome of the Rocks). The Christians of Europe made the lives of Muslims hell by victimizing them. Every Muslim was dejected and depressed and wished for the freedom of Al-Aqsa Mosque from Christian occupation. . . Muslims were frustrated by the atrocities that Christians committed against them and this became the reason for the Crusades. [. . .] When Muslims again occupied Al-Aqsa Mosque, Salahuddin Ayubi treated Christians with justice and kind heartedness, and the Christians were amazed. He took care of orphans, widows and those who were helpless. He conducted open public hearings to solve the problems of citizens. All the government’s revenue was spent on public welfare.”

13 The Pirpur report was used to highlight the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims and made it appear as if the Congress governments (Indian Government) were wreaking vengeance on a “helpless Muslim minority.” The Pirpur Committee had been appointed by the All-India Muslim League Council in March 1938, with Raja Sayed Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur as its chairman, to prepare a detailed report regarding the high-handedness of the Congress Ministries (1937–1939). Congress Ministries refer to the Indian government. For details see: http://pakstudies.8m.com/pirpur_s_report.htmlhttp://pakstudies.8m.com/pirpur_s_report.html

BALUCHISTAN TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 8 – SOCIAL STUDIES (5)**Chapter: Pakistan Ideology (p.103–117)**

1. "A half century after the creation of Pakistan, these organizations, [Hindu Mahasbha, R.S.S] still want to exterminate the Muslim identity. This was demonstrated when they demolished the Babri Mosque and through the Gujarat riots. Hindu racists want to eliminate not only Muslims, but other non-Hindu nations in the world as well. Due to these racist policies, Christians and other minorities have also been victimized often. In the past, the *Shudhi* and *Singhatan* movements were conducted to convert non-Hindus to Hinduism. The current circumstances of India are very much similar to that of 150 years ago."
2. "The influence of Christian missionaries greatly increased. With the help of their government they openly propagated Christianity. They freely go to cities and villages and glorify Christianity while degrading other religions."
3. "[The British] stitched the dead bodies of Muslims into the skins of pigs and threw them into the river. Some of the dead bodies were burned and some were shot by canons. [. . .] The Jamiya mosque of the city was made into a gunpowder house. Some English newspapers wrote that mosques should be turned into churches."
4. "In the Hindu majority provinces of the sub-continent, Indian Congressional ministries¹⁴ were established who treated Muslims with great cruelty. Injustices were done against Muslims [. . .] Hindus openly violated the rights of Muslims. [. . .] Due to these injustices imposed by the Hindus, the Muslims felt dejected. They had a strong feeling that the Hindus would completely annihilate them [. . .]"
5. "On assuming power, Congressional ministries started a strong campaign against the Urdu language and enforced Hindi as the official language. Although Urdu was the common language of Hindus and Muslims, Gandhi refused it. He clearly said that Urdu is a Muslim language and written in Quranic script. It is up to Muslims to keep it or not. *Bande Matrum* was adopted as the national anthem, which caused animosity towards Muslims. Children in schools were forced to salute Gandhi's portrait, and in some schools his status was worshiped. It became difficult for Muslims to live a life with dignity. Muslims were declared to be tyrants, oppressors and filthy. Bands were played in front of the mosques at prayer times [. . .] people carried out attacks on Muslims in mosques; the government banned the call to prayer and ritual cow slaughtering [. . .]"

¹⁴ Congressional Ministries refer to the government of the All India Congress Party that was against the creation of Pakistan and was dominated by Hindus.

BALUCHISTAN TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 9 – ISLAMIC STUDIES (1)

Chapter: Jihad (p.94)

1. "Jihad in Islam means making efforts for preeminence of truth by all means of sacrificing one's financial, physical and mental capabilities for the sake of Allah, Even one should not hesitate to sacrifice lives of their family, relatives, and friends."

BALUCHISTAN TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 10 – PAKISTAN STUDIES (11)

Chapter: Ideological Basis of Pakistan (p.6–9)

1. "Among non-Muslim nations, Hindus have numerical and political domination; therefore they always pose threats to the religious and worldly interests of Muslims."
2. "In the united India, Muslims cannot even freely call for prayers or go to mosques without fear."
3. "Hindu society was divided into a caste system in which social justice was non-existent [. . .] no one in government offices would listen to Muslim complaints."
4. "During the era of suppression, Muslims were weakened economically; getting a job was a difficult task. Muslim areas were deliberately kept backward."
5. "Muslims were helpless during the era of slavery. [. . .] religious sentiments suffered in every field of life."
6. "In the very beginning, [Sir Syed Ahmed Khan] assessed the traitorous attitude of Hindus and warned Muslims to stay away from Congress."
7. "[Allama Iqbal] supported Hindu-Muslim unity, but he soon realized the bigotries of the Hindus."

Chapter: Establishment of Pakistan

8. "The Hindu leadership started movements like *Shudhi* and *Singhattan*, through which Muslims were forced to convert to Hinduism or leave Hindustan." (p.13)
9. "After the Lahore resolution, Hindus' conspiracies against Muslims increased." (p.15)
10. "Even today when we hear the news of cruelty and ethnic cleansing going on in India, it seems like their [ancestors'] doubts were real." (p.19)
11. "After getting rid of the proscribed and ignorant rule of the Church, Europeans progressed in the fields of knowledge/education, political acceptance and in arts and crafts." (p.24)

New Intolerant Passages in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Curriculum

During the study all the textbooks from the fifth to tenth grades were carefully reviewed. Biased or intolerant content was found only in four textbooks in three grade levels as outlined below. All of these texts were published in 2015 under the authority of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board.

Total books reviewed from KPK curriculum = 21

5 intolerant passages found in four books

Textbooks with Intolerant Passages:

GRADE 6	GRADE 7	GRADE 8
Urdu	Urdu	History Islamic Studies

NEW INTOLERANT CONTENT BREAKDOWN (KPK):				
	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Total
History	-	-	2	2
Urdu	1	1	-	2
Islamic Studies	-	-	1	1
Total	1	1	3	5

KPK TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 6 – URDU (1)	
Chapter: Organization of Islamic Countries (p.76)	
1. "In the last half of the twentieth century, the Muslim world was free from Western oppression, but the West continued its conspiracies to keep Muslims disempowered so that Muslims could never become a super power of the world again... In 1949, the Jews tried to set fire to the occupied Al-Aqsa mosque."	

KPK TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 7 – URDU (1)

Chapter: Ghazi Ilm Deen Shaheed (p.7)

1. "Entrenched with the love for Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), one day he entered into the shop of the blasphemer Rajpal. . .and killed him with his dagger in the presence of his guards and servants in broad day light."

KPK TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 8 – ISLAMIC STUDIES (1)

Chapter: Jihad (p.100)

1. "Prophet (PBUH) said that 'Jihad will continue till the end of times'. Jihad is going on in different parts of the world. Many Mujahidins of Islam are participating in Jihad for sake of Allah, for protection of their religion, to help their oppressed brothers, and to get freedom from tyranny. . .As a student if you cannot practically participate in Jihad you can at least financially help in preparation of Jihad."

KPK TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 8 – HISTORY (2)

Chapter: History of Pakistan

1. "To destroy a nation it is essential to weaken or destroy their civilization, culture and society. The British and the Hindus adopted the same method to crush the Muslims." (p.58)
2. "[In 1935] Slaughtering of cows was banned during the Congress Government. Eating of beef was prohibited. Pigs would enter in the Mosque and Azan was interrupted." (p.96)

This textbook is dedicated to describing historical events from 1858–1947. Descriptions contain biases against British rule and Hindus. These biases are present in both English and Urdu versions.

New Intolerant Passages in the Sindh Curriculum

All the textbooks from the fifth to tenth grades in the Sindh curriculum were carefully reviewed during the study; the appendix presents biased or intolerant content from nine textbooks in five grade levels as outlined below. All of these texts were published in 2015 under the authority of the Sindh Textbook Board.

Total books reviewed from Sindh curriculum = 19

28 intolerant passages found in nine books

Textbooks with Intolerant Passages:

GRADE 5		GRADE 6		GRADE 7	
Urdu		Social Studies		Social Studies	Urdu
GRADE 8		GRADE 9/10			
Social Studies		Pakistan Studies			
Islamic Studies		Islamic Studies			Urdu

NEW INTOLERANT CONTENT BREAKDOWN (SINDH)						
	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9/10	Total
Urdu	1	-	7	-	4	12
Social Studies	0	3	2	5	-	10
Pakistan Studies	-	-	-	-	3	3
Islamic Studies	-	-	-	2	1	3
Total	1	3	9	7	8	28

SINDH TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 5 – URDU (1)

Chapter: True Stories (p.77–78)

1. "We are Jews and designated by our nation to reach the grave of your prophet and take out His Holy body. We were about to accomplish our goal when you arrested us. Upon listening to this, the King became furious and beheaded them with his sword."

Comment: In this story, Jews are targeted, but the purpose of teaching this story is to express love for Holy Prophet PBUH. There are surely other stories that would teach this lesson without targeting any particular religious or ethnic group.

SINDH TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 6 – SOCIAL STUDIES (3)

Chapter: The Society of South Asia before the Advent of Islam (p.64)

1. "The Hindu society became divided into four permanent castes [. . .] even today; the Hindu society has not got rid of this oppressive and tyrannical system which violates human rights."

Chapter: The Arrival of Muslims in South Asia (p.77, 83)

2. "The most striking effect of the Muslim civilization on the Hindu culture was the significant change in the status of Hindu women. Hindu women did not have any rights in the Hindu society. In the warrior Hindu castes they were burnt alive on the pyres with their dead husbands. They did not get any share in the property of father or husband. The doors of education were closed to them."

Comment: This chapter describes the effects of Islamic civilization and religion in a chauvinistic way by projecting the cultural superiority of Muslims over Hindus.

Chapter: The Coming of the English in the Sub-Continent

3. "The Christian clergy tried to convert the local people to Christianity even by force. As time went on people felt the interference of the English in their religious affairs. [. . .]Thousands of them (Muslims) were shot down. Their properties were seized. They were dismissed from services. [. . .] It must be kept in mind that the English had a kinder disposition towards Hindus compared to Muslims. They knew that if the latter progressed they might try to regain their lost political power. [. . .] they tried to keep the Muslims backward in trade, education and other fields." (p.95–96)

SINDH TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 7 – SOCIAL STUDIES (2)**Chapter: The Contemporary Muslim Society (p.13)**

1. "Under the cross, the crusaders invaded Muslim lands, butchered civilians, and tried to capture Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem."

Chapter: Pakistan Movement – Struggle (1937–1947) (p.45)

2. "Hindus considered Muslims unclean and Muslims treated them as non-believers."

SINDH TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 7 – URDU (7)**Chapter: Pakistan Movement (p.14–15)**

1. "There were two enemies of Muslims, the Englishmen and Hindus. Both of these were against the formation of Pakistan. On one hand, the Englishmen renounced the division plan of Hindustan, while on the other hand, Hindus were planning to occupy the entire Hindustan and enslave Muslims. [. . .] If the Englishmen had vacated Hindustan without partition, then Hindus would have occupied the entire Hindustan, and Muslims would have faced more atrocities/difficulties. At that time Quaid-e-Azam voiced a slogan directed towards the Englishmen: divide Hindustan and then leave. [. . .] Muslims suffered from atrocities at the hands of Hindus and the number of assaulted/robbed homes is uncountable."

Chapter: Pakistan Movement and Women (p.40)

2. "Muslims persistently struggled for 25 years for Hindu-Muslim reconciliation, but it all failed and in this failure there is the role of nature. Nature does not want them to cooperate, as there is nothing common between these two, they should not pursue any collaboration. If such cooperation had taken place that would have definitely resulted in destruction [. . .]"

Chapter: Iqbal's Contribution in Awakening the Muslims (p.48–50)

3. "They were aware that Congress is a party of Hindus; it has no concern for Muslims rights."
4. "Englishmen and Hindus were pressuring the Muslims through [. . .] non-permissible means."
5. "In this era Hindus also deprived Muslims in the economic field. The Englishmen were depriving the Muslims in politics and the economy simultaneously."
6. "Hindus anticipated that it is impossible to diverge Muslims from their demands, so they opposed this theory of Islam."
7. "Islam is the only religion which is in line with nature."

SINDH TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 8 – SOCIAL STUDIES (5)

Chapter: Pakistan Ideology (p.95–108)

1. "In the United India, the Hindu majority poses a serious threat to Muslim religion, culture, and language. To counter it the creation of Pakistan was inevitable." (In English version)
2. "Hindus believed that in India only one nation lived and did not care much about the rights of Muslims. The other nations should either become part of Hindu nation or should leave India."
3. "Only Hindus benefited from all the reforms, and conditions for Muslims became worse in every field."
4. "But due to the conspiracies of the Hindu and the British these promises could not be kept. Injustices to Muslims and violation of their rights continued."
5. "Hindus and Sikhs started ethnic cleansing in their part of Punjab and some adjoining districts of Jammu and Kashmir and Rajputana state."

SINDH TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 8 – ISLAMIC STUDIES (2)

Chapter: Jihad (p.62–64)

1. Jihad is going on in different parts of the world. Many Mujahidin of Islam are participating in Jihad for sake of Allah for protection of their religion, and to get freedom against tyranny". . . "As a student though you cannot practically participate in Jihad but you can financially help in preparation of Jihad."

Chapter: Human Rights (p.52)

2. "In Arab culture, widows like animals become the slaves of their husband's family. In Jewish culture, widows are declared the property of their husband's brothers, but in the Hindu religion widows are deprived of their basic rights to live as they are burned alive with the ashes of their husband's dead body."

SINDH TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 9/10 – ISLAMIC STUDIES (1)

Chapter: Jihad (p.124–126)

1. "Jihad in Islam means making efforts for preeminence of truth by all means of sacrificing one's financial, physical and mental capabilities for the sake of Allah, Even one should not hesitate to sacrifice lives of their family, relatives, and friends."

SINDH TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 9/10 – PAKISTAN STUDIES (3)**Chapter: Making of Pakistan (p.26)**

1. "The persecution of the Muslims started at the hands of the Congress Party and their separate identity was intended to be crushed. A ban was put on the religion of the Muslims. Bands played in front of mosques at prayer time. The doors of government jobs were closed on the Muslims. Urdu was replaced by Hindi in schools. The students were forced to salute the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi and to sing Bande Mataram which showed hatred towards the Muslims. They were also forced to put Tilak on their forehead."

Chapter: Constitutional development in Islamic Republic of Pakistan (p.46)

2. "A large number of Hindu teachers were teaching in the educational institutions in East Pakistan. They produced literature which created negative thinking in the minds of Bengalis against the people of West Pakistan."
3. "About 10 million Hindus were living in East Pakistan. India stood behind Hindus to protect their interests. India wanted to separate East Pakistan to strengthen the economic position of the Hindus. Many Hindus acted as spies for Hindus."

SINDH TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 9/10 – URDU (4)**Chapter: Pakistan Ideology (p.39–44)**

1. "But when infidels and atheists want to dominate, the Muslims firmly stand against it. Due to the involvement of Hindus in national politics, paganism became popular."
2. "Few groups of Hindus and Marathas emerged and Englishmen established themselves, which caused anarchy in the country."
3. "In 1885, Hindus established the Congress Party and pretended to fight for all peoples' rights, but later on it was revealed that they only wanted to secure their rights. They tried to deprive Muslims of their businesses, control civil jobs, and established Hindi instead of Urdu as the common language."
4. "People of different religions, colors and castes lived in South Asia; Muslims did not want to live as a minority under the domination of a nation (Hindus) whose practices are opposite to Islamic teachings, caste system, social discrimination and idol worship, etc."

New Intolerant Passages in the Punjab Curriculum

During the research all the textbooks of Punjab curriculum from the fifth to tenth grades were carefully reviewed. Biased or intolerant content was found only in three textbooks in three different grade levels as outlined below. All of these texts were published in 2015 under the authority of the Punjab Textbook Board.

Total books reviewed from Punjab curriculum = 17
7 intolerant passages found in three books

Textbooks with Intolerant Passages:

GRADE 6	GRADE 8	GRADE 10
Islamic Studies	History	Urdu

NEW INTOLERANT CONTENT BREAKDOWN (PUNJAB)				
	Grade 6	Grade 8	Grade 10	Total
Urdu	-	-	4	4
History	-	2	-	2
Islamic Studies	1	-	-	1
Total	1	2	4	7

PUNJAB TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 6 – ISLAMIC STUDIES (1)	
Chapter: Tariq bin Ziyad (p.84)	
1. "Christians learned tolerance and kind heartedness from Muslims. The fair treatment and good governance of Muslims improved the living standard of the region. They started to live prosperous and peaceful lives under the patronage of Muslims."	

PUNJAB TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 8 – HISTORY (2)**Chapter: Sir Syed Ahmend Khan and Aligarh Movement (p.17)**

1. "Whenever Hindu leadership got the chance they tried to suppress the rights of Muslims, and harm/damage the culture, tradition and language of Muslims."

Comment: Pages 13–15 describe atrocities of Hindus against Muslims under the topic of the post-1857 independence struggle.

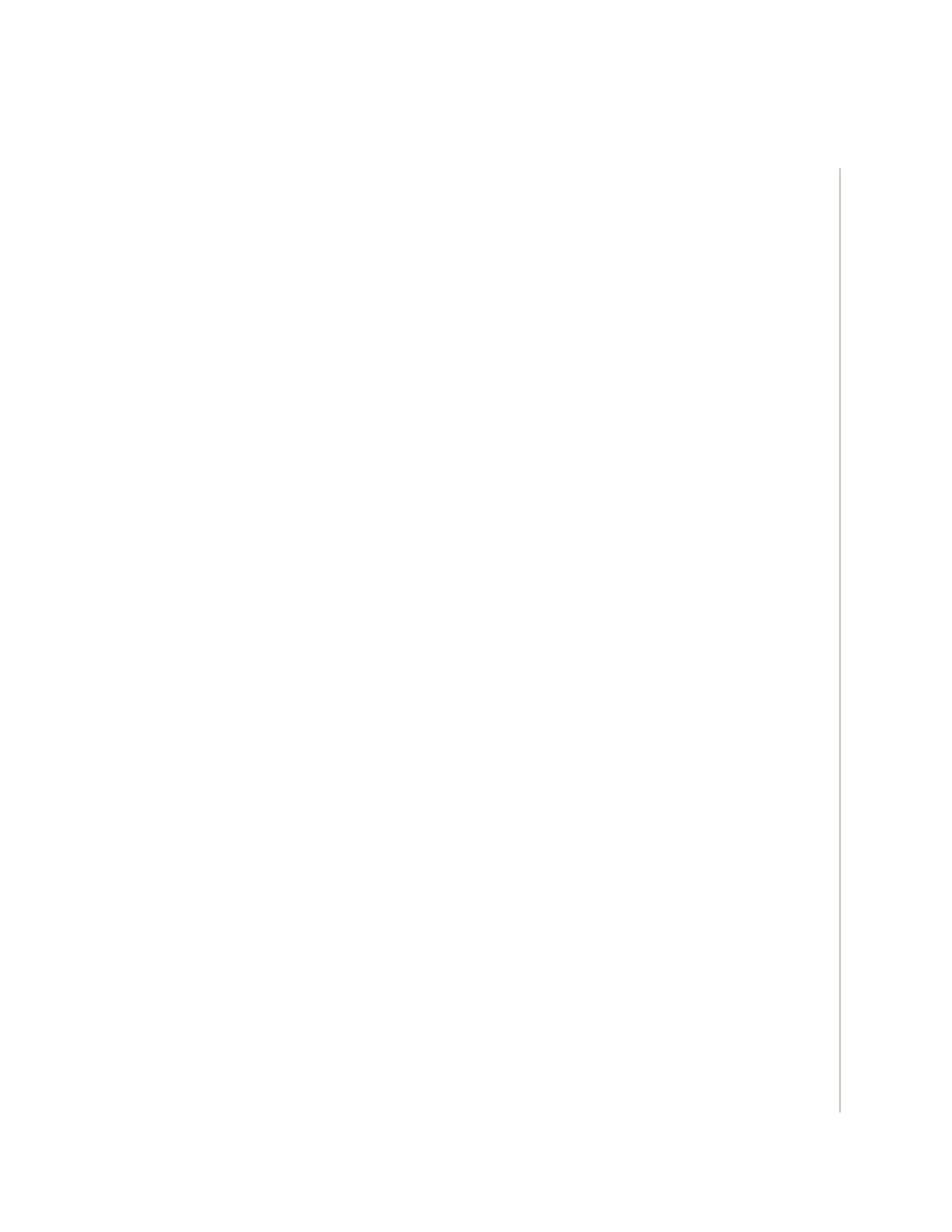
Chapter: Political Awakening in British India (p.25)

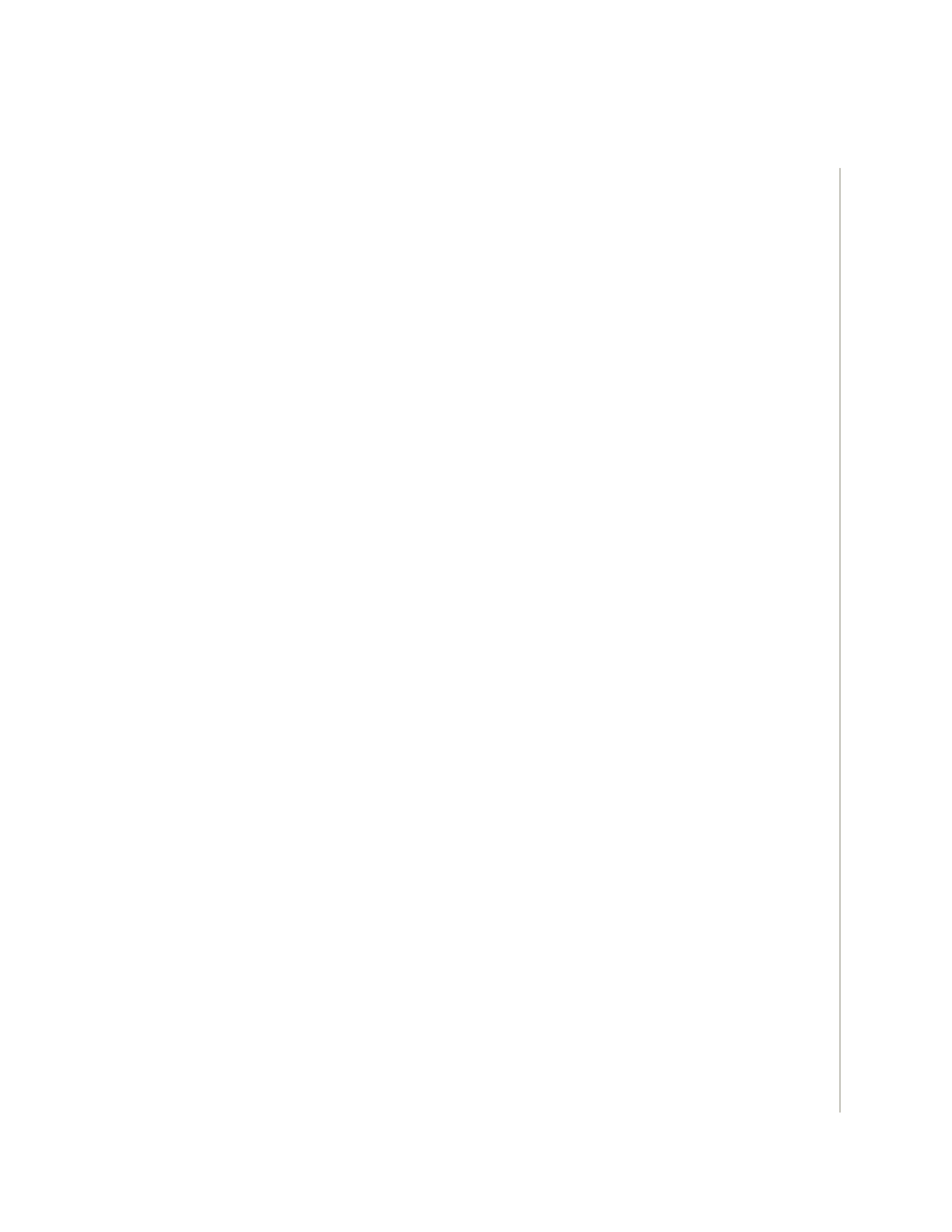
2. "Congress had the loud claim that it is the only representative party of the people of the sub-continent. They also made the British government believe that they have all the support from people of the sub-continent but in reality they only work in the interest of the Hindus. With the passage of time it becomes evident that Congress works for the interest of Hindus. When violent extremist Hindus tried to push Muslims out of the sub-continent, Congress backed them. Congress also supported Baal Ganga Dhar Tilak's movement against Muslims to exterminate them from the sub-continent. When the government sought to replace Urdu with Hindi the Congress supported Hindi. In 1905 when government announced the division of Bengal for better governance, then Congress strongly opposed it because the division was greatly beneficial for Muslims."

Comment: In this section, the division of Bengal is largely described in a biased way against the British government and Hindus.

PUNJAB TEXTBOOKS: GRADE 10 – URDU (4)**Chapter: Pakistan Ideology (p.22-23)**

1. "Hindus established Congress and pretended to fight for all peoples' rights, but later on it was revealed that they only wanted to secure their rights. They tried to deprive Muslims of their businesses [. . .] and they established Hindi instead of Urdu as the common language."
2. "Hindus tried to extinguish the Muslim dominated province of East Bengal and Assam in order to squeeze/hurt Muslims through a conspiracy."
3. "Which resulted British hostility against Muslims [. . .] [W]hen the British won the war, they deceived the Muslims and became the source of the collapse of the Turkish Empire."
4. "Because the Muslim religion, culture and social system are different from non-Muslims, it is impossible to cooperate with Hindus."





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