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**Understanding the Role of Education in Promoting Violence and  
Terrorism in Pakistan**

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## **Abstract**

In Pakistan the “nexus between, education, religion, and national identity” is a complex phenomenon<sup>1</sup>. Having removed the civilian elected government amidst the political turmoil in 1979, Zia ul Haq’s military regime sought internal political legitimacy and simultaneously tried to counter two external threats, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian revolution. Underpinned by Saudi ideology and American assistance, the military regime sought political control through education. The revised curricula became the primary source of the decline of educational standards, and the ideas imported from Saudi Arabia and the U.S. brought serious challenges to the very existence of Pakistan itself. The destruction of pluralism, the new political order based on force and revised curricula entailed insensitivity to minorities, glorification of war, promotion of jihad and martyrdom, and paved the way for religiously motivated terrorism in Pakistan. In addition, religious absolutism facilitates intolerance toward people of other beliefs. Peace educators and concerned citizens should take drastic measures to save the educational crisis from turning into a disaster.

Keywords: education, identity, jihad, martyrdom, peace, politics, religion, terrorism

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<sup>1</sup> Lall 2008

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

The objectives of this study are:

1. To study whether jihad, martyrdom, glorification of war may be connected to the educational curricula of Pakistan.
2. Whether the educational curricula may contribute to promoting terrorism in the socio-economic and political context of Pakistan.
3. To investigate whether the concept of jihad, as it is presented in curricula/educational contents in schools in Pakistan, may be connected to contemporary terrorism in Pakistan, or originating in Pakistan.
4. To examine whether negative stereotypes and bias against religious minorities are part of the curricula in ways that may promote or enhance the propensity to violence and terrorism against minorities and other “outsiders”.

To explore the possibility that educational content may or can contribute to violence and terrorism was a formidable task and sometimes seems like chasing a mirage. Pakistan is a religiously and ethnically diverse nation with approximately 190 million inhabitants. In 1947, Pakistan was created as a homeland for the largest minority of South Asian, i.e. Muslims. According to the vision of founding father Jinnah, Pakistan was not meant to be the theocratic state.<sup>2</sup> However, soon after his departure some political and religious leaders declared that Islam was the only reason to create Pakistan. Thus, in 1956 Pakistan became an Islamic Republic.<sup>3</sup>

The transformation of Pakistan resulted in Muslimization of society, with a massive decline in religious minorities’ population.<sup>4</sup> Distinct Islamic Identity was introduced through education curricula to discourage religious and cultural pluralism. Islamization brought new legislations such as blasphemy and sharia laws that targeted non-Muslims, and introduced religious absolutism and fundamentalism in Pakistani society.<sup>5</sup> Promotion of violent Jihad through political, religious, cultural and educational discourse sowed the seed of terrorism.<sup>6</sup> These factors contributed to violent religious extremism that now threatens non-Muslim and majority of Muslims alike.

The Pakistani education system can be categorized into two streams: Mainstream (secular) and Madrasahs (religious).<sup>7</sup> The Madrasahs runs parallel to the state education system. The medium of the instruction of Madrasahs is Urdu and Arabic, whereas the mainstream medium of instruction is English and Urdu. According to Nayyar and Salim, curricula and textbook of both sectors i.e. secular and religious are based on moral and political superiority of Islamic philosophy, have a religious orientation and call for supremacy of Islam.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>3</sup> Rosser 2003

<sup>4</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>5</sup> Lall 2008

<sup>6</sup> Akbarzadeh and Mansouri 2010

<sup>7</sup> R. Hathaway 2005

<sup>8</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

Christine Fair has noted that the curricula of Madrasahs was devised by Mulla Nizamuddin Sihalvi and called as Dars- i-Nizami in 18th century.<sup>9</sup> This curriculum contains the works of scholars from 12th and 13th century. These books were written in light of the religious interpretation of Islam in a different age, and address the concerns of a different (namely Arabic) geographic location, as well as Arabic political, economic and social issues. One can argue that the ideas of how to run the affairs of the state in Madrasahs curricula may have limited compatibility with modern democracies, concerning the subject of violent Jihad.<sup>10</sup>

### **1.1 Politics of Education: Nexus between education and terrorism**

In this thesis, terrorism is regarded as a process, and a phenomenon that varies according to context, and interacts with economic, political and cultural factors, including education. I argue that a country-specific dimension is necessary in order to examine the nexus between education and terrorism. In Pakistan, the relationship between education, poverty, income level, and religious affiliations did not produce fruitful results in past. Therefore, this study draws attention toward a case and country-specific approach. Political and economic conditions in high-risk countries such as Somalia, Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan and South Sudan are different from each other. Therefore, the reason, motivation and justification for terrorism vary among those countries. This study will examine the nexus between educational content and the possible link with terrorism in Pakistan especially.

### **1.2 Previous Research**

This study has taken assistance from previous research studies conducted on the subject of education, curricula of Pakistan and religiously motivated terrorism. This research is by no means the first to point out the concern on school curricula, textbooks, and terrorism.

In 2003 A.H. Nayyar and Ahmed, Salim conducted a very brief study of the content of curricula of public education in Pakistan. The authors argued that it is common that governments around the world use education to build nations mainly through the subject of history, language, and social sciences. In Pakistan government used following subjects to create a very narrow Pakistani nationalism based on the refutation of others. Their research found that curricula contain “(a) Inaccuracies of fact and omissions, (b) Insensitivity to the existing religious diversity of the nation, (c) Incitement to militancy and violence, including encouragement of Jihad and Shahadat, (d) religious and gender discrimination, (e) The glorification of war, (f) hatred and anti-India sentiments”.<sup>11</sup> This study did not discuss in detail about Madrasahs education and curricula.

In 2011 Ājahāra Hosena, Aḥmad Salīm, and Arif Naveed examined public and Madrasahs education of all four provinces of Pakistan. The study is comprehensive, and methodology of this study is outstanding: It includes interviews and focus group discussion with teachers and students, and content analysis of the texts of both education sectors. Their research finding suggests that there is an enormous gap between Madrasahs and public education. Surprisingly, a great number of teachers in both sectors have very negative views about other religions than Sunni Islam. Some Madrasahs teachers showed respect for revealed religions, such as Judaism

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<sup>9</sup> Fair 2008

<sup>10</sup> Fair 2008

<sup>11</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

and Christianity, although with a certain degree of caution. However, they refuse to pay any respect to Hinduism because Hindus are, according to them, pagans who do not believe in God. Teachers and students of both the sectors believe that violent jihad is a private subject, and an individual can wage it at their discretion. However, Madrasahs teachers and students held a broader view of jihad as compared to their counterpart.<sup>12</sup>

This study also highlighted a crucial aspect that education is not promoting equal rights for Non-Muslims, even though that is assured by the constitution of 1973. The study concluded that discrimination against Non-Muslims is pervasive in education and culture. However, the study did not confirm that discriminatory attitudes and biases of Muslim toward non-Muslim is because of teachers, pedagogical issues or curricula. Hosena, Salim and Naveed’s findings are consistent with earlier conclusions of Nayyar and Salim. This study lacked the textual data from Madrasahs education and curricula.<sup>13</sup>

In 2003, Krueger and Malečková conducted a landmark research and were widely respected by scholars, practitioners, and politicians.<sup>14</sup> These authors have advanced the debate on the subject with new perspective, and challenged the existing one. In the aftermath of 9/11 politicians and scholars prescribed aid to education in order to reduce poverty to counter terrorism. The authors argued that trying to make generalizations of the nexus between educational attainment, poverty and terrorism is a futile exercise.

They argued that terrorism is a product of political grievances and “long-standing feelings of indignity and frustration”<sup>15</sup>, mostly because of unresolved conflicts. Their research shows that Hezbollah’s suicide bombers came from economically stable families and had a certain degree of education. Their assumptions are consistent with Bergen and Pandey’s findings that educational attainment will not reduce the terrorism. The chart below will illustrate that even PhDs were involved in terrorism, and sure they were not poor.

Five worst terrorist attacks		PhD	Graduated from University	Madrasahs	Data Not available
1	The 1993 World Trade Center bombing.	x	x	x	X
2	The 1998 bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa				
3	The September 11, 2001				
4	The 2002 Bali nightclub bombing				
5	The London bombings in July 2005				

<sup>12</sup> Hosena, Ahmad, and Arif 2011

<sup>13</sup> Hosena, Ahmad, and Arif 2011

<sup>14</sup> Krueger and Malec 2003

<sup>15</sup> Krueger and Malec 2003, p119

Total	5%	54%	11%	30%
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Krueger and Malečková concluded that terrorism flourish in those countries who lack civil rights. They argued that terrorism is “political, not economic phenomenon”.<sup>16</sup> The above data also clarify a few fundamental questions:

- The terrorists were mostly educated.
- In the West, the links between madrasahs and militancy had been greatly exaggerated.
- Approximately 60% of terrorist were from mainstream education. One can argue that extreme values of the mainstream curricula and discourse may have radicalized these terrorists.

In 2008, Christine Fair wrote a book based on her extensive fieldwork in Pakistan on Madrasahs education. Her study was focus to explore the link between madrasa education and militancy in Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, Jessica Stern advocated that Madrasahs were factories to produce terrorist and jihadi ideology. This report reflected Stern’s limited knowledge about Madrasahs education and Pakistan. Peter Singer and Robert Looney also wrote on the same subject, but they showed some degree of skepticism about the Madrasahs - militancy connection.<sup>17</sup>

Fair’s finding was consistent with Dr. Marc Sageman’s finding that Madrasahs students are rarely found in global terrorism. However, Madrasahs student’s involvement in sectarian-based violence and terrorism cannot be ruled out. She cautiously admitted the fact that those religious seminaries involved in terrorism are known to security agencies in Pakistan. She found that only 1% of students were enrolled in the Madrasahs; 70% in public schools, and rest are in private school.

She asserted that in Pakistan, Madrasahs owners and officials resist reform policies and regulation by the government not because they produce or sponsor terrorism, but because they want to keep this lucrative business out of tax net. On the question of tolerance and peaceful conflict resolution, she rated different school systems according to their performance on tolerance. Her findings were as follows:

- Private school students were most tolerant.
- Madrasahs students were less tolerant.
- Public sector students were the least tolerant.

Her assumptions are highly regarded in academic circles. However, it does not tell the reader what texts she has analyzed on the subject of Jihad, tolerance, and religious harmony.

In 2008 Dr. Marie Lall’s 2008 conducted a unique study by comparing the extreme content of Pakistani and Indian public school textbooks. She maintained both countries taught mutually exclusive histories, and created antagonistic identity among students. She traced the process of Islamization in Pakistan back to 1971, with the succession of Bangladesh. This is contrary to

<sup>16</sup> Krueger and Malec 2003,p142

<sup>17</sup> Fair 2008

popular believe that it began in 1979. India revised their curricula in 2000 to promote Hinduism, and included discriminatory remarks against Muslims, as well as anti-Pakistan sentiments.<sup>18</sup>

According to her substantial academic work has been done on this subject, but all studies fell short to hypothesize the consequences. She concluded Pakistan and India have fought three full-scale wars, and were on the brink to have a nuclear war in 1999 and 2002. She further argued that the current rulers did not study the curricula that have the feature of antagonistic nationalism and religious craze. “However, it is evident that at some point in the future those who have been through a radicalized system which taught them an extremist view of self and an antagonistic view of the other will come to power. This could very well lead to a radicalization of the political situation”.<sup>19</sup> This article lacks data on texts from Indian curricula, and her ideas of discriminatory language are ambiguous.

In 2004, Iftikhar Ahmed conducted one of very few research that highlighted the relationship between state and religion in Pakistani curricula. Author pointed out there is no distinction between social studies and Islamic studies; both subjects are heavily Islamic orientated. Political ideology of Pakistan became synonyms with Islamic ideology studies, and is reflected in curricula. The aim of the curricula was to “(a) sanctify their political role in society; (b) galvanize social forces in Pakistan against India and the West, and (c) unify the Muslim world”.<sup>20</sup> The theocratic approach to liberal studies set the foundation that only good Muslims are loyal citizens, and the trustworthiness of Non-Muslim was doubted.<sup>21</sup>

His research was only limited to secondary school textbooks on social studies, and text analysis was limited and based on old editions. He did not make any reference to the consequences of excluding minorities from the mainstream.

In 2003, Yvette Claire Rosser conducted an outstanding work on the national identity of the subcontinent's most diverse countries: India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.<sup>22</sup> These all countries are somehow marked with a national identity crisis. Before 1947 all three countries were the part of colonial India and shared collective history. After partition and the Bangladesh liberation movement of 1971, all three countries were in desperate search of identity. They created an exclusive historical narrative based on a selective historical account which created and maintained animosity, and finally intractable conflicts.

With regards to Pakistan, her finding is consistent with Nayyar and Salim. She concluded that social studies textbook content contain antidemocratic values and praise nondemocratic traditions. Her examples of conflicting narratives is an eye opener which is not only limited to the subcontinent, but is also present in other parts of the world.

*“In British textbooks, for example, the “American Revolution” of 1776 is often referred to as the “American Rebellion”, whereas the “Indian Rebellion” of 1857 is reduced to*

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<sup>18</sup> Lall 2008

<sup>19</sup> Lall 2008, p117

<sup>20</sup> Ahmad 2004a

<sup>21</sup> Ahmad 2004a

<sup>22</sup> Rosser 2003

*the “Sepoy Mutiny” though it is called the “First War of Liberation” in history textbooks published in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh”.*<sup>23</sup>

“In late 1998, a tenth grade history textbook in South Africa explained that the “blacks were the workers and the whites the bosses because of the white’s man’s ‘high level of civilization and his Christian religion”.”<sup>24</sup>

Her studies mainly focused on disputed facts and contested historiographies of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

Rosser fell short to provide any definitive answer that what may or can cause terrorism. One possible reason for the failure was that researcher was aiming for a single reason despite the complex, diverse and multifaceted nature of terrorism. It can be argued that individuals exposed to extreme educational content, supported by violent cultural and structural problems of their respective country can produce terrorism.

I argue that if education can promote peace and tolerance, by the same token, education can provide fuel to terrorism. There is possibility that extreme educational content can instigate violence and terrorism in a country where conditions are unfavorable. Such conditions could be poor socio-economic conditions, lack of opportunities, religious intolerance, poverty and unfavorable demographic factors. In addition to discussed variables, restricted political freedom, and suppressed political discontent can produce dreadful effects on a society. The former refers to negative political development and the latter refers to a lack of nonviolent opportunities for individuals to express themselves. Above all, limited state capacity and the lack of capacity of the state to have a monopoly over violence also counts as one of the factors.

### **1.3 Motivation for this study**

In today’s world terrorism is the real and potential threat to peace and stability. 9/11, terrorist acts and threats forced USA to occupy Afghanistan and invaded Iraq. One can argue that had there been no terrorist activity senseless slaughter of human lives could have been avoided for both (combatants and non-combatants). Terrorism forced people to move to safer destination and caused a crisis of internally displaced people and refugees. Billions of dollar have been dedicated to fighting terrorism that could have been spent on health, education and human development. This thesis examines the appeal of terrorism, motivation and justification of violence and its possible link with educational curricula of Pakistan.

### **1.4 Problem Statement**

The content of Pakistani textbooks has been an issue of domestic and international debate for decades. However, 9/11 terror attacks has placed Pakistan under heavy criticism for promoting terrorism and providing safe havens to terrorists. Therefore, the international community asserted considerable pressure and placed enormous resources to improve Pakistan’s education sector, in a hope to curb terrorism through educational reforms.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Rosser 2003p551

<sup>24</sup> Rosser 2003p552

<sup>25</sup> R. Hathaway 2005p19

The study aims to identify and highlight extreme values of educational contents and make in-depth analysis that how certain text within a particular social context can be read, interpreted and understood violently.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

Within the context of Pakistan, this thesis aims to study, investigate and explore the meaning of radical and extreme content in the curricula of Pakistan.

In the interest of clarity, I have divided the research question into following supplementary questions:

How moral and religious absolutism of Muslim students led them to form prejudice and insensitive attitude towards non-Muslims?

How does curriculum may expose students to religious, ethnic division, conflict, and violence?

Why the Pakistani authorities emphasize Jihad and martyrdom in the curricula of Pakistan? In what historical context did this change come about and how can Jihad and martyrdom be understood in contemporary?

Does educational contents act to reproduce conflicts, violence and terrorism?<sup>26</sup>

### **1.6 Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 2 is further divided into two parts. In first part I have presented a brief overview of Pakistan's history and traced the origins of religiously motivated violence right from independence movement to modern day Jihad against former USSR and West, USA. In second part education I have shed light on education and educational structure of Pakistan. Chapter 3 is also divided on the two parts first part will conceptualize terrorism and also shed light on the conceptual framework of the thesis. Second part will elucidate the concept of Jihad and its interpretation within the context of Pakistan and among Muslim at large. Chapter 4 will make a reflection on the methodological issues of the study. Chapter 5 will analysis of text and discusses political and cultural violence in the curricula of Pakistan. Chapter 6 will offer a conclusion.

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<sup>26</sup> Davies n.d.

## Chapter 2. Introduction of Pakistan and its Education Sector

### 2.1 Historical background of Pakistan

Pakistan got the independence from British colonial rule in 1947 on religious line by politicizing religion to accommodate Muslims minority of subcontinent.<sup>27</sup> One can say that Pakistan's foundation was based on religious nationalism.<sup>28</sup> Subsequently, the transition from colonial rule to independence was not peaceful. Rather it was bloody approximately one million people lost their lives from both sides.<sup>29</sup> One can argue, Pakistan has experience conflicts and wars violence since its independence. Thus, political violence occupies a unique position in the collective Pakistani psyche.

Pakistan is situated in South Asia, and its location has been given great significance geopolitically and security wise, because of its proximity to Central Asia and Middle East. Pakistan has an area of approximately 796,095 square miles. Pakistan shares its 6,774-kilometer land border with four neighboring countries. In the northwest, Pakistan shares 2,430-kilometer border with politically, economically and socially unstable Afghanistan. Fastest growing economies of the world, China and India, share 523 kilometer to the northeast and 2,912 to eastern border respectively. The theocratic Islamic Republic of Iran with 90 % of the population having Shia sect affiliation, shares 909-kilometer border in West. South of Pakistan faces to Arabian Sea having a 1,460-kilometer coastline.<sup>30</sup>

Pakistan is governed by the federal government and has four provinces, namely Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan. These four provinces along with the capital Islamabad comprises 97% of total population of Pakistan. Punjab is the largest province population wise with 56%, Sindh with 23%, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with 13% of the total population. The largest province by area, Baluchistan, accounts for 5% of the population. In addition to provinces, there are four areas. The federally administered areas consist of Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT), Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Federally Administered Northern Areas (FANA) and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). It is pertinent to note that the region of Azad Jammu and Kashmir have its own president and prime minister, but defense, foreign policy and currency are the federal subjects of the government of Pakistan.<sup>31</sup>

Pakistan is multi-cultural, multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual society. Pakistan is the sixth most populous country of the world after China, India, the United States, Indonesia, and Brazil and second biggest Muslim country with 190 million inhabitants.<sup>32</sup> Pakistani Muslims place huge importance on sectarian affiliation; 80% of the population belongs to the Sunni sect and 15% to the Shia sect.<sup>33</sup> Hinduism is the second biggest religion with approximately 2.0%, followed by Christianity with 1.6%.<sup>34</sup> Urdu is the national and English is official language of Pakistan. These diversities have brought a serious problem to the very

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<sup>27</sup> Ganguly 2001

<sup>28</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>29</sup> Gleditsch, 2004

<sup>30</sup> "CIA World Fact Book", p. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world> [accessed 25 February 2013].

<sup>31</sup> Hussain 2010

<sup>32</sup> R. Hathaway 2005

<sup>33</sup> Hussain 2010

<sup>34</sup> "Hindus Population In Pakistan" n.d. 3 April 2013.

existence of the state of Pakistan. Therefore, conflicts and wars have remained a dominant part of Pakistani society and polity.

Islam was the core unifying factor of Pakistan during independence, but this came to end in 1971 when Bangladesh got independence on the basis of different culture and language.<sup>35</sup> Sectarian violence and intolerance within the ranks of various sects has significantly contributed to disturb the lives of the silent majority Pakistani Muslims and Non-Muslims. Despite all these serious concerns, the Pakistani civilian-military leadership maintains that “Islam as a central pillar in defining Pakistan national identity”.<sup>36</sup>

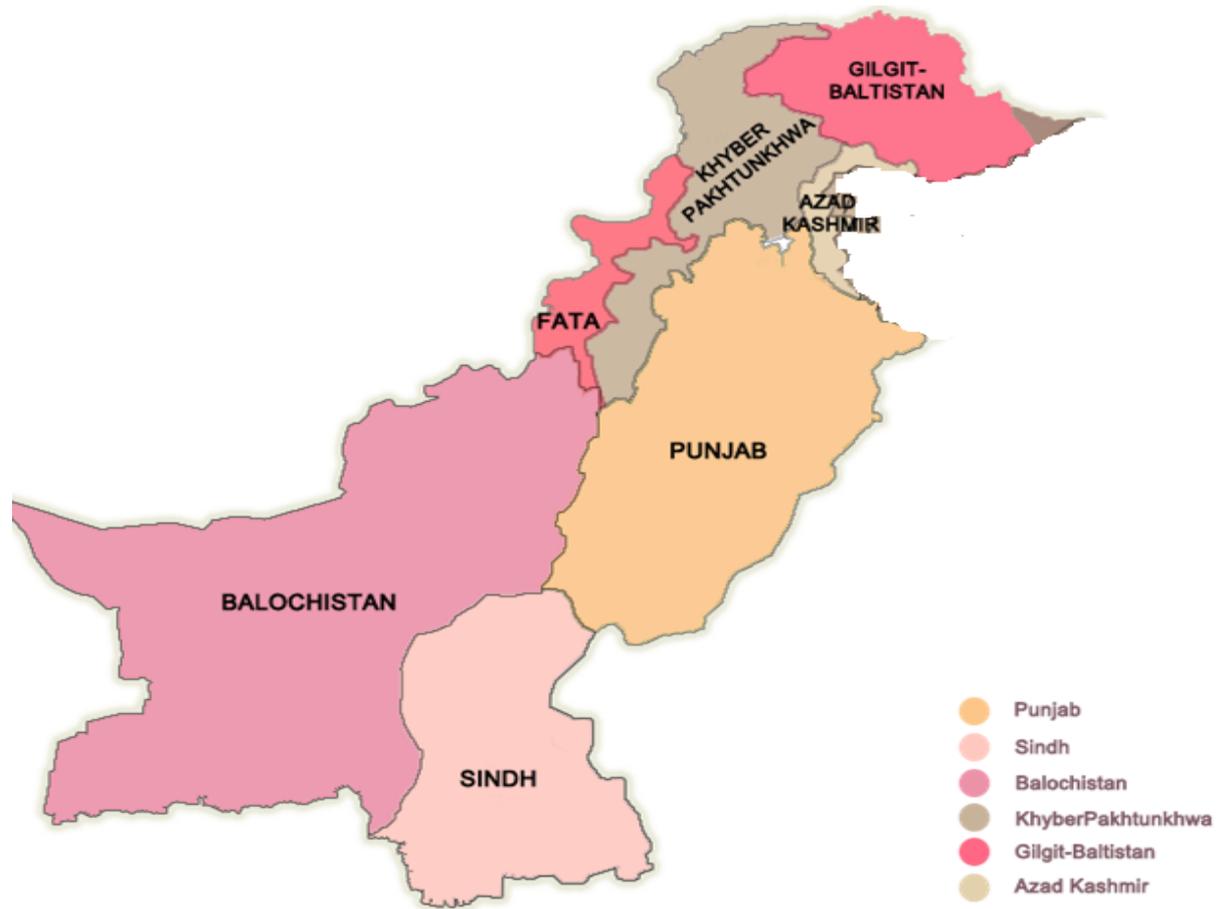
Figure 1. Map of Pakistan



<sup>35</sup> Ganguly 2001

<sup>36</sup> Lall 2008 106

Figure 2. Administrative Units of Pakistan



## 2.2 The historical and sociopolitical context of Pakistan and the Significance of 1979.

In general, most of Pakistani have a religious inclination. However, Pakistani's place huge emphasis on sectarian affiliation. One can argue that two oil-rich countries Iran and Saudi Arabia sponsored and fostered their respective ideology on Pakistani soil to gain regional influence and hegemony.<sup>37</sup> Iranian revolution promoted Shia sect and Afghan Jihad, promoted Saudi Arabia's Deoband and Wahhabi sect in Pakistan.<sup>38</sup> It can also be argued that proxy war between Iran and Saudi Arabia fired up sectarianism to unprecedented levels and promoted subtle religious intolerance and religious bigotry.<sup>39</sup>

It is pertinent to mention the importance of year 1979. International and national events occurred this year had affected the lives of billions, millions suffered and changed the outlook of world politics and security. The Iranian revolution of 1979 challenged Western secular ideas by religious values. In 1979, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan brought the religiously motivated war that inspired Muslims throughout the world to join Jihad against infidels. In 1979, while Muslims were celebrating new century according to Islamic calendar, one group of Muslim revivalists and reformists stormed the grand mosque of Mecca in Saudi Arabia in the quest to bring "religious and moral purification" to Saudi and Muslim society as a whole.<sup>40</sup>

Those events in the longer run have changed the face of modern day terrorism, due to the butterfly effect. Developed under the backdrop of multiple realities and context, the butterfly effect reflects cause and effect relationship of variables. "This relates to non-linearity in the revelation that the slightest change in one place can cause tremors everywhere else. ---- This has been referred to as the 'butterfly effect' the notion that the flap of an insect's wing in China could charge the course of a hurricane in Haiti a week later".<sup>41</sup> It seems quite bizarre, but substantial evidence is present to support that ideology born in that era has its footprints in today's terrorism in many other places.

In 1979, USSR invaded Afghanistan and Pakistan became an ally of USA. Pakistan provided safe haven to launch covert operation and trained Mujahedeen's to fight against communism threat. In 2001, Pakistan again forged a close relationship with USA by providing all necessary and available means to fight against the "freedom fighters" (mujahideen), now turned "terrorists" (Taliban). Suddenly the USA was fighting an insurgency in Afghanistan which was (and is still) operating through safe havens in Pakistan. Pakistan remained an ally of USA, although it had switched side.<sup>42</sup>

Probabilities are higher that history will repeat itself and "many suggest that the outcome will be the same for America and its NATO allies as it was for the Soviet Union—ultimate defeat at the hands of the insurgency".<sup>43</sup> If this happens, the future of the region will remain uncertain as was the case in 1989.

In 1979, Iran, Shia-dominated neighboring country experienced revolution that transformed Iran into an Islamic republic. The Iranian spiritual leader wanted similar political change in

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<sup>37</sup> Hussain 2010

<sup>38</sup> Riaz 2008

<sup>39</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>40</sup> Hegghammer and Lacroix 2007

<sup>41</sup> Davies 2013 p22

<sup>42</sup> Riedel 2010

<sup>43</sup> Riedel 2010

Iraq and other countries where Shia Muslim have their presence.<sup>44</sup> Pakistan hosts the second largest Shia Muslim population after Iran, while it remains a Sunni-dominated country.<sup>45</sup> Majority Sunni Muslim phenomenon attracted the considerable attention especially from Saudi Arabia. Billions of dollars were poured into Pakistani's Madrasah to teach them Sunni values and primarily Sunni sub-sect values of Wahhabis or Salafism. Polarization based on sectarian values created an enormous rift within Pakistani society, and sectarian terrorism surged after the mid-1990s, when the war ended in Afghanistan.<sup>46</sup>

Pakistan itself was experiencing political turmoil in 1977, when a military regime ousted the civilian political government and hanged the elected civilian prime minister in 1979. In a desperate search for international acceptance and legitimization of martial law, a myopic approach was adopted. Pakistan became battlefield for the proxy wars. For global hegemony the USA and the USSR were advancing their interest and for regional and religious domination, Saudi Arabia and Iran were up against each other.<sup>47</sup>

All the major events in neighboring countries and internal political power struggle forced the military regime to use all the available means for political survival. For this reason the then government and subsequent governments changed the curriculum to achieve their long-term political goal.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Xavier 1997

<sup>45</sup> Yusuf 2012

<sup>46</sup> Hussain 2010

<sup>47</sup> Lall 2008

<sup>48</sup> Fair 2008

### 2.2.1 Education

Education encompasses of intra- and inter-personal communication, reflective thinking, and self-development.<sup>49</sup> Lucy Becket noted that historically, education was used as a method to teach students to make rational, sound judgment and assist them to “search for God”.<sup>50</sup>

British educationalist, Sir Kenneth Robinson argues that existing education system was designed and developed for a different age, i.e. the industrial revolution and the enlightenment. According to him, the educational process is regarded as like an industrial process. Children get an education in batches, and their age is the basic determined rather than their intellect to be granted admission in any grade. Arguably, the main purpose of education is to prepare, train and equip individuals to perform the task of daily life. Instead, modern education made them “industrial and commercial bosses, gaffers, time-keepers, and cash register”.<sup>51</sup> Students were advised by a system that destined to become supervisors to oversee the labors of others. One can argue that the primary motivation to acquire education is to find suitable and lucrative job.<sup>52</sup>

With the development of civilization, educational institutions were evolved i.e. schools, Madrasahs colleges, universities. These institutes became the part of a mass education system. General perception is that mass education is as old as human civilization. However, the striking fact is that, both mass education and coca cola emerged in the 19th century.<sup>53</sup> Robinson also noted that education is a part of social service and the state runs educational facility through tax payer’s money for the benefits of its citizens.<sup>54</sup> One political dimension of education is that it plays an important role to forge national, religious and ethnic identities. Moreover, education also constructs the belief of “inter-group relations”<sup>55</sup> and acts as a primary source of socialization.<sup>56</sup> Nayyar and Salim suggest that educating children is a “nation building process” to form a shared identity and sense of belonging.<sup>57</sup> Primary subjects like history, language studies, social and religious studies are used to enrich the children’s knowledge of the culture, religion, and languages of the nation.

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<sup>49</sup> Korostelina 2008

<sup>50</sup> Beckett 1993p1

<sup>51</sup> “What Is Education?” 1949p4

<sup>52</sup> Robinson n.d.

<sup>53</sup> Davies 2013

<sup>54</sup> Kirk 2007

<sup>55</sup> Korostelina 2008

<sup>56</sup> “What Is Education?” 1972

<sup>57</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

### 2.2.2 Overview of Pakistani Education system

Pakistan is a federal territory with substantial provincial autonomy. Education is provincial subject and its affairs managed by four provinces, Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan. Each province has their ministry of education, Bureau of curriculum and textbook board that publishes books. Islamabad is the capital of Pakistan, and it has its educational board. Through the Federal Ministry of Education Islamabad also manages the educational affairs of three territories, namely Islamabad Capital Territory, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and Federally Administered Northern Areas.<sup>58</sup> Federal Ministry of Education is responsible for the development of curriculum and policy making. It also makes sure that the educational content of textbooks should adhere to “nationalist discourse based on the “Ideology of Pakistan”.”<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, it is incumbent on all provinces to seek approval of the educational content from curriculum wing of Federal Ministry of Education In Islamabad before publishing textbooks.

Constitution of Pakistan states that primary education is free and compulsory for all nationals.<sup>60</sup> However, this provision of the constitution has not been achieved so far. The World Bank in 2012 reported that only 93% of children are enrolled in schools. Keeping in mind of ghost schools and fake schools that exist only on paper to claim the funds from IGOs and NGOs, the number may be much lower. The report also presents a dismal picture that Pakistan invests only 2.2% of Gdp on education which is lowest amongst South Asia and world in general.<sup>61</sup> Hathway noted that “Pakistan’s education indicators remained among the worst in the Asian region, and there was no sign of progress.”<sup>62</sup>

The U.N Human development Index ranks Pakistan on 142 out of 177 countries across the world. The poor performance of Pakistan on the index reflects its educational commitments.<sup>63</sup> In addition to above said problems, social structures of the country also aggravate the problem such as “(rich and the poor), area of residence (rural or urban) and gender (male versus female)”.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, Pakistan’s education has a threefold division on the social class level. Poor students from rural areas with no access to public education are forced to study at madrasah education system. Students belong to low-income class do school at public sector. Middle and high-income class choose private sector. Medium of instruction within the education sector is an area of confusion. Madrasah and one stream of public education use Urdu, whereas other streams of public and private sector use English. Thus, a difference of language of the medium of instruction creates a class gap.<sup>65</sup> Admittedly, English is highly desirable to get decent jobs and a matter of social prestige. Furthermore, Madrasahs system and modern school system have different ideologies and pedagogic styles. Thus, this educational system produce two very distinct social classes with different world views. Religious school students want a theocratic Pakistan, whereas modern school students mostly want to see a secular Pakistan.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> McClure 2009

<sup>59</sup> Rosser 2003p32

<sup>60</sup> Saigol 2010

<sup>61</sup> “World Bank, School Enrollment, Primary.” n.d.

<sup>62</sup> Hathaway 2005 p139.

<sup>63</sup> R. Hathaway 2005

<sup>64</sup> Zia 2003p166

<sup>65</sup> Zia 2003

<sup>66</sup> Hosena, Ahmad, and Arif 2011

The figure below illustrates Pakistani educational system division into three streams such as madrasah, private and public education.

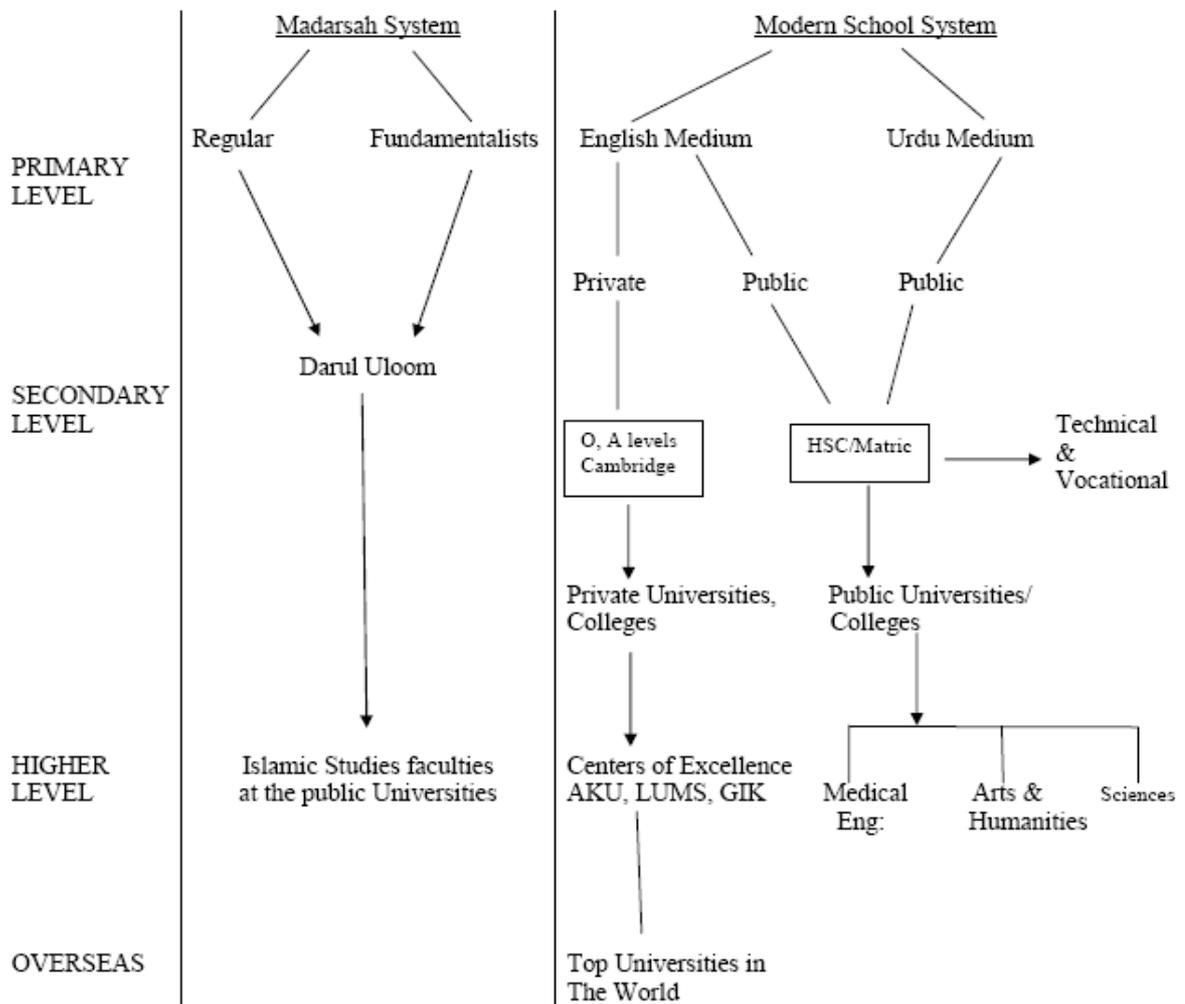


Figure 3. Fragmentation and Segmentation of Education System (Hussein, 2015).

Educationalist Riaz noted that the Pakistani education system can be divided into five distinct levels: Primary, middle, secondary, higher secondary, and tertiary.<sup>67</sup> Primary education is from grade one to five. The middle is from grade six to eight; the secondary is from grade nine to ten. Higher secondary refers to grade eleven and twelve, and tertiary education refers to university education.<sup>68</sup> According to World Bank report, 73% of students are enrolled in public schools, 26% are in private schools and only 1% are attending classes in madrassas.<sup>69</sup>

### 2.2.3 Madrasahs Education

During the early times of Islam, mosque was the place for worship and teaching of Islam. This tradition survived over the centuries and still continues to hold a special position in Pakistan.<sup>70</sup> Mosques are visible in every city, town, and village. It is common practice that after prayer time's mosques give teaching of Quran and children take part in it. Till late 1970s, families and community were responsible for religious education for young ones. However, in 1979 policy was introduced to build Madrasahs inside or close to mosques. The main purpose was to teach exclusively religious education and filled the gap where public schools do not exist.<sup>71</sup>

The first formal madrasah was founded in the 10th century in Khurasan in the eastern part of Iran.<sup>72</sup> The term "Madrasahs" was derived from the Arabic language which means a "school".<sup>73</sup> "Madaris is the plural of Madrasah in Urdu language. Madrasahs is an exclusive religious school and is considered to be an alternate for mainstream education for poor students.

The exact number of "Madrasahs" is unknown because no reliable source is available, and most of them are unregistered. Speculation and estimation about the number of "Madrasahs" vary from thousands to tens of thousands.<sup>74</sup> Largely, Madrasahs education is personal in nature, and the emphasis is on with whom one studied rather than on institution. It is common in Pakistan that religious charismatic individuals found madrasahs.<sup>75</sup>

Madrasah education is not uniform in Pakistan but varies from province to province. These Madrasahs do not follow the ministry of education's prescribed curriculum. However, Madrasahs educational curriculum is designed by their educational board based on eighteenth centuries scholar's Waliullah and Nizami's thought's and interpretation of Islam.<sup>76</sup> During the 18th century educational theme was designed in such a way to promote confidence and optimism amongst student against anticolonial struggle through the acts of Jihad.<sup>77</sup>

Religious education through madrasahs caters the need of the sizeable population and madrasahs hold a prominent position in the Pakistani society.<sup>78</sup> Pakistan is poor, ill-governed state and education for masses is not on a priority list. Rural and peripheral regions are the most neglected part. Under these circumstances Madrasahs provides hope for education to students.

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<sup>67</sup> Riaz 2008

<sup>68</sup> Riaz 2008

<sup>69</sup> "World Bank, School Enrollment, Primary." n.d.

<sup>70</sup> Zia 2003

<sup>71</sup> Zia 2003

<sup>72</sup> McClure 2009

<sup>73</sup> Pathan and Mujawar, 2012 p26

<sup>74</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>75</sup> Andrabi et al. 2010

<sup>76</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>77</sup> Berkey 2007

<sup>78</sup> Zia 2003

Madrasahs quality of education is poor and fairly outdated and do not prepare students to take active part in “modern economies and social life”.<sup>79</sup>

In Pakistan, madrasah education system was designed in such way that student, teacher, and other stakeholders became a victim of “state constructed poverty”.<sup>80</sup> The question arises, why parent chose to send their children to these Madrasahs. I believe that they are two reasons. First, Alexander Evans, in his article very briefly answered: “For young village kids, it may be their only path to literacy. For many orphans and the rural poor, Madrasahs provide essential social services: education and lodging for children who otherwise could well find themselves the victims of forced labor, sex trafficking, or other abuse”.<sup>81</sup> Second, students from average income family go to madrasah education with the positive intent to receive an Islamic education.<sup>82</sup>

Madrasahs have a long history, and cultural sensitivity suggest that with all the shortcoming. Madrasahs are still mostly relevant to Pakistani society. For people living in extreme poverty and deprivation Madrasahs education is providing some relieve and hope to poor and for some who wanted to receive an Islamic education. With all the shortcomings Madrasah still provides some opportunities to its students and graduates. Some become a preacher to proselytize, teach religion, and some may become political workers of Islamic political parties.<sup>83</sup>

General perception about madrasah education is that it combined with violence and militancy.<sup>84</sup> During medieval period, Madrasahs was the place to preserve and promote Muslim culture. Madrasahs was considered to be the center of knowledge and institution of higher education. However during colonial era few Madrasahs were radicalizing to fight for self-determination. Later, Madrasahs were divided on sectarian lines and dogmatic beliefs in Pakistan are “held sacred”.<sup>85</sup> Based on the sectarian beliefs following Madrasahs educational board emerged.

#### 2.2.4 Central Boards of Madrasahs in Pakistan

Name established	Sub-Sect	Place	Year
WafaqulMadaris	Deobandi (Sunni)	Multan	1958
TanzimulMadaris	Barelvi (Sunni)	Lahore	1960
WafaqulMadaris	Shia( Shia)	Lahore	1962
Wafaq-ul-Madaris-alSalafia	Ahl-i-Hadith(Wahabi) (Sunni)	Faisalabad	1978
Rabta-ul-Madaris-allIslamia	Jamat-i-Islami (Sunni)	Lahore	1986

<sup>79</sup> Berkey 2007p21

<sup>80</sup> Turner 1986

<sup>81</sup> Evans 2006

<sup>82</sup> McClure 2009

<sup>83</sup> R. Hathaway 2005

<sup>84</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>85</sup> Jalal 2009p276

Despite having all these boards and regulatory authorities, individual Madrasahs can decide and choose its curricula. Textbooks used in Madrasahs are timeworn some are even date back to 13th and 14th century on the subjects of philosophy and other related topics.

### **2.2.5 Public Schools**

Public schools are run by the state through federal and provincial support and are available to all Pakistani citizens. In Pakistan, approximately there are 155,000 public schools that cater the needs of the vast population.<sup>86</sup> There are thirty-two educational boards that are administrated by the government. In addition, there is one private Agha Khan Board, which is administrated by the University Of Agha Khan. It is a general perception with exception to Army schools that Public schools do not provide the quality of education, poorly administrated, use poorly written curriculum and always underperformed. In addition, factor such as high population growth, marked by high dropout rates and non-accountability are additional complications for public schools.<sup>87</sup>

### **2.2.6 Private Schools**

Private schools are assumed to be a best possible alternative to the state-run education system. In general, private schools are considered to be the provider of quality of teaching. In Pakistan, there are approximately 45,000 private schools that provide tuition to roughly 23% of Pakistani children. Private schools are expensive but remain a popular choice among masses. Former State Bank Governor of Pakistan Ishrat Husain, in his essay Education, Employment and Economic Development in Pakistan mention that the number of private schools increased nearly “tenfold between 1983 and 2000, from 3,300 to 32,000”.<sup>88</sup>

Before the birth of Pakistan, western style education was provided by Christian missionary schools to cater the need of elite class. This phenomena is still persistent, but local private schools are also competing missionary schools. Expensive private schools and Christian missionary schools mostly follow the curriculum of an internationally recognized qualification designed for schools such as Cambridge O and A Level. Other economical private schools follow national and provisional curriculum. The experience of Co-education is been observed better in private schools than in public schools.

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<sup>86</sup> R. Hathaway 2005

<sup>87</sup> R. Hathaway 2005

<sup>88</sup> R. Hathaway 2005p3

## Chapter 3. Methodology

“Textbook research would be conducted blindly if it left out of consideration the complex conditioning elements of the relationship of political interest of legitimation, need of identification as well as historical, geographical and political consciousness. It thus develops into an interdisciplinary research activity in which historians, geographers, social scientists, and educationalists have an equal share”. Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.<sup>89</sup>

### 3.1 Introduction

The chapter explains the research methodology applied for this thesis and evaluates the data collection and analysis techniques used in this study. The chapter will highlight philosophical assumptions which are considered an integral part of research. Attempt is also made to constitute the validity of research and the research technique. After careful review of theoretical assumptions, hermeneutic content analysis, critical discourse analysis, semi structured interviews, research methodology, interpretive stance and case study, research design, data preparation, limitation, reliability and validity, and a brief summary of the expectations associated to the theoretical framework were discussed to underpin this research. This study aims to examine the content of educational curricula practiced in public, private and Madrasahs schools in Pakistan in the double context one is historical and second is contemporary to develop better understanding and to identify the extreme and radical content that may shape and promote violent attitude among the students.

- Research reports on Pakistani educational curricula.
- Documentaries on terrorism. Recorded interviews of Islamic religious scholars on Jihad& Martyrdom.
- Books on the subject of terrorism and Jihad. Chapter four will present the interplay of both the concepts

I have reviewed 10 research reports and journal articles which were conducted on the textbooks from grades 1-10 from all of the four provinces on mainstream and Madrasahs curricula. I have selected the reports which written after 2001 because 9/11 commission recommended Pakistani religious school Madrasahs have links with terrorism. Since 2001 numerous reports have been published and some which are balanced are the part of this study. Reports selection was based on Scott’s criteria, which is *authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning*.<sup>90</sup> To maintain the authenticity and credibility, selected reports and articles were written by independent, expert and experienced academics on the subject of education based on extensive fieldwork and content analysis of curricula. Special care has been taken that selected authors are not influenced by each other’s interpretations. Chosen reports and articles aimed to highlight the shortcoming of the curricula and made recommendation so students can get

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<sup>89</sup> Rosser 2003 p31

<sup>90</sup> Scott 2014

quality of education. Few of the selected reports also became the part of governmental education reform plan of 2006 and 2009. This study is not a representative of whole Pakistani educational curricula refer to chapter 2 for the fragmentation of the educational system. I have chosen to study the revised curricula from the period of 1979 to 2013.

I have also conducted semi-structured interviews with university professors and a group discussion among 6 students, recorded by me. The information gained in these interviews/sessions will not be presented and quoted verbatim, but used as background and context information, useful for understanding curricula in context.

I have interviewed six students in groups two from Christian missionary, Public and private school each. Three university professors were also interviewed individually. Documentaries are thoroughly reviewed and studied *Terror in Mumbai*, *The Qur'an and The Kalashnikov*, *The Secret War on Terror*. Interviews of Pakistani religious scholar Javed Ahmed Ghamdi on *Qital*, *Jihad and Terrorism* were also examined.

The interviews were a preparatory work, so I conducted interviews first and then I studied curricula and research reports on curricula.

### **3.2 Justification of Research Method**

Qualitative method can be defined as “a research that involves analyzing and interpreting texts and interviews and observations in order to discover meaningful patterns descriptive of a particular phenomenon”.<sup>91</sup> Noted scholars such as Domagan, Fleming, Henning, Van Rensburg, Smit, Denzin, Lincoln and Richardson, argue that qualitative research is the best application available to study human learning. Qualitative research “relies on linguistic rather than numerical data, and employs meaning-based rather than statistical forms of data analysis”.<sup>92</sup>

This research will explore human learning, experience and meaning behind the text to investigate the effects of extreme and radical educational content on Pakistani culture and society. One can say that quantitative method can quantify how many people voted (or replied for opinion polls). However, quantitative method cannot provide explanation about the complexity involved in *how* people think, or elucidate the relation between educational content that may promote violence and terrorism. As a qualitative researcher, I have also attempted to shed light on the process as a whole rather than stressing upon the quantitative aspects for outcome of the study. Qualitative method has been contested, especially with regard to researcher’s subjectivity, biases, credibility of sources and representation issues of focus group.<sup>93</sup> If these concerns are dealt appropriately, and in a sensitive and careful manner, then qualitative method can provide essential information that quantitative methods alone cannot provide.

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<sup>91</sup> Auerbach and Silverstein 2003, p.3.

<sup>92</sup> Elliott Robert and Timulak Ladislav 2005, p147.

<sup>93</sup> Guba 1981

### 3.3 Hermeneutic content analysis

Hermeneutics emerged as method in late 19<sup>th</sup> century to interpret, explain and translate legal text and scripture such as the bible.<sup>94</sup> It is believed that complex and biblical text cannot be understood and comprehended simply by reading and it requires the assistance from the skilled person to read, explain and interpret. According to Coreth and Dilthey the purpose of hermeneutics is to understand the text and complex context in its totality and higher rationality.<sup>95</sup> Interpretation of the text should be made in such a way that it should not lose the meaning of the original text and can address the need of the contemporary world. Hermeneutic practice is not exclusive to religion and it has answers for political and social questions.

Hirsch's suggest that interpretation of text is process of using consciousness rather than reading words or text.<sup>96</sup> I have employed a hermeneutic approach to study jihad and martyrdom in the light of Qur'anic teaching as a whole. I have examine the Qur'anic verse which used in textbook within the political context of Pakistan. I have examined that the concept and text of Jihad and martyrdom that emerged in early days of Islam has different historical context. One can argue that the text remain same but context has been change in this contemporary world. Islam as a divine religion does not require protection from human or country. I have very briefly discusses about this subject in chapter five.

According to Dilthey, textual analysis and interpretation is a process of reconstruction.<sup>97</sup> As a researcher I have selected distinct content from the curricula within its individual's context and took the whole background into account. Individual context refers to the internal political development of 1979s and whole backgrounds refers to regional and global political developments.

The point of objectivity in textual interpretation is to make distinction between fact and values. I made the analysis of historical facts which were selective and exclusive to Pakistan and were transmitting narrow social and cultural values. I gave equal importance to the analysis of the text and historical context. I have selected the text from the curricula which were created to convey specific message. Hermeneutic propose our understating of something is based on existing knowledge that we possess already. Gregor Ziemer's *Education for Death* describes the educational method used by Nazi Germany which also focused on the glorification of war.<sup>98</sup> It promoted the importance of martyrdom and self-sacrifice for the German cause. Based on this example it is prudent to teach young students about cooperation, tolerance and mutual existence rather than teaching absolute values. Though, the process hermeneutic remain opens for modification, correction.<sup>99</sup>

It can be argued that author communicate to their audiences through text. The intention of the author can be reflected by the text and it is the responsibility of a researcher to discover the

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<sup>94</sup> Palmer 1969

<sup>95</sup> Dilthey and Jameson 1972

<sup>96</sup> Palmer 1969

<sup>97</sup> Dilthey and Jameson 1972

<sup>98</sup> Bartov 1998

<sup>99</sup> Dilthey and Jameson 1972

meaning behind the text. Authors of the textbook of the curricula of Pakistan used their own imagination and consciousness to interpret the concepts and text of Quran. With reference to non-religious text of the curricula author's intention can be evaluated by their writing. During the process of evaluation, author's understating about conflict, perception of outer world and motivation of the than military ruler Gen. Zia was determined. It can be argued that text and word of the curricula were representing author's subjectivity and at large government political will. Hermeneutic requires special consideration for the social environment in which text develop, generate, and arose and its interpretation. Valid interpretation of the text or concept requires great degree of understanding regarding subject and author's intention.

### **3.4 Content Analysis**

I have used content analysis technique to explore the deeper layers of meaning embedded in Pakistan's education curricula. Ole R. Holsti (1969) defines that content analysis is "any technique for making inference by systematically and objectively identifies special characteristic of message".<sup>100</sup> Content analysis makes inference about the message of sender and messages effects on receipt. Content analysis of religious and mainstream curricula explored that it some of its values are extreme and radical.

Content analysis of research reports on the textbooks was made to analyze the descriptive, radical and extreme messages. I have examined the messages martial values, marginalization of religious minorities and encouragement towards intolerance.

I have allocated three colors to distinguish the text. Green has been allocated to the neutral or descriptive text, whose messages is peaceful. Orange has been assigned to radical content that can be heavily influenced by context and social climate of the country. In peace time, it disseminates the peaceful message and in hostile or warlike situation it can shape violent attitude. Red color is allocated to the extreme content that is biased and may favor violence and terrorism against the member of outgroup.<sup>101</sup>

Textbooks also contains positive messages with reference to Non-Muslim. Due to the limitation of space positive messages are not the part of this study.

### **3.5 Critical discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis assists researcher to explore the hidden meaning underlie text which is 'often out of sight' to reveal "values, position and perspective".<sup>102</sup> I have selected critical discourse analysis to highlight the effects of educational content within Pakistan's social, cultural and political context. Critical discourse analysis assisted me to explore the meaning of Jihad and martyrdom culture within the context of Pakistan. Mass media also present a favorable picture of Jihad and Martyrdom to young people see for past advertisements appendix

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<sup>100</sup> Holsti 1969 p601

<sup>101</sup> North et al. 1963

<sup>102</sup> Dijk 2003

3. Songs are popular in mass media to praise, promote and acknowledge the sacrifice of martyrs. Poems, paintings, photographs of martyrs, dummy fighter jet are visible on roads.

Rogers noted that discourses “are always socially, politically, racially and economically loaded”. I have done a thorough and comprehensive analysis of contents of text books to study the political ideology and biases against the non-Muslim. For political reasons students were inoculated that non- Muslim, Indian and West are worst enemies of Pakistan and Islam. Content of curricula may have some racial content against Hindus by highlighting caste system of Hinduism. Form economic prospective teachings of Jihad and martyrdom under soviet invasion of Afghanistan earned a considerable amount military and financial assistance. Jihadi movements against Indian occupied Kashmir provided the employment opportunity to those who returned from Afghan war. Furthermore, it was also an economical way to engage Indian army against non-regular forces such as Jihadist.<sup>103</sup> In chapter four and five extensive discussion has been presented on the variables of terrorism.

### **3.6 Preparatory work. Semi Structured Interviews with educators and students in Pakistan.**

The fieldwork was conducted between August 2013 and September 2013 in Karachi, Pakistan. Karachi is the largest and most populous city of Pakistan having approximately 20 million inhabitant. Karachi and is also called as commercial capital and capital of Sindh province. It is situated on the coast of the Arabian Sea on southeastern part of Pakistan. Reason I have selected Karachi for study area to get multiple prospective realities. Since, Karachi is the hub of economic and cultural activities and home for almost all the ethnic and religious communities. This gave me a unique opportunity to interact with member of diverse communities in particular to the participant of opposing ideologies and different thought of school. I only restricted to one province because provinces such as KPK and Baluchistan was not safe because ongoing military operation against terrorism.

To investigate the context of terrorism, and how educators and students perceive the curricula in this context. I did semi structured interviews with professors and students, so tap their views of the main concepts of this study, such as jihad, martyrdom and terror/terrorism. The fieldwork and interviews provided useful contextual and *background knowledge* to recollect the intention for the revision of curricula for this study. However, the data from the fieldwork and interviews are not analyzed explicitly anywhere in this thesis (for details of my fieldwork and interviews-see appendix).

### **3.7 The Interpretive research approach**

The interpretive research paradigm can also be considered as anti-positivism. It can be argued that interpretivism was developed to counter positivism to encourage constructivism that builds the ability amongst individuals to construct meaning.<sup>104</sup> Philosophical assumptions suggest that interpretive research can be split into three classes and four categories. The classes are positivist, interpretive and critical. The categories are phenomenology, ethno-methodology,

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<sup>103</sup> Stern 2000

<sup>104</sup> Geertz 1973

philosophy of language and philosophy of hermeneutics.<sup>105</sup> For this study I opted to use a *descriptive and interpretive* approach and apply hermeneutics to study *Jihad and martyrdom*.

Interpretive research can be best understood by Walsham's definition: "*Interpretive methods of research start from the position that our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction by human actors and that this applies equally to researchers. Thus, there is no objective reality which can be discovered by researchers and replicated by others, in contrast to the assumptions of positivist science*".<sup>106</sup> Willis suggests that interpretive researchers challenge the fundamentals of knowledge in assuming that there is no absolute knowledge. Therefore, existing curricula of Pakistan is not absolute document and can be rectified.

Interpretive researcher attempts to construct meaning from the field of study by examining minute details of the concerned subject. Interpretive research is based on the hypothesis that researcher should acquire deeper knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon while staying within the sociocultural context.<sup>107</sup> There is possibility that researcher may have to face multiple social realities because of multiple interpretations of a single phenomenon. This study will examine the educational curricula within the context of Pakistan. I have studied the historical account of socio-political reason under which curriculum was revised. I have very briefly mentioned the historical background in chapter 2. As a researcher I have encountered multiple realities through multiple interpretations of Jihad and other religious teachings.

It is the researcher's responsibility to make analysis of acquired data and develop understanding about the phenomena in order to present his/her interpretation in such a way that it gives meaning and credibility in the eyes of informant and outside world.<sup>108</sup> An interpretive approach offers a unique opportunity to researcher to develop the interpretation of the phenomena, by personally experiencing it and getting insight from those who experienced it.<sup>109</sup> I was born and completed my education in Pakistan. I have studied the curricula as a student and a researcher. I did my schooling at Christian missionary school and had the opportunity to interact with other religious minorities in a Muslim majority country. This gave me a unique opportunity to get to know minorities and their concerns in my early childhood. As a researcher, I again got the opportunity to learn more about the grievance and prejudice held against non-Muslim in Muslim society.

Orlikowski and Baroudi (2014) suggest that interpretive view of knowledge assumes that "*social process is not captured in hypothetical deductions, covariance's and degrees of freedom. Instead, understanding social process involves getting inside the world of those generating it.*"<sup>110</sup> Interpretive approach suggests that in reality, social action and social

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<sup>105</sup> Kumar, 1999

<sup>106</sup> Walsham 1993 p5

<sup>107</sup> Shah and Corley 2006

<sup>108</sup> Geertz 1973

<sup>109</sup> Shah and Corley 2006

<sup>110</sup> Orlikowski and Baroudi 2014

phenomena are constructed by social actors, and their intentional actions give meaning to it.<sup>111</sup> In addition, interpretive research stresses that analysis cannot be performed in isolation and it has to take social context and other factors into account. Interpretive approach promotes subjective concept and understanding of an individual and its relation to world or field. An interpretive approach also suggests that veracity of knowledge and social construction are interwoven. Thus, identity, language and document are the products of approach.<sup>112</sup> I have very briefly mention the historical context under which educational curricula was revised. The military of General Zia envisaged the Islamization through creating Islamic identity and refutation of opposing ideologies.

Kaplan and Maxwell emphasize that interpretive approach suggests that human response to complex issues is not based on dependent, independent and predefined variables but is case specific.<sup>113</sup> Topic such as education and terrorism and any connection between them is a complex subject. This study has also use case specific approach to avoid generalizing terrorism and its motivation. An interpretive approach encourages subjective base reasoning to explore the meaning of social action. From an external perspective terrorism is anti-social behavior However, from an internal perspective terrorism is pro-social behavior where terrorist engages and communicates outside world through the acts of terrorism, in this regard the interpretive approach will help understand their action within their cultural context of Pakistan. Political discourse analysis from 1979 onward will give better understanding of the privatization of violence through Jihad to fight against Afghanistan and engage Indian army with Jihadist in the most economical way on the Kashmir front.

Interpretive approach is also most likely to provide tool and mechanism to make critical analysis of social construction and will highlight the interaction of two important factors of research observation and interpretation. In the process of collecting data and information, the researcher makes observations about the events. At interpretation phase, the researcher seeks the meaning from collected data and draws conclusion based on findings. Researcher explores “who says what, to whom, how, and with what effect”<sup>114</sup>.

TerreBlanche and Durrheim suggest research process can be divided into three major research paradigms: ontology, epistemology and methodology.<sup>115</sup> Table 4.1 will illustrate the aspects of ontology, epistemology and methodology in this thesis. Ontology refers to stance towards the nature of reality of the researcher about the subject. Epistemology reflects the relation between researcher and participants and methodology used for this research.

**Table Number 4.1**

Factors	Description of curricula, verbatim quotations etc.
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<sup>111</sup> Orlikowski and Baroudi 2014

<sup>112</sup> Geertz 1973

<sup>113</sup> Bonnie Kaplan and Joseph A. Maxwell, 2005

<sup>114</sup> North and Holsti, 1963

<sup>115</sup> Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006

Purpose of Research	Explore the link between extreme and vague educational content to terrorism. How jihad and martyrdom shapes terrorism in Pakistan's context.
Ontology	Terrorism happens because terrorist and political grievance exist. Multiple realities exist because of different human experience, views, interpretations and experiences. Reality can be constructed through human actions. Explore how individuals view the social world while staying in natural setting.
Epistemology	Understanding and Interpretation of events that are influenced by interaction with social context. Promote a personal, cooperative form of data collection.
Methodology	Data collected through interviews, reports on educational curriculum. Research does not hide the values of researcher.

### 3.8 The Case study strategy

Case study as a technique is fairly common in qualitative research. Case study provides an opportunity to researcher to make in-depth and intensive study of units.<sup>116</sup> In addition, case study allows to interpret human experience in natural settings and to make subjective description about a group or institution in focus.<sup>117</sup> Stake suggests that “case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of object to be studied”.<sup>118</sup> Yin noted that a researcher could be benefited from case study when it is imperative to include the context of the subject. Therefore chapter 2 has discussed the details historical context under which study was conducted. Moreover, study of a subject bearing multiple realities or perspectives within its context generates more logical conclusion.<sup>119</sup> For this research, I have chosen case study to do intensive study of curriculum.

Yin suggests that case study is bounded by time frame and place.<sup>120</sup> I have selected Pakistan as place, and time frame limited to year 1979 to 2013. Case study provides flexibility to researcher to conduct study while away from site and seek assistance from secondary data.<sup>121</sup> For this study I have spent most of the time away from the field, as I have spent most of my time studying in Norway. Furthermore, I have sought assistance from secondary data, as these are presented in scientific reports on curriculum and education in Pakistan.

I have studied the process of Islamization of Pakistan's educational curriculum in “historical, cultural, political, and geo-strategic realities” to understand complexities.<sup>122</sup> In addition,

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<sup>116</sup> Gerring 2004

<sup>117</sup> Gillham 2000

<sup>118</sup> Stake 2000 p435

<sup>119</sup> Yin 2014

<sup>120</sup> Yin 2014

<sup>121</sup> Yin 2014

<sup>122</sup> Ahmad 2004 p43

curricula was thoroughly examined to find evidences of discriminatory lessons against out group. Merriam highlighted four important fundamentals of case study such as “particularistic, descriptive, heuristic, and inductive”.<sup>123</sup> For the purpose of this study ‘particularistic’ refers to particular area (Pakistan), topic (education and terrorism), and group in focus (students and teachers). My descriptions highlight the context under which extreme educational content was introduced. ‘Heuristics’ provide the philosophical lens for enhanced understanding of the terrorism as phenomenon. Finally, inductive allows the researcher (in this case to me) to adopt theory in a rational way to make analysis of data.

This research has adopted Stenhouse’s *evaluative case study approach*. By “evaluative” I mean: I will review “the merits and worth of policies” of Pakistan’s educational policies.<sup>124</sup> I have examined around ten reports which I have briefly mentioned in the literature review. I have selected these reports over other because of their impartially and wide circulation in academic circle to identify issues related to Pakistani curricula and terrorism.

Yin’s descriptive and explanatory case study approaches was also employed for this study. Descriptive “presents a complete description of phenomenon within its context” and it also allows researcher to collect the data before the selection of theory and formation of research questions.<sup>125</sup> However, descriptive studies still need theory to guide data collection procedures. It is prudent that “theory should be openly stated in advance and be the subject of review and debate and later serve as the ‘design’ for the descriptive case study. The more thoughtful the theory, the better the descriptive case study will be”.<sup>126</sup> I have selected a number of theories to conceptualize terrorism and highlighted the interplay of terrorism and identity that is shaped by education as well as informal socialization in Pakistan.

I have used Stake’s intrinsic strategy because of the particular nature of my case study. Previous research focused on level of education, income level, poverty, religion and many others assumptions that cause terrorism. This study will focus on **the content of curricula** to explore new possibility to counter terrorism. The intention for this type of study was not to construct theory but to highlight case intrinsic nature and interest of the study. Exploring the possibility that adverse education may contribute to shape violent attitudes amongst children’s is intrinsic in nature.

Case study can be divided into embedded and holistic designs. Embedded designs focus on the analysis of subunit(s). I adopted a holistic design for this research to understand the global nature of terrorism as phenomenon. The purpose of this study is to highlight the problems pertaining to extreme education and its repercussion on society. It is the hope of this study that Pakistan’s educational curricula will change to improve the standards of education. Extreme and hate content will be removed and replaced by peace education. This case study will include

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<sup>123</sup> Merriam 1998

<sup>124</sup> Stenhouse and Jean 1985 p50

<sup>125</sup> Yin 2014 p 5

<sup>126</sup> Yin 2014 p22

the text books from the all four provinces form grade 1 to grade 10. Analysis of extreme content wide range of subjects was selected such as Urdu, English, Pakistan Studies and Islamiyat.

### 3.9 Approached adopted for this case study

Criteria	Characteristics
Case study	Intrinsic: unique, peculiar and distinctive
Theoretical aims	Descriptive, interpretive, and critical
Number of case	Singular
Units design	Holistic: global

### 3.10 Research Design

The rationale behind a research design is to construct a coherent mechanism to test validity of data and finding. In addition, design will define order and shape the research structure. It provides detailed overview about the variables and factors involved in the research. Yin explains that “research design is an action plan for getting from *here* to *there*, where ‘*here*’ may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered and ‘*there*’ is some set of (conclusions) answers”.<sup>127</sup> Before I started, I made an extensive search for Masters and PhD thesis in Tromso University library and google scholar about this topic. However, there was dearth of research carried out on educational contents that help to promote violence and terrorism. Though, I found Krueger and Jitka’s research *Education , Poverty and Terrorism : Is There a Causal Connection ?*, in which they discounted factors such as level of education, poverty and economic reason as direct link with terrorism but recommended to study content of education as factor in rise of terrorism.<sup>128</sup>This research was meant to explore a new possibility to understand the link of terrorism with educational content. This study is open for scrutiny and correction.

### 3.11 Data Preparation

All studies dictate their data collection methods and techniques.<sup>129</sup> Geertz defines that “*what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to*”.<sup>130</sup> I obtained data from documentaries, curricula of textbooks and reports on educational curricula of Pakistan. I have selected recorded interview of prominent religious scholar Javed Ahmed Ghamidi to conceptualized jihad and martyrdom. Reason I selected him over other religious scholars is that he has been outspoken to vague concepts of jihad and martyrdom within the context of Pakistan. His strong criticism against violent jihad made him to emigrate from Pakistan because of life threats. He also argues that

<sup>127</sup> Yin 2014 p 19

<sup>128</sup> Krueger and Malec 2003

<sup>129</sup> Kawulich 2004

<sup>130</sup> Geertz 1973 p9

in modern times armed struggle in the name of Jihad can be practiced by state while the non-state actors are strictly forbidden to use any force.

I have added for the purpose of investigation a documentary relating to the terrorist incidents of 26/11 on Mumbai. Documentary (Terror in Mumbai) which is alleged to show terrorists acted in the name of so-called jihad and achieved martyrdom. This documentary shows the alleged conversation between terrorists and their mastermind in Pakistan. Terrorist handler was insisting that terrorist to kill more and more people and achieve the act of martyrdom. Since the incident has been under inquiry and discussions for several years by the authorities and agencies of the two countries (Pakistan and India), the true picture of the event is still hard to claim with certainty. However, this documentary is included in this research to illustrate the problems involved in the concept of martyrdom. *The Qur'an and The Kalashnikov*, highlighted the context of modern day Jihad. *The Secret War on Terror* was used to conceptualize terrorism. Data gathered through interviews and documentaries were put in orderly manner for verbatim quotations.

In the second phase, data was divided into distinctive meaning units. With regard to case study method two distinct units *formal* and *informal* were taken into account. My formal unit of analysis was the sentences in text book that were providing motivation and justification for violence in the name of religion and glorification of war.<sup>131</sup> Informal unit of analysis highlighted the peripheral area for this research.<sup>132</sup> I have made an attempt to analyze the government approved textbooks on history, language studies, social and religious studies. In the third phase redundant information was discarded. Letter code was allocated to each meaning units to categorize unit into different domains, in order to observe similarities and regularities.

### **3.12 Limitations**

This study heavily relied on secondary data, because of time and resource limitations. To examine, the curricula from all four provinces was an ambitious task. Therefore, this study build the finding on previous research conducted on education curricula of Pakistan because data was readily available. Reason to avoid primary sources to collect data from textbooks because it was difficult to obtain recent editions of educational curricula of Pakistan. In addition, constant change and revision in educational curricula was also a constant source of problem. With regard to Madrasahs curricula, I could not manage to get any information to Madrasahs which belong to Shia school of thought.

Unsatisfactory law and order situation in Pakistan and sensitive nature of the study required careful and adequate safety of all those who made contribution. In Pakistan, freedom of speech is limited in true sense and criticizing religion or specific schools of thought can bring serious problems. Therefore, interviewing and data collection for this sensitive topic has a risk associated with it. Absence of good primary sources was a major hurdle to trace the origin of Jihad and martyrdom movement in Pakistan. Finding the universally acceptable conceptual

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<sup>131</sup> Ahmad 2004

<sup>132</sup> Gerring 2004

books on Jihad and martyrdom and on terrorism was also a difficult task. Re-interpretation of the concept of Jihad and martyrdom was also a source of concern.

In the Muslim world and especially in Pakistan, studies on terrorism have been heavily criticized for only depicting a western version. In addition to that, Pakistani society is marked with high power distance which means a gap between ruling elites and the common man. Thus, it promotes deep resentment and reservation amongst masses about state’s version on terrorism because of trust deficit. Under these circumstances, it became difficult for data collection to select a perspective of what terrorism is.

### 3.13 Reliability and Validity

Common practice and understanding about reliability is that research results and findings can be repeated given the context is the same. Contrary to this, the reliability concept of qualitative method concentrate on “the fit between what researchers record as data and what actually occurs in the natural setting that is being researched”.<sup>133</sup> According to Merriam, the concepts of reliability and validity in qualitative studies are different from quantitative, where numbers and statistics have definite values. Qualitative studies focus on quality of research. Hence measuring the finding of qualitative research would be challenging task. However reliability can be judged by trustworthiness of research findings. Other strategy to assess the reliability by observing the attributes such as honesty, integrity of researcher, moral and auditable procedure of research will constitute reliability.<sup>134</sup> Reliability also demands that researcher should display a high degree of unbiased attitude during the data gathering process, maintain impartial while doing analysis, and avoid selective presentation of documentation.

Validity is important for research and raises the fundamental question: “Are we investigating what we think we are investigating”?<sup>135</sup> It is obligatory for a researcher to elaborate in detail about data collection and analysis in such manner that authenticity of entire research process can be established. Prime concern of validity is not about the secondary data itself, but the conclusion drawn from the data. Implementation of validity can be observed at two levels. First level is internal validity, where the researcher will decide which variable and factors to measure for relevancy of research. Second level is external validity where result and finding obtain from the research can be generalized.<sup>136</sup> However, uniqueness of case studies is a huge barrier for external validity. Results cannot be generalized because most of the cases are context specific, hence can only be compared to similar cases.

The following questions will address key concerns of reliability and validity in my study:

Focus	Measures taken

<sup>133</sup> Bryman and Burgess 1999

<sup>134</sup> Rossman and Rallis 2003

<sup>135</sup> Bassey 1999 p75

<sup>136</sup> Bassey 1999

Has secondary data been cross-checked with sources?	Cross check was exercised.
Data Accurateness	Accurate
Has competent person has contested and challenge the finding	Yes
Has research highlighted key concept to reader to earn their trust?	Yes
Language barriers	No but translation of key concepts (e.g. jihad, Shaheed, terrorism) to English can cause ambiguity due to culture differences
Can selected data be considered representative of entire curriculum?	No,
Curriculum changing factor	Political

### 3.14 Theoretical Framework

Theory is considered an integral part of research. For this study philosophical assumption was derived from interpretivism and hermeneutics. According to Dubin (1978), “*a theory tries to make sense of out of the observable world by ordering the relationships among elements that constitute the theorist’s focus of attention*”.<sup>137</sup> Theoretical frame will guide and provide a lens through which data will be interpreted, viewed and analyzed. It can be argued that research and theory are interlinked with each other. Research tests the theory in the light of results and assists the researcher to accept or seek modification and review. However, in interpretive tradition there is no correct and incorrect theory. Instead “interpretive research implicitly assumes that every person conducting a research study will have a unique interpretation of the results.”<sup>138</sup> Thus challenging theory will be a futile exercise. Nevertheless, the inductive approach of this study facilitated to test the theoretical assumptions and sought guidance. Theories also proved to be very helpful to elucidate the contested and complex concepts used in this research.

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<sup>137</sup> Dubin 1978 p26

<sup>138</sup> G Labianca, B Gray and DJ Brass, 2000, p241.

## **Chapter 4. Religiously motivated violence, Jihad and terrorism. The concepts, their meanings, and their relation to historical context.**

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the interplay of terrorism and the interpretation of Jihad which remains the ideological backbone behind Islamic extremism. The actions of violent jihadists seem deeply irrational, however, they have a particular rationale of their own that can only be understood if we take their actual grievances and political goals into consideration. This study purports to show that terrorists are rational actors whose seemingly irrational actions are well-calculated and executed for the purpose of achieving vague political objectives. The concept of Jihad is deeply embedded in Pakistani public discourse and culture as an almost unquestionable set of beliefs.

First part of the chapter will conceptualize and contextualize terrorism through theoretical lens. Second part of this chapter will discuss Jihad and Martyrdom within Pakistani contemporary history.

Alex Schmid, an expert on terrorism, considers terrorism a diverse, complex, contested and multifaceted phenomenon.<sup>139</sup> In terms of direct cause and effect, terrorism is circular rather than linear which implies a complex set of reasons behind it.<sup>140</sup> Terrorism is dependent on “demographic, economic and political deterrents” and as such, it reflects the circumstances under which terrorists live such as ideology, geography, time, psychology, moral and cultural values.<sup>141</sup> These underlying factors and variables may act alone or interdependently to produce terrorism.

This section of the chapter will limit its analysis to religiously motivated terrorism and its justification in Pakistan. In addition, it will provide a comparison between the rational choice theory and the orthodox theory. The rational choice theory will be used to shed more light on the jihadist perspective whereas the orthodox theory will help us highlight the state view on terrorism. Furthermore, the identity theory will provide us with the insight into the role of education in shaping and building identity and its connection with terrorism.

Terrorism as a global phenomenon only emerged in recent decades following the fall of the communism and the end of Cold War.<sup>142</sup> It was around this time that the religious zealots started posing a threat to the global security.<sup>143</sup> Eventually, a regional shift occurred, and South Asia replaced the Middle-East as the hotbed of religiously motivated terrorism.<sup>144</sup> Al Qaida was born and kept it safe havens for masterminds of 9/11 in South Asia.<sup>145</sup> Graphs illustrate the significant rise in terrorism in South Asia and especially in Pakistan since 2000.

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<sup>139</sup> Alex 2004

<sup>140</sup> Tirimanna 2007

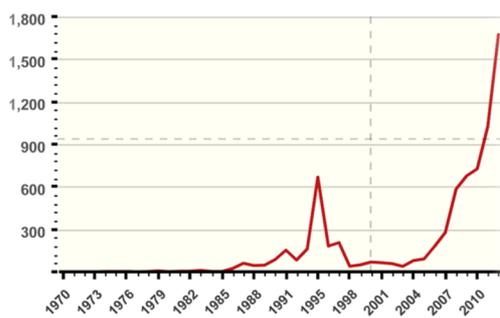
<sup>141</sup> Hussain 2010

<sup>142</sup> Hoffman 2006

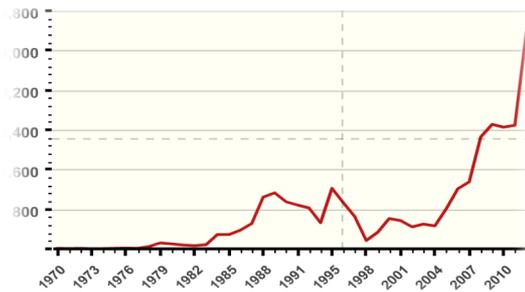
<sup>143</sup> Juergensmeyer 2003

<sup>144</sup> Stern 2000

<sup>145</sup> Erich Marquardt and Christopher Heffelfinger, 2008



South Asia



Pakistan

Fig.4 Source: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Global Terrorism Database

#### 4.1 An Overview of Terrorism

It is easy to speculate about the nature of terrorism.<sup>146</sup> Do terrorists intend to occupy territories or do they merely want to impose their own cultural and religious dominance and create a new social system? Are terrorists bloodthirsty? For a possible answer, we can defer to Professor Schmid and his holistic approach to the subject. He believes that terrorists do not aspire to occupy territories or kill in great numbers but rather “occupy our minds by creating a climate of fear”<sup>147</sup> in order to achieve their political goals.<sup>148</sup>

There has been a long debate about the importance of the universally accepted definition of terrorism. It has been anticipated that the universal definition will increase international cooperation amongst the states for the purpose of fighting against the menace of terrorism. However, the consensus on this issue has not been reached yet. The dynamic nature of terrorism has been fluid and prone to adjusting to the constraints of social and political transformation. Such changes were revolutions, the advancement of both capitalism and communism, the fight against the colonial rule, a variety freedom movements and religious fundamentalism in the post-colonial era. One commonality amongst revolutionaries, freedom fighters, liberation movements and self-defense movements is that they have all applied terrorism to challenge the security apparatus of governments. Terrorist methods and modes of operation against states have generated numerous definitions that suit and represent the states’ views. Terrorism challenges the fundamental notion of the social contract between the state and its citizens. According to the social contract theory, the state possesses the monopoly of violence and thus, it has the responsibility to provide security for all of its citizens.<sup>149</sup> In that sense, when non-state actors practice violence for political, religious and other ulterior motives, their actions are considered to be illegitimate and labeled as the acts of terrorism.<sup>150</sup> As opposed to the modern

<sup>146</sup> Hoffman 2006

<sup>147</sup> Alex, 2004, p207

<sup>148</sup> Hoffman 2006

<sup>149</sup> Bouhana and Wikstrom 2008

<sup>150</sup> Franks 2009

era, methods and causes of terrorism were vastly different during the periods of industrial revolution and anti-colonial resistance. Italian revolutionary leader, Pisacane promoted the theory of ‘propaganda by deed’. He acknowledged that through violence and terrorism message can be disseminated to a larger audience to attract masses attention and gather support for the cause.<sup>151</sup>

One can see the reflection of today’s terrorism in the ancient Chinese saying that “Kill one, [to] frighten ten thousand.”<sup>152</sup> Juergensmeyer, a scholar of religious studies, also put an emphasis on this idea and asserted that “terrorism without its horrified witnesses would be as pointless as a play without an audience”.<sup>153</sup> In modern day, terrorist individuals with extreme values are ready to take live and sacrifice their own for a cause. Terrorists tend to utilize media sensationalism to disseminate their message to the masses. Terrorist activity anywhere cannot be considered in isolation. It rather has far-reaching implications felt across the globe.

The entire world has witnessed the terrorists’ performance during the 9/11 attack and the 26/11 attack in Mumbai, India. In modern times, media have enabled terrorists to have a far greater reach than in the past. With their actions being broadcast on television, millions or even billions of people get affected in addition to the immediate casualties of their attacks. It could be argued that terrorists benefit from the advancement of modern communication technologies, much to our own detriment. During the Mumbai attacks of 26/11, the terrorists were communicating with their masterminds over mobile phones. The leader was instructing terrorists while watching the live transmission of the incident.<sup>154</sup> In sum, terrorists seem to have capitalized on two crucial tools of globalization; information and communication.

The Oxford Dictionary defines terrorism as “the unofficial or unauthorized use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims”.<sup>155</sup> This definition suggests that the use of violence by the state is legitimate. However, non-state actors are not allowed to use violent means to achieve political or any other goals. Taking that into account, the Oxford definition is not comprehensive and does not present a complete overview of terrorism. In fact, Harmon’s definition of terrorism is arguably more succinct and objective. According to him terrorism is a “deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends. It is used by single-minded small groups and broader insurgent movements to seek political and military results judged difficult or impossible to achieve in the usual political forum or on the battlefield against an army”.<sup>156</sup>

Brian Jenkins, an expert on terrorism, gave a definition that will help in understanding terrorism with a new perspective on how conflicting parties label others as terrorists. “Thus it seems to depend on one’s point of view. Use of the terms implies moral judgment; and if one party can

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<sup>151</sup> Franks 2009

<sup>152</sup> Tzu 1963

<sup>153</sup> Juergensmeyer 2003p139

<sup>154</sup> Alex 2004

<sup>155</sup> “Oxford Dictionaries”, <<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/terrorism?q=terrorism>> [accessed 10 January 2014].

<sup>156</sup> Harmon 2013p1

successfully attach the label terrorist to its opponent, it can indirectly persuade others to adopt its moral viewpoint”.<sup>157</sup> This explanation reflects the definition of terrorism as the product of opinion and moral judgment. Social actors have constructed terrorism as a phenomenon to achieve their political objectives.

## 4.2 Difference between Secular and Religious Terrorism

This section will highlight some fundamental differences between the religiously-motivated and secular terrorism. Arguably religion, love, money and power are well-known factors present in all cultures. These factors may drive people to do what are ordinarily morally inconceivable and unjustified things.<sup>158</sup>

The fundamental difference between secular and religious terrorism is the perception of the outer world.<sup>159</sup> For secular terrorists, violent acts are the means to advance their political goals and demand necessary corrections, amendments and changes in the existing political system. Piscane states “that violence is necessary not only to draw attention to, or generate publicity for a cause, but also to inform, educate, and ultimately rally the masses behind--- cause.”<sup>160</sup>

Interestingly, individuals who act in the name of religion tend to choose the most macabre means due to the religious concepts of good or evil and pure and impure that they evoke to justify their actions. French philosopher Blaise Pascal noted in the 16th century: ‘*Men never do evil so openly and contentedly as when they do it from religious conviction*’.<sup>160</sup> Historical data confirms that religious terrorists choose random targets, for example, targeting buses, shopping malls, hotels, religious places, etc.<sup>161</sup> Religious terrorists often disregard the consequences of their actions and act carelessly in selecting targets. On the other hand, terrorism based on secular ideologies is ordinarily characterized by a careful selection of targets and evasion of indiscriminate killing of innocent people with the objective of avoiding being alienated from the society.<sup>162</sup>

Religiously motivated terrorists have a very different understanding of the political and social system. They do not consider themselves to be a part of corrupted and polluted political system created by secular humans, and hence they desire to build the new world system based on their religious imaginations. They see themselves as outsiders in relation to the existing social system. By drawing inspiration from religion, they draw the line between the believers and non-believers which provides them with the sense of moral superiority. Dehumanization achieved through attaching derogatory labels such as sinners, ‘infidels’, ‘dogs’, ‘children of Satan’ and ‘mud people’<sup>163</sup> reflects religious terrorists’ perception of the out-group.<sup>164</sup> Based

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<sup>157</sup> Hoffman 2006p 23

<sup>158</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009

<sup>159</sup> Juergensmeyer 2003

<sup>160</sup> Alex,2004, p211.

<sup>161</sup> Berman and Laitin 2005

<sup>162</sup> Louise 2006

<sup>163</sup> Hoffman 2006 p89

<sup>164</sup> Juergensmeyer 2003

on these values, religious terrorists use the most gruesome means of terrorizing masses regardless of faith, gender, color and age.

Morgan's views will sum up the difference as he suggests that a secular terrorist "wants a seat at the table, but a religious terrorist wishes to destroy the table and everyone sitting at it".<sup>165</sup> Interestingly, the common factor between both forms of terrorism is the political nature of movements.

### 4.3 Rational choice theory and Terrorism:

**So far, I have portrayed religious terrorism as irrational.** One can argue that rational choice does not provide a comprehensive explanation and description of all human actions. Not all human actions are carried out following a rational assessment as to the cost and benefit thereof, religious terrorism is a good example. Rational thinking requires an answer as to why people choose to kill and die for religion.

Terrorists perpetrate crimes with the intention of advancing political goals. Thus, those acts can be classified as a "political crime". Still, the actions remain criminal in nature like other crimes such as murder, burglary, fraud, tax evasion.<sup>166</sup> An important distinction between crime and terrorism is that the former is carried out for personal goals and the latter for selfless goals. We can pose a question as to why acts of terrorism are given paramount importance by states and masses alike, dwarfing any other criminal acts in the process. Killing human beings is central to terrorism and therefore, at least on the moral ground, the vast majority of people abhor terrorism more than any other crime.

However, it can also be argued that terrorists are rational actors. As observed from records, "terrorists rarely meet psychiatric criteria for insanity."<sup>167</sup> In addition to that, terrorists seldom show significant signs of depression or sociopathic tendencies.<sup>168</sup> The same point is maintained by Louise Richardson who argues that "at the level of individual, psychologists have long argued that there is no particular terrorist personality and that the notion of terrorists as crazed fanatics is not consistent with plentiful empirical evidence available".<sup>169</sup>

Unlike terrorists, mass murderers, and school shooters ordinarily meet the criteria for insanity and it is important to take into account that they do not have a political agenda.<sup>170</sup> So it could be comprehended that if terrorists are not diagnosed insane, they should be considered rational actors. Economist Ludwig von Mises notes "all action is rational by definition. If you use means to achieve ends, you are rational".<sup>171</sup> A marginally tougher view on rationality suggests that "terrorist action derives from a conscious, rational, calculated decision to take this

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<sup>165</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin 2009 p62

<sup>166</sup> Bouhana and Wikstrom 2008

<sup>167</sup> Victoroff 2005

<sup>168</sup> S. J. Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman 2009

<sup>169</sup> Louise 2006

<sup>170</sup> Coursera 2014

<sup>171</sup> Caplan 2006

particular type of work as the optimum strategy to accomplish a sociopolitical goal.”<sup>172</sup> One could question whether killing civilians and destruction on a mass scale, inducing terror amongst masses is a rational process. The answer to this complex and multifaceted question is not straightforward. Case specific intervention is necessary to understand religiously-motivated terrorism by addressing its root causes. One common perception is prevalent in all conflict-ridden areas that “One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter”.<sup>173</sup> Terrorists kill civilians, and it is through these violent acts that they send a message to unresponsive national governments and the world order. In all the cases where religiously motivated terrorism is growing, there are political solutions and other means available to counter it. It is a mere oversimplification and immensely naïve to label terrorists as insane, psychopaths and irrational.

In that light, Rapoport’s observation presents some interesting facts. Tamil Tigers, a secular terrorist group, used more suicide bombers from 1983 to 2000 than all Islamic terrorist groups combined.<sup>174</sup> Still, religiously motivated terrorism attracted more attention. A possible reason could be that the secular terrorists in the case of Tamil were confined to a particular territory whereas religious terrorists are not geographically constricted and attacks are random and less predictable. In this regard, Schmid’s aforementioned observation that religious terrorists do not occupy any land but “occupy our minds by creating a climate of fear”<sup>175</sup> applies perfectly.

#### **4.4 Orthodox Theory**

States view terrorism through the lens of “Orthodox terrorism theory”. It is government’s explanation of terrorism, but it does not provide all-encompassing reasons as to why terrorism occurs. Schmid argues that terrorism can be viewed from different angles and “contexts such as crime, politics, war, propaganda religion,” and as a tool for revolution. Frank argues that “from the perspective of the state, terrorism is thus defined (relative to the legitimacy of state governance) as an illegal and illegitimate act or as a specific method of political violence against the state, such as hijacking or bombing or as acts of violence against civilians protected by the state.”<sup>176</sup> All these perspectives will give different meanings and conclusions.

In the interest of clarity, we will look at terrorism through the lens of crime and religion. Frank suggests “Orthodox terrorism theory is essentially a Western model of understanding terrorism rooted in Western freedoms, the rule of law and the liberal democratic Westphalian state.”<sup>177</sup> Robert Pape suggests that terrorism is exclusively a concern for democracies and not for dictatorships.<sup>178</sup> First of all, terrorists force democracies to withdraw from the territory that terrorists consider their homeland. Secondly, terrorists cannot remove dictators through

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<sup>172</sup> Victoroff 2005 p14

<sup>173</sup> Victoroff 2005 p4

<sup>174</sup> Rapoport 2004

<sup>175</sup> Alex 2004 p207

<sup>176</sup> Franks 2009 p156

<sup>177</sup> Franks 2009 p154

<sup>178</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin 2009

terrorism. A study by Jitka and Krueger also holds that terrorism flourishes in those countries that have weak democracies and the lack of civil rights.<sup>179</sup>

The core question in this context is: Do terrorists have any idea about western values and do they accept a western model of governing the system? Irrationality suggests that terrorists are merely thirsty and hungry for blood and flesh of indirect targets. Whereas, rationality argues that terrorists have broader goals in view. Terrorists attack culture and western values and kill indirect targets and consider it collateral damage.<sup>180</sup> Terrorists attack western model state system's central theme, the social contract that provides security to its subjects.

The social contract maintains a monopoly over violence and allows only legitimate public authorities to initiate violence. Terrorism challenges the state's monopoly of violence and brings into question the state's capacity to protect its citizens. Terrorists rarely defy and attack government directly but rather choose to target civilians in order to prove "the state's impotence of protecting them all the time".<sup>181</sup> This leads to the question as to why terrorists kill innocent and defenseless civilians. It can be assumed that citizens are a valued subject to a responsible state. Nonetheless, it serves two purposes. Firstly, civilians are unarmed and thus easy to kill, and no resistance is anticipated from them. Secondly, masses express more sympathy for civilians than for the armed forces. Schmid argues that if violence is carried out for religious reasons rather than the political ones, the terrorists tend to attract more attention from the masses, and as such the acts of violence have a more devastating effect on the state's credibility.<sup>182</sup>

Juster asserts "that all the violence is in some sense sacred, that it is rooted in the deepest human desire to defend what is most precious and transcendent".<sup>183</sup> In the event of terrorist activity, states in their desire to protect the social contract resort to dismissive rhetoric. States depict terrorists as brainwashed, irrational, and schizophrenic as well as being the source of evil.<sup>184</sup> Sometimes a state adopts a more modest approach and claims that poverty and the low level of education are the reasons behind terrorism. However Krueger and Maleckova found the weak link in this rationale<sup>185</sup> since, oil-rich and relatively educated Saudia Arabia "produced more terrorists than poor Mauritania or Niger".<sup>186</sup>

Political scientist Hoffman suggests "Terrorism is a political act by non-state actors"<sup>187</sup> and "terrorists love their group or cause and hate their enemy more than they love themselves."<sup>188</sup> These arguments suggest that terrorists should be considered a rational political entity. US State

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<sup>179</sup> Krueger and Malec 2003

<sup>180</sup> McCue, 2012

<sup>181</sup> Alex 2004 p207

<sup>182</sup> Alex 2004

<sup>183</sup> Juster 2005

<sup>184</sup> Franks 2009

<sup>185</sup> Krueger and Malec 2003

<sup>186</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin 2009 p47

<sup>187</sup> Hoffman 2006

<sup>188</sup> Caplan 2006, p95

Department defines terrorism as "politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience".<sup>189</sup> To take part in politics, one must have some understanding of politics and some degree of education. Terrorists make cost and benefit analysis to attract maximum attention at minimum cost and should be considered rational actors. The aforementioned definition suggests that religiously motivated terrorists are a rational actor because of their actions. The question can be raised about the rationality behind the senseless slaughter of innocent people. The above arguments and definition did not adequately present the overall account of terrorism as to what the motivational factors are and why someone would choose to get involved in terrorism.

One possible reason for the rise of terrorism is the precedent of terrorist activities of the past that produced positive results. Irgun's terrorist activities forced the British mandate to reconsider its position and Israel became an independent state.<sup>190</sup> In Northern Ireland, Catholic activists have successfully advanced their political goal through the means of terrorism and came to an agreement with Britain.<sup>191</sup> America, Israel and French withdrawal of 1983-1985 from Lebanon was a direct result of terrorism. African National Congress employed terrorism to topple the apartheid government of South Africa.<sup>192</sup> Despite being unsuccessful, the Tamil Tiger left a huge legacy for terrorism for political objectives.<sup>193</sup> These examples of the success of secular and religious terrorism further solidify that terrorism is rational behavior.

#### **4.5 Suicide bombing rational action?**

Ordinary individuals cannot accept indiscreet killing of innocent peoples through the act of suicide attack.<sup>194</sup> It is very simple and easy to classify such an activity as a foolish, crazy and deeply pathological. However, such view does not offer an understanding of this heinous crime and help us protect citizens from this menace. Affendi suggests "suicide terrorism is not about suicide. Neither is it about dying for one's faith. It is about killing for one's cause—inflicting damage on the enemy."<sup>195</sup> The suicide attack is devastating in its impact and very cost-effective for terrorists. It conveys their political message in a hope to bring cultural, economic and social change.<sup>196</sup> Political scientist Robert Papa's data confirm that suicide terrorism is a "part of large, coherent political or military campaign"<sup>197</sup> and terrorists are not "dying to win but killing to win" with suicide being their modus operandi.<sup>198</sup> Political sociologist Jeff Goodwin argue that terrorist organizations that carry out suicide attacks have substantial domestic (or

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<sup>189</sup> Tilly, 2004, p7

<sup>190</sup> Gupta 2011

<sup>191</sup> Woodwell 2005

<sup>192</sup> Victoroff 2005

<sup>193</sup> Caplan 2006

<sup>194</sup> Berman and Laitin 2005

<sup>195</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin 2009, p61

<sup>196</sup> Shafiq and Sinno 2009

<sup>197</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009p65

<sup>198</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009p62

community) support.<sup>199</sup> Cultural acceptability and moral support enable organizations to recruit suicide bombers, fund the terrorist activities and secure local support in avoiding detection and possible government-run operations against them.<sup>200</sup>

Terrorists conduct suicide bombings to cause maximum damage where the security apparatus of the state is active, and the citizens are well-protected.<sup>201</sup> Suicide bombings have been frequent inside the territory of Israel, but they have rarely occurred within the boundaries of West Bank and Gaza.<sup>202</sup> One possible reason could be that “Palestinian insurgents in the West Bank and Gaza have a large choice of soft targets. Settlers and soldiers use roads that pass through densely populated areas or through the terrain that make them vulnerable to ambush.”<sup>203</sup> Availability of soft targets makes it easier for insurgents to attack the enemy and disappear. However, this opportunity is not available to the insurgents in a sovereign territory of Israel.<sup>204</sup> Therefore, the suicidal mission has a tactical advantage over other options for insurgents. Thus, terrorists are rational actors.

Terrorist do not choose suicide to achieve death or to lodge a protest, but their aim is to cause harm to the enemy. When terrorists find an opportunity to kill and run, they choose to run rather than opting for a suicide attack.<sup>205</sup> In a similar fashion in 1944 during the final years of World War II Japanese Kamikaze pilots volunteered for a suicide mission.<sup>206</sup> There were two possible reasons for the suicidal mission. Firstly, Japan was losing the war against Americans, and the suicide mission was a desperate tactical move to cause harm against the military superior army. Secondly, pilots had to die because they lacked the technology to eject themselves from the planes before they hit the target.<sup>207</sup>

#### **4.6 Rational Choice and Death**

Whether sacrificing life and celebrating death for religion and political goals is a rational or irrational decision, it is a question of great importance for investigating about rational choice. In religiously-motivated terrorism, sacrifice has a great importance and killing of the opponent is always connoted with the positive frame. Stern argues “When such a person makes a cost-benefit analysis about the value of his life versus the value of his death, he attaches greater value to death—both for his country and for himself. This suggests that something is terribly wrong—either with him, his training or with his situation.”<sup>208</sup>

It can be assumed that situation and circumstances of individuals influence the rational process that shapes their actions. The example of the United Flight 193, one of the hijack plans of 9/11,

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<sup>199</sup> Jenkins 2006

<sup>200</sup> Jenkins 2006

<sup>201</sup> Berman and Laitin 2005

<sup>202</sup> Caplan 2006b

<sup>203</sup> Berman and Laitin 2005p22

<sup>204</sup> Berman and Laitin 2005

<sup>205</sup> Hoffman 2006

<sup>206</sup> Berman and Laitin 2005

<sup>207</sup> Erich Marquardt and Christopher Heffelfinger 2008

<sup>208</sup> Lee E. Dutter and Ofira Seliktar, 2007

when it was evident to passengers that they will all die, the courageous and brave passengers decided to fight back and “overpower the hijacker”<sup>209</sup> to save the lives of people on the ground. It suggests that in flight 193 situation it was entirely rational to die and save majority on the ground.

One can seek the explanation of rationality to sacrifice life to advance the political goal. Arendt observes “politics is said to end where violence begins because killing for politics entails, in essence, killing politics itself.”<sup>210</sup> Nonetheless, in religiously-motivated terrorism it works the other way round. Sacrificing life for the sake of religion is the beginning of politics and always considered positive, and taking other people’s lives is meant to protect the truth from evil.<sup>211</sup> Karl von Clausewitz’s argument that “war is the continuation of politics by other means” seems plausible. In the religious context, we could also replace “war” with “terrorism”.<sup>212</sup>

Rational thinking poses a question as to what possible benefits an individual can get by risking or sacrificing his or her life. One possible answer could be derived from evolutionary psychology. Parents invest their quality of time, money, bear hardships and exhaust all the available resources to see their children successful without a reciprocal commitment from children in return. This kind of human behavior falls into the category of altruism. Bell explains that unilateral sacrifices for the sake of blood relatives are “often selfishly optimal from an evolutionary standpoint. You may perish as a result, but your genes prosper, a mechanism known as “kin selection.”<sup>213</sup> We have examples where people tend to sacrifice life for group’s interest or cause. In 1960s, Buddhist monks set themselves on fire in the protest of Vietnam government. In 1980s, Irish Republican prisoners starved themselves to death against the British government in Northern Ireland.<sup>214</sup> Schmid argues that during the war, soldiers exercise a greater degree of unselfish behavior and are ready to sacrifice their lives without any immediate benefits or return for themselves.<sup>215</sup> But terrorist’s rationality differs in one aspect. Soldiers risk their lives for cause with a hope, guaranteed by a greater degree of military training, of protecting their lives whereas suicide terrorist have, at best, 100% certainty of losing their lives in the act of sacrifice for the cause.

Terrorists believe that they sacrifice their lives to protect their religion and followers of their religion from an external enemy. We could argue that terrorists rationalize their actions by feeling the duty to invest time, energy and life to save their religion much in the same vein, a parent does to protect the child or soldiers do to protect their motherland.

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<sup>209</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009 p61

<sup>210</sup> Euben, 2002, p26

<sup>211</sup> Lincoln 2010

<sup>212</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009 p66

<sup>213</sup> Caplan 2006 p95

<sup>214</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009

<sup>215</sup> Alex 2004

#### 4.7 Terrorism and Identity Theory

Educational content helps shape the national identity.<sup>216</sup> In Pakistan's context, the religious identity and the national identity frequently overlap with each other. One can argue that an identity crisis marks the postcolonial and globalization era.<sup>217</sup> In recent years studies on terrorism focus on the conflict between the West and Islam and the role of identity. However, these studies provide little explanation as to how the identity factor influences terrorism.<sup>218</sup> According to Cohen, "identity is a social process, and identity is always constructed by reference to other".<sup>219</sup> The term identity can be further divided into three levels, personal identity<sup>220</sup>, social identity<sup>221</sup> and cultural identity.<sup>222</sup> Scholars contest identity itself as it has multiple representations and dimensions in different contexts. Cultural identity is shaped by cultural, religious, national and ethnic values. Social identity signifies personal preference to the members of a particular social group and acceptance of the group's beliefs. Personal identity can be represented in two ways; one is the perception of an individual about the world. Second are self- assigned personal values, goals and faith.<sup>223</sup>

In present-day times, religious and ethnic identity is among the main factors behind terrorism. We see this in the examples of terrorism carried out by Tehrik e Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Palestinians, Israelis, Chechens, IRA of Northern Ireland, Tamils, and Basque ETA separatist, to name a few.<sup>224</sup> To identify which level of identity factors into terrorism with theoretical assumptions is a complex and ambitious task. One argument presented by Schwartz, Dunkel and Waterman "feelings of disenfranchisement, when coupled with fervent adherence to traditional, dichotomous "us versus them" religious principles justifying violence against those perceived to threaten one's religious or cultural group, a strong prioritization of the group over the individual, and a belief that one's group is morally superior to the group being attacked, may combine to make terrorism considerably more likely".<sup>225</sup> It is possible that one or all levels of identity are involved in the transformation of an individual into a terrorist.

#### 4.8 Cultural identity

Weinberg and Eubank suggest "terrorism expresses itself differently in collective culture" <sup>226</sup> as compared to individual culture. According to collective culture theory "person's identity is primarily derived from the social system, dividing the world strictly according to in-group and out-group and linking their personal well-being to the well-being of their group".<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Dunn 1986

<sup>217</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>218</sup> S. J. Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman 2009

<sup>219</sup> Cohen. 1975p 95

<sup>220</sup> S. Schwartz 2005

<sup>221</sup> Moghaddam 2005

<sup>222</sup> Meloy 2004

<sup>223</sup> S. J. Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman 2009

<sup>224</sup> Barth 1969

<sup>225</sup> S. J. Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman 2009

<sup>226</sup> Victoroff 2005 p21

<sup>227</sup> Victoroff 2005 p21

Individuals who give more importance to their cultural and society over themselves are more likely to sacrifice their lives for the group cause with the sanction of their religious and political leaders. Members having an affiliation with collective culture may react violently even in the absence of the threat to physical safety, on a preemptive measure to preserve cultural identity.<sup>228</sup> Cultural identity is a complex phenomenon, and it gets influenced by various social units such as media, religious and educational institutions, family and peer groups. Pakistani society is based on collective culture parameters where people give more importance to cultural and social identity over personal identity.<sup>229</sup> Esposito and Mogahed noted that Islam is a decisive factor in the process of shaping identity in the Muslim world.<sup>230</sup> Having conducted a survey in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Gallop Survey confirms this trend and in the course of identifying themselves, 59% chose Muslim and 22% chose Pakistani as their primary identity.<sup>231</sup> Survey reflects that the Islamic identity is more popular than national identity in Pakistan.

In collective societies, there is a higher probability of the acts of terrorism if the group members believe that the out-group was involved in injustice against them in the past. This is for instance, evident in the conflict between Russia and Chechnya where perceived injustices, a collective society, religious sanctions of violence and the concept of 'us versus them' led to terrorism.<sup>232</sup> However, collective societies that exhibit grievances do not always choose terrorism. The animosity between Tibet and China did not spark terrorism and did not promote the concept of 'us versus them'. In Pakistan, the victim and siege mentality has been inculcated through educational content leading to massive resentment against the West and its neighboring country India and the solidification 'us versus them' concept.

#### **4.9 Social Identity**

The social identity reflects the identification of individual's affiliation with a particular social group and its relation to out-group.<sup>233</sup> There is a number of factors involved in the building and categorization of social identity. In Pakistan, the formation of identity process starts from family, peer groups, exposure to education curriculum and lectures of teachers, mosques and Madrasahs for religious sermons.<sup>234</sup> Other possible venues that influence social identity are mass media, newspapers, movies and TV programs. The social identity reflects the similarities amongst the in-group members such as the shared and collective history, the unity amongst group members, and the perception of the out-group.<sup>235</sup>

It is possible that society may encourage or accept its members' violent attitude towards the out-group. Pakistan is a good example in this regard. Educational curricula in Pakistan glorify

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<sup>228</sup> S. J. Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman 2009

<sup>229</sup> Victoroff 2005

<sup>230</sup> VABHEIM 2011

<sup>231</sup> Gallup Pakistan poll dated 29 April 2011

<sup>232</sup> Speckhard and Akhmedova 2006

<sup>233</sup> S. S. Larsen And A. P. Cohen, 1979.

<sup>234</sup> S. J. Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman 2009

<sup>235</sup> Korostelina 2008

historical narratives of heroes and their acts of bravery during the colonial era and their fight against non-Muslims. Curricula promote insensitive attitudes toward religious minorities. Curricula encourage students to take part in Jihad and embrace the value of martyrdom in fighting against the non-Muslims Children learn about Muslim Brotherhood that is the concept that implies that every Muslim is a brother of another Muslim. Jihad and brotherhood demand that they should take an active part in Kashmir, Afghanistan, Palestine and other conflicts where co-religionists need their help. This kind of support, if it is armed, may fall under the definition of terrorism. In other words, what is considered “pro-social” for a person brought up in such a culture, may be terrorism just across the border, and even in Pakistan.

#### **4.10 Personal Identity**

Personal Identity is a process in which an individual defines the self-preference for goals and values, and this also goes for values related to religion, politics and personal liking.<sup>236</sup> Personal identity construction may become unstable or problematic for a number of reasons. Schwartz et al. focus on two subclasses of problematic identity construction, “(a) authoritarian foreclosure and (b) aimless diffusion”.<sup>237</sup> For this study, I will look into the foreclosed identity in some detail. Authoritarian foreclosure refers to a process in which an individual adopts commitments, recommendations and instructions without questioning and weighing other options.<sup>238</sup> They are expected to meet the expectations of the group. In addition, foreclosed obligations are given paramount importance and are believed to be bigotry, inflexible and strict in nature. It promotes the firm concept of ‘us versus them’.

Berkey notes that “education in Muslim culture has been seen as a force for stability, rather than change, and its pedagogy has been constructed with this purpose in mind.”<sup>239</sup> The foreclosed identity’s focus is to maintain status quo and discourage change. In religious studies, students are particularly expected not to question the authority and knowledge of their teachers. In Madrasahs, it is generally believed that “a good teacher hands on what he has been taught”.<sup>240</sup> There is a greater degree of likelihood for authoritarian foreclosed identity individuals bearing the authoritarian foreclosed identity to get involved in terrorism

In most cases, students are expected to memorize and recite the Qur’an. Madrasahs teachers do not encourage students to understand religion in a holistic manner. A teacher trains students not to question what they are being taught and aims to promote the foreclosed identity. In Pakistan, the educational content promotes hatred and anger for out-groups.

The foreclosed identity combined with social disenfranchisement and religiosity increases the vulnerability for individuals to get involved in terrorism.<sup>241</sup> Religion has arguably served mankind in a positive way by offering social values and ethics, but extreme religious

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<sup>236</sup> S. J. Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman 2009

<sup>237</sup> S. J. Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman 2009 p545

<sup>238</sup> Berkey 2007

<sup>239</sup> Berkey 2007

<sup>240</sup> Berkey 2007p10

<sup>241</sup> Juergensmeyer 2003

interpretations have led to devastating violence and oppression. A large number of people in Pakistan have a tendency to form a strong bond with their group on the grounds of religious affiliation. They consider themselves unique, special, pure and morally right, and this gives them a moral imperative to discriminate against the people of others faiths on the premise that such acts will be rewarded by God. Lerner, Almerigi, and Theokas present another view and suggest that competent and self-confident individuals are less likely to hold a foreclosed, meaningless and aimless identity and would not be an easy target for terrorist recruiters.<sup>242</sup>

#### **4.10.1 Jihad. The concept and its interpretations**

To develop better understanding of 'Jihad' and its meaning, a critical analysis of its theoretical and practical aspects and contextualization is necessary.<sup>243</sup> The meaning of Jihad is contested among Muslims and non-Muslims. Moderate Muslim scholars argue that the sole purpose of Jihad is to maintain the health of Islam.<sup>244</sup> However, the popular media discourse presents Jihad as a holy war. The vocabulary of "holy war" emerged during the time of 'Holy Crusade'(1096 A.D.) in which Christians were fighting wars against infidels to capture the holy city of Jerusalem.<sup>245</sup>

Jihad is an Arabic word that means "striving for a worthy and noble cause" (in the way of God).<sup>246</sup> Jihad is a multilayered concept and has served the purpose of both peaceful and armed struggle since Islam emerged as a religion.<sup>247</sup> 'Jahada' as a verb means "to strive against an external enemy, Satan."<sup>248</sup> The word 'Jihad' appeared 41 times in 18 chapters of the Qur'an with different context and meaning.<sup>249</sup> There are two kinds of Jihads. The greater Jihad (al-jihad al-Akbar) is mandatory for all Muslims without any exception. It commands the Muslims to strive against the menace of greed, the temptation of evil, selfishness and worldly desires. The ethical aspect of (al-jihad al-Akbar) is to set a high standard of moral values at personal and collective levels.<sup>250</sup>

The other kind of Jihad is (*al-jihad al-Asghar*), the lesser Jihad, popularly called the 'Jihad of sword' or armed Jihad.<sup>251</sup> The Qur'anic sanction of the 'Jihad of sword' (al-jihad al-Asghar) is neither about attaining temporal power nor providing an easy entry to paradise to Mujahid (fighter of Jihad). Classic Islamic jurists assert that (al-jihad al-Asghar) is exclusively a defensive warfare.<sup>252</sup> Jihad can be waged to protect life, defend territory and to counter the attack on faith when aggressors attempt or commit aggression on the Muslims solely because of their religious belief.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> Scales et al. 2000

<sup>243</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>244</sup> Heck 2004

<sup>245</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin 2009

<sup>246</sup> Jalal 2009 p3

<sup>247</sup> Knapp 2003

<sup>248</sup> Jalal 2009 p7

<sup>249</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>250</sup> Euben 2002

<sup>251</sup> Knapp 2003

<sup>252</sup> Knapp 2003

<sup>253</sup> Knapp 2003

The political aspect of (al-Jihad al-Asghar) is to create a just society on earth.<sup>254</sup> Like other major religions, Islam did allow the use of force to defend the faith and raise voice against oppression. Similarly, the Western democracy is a peaceful political model. However, a democracy can still fight a war to attain better peace. “Sometimes it was necessary to undertake non peaceful actions for the sake of maintaining peace. Just as the law on homicide allows the taking of life in the interest of deterring further murders, the Qur’an sanctions the use of the sword to eliminate sedition”.<sup>255</sup> Rules are very explicit about Jihad, and it is a collective obligation for the Muslims. Individuals on their own can do (al-jihad al-Akbar) every day but (al-jihad al-Asghar) (the Jihad of the sword) can only be declared by legitimate rulers with political authority and good intentions.<sup>256</sup>

Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H)’s prophethood lasted 23 years and can be divided into two parts, Mecca (13 years) and Medina (10 years).<sup>257</sup> During the Meccan period, there was no trace of violence and Islam was promoted through peaceful means. Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) did not fight a single war during the Meccan period, because he had no political legitimacy there. However, after fleeing to Medina and establishing political authority there, he fought wars and conquered Mecca.<sup>258</sup>

Islamic jurists maintained that the legitimate political authority alone could allow the Jihad of the sword.<sup>259</sup> One can find a similarity between the concept of the Jihad of the sword (al-jihad al-Asghar) and defensive warfare of modern world. It is the national duty for all citizens to protect their land against foreign aggression, with the approval of the government. During the development phase of Islam, there was no concept of the state system. Followers were advised to fight to defend but only with the sanction of the political authority (Caliph) and in modern times the authorization can only come from states. It can be argued that when private citizens carry out acts of violence according to their religious imaginations without the consent or approval of state, their actions fall under terrorism.

Qur’anic teachings demand that all necessary measures and precautions need to be exercised to avoid war. However, if a situation demands a violent reaction, Jihad should only be viewed through the lens of just war.<sup>260</sup> Even in wars ‘jihad fi sabil Allah’ (war in the way of God), the instructions are explicit that non-combatants should be protected. Children, women, the disabled should by all means be kept out of harm’s way and sacred places of other religions should remain intact. A Mujahid (fighter of Jihad) must refrain from looting and should display a high level of integrity.<sup>261</sup>

On more than 70 occasions, the Qur’an explicitly advocates peace, and prohibits war.<sup>262</sup> Ayesha Jalal, Pakistani-American historian asserts “Islam enjoins upon Muslims to cultivate good relations with other people of other religions and not to fight a perpetual war to dominate

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<sup>254</sup> Euben 2002

<sup>255</sup> Jalal 2009p196

<sup>256</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009

<sup>257</sup> Knapp 2003

<sup>258</sup> Knapp 2003

<sup>259</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>260</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>261</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009

<sup>262</sup> Jalal 2009

and decimate them”.<sup>263</sup> Qur’anic instructions emphasize doing Jihad (to strive) to live peacefully with people of other beliefs and ascertain that people of other faiths should not be obliterated. Islam strictly forbids the exercise of ‘Jihad’ for expansive, offensive and aggressive purposes in the pursuit of political goals or material goals. The overview suggests that peace is more desirable, and the Qur’an does not provide any blanket cover or justification for indiscriminate violence.

#### **4.10.2 Dar-al-Islam (Abode of Islam) and Dar-al-Harb (Abode of War)**

In modern day’s religiously motivated terrorism, fanatics draw their violent conclusions from Sharia (Islamic) laws and divide the world into Dar-ul-Islam and Dar-ul-Harb.<sup>264</sup>

Syrian theologian and philosopher Ibn Taymiyya (d.1328)<sup>265</sup>, Egyptian educationalist Sayyid Qutb (d.1966), Pakistani journalist turned politician, Abul Ala Mawdudi (d.1979), and Egyptian electrical engineer Muhammad abd-al-Salam Faraj (d.1982) were the prominent authors who advocated armed struggle in the name of ‘Jihad’.<sup>266</sup> There are two striking commonalities amongst all the writers. First, they were not trained as Islamic jurists. Instead they had training in different fields of expertise. Second, they experienced invasion, colonialism and political repression that may have influenced their writings. One can say that their lack of understanding of religion and their political motivations could have been the reasons behind such radical thoughts.<sup>267</sup>

Mawdudi and Qutb asserted that Jihad could be fought for both purposes i.e. defensive and aggressive.<sup>268</sup> Mawdudi believed that Islam can be spread with the help of the sword.<sup>269</sup> This thought is the essence of a revolutionary ideology aimed at altering the existing social order and building a new one based on the perceived truth and justice.<sup>270</sup> Common sense implies that using such violent means will make it exceedingly difficult for the non-Muslims to embrace Islam. Consequently, non-Muslims would always identify Islam as a violent religion.

Ibn Taymiyya and Mawdudi claim that “Muslim rulers who neglect or transgress the Islamic law or portions thereof can be deemed infidels and legitimately killed.”<sup>271</sup> Today’s terrorism has imprints of this extreme ideology. The self-proclaimed custodians of religion spread violence in the name of religion with the ultimate intention of achieving their own political objectives. Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat was assassinated by Ikhwan-ul Muslimeen (the Muslim brotherhood) because radicals considered him an infidel and a bad Muslim.<sup>272</sup> Terrorists want to spread God’s sovereignty over the earth by removing the un-Islamic and unjust rulers.

These writers fail to provide any criteria by which one can ascertain that a Muslim has become an infidel. The validity of author’s interpretation is contested, to say the least. These authors

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<sup>263</sup> Jalal 2009 p300

<sup>264</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>265</sup> Berkey 2007

<sup>266</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>267</sup> Hegghammer and Lacroix 2007

<sup>268</sup> Akbarzadeh and Mansouri 2010

<sup>269</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>270</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>271</sup> Euben 2002 p16

<sup>272</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009

can be considered extremist not only because their ideas do not suit liberal values. Their ideas can be repudiated by the teachings of Qur'an itself, such as the verses "*There is no compulsion in religion.*" (2:256).. However, in Pakistan, terrorists draw inspiration from their writings, and a recent example is Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). The TTP does not recognize the Islamic Republic of Pakistan because this country follows the western model of democracy, and they want Sharia (Islamic law) to be imposed before any negotiations for peace.

#### **4.10.3 A Journey from Holy to Unholy**

Throughout the history, Muslims themselves were confused and had different conceptions of Jihad. The concept of Jihad changed dramatically in different settings. In the past, Muslims rulers called it Jihad when they were attacking to dominate non-Muslims and increase their political control, territorial expansion, economic and strategic gain on the pretext of spreading God's sovereignty and Islam. When Colonial and imperial powers invaded Muslims, the resistance that ensued was considered Jihad for defensive purposes. When Muslims fought with fellow Muslims for sectarian or political reasons, it was still considered Jihad.<sup>273</sup> The history of Jihad itself has been contested ever since Muslim dynasties such as Umayyads (661-750) and Abbasids (750-1258) distorted and fabricated the meaning of Jihad for their political objectives.<sup>274</sup>

#### **4.10.4 Jihad a Cultural Activity**

Jihad is a permanent feature in Pakistani politics and a form of cultural expression.<sup>275</sup> Members of Jihadist groups communicate with the outside world through violent means, and those who die in the process are called martyrs. In Pakistan's context, the culture of Jihad is flourishing because of poverty, ignorance, marginalization, alienation and the lack of religious awareness.<sup>276</sup> To understand Jihad, one must make a clear distinction between the context and the cause of Jihad. The context provides the fertile ground for dissent, but the cause provides the Jihadist with the opportunity to become violent.<sup>277</sup>

Starting with 1979, the culture of Jihad and martyrdom has been on the rise in Pakistan because of regional political instability and internal political turmoil. The main purpose of Jihadism was to find recruits for the Russia-Afghan war and to counter the Iranian Shia factor through Saudi and USA money. The answer to the question as to how Jihad and martyrdom became legitimized on the Pakistani political scene can be traced to Al-Rasheedi's words "Jihad is a response to a contradiction generated by a political leadership professing adherence to Islam while the reality attests something different".<sup>278</sup> In 1980s, the Pakistani military regime supported Afghan Muslim brethren against the Soviets by taking 3.2 billion dollars from the United States to perform this religious duty.<sup>279</sup>

The general consensus among all faiths is that a person who intentionally and purposely sacrifices his or her life for their religious beliefs is a martyr.<sup>280</sup> However, Ali Shari'ati argued

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<sup>273</sup>Juergensmeyer 2003

<sup>274</sup> Cappellari n.d.

<sup>275</sup> Saigol 2010

<sup>276</sup> Hoodbhoy 2004

<sup>277</sup> Stern 2000

<sup>278</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009 p90

<sup>279</sup> Sentell 2010

<sup>280</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin 2009

that the meaning of martyrdom in Islam is different from its meaning in Christianity. In Arabic, those who die in Jihad are called Al-Shuhada. In Qur'an, the root word Shahada has a variety of meanings, and it does not always refer to killing and death. In Qur'an, Shahid appears 32 times, Shahada 18 times, al-shahada 13 times and Shahada 21 times. All of the root words mean "witness and presence" and in that sense their meaning is completely different from the meaning of martyrdom that suggests that a martyr is the one who chooses death in the name of God.<sup>281</sup> Still, the Muslim political history is dominated by the martyrs who died in religious and political wars.

The culture of Jihad has grown very deep roots in Pakistan, and it appeals to peaceful people as well as religious zealots. Jalal notes "An estimated thirty thousand young Pakistanis were martyred in Afghanistan and Kashmir."<sup>282</sup> The number may seem insignificant given the size of the population of Pakistan. Still, it reflects how deeply Jihad and martyrdom are embedded into the cultural ethos of Pakistan. Masses attempt to explore worldly problems through religious means and believe that fighting and dying in the way of Allah will earn them multiple benefits. By embracing death they will fulfill their religious and spiritual duty and grant themselves a place in heaven. However Jalal notes that due to poverty and limited resources their "lives would promise nothing but oppression and humiliation" within the context of Pakistan.<sup>283</sup> In the recent example of 26/11 Mumbai attacks, Ajmal Kasab, the sole survivor admitted that his father encouraged him to take part in such activity because it was socially acceptable, financially beneficial for the family and it would eventually be rewarded in the afterlife.<sup>284</sup>

#### **4.10.5 Martyrdom and Holidays**

Intriguing questions such as 'how martyrdom became part of the culture?' and 'why do people choose to die for faith?' are worth investigating. In general, Muslims believe that martyrdom can only be achieved through the act of Jihad. Pakistan's culture echoes Iranian scholar Ali Sari'ti's observation that "miracle of martyrdom is that it transmits life and blood to the dead part of the society in order to produce a new generation and belief".<sup>285</sup> Similarly, Hasan Narsauallah's campaign against Israel during the 34 days of war in 2006 testifies to the Pakistani Jihadist tactics: "When we chose this way we knew that we were choosing the hard way, the way of martyrdom that leads to victory."<sup>286</sup> Euben notes "Martyr lives on not only in the afterlife, but in the recollection and remembrance of the community of the living."<sup>287</sup> Political leaders appeal to martyrdom for their own political interests. Death was connoted with a positive image to make the masses' more inclined to sacrifice lives for a future generation. Celebrating the death of a martyr and recounting the historical narrative of an event is very common in the Pakistani culture. Masses believe that a martyr never dies and lives a happy and peaceful life in heaven.

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281 Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin 2009

282 Jalal 2009 p281

283 Jalal 2009 p287

284 Reed 2009

<sup>285</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin 2009 p117

<sup>286</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin 2009 p119

<sup>287</sup> Euben 2002 p20

Further reinforcing these values, the Government of Pakistan declares two days of official holidays to honor the martyrs of Karbala who lost their lives as far back as 680 AD.<sup>288</sup> There are massive public processions and gatherings throughout the country glorifying the act of martyrdom.<sup>289</sup> The culture of Martyrdom poses a grave threat to peace as the extremists want to promote their extreme ideology through martyrdom rather than legitimate political means.

General Marshall's famous saying will help us to understand as to what wins the war. He states, "It is not enough to fight; it is the spirit that we bring to fight that decides the issue. It is morale that wins the victory."<sup>290</sup> Dying for their religious belief is the spirit and morale of terrorists that concerns the civilian and the state authorities alike.

#### **4.10.6 Jihad in South Asia**

Within the historical context of Pakistan, it is pertinent to note that the Umayyad commander Muhammad Bin Qasim, conquered Sindh in 711 AD, a province of Pakistan, in the name of Jihad. Bin Qasim is widely considered a hero due to bringing Islam to the Subcontinent.<sup>291</sup> Theoretically and Practically 'Jihad' entered into the politics of the Subcontinent during the early 19th century to fight against the western expansion, occupation, aggression, and colonial rule. In 1820s, the foremost personality of Jihad in the history of South Asia, Sayyid Ahmed went to Mecca. He imported a politicized religious philosophy of Jihad from the founder of Wahhabi movement, Mohammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab.<sup>292</sup> Sayyid died in the battle against Sikhs in 1831, which he declared as 'Jihad' and thus he is considered to be the first martyr of Jihadism in South Asia.<sup>293</sup> Since then, Jihad has acquired the form of a significant application for political and religious leaders for achieving their goals through the coercive means. The term 'Jihad' was employed by the local population in 1857 rebellion movement known as the Indian mutiny. One can argue that Jihad in South Asia was a by-product of European colonial rule and for that reason the anticolonial era echoed with Jihad and religious sentiment.<sup>294</sup>

#### **4.10.7 Contextualization of Jihad with reference to Pakistan**

Jihadism became a dominant feature and defined the values of Pakistani politics, society and culture. Active or passive participation in Jihad is desirable in discussions and debates at mosques and workplaces, Madrasahs schools and universities, public and private gatherings.<sup>295</sup> Mosques hold a center place for teachings of Jihad in Pakistan and serve as community centers for social gatherings.<sup>296</sup> Imam is the person in charge of a mosque. It is widely believed that Imams do not possess much knowledge about politics, but they still tend to be very political in their activities. Imams often display their political immaturity during Friday sermons and incite the audience to embrace Jihad against the non-Muslim.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>289</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>290</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009 p122

<sup>291</sup> David 2012

<sup>292</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009

<sup>293</sup> Erich Marquardt and Christopher Heffelfinger 2008

<sup>294</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>295</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009

<sup>296</sup> Zia 2003

<sup>297</sup> Zia 2003

Popular belief suggests that Islam was the decisive factor in the formation of Pakistan and as such it played a pivotal role in its creation.<sup>298</sup> According to the Jihadist narrative, Islam emerged victoriously and defeated the secular British Empire as well Hindus following the colonial era.<sup>299</sup> Further on, jihadists claim that Islam was also victorious against the USSR in the post-colonial era.<sup>300</sup> A victory against the superpower was the turning point in the history of Pakistan. Religious fanatics got more determined, self-assured and decided that there was more to be done, and that the experience they have acquired during the anti-Soviet Jihad could be utilized for other so-called noble purposes.<sup>301</sup> However, Jihad was not the only reason as to why Pakistan achieved the independence from the British colonial rule. Britain was devastated and exhausted by two World Wars and the shelf life of the colonial era was rapidly coming to an end. Again, Jihad was not the only factor that led to the USSR pulling out from Afghanistan. There were other decisive factors. Jihadists got unprecedented help from the US, Saudi Arabia, and other allies, and the USSR also had other constraints that compelled them to withdraw.

#### **4.10.8 Jihad to counter Modernity**

Religiously motivated terrorism in Pakistan is aimed at countering the threat of modernity. Extremists and fundamentalists alike argue that the notion of modernity itself is an extension of colonialism and imperialism. The concept of sovereignty in Western democracies is alien to fundamentalists, and they consider sovereignty to be a divine subject. Jihadists see the modern state system as having been imposed on Muslims countries during the post-colonial era, and as such it is considered a foreign concept of governing system devoid of a caliph or sultan as it was the norm during the last Muslim empire, the Ottoman Empire.<sup>302</sup> Extremists believe that female empowerment based on secular ideas is not in line with their religion and culture. Radicals argue that secular values of the west have no place in Islam and will destroy the social fabric of the Muslim society and obliterate their cultural identity.<sup>303</sup> Therefore, Jihad is considered legitimate and mandatory upon all Muslims on the ground of self-defense and as the means of preservation of their cultural identity.

#### **4.11 Summary**

In contemporary world teaching of violent Jihad and encouragement of martyrdom by non state actors can promote terrorism. Violent Jihadi's as a non-state actors seek religious justification for their actions and causes to address their political grievances. This challenges the monopoly of violence of state and constitutes terrorism. Theoretical discussion presented terrorist perspective and government response. Defensive violent Jihad came into political arena of subcontinent during colonial ruler to fight against occupation. However, after the independence offensive jihad largely targeted Muslim ruling elites and their Western allies.

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<sup>298</sup> Candland 2005

<sup>299</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>300</sup> Riedel 2010

<sup>301</sup> Erich Marquardt and Christopher Heffelfinger 2008

<sup>302</sup> Knapp 2003

<sup>303</sup> Knapp 2003

## **Chapter 5. Curriculum content and its relation to religiously motivated violence in Pakistan.**

Our ultimate target is not so much children at school, as the adults which those children are to become. When we correct a schoolbook, we sow seeds which may bear fruit after a generation. But when we secure publicity for such correction, we contribute to this year's harvest.

-E.H. Dance, *History the Betrayer*

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part will explore content of the curricula and the second part will make a detailed analysis of the text. This study will not give a representative overview of the different curricula in Pakistan because that task greatly exceeds for M.A thesis work. I will limit my discussion to highlight Islamic nationalist rhetoric that may favor religiously motivated violence in the name of Jihad. For this study, textbooks were selected from public and private schools and range from the subjects of social sciences, Pakistan studies, Islamiyat (religious studies), Urdu and English literature. Undoubtedly, these subjects have a huge influence on students' reasoning, shaping their worldviews and the creation of shared identity.<sup>304</sup> Through these topics, students learn about historical narratives, religious ideology and the formation of national identity.<sup>305</sup> For the purpose of clarity, each unit of possible extreme content will be explained in detail.

### **5.1 Textbook and curriculum**

The curriculum is regarded as an official document that is comprehensive in nature and designed to be user-friendly.<sup>306</sup> Textbooks play a significant role in teaching and learning practice. According to Johnsen and Apple, the primary objective of a book is to provide the "instructional use" <sup>307</sup> on the "result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles and compromises".<sup>308</sup> Also, a textbook is often considered a reservoir of information that serves a vehicle that transmits the realities of the past, puts an emphasis on the present and makes reflections on the future.<sup>309</sup> Textbooks are a legitimate and approved source of knowledge through which a student can get familiar with their culture and identity and build their perception of the world. Apple noted that these textbooks are "conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interest and are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power".<sup>310</sup>

I have organized the selected text from the curricula into three categories and highlighted them with the different color. Green has been allocated to the neutral or descriptive text.. Orange has been assigned to radical content that can be heavily influenced by context and social climate of the country. In peace time, it disseminates a peaceful message, but in hostile or warlike

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<sup>304</sup> Dunn 1986

<sup>305</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>306</sup> Rosser 2003

<sup>307</sup> Johnson 1993 p24

<sup>308</sup> Apple 1991p46

<sup>309</sup> Adwan 2001

<sup>310</sup> Apple 1991p46

situation it can shape violent attitude. Red color is allocated to the extreme content that is biased and may favor violence and terrorism against members of outgroups.

## 5.2 Glorification of War

1	Qur'anic verse 9:5	“kill the pagans [or infidels or unbelievers] wherever you find them”
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2	Social Studies	“There were many reasons for the downfall of Muslims [in South Asia]. The most important reason was the internal conflicts that 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.”
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3	Social Studies	“In Islam Jihad is very important.....The person who offers his life never dies.....All the prayers nurture one’s passion for Jihad.”
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<p>1 Madrasahs textbook, Excerpt is from , <i>Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan: A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas</i>, 2011. Social Studies Textbook, Grade 6, Balochistan Textbook Board, p.107 Excerpt num2 is from , <i>Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan: A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas</i>, 2011. 3 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 9-10, Punjab Textbook Board, p. 10 Excerpts are from “Curriculum of Hate” 2008</p>		
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Example 1 is extreme because terrorist uses this verse to justify the acts of violence through religion. In my view, this verse has a limited and very specific context. This verse was revealed in the aftermath of breach of the peace treaty by Pagans of Macca. Explanation suggests that this verse cannot be applied anymore in modern times by individuals. Example 2 (the orange part) has a radical appeal to its readers, because it can be turned into violence in a belligerent social climate. Example 3 (red part) is extreme because it favors martyrdom which can only be achieved in Jihad. All these examples are sending explicit message to its readers about violence.

## 5.3 Islam as Political ideology

1	Social Studies	“To keep the Islamic identity and existence 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.”
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1 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 5, Punjab Textbook Board, p.6		
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This example contains a radical message within an informative sentence. The text is asking humans to protect Pakistan (a political entity) by protecting the religion (a divine entity) from

an unknown enemy. The text calls to safeguarding religious values which are subjective issues rather than objective. Difference of opinion can be a pretext for violence and hostility.

#### 5.4 Brotherhood

	Social Studies	“Pakistan is an Islamic country and Muslim citizens are brothers to one another.” <sup>5</sup>
<p>1 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 4, Punjab Textbook Board, p.51          Excerpt is from , <i>Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan: A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas</i>, 2011.</p>		

This is an example of how a prosocial concept (brotherhood) may be turned to a negative one, if the circumstance promotes it. Further, a fact (Pakistan as an Islamic country) is mixed with a norm (brotherhood). This is apparently innocent, but the non-Muslims are being indirectly alienated. The text can discourage pluralism of Pakistani society and promote bias against non-Muslim citizens. Whether this is dangerous or not, depends on the context.

#### 5.5 Muslim Moral Superiority

1	Social Studies	“The religious beliefs of the Muslims and Hindus are absolutely different. The Hindus worship many Idols. They have many Gods and Goddesses. The 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 the Muslims are equal and are brotherly with one another. In Hindu religion the women are given a low status. Whereas Islam teaches to give due respect to the women.”
2	Pakistan Studies	“Hindu leadership has not only shown their religious hatred but also expressed their political hatred by opposing to celebrate their independence day on the same day. They proposed 15th 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.”
<p>1 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 5, Punjab Textbook Board, p.2          2 Pakistan Studies Textbook, Grade 9/10, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board, p. 9          All these excerpts are from , <i>Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan: A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas</i>, 2011.p44</p>		

Examples can be considered as radical because it inoculates Muslims students that they are superior to Hindus. Text point out that Hindus do not treat their women well. Thus, basic human rights have been denied. The content also conveys students that Hindus hates Muslim because of their religious belief. This kind of teaching is not suitable to have a peaceful relations with

neighbor country India. In addition this can also hurt the sentiments of the Hindu population of Pakistan.

## 5.6 Victim Mentality

1	Social Studies	“Christian Missionaries took full advantage of the British occupation of Asia and under their patronage started converting people of different religions to Christianity.”
2	Social Studies	“Under Muslim reign in Jerusalem, Muslim ruler’s treatment with non-Muslims, including Christians and Jews was very fair and just. They have always provided Christian’s full protection and had granted them all rights they deserved, but Christians never appreciated nor liked Muslim rule on Jerusalem... They provoked Christian to fight against the Muslims by inciting that, those who will die in a battle against Muslim will have reward and their all sins will be forgiven. ”
3	Pakistan Studies	“After the war of independence 1857 the Muslims were treated very badly in the sub-continent. It directly affected economic, religious, political and educational condition of Muslim. This was a very crucial stage for Muslims and for Sir Syed Ahmad Khan too”.
<p>1 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 8, Sindh Textbook Board, p. 96 45                  2 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board, p. 14                  Excerpts 1&amp;2 are from , <i>Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan: A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas</i>, 2011.p44                  3 Pakistan Studies Textbook, Grade 10, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board p.32                  Excerpts num 3 is from Content Analysis of Textbooks of Social and Pakistan Studies for Religious Tolerance in Pakistan’, 2011, 150.</p>		

The quoted texts have a radical message to the readers. Content is directed against Christians and Jews, which may breed victim mentality amongst Muslim. Proselytizing is a standard practice in many religions, and even Muslims exercise this with great zeal. Giving an impression that due to colonial power Christians forcefully converted people from another religion to Christianity is not good for interreligious harmony. The content can be used to incite hatred and animosity against Christians and Jews.

## 5.7 Anti-India and hostility against Hindus

1	Social Studies	“Muslims treated Hindus in [a] very good manner despite that Hindus used to maintain deep animosity against Muslims.”
2	Social Studies	“.... But 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.”
3	Social Studies	“Before the Arab conquest the people were fed up with the teachings of Buddhists and Hindus.”
4	Social Studies	“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 a lot to the Hindu culture and set up.”
5	Social Studies	“All those who created the Two Nations Theory were primarily the supporters of Hindu-Muslim unity. However, what made them to take first steps towards the preservation of a separate Muslim identity was the racist mentality of Hindus.”
6	Pakistan Studies	“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 the ‘East Pakistan’ started mobilizing their fellow citizens against the ‘West Pakistan.’
7	Social Studies	“India is our traditional enemy and we should always keep ourselves ready to defend our beloved country from Indian aggression.”
<p>1 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 4, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board, p.16  2 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 5, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board, p. 6  3 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 6, Punjab Textbook Board, p. 97  4 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 6, Punjab Textbook Board, p. 100-101  5 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 8, Balochistan Textbook Board, p. 111  6 Pakistan Studies Textbook, Grade 9/10, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board, p. 31  Excerpts 1 to 6 are from , <i>Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan: A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas</i>, 2011.p43  7 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 5, Punjab Textbook Board, p.100  Excerpt num7 is from “Curriculum of Hate” 2008</p>		

Abovementioned excerpts are partly radical, partly extreme: They inject a mentality for animosity against Hindus and thus prepares the minds of young people, so they will be ready for violence in case of conflict

### 5.8 Collective memory of Physical Violence

1	Social Studies	“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.”
2	Social Studies	“... 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.”
3	Social Studies	“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 the ever-increasing compound interest...In short, there was no sympathy for humanity. People were selfish and cruel. The rich lived in luxury and nobody bothered about the needy or those in sufferings.”
<p>1 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 8, Sindh Textbook Board, p. 98                  2 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 8, Balochistan Textbook Board, p. 119                  3 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 7, Punjab Textbook Board 2010, p.13                  All these excerpts are from , <i>Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan: A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas</i>, 2011.p45</p>		

In these examples, radical content reminds a reader of violence and atrocities committed by non- Muslim against Muslims. The historical facts should not be hidden. However, it can surely be used for mean political purposes, namely to create hateful and belligerent minds, and also be exploited for political purposes. Carefully four religion are held responsible, namely British (Christian’s), Hindus, Sikhs and Jews, for viciousness and inhumanity.

### 5.9 Fear, anger, hatred

1	Social Studies	“The foreign cultures are leaving deep influence over the Islamic values because of the electronic media. There is every 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, take care of our basic views with love and devotion for Islam. This can ensure the safety of our country. The 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 in need.
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		It is more needed today because Pakistan is the only Islamic country which is an atomic power. Some people call this atomic power of Pakistan as Islamic bomb. Today, all the anti-Islamic powers look at Pakistan in such a way that we may remain away and aloof from the leadership of the Islamic world... The spirit of jihad may be inculcated among the people and Islamic viewpoints may be propagated.”
2	Pakistan Studies	“The western powers were get-together with Jews to eradicate Islam and Muslim”.
<p>1 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 5, Punjab Textbook Board, p.7 Excerpt num1 is from , <i>Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan: A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas</i>, 2011.</p> <p>2 Pakistan Studies Textbook, Grade 10, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board p.32 Excerpt num2 Content Analysis of Textbooks of Social and Pakistan Studies for Religious Tolerance in Pakistan, 2011.</p>		

The above excerpts are taken from the social studies textbook of grade 5 of Punjab board reflects the fear, anger, hatred and a *siege mentality* among students. Extreme content again remind the reader that divine religion is in danger by foreign culture. Identifying a bomb with religion Islam is extreme. Bomb kill people and making religious connection with bomb is precarious. Authors of the curricula believe that western power and Jews desire to obliterate Islam and Muslim. However, authors did not gave much details that how Non-Muslim will eliminate Muslims from the world.

### 5.10 National, Ethnic and Religious Prejudice

1	Urdu	“Hindu has always been an enemy of Islam.”
2	Social studies	“The religion of the Hindus did not teach them good things -- Hindus did not respect women...”
<p>Urdu Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 108 Muasherati Ulum for Class IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1995, p 81 Excerpts are from <i>The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan</i>, 2003.</p>		

The first example is extreme, although under peaceful circumstances this might just be “bad propaganda”. However, in the context of a tense political situation, it may - and will probably - be used to incite hatred against Hindus both in India and at home. The second quotation may be considered as “just an opinion” about Hindus. However, religious absolutism is the core of modern day religiously motivated terrorism. This makes it potentially dangerous. Content explicitly teaches Muslims to disapprove the values of peoples of other beliefs, according to their own religious imaginations.

### 5.11 Factual Inaccuracy of History

1	Social Studies	“When India was defeated in the war of 1965, she excited the Muslims of East Pakistan against the Muslims of West Pakistan. For this purpose, India sought the help of those Hindus who lived in East Pakistan. Ultimately, India attacked East Pakistan in December 1971 and helped the East Pakistanis to sever their relations with West Pakistan. Thus East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan.”
2	Social Studies	“History has no parallel to the extremely kind treatment of the Christians by the Muslims. Still the Christian kingdoms of Europe were constantly trying to gain control of Jerusalem. This was the cause of the crusades.”
3	Social Studies	“European nations have been working during the past three centuries, through conspiracies on naked aggression to subjugate the countries of the Muslim world.”
<p>1 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 5, Punjab Textbook Board, p.123                  2 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 7, Punjab Textbook Board, p. 25                  3 Social Studies Textbook, Grade 7, Punjab Textbook Board, p. 44                  Excerpts are from “Curriculum of Hate” 2008</p>		

Examples contain the considerable amount of exaggeration and factual inaccuracy. Writing of independent writers does not confirm the Pakistani version of 1965 and 1971 wars. 1965 war was the result of Pakistani covert mission on occupied Indian-held Kashmir. 1971 war was the resultant of unfair treatment of East Pakistan by West Pakistan. The Crusade is not a very relevant criticism of modern Christianity. Knowing how terrorist organizations have exploited the “Crusades card” to incite devoted Muslim believers to commit terrorism both at home and abroad, such statements in textbooks can only bring mistrust within society, and against other nations. Muslims world problems are not solely due to European colonialism, imperialism or proxy wars. Mismanagement, related to lack of democracy, human rights abuse, education and development, women empowerment, poverty and so forth Muslims have done by themselves even after decolonization. I argue that the last line is extreme not radical because “Using history and external forces as explanation for Pakistan’s problems in social studies textbooks for children, may foster victim mentality, tendencies to blame others for internal problems, *and fatalism.*”

### 5.11.1 Discussion and Analysis of the text

In Pakistan the nexus between, education, religion, and national identity is a complex phenomenon, and as such, it causes serious problems.<sup>311</sup> This phenomenon is not limited to Pakistan only. This mixture has provided fuel to the conflicts of Israel-Palestine, Northern Ireland, Bosnia-Serbia, Sri Lanka, etc.<sup>312</sup>. In addition, it also played a significant role in political instability in such places as North Korea, Taiwan<sup>313</sup>and South Africa under the apartheid regime.<sup>314</sup> Governments and policy makers of the aforementioned countries have used education as an instrument to promote animosity towards the rivals. In these ethnoreligious conflicts, the educational curriculum encourages conflicting historical narratives to fan the flames and stimulate the climate of resentment and mistrust.

The educational curriculum of Pakistan was designed along the religious lines to shape the national identity based on Islamic political ideology.<sup>315</sup> The curriculum includes stories of religious and national wars and highlights the importance of jihad and martyrdom. Pakistani educationalist Nayyar and Salim noted that school textbooks contained insensitive material towards religious minorities and women.<sup>316</sup> Also, the curriculum includes “factual inaccuracy and omissions for ideological ends, encourages religious and ethnic prejudice, foster gender stereotypes and intolerance, and glorification of war”.<sup>317</sup>

It can be argued that the field of education has remained a battlefield for political discussion since the 19<sup>th</sup> century over the large part of the world. Regarding Pakistan, the relationship between politics and religion in the country has remained ambiguous and contested. In the educational curriculum and discourse, the role of Jihad and martyrdom is very evident. It has been used to highlight the struggle against colonialism; the efforts made towards Pakistan’s independence and the promotion of the fight against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The figure below will illustrate the kind of structural, cultural and educational variables that can or may contribute towards war, violence and terrorism. Space does not permit a complete discussion of all the possible causes of terrorism. The figure in appendix 2 gives an overview of possible structural, cultural and educational causes of terrorism. Since each cause may interact with all the others, the complexity must be reduced. Therefore, I will focus on educational content, and treat cultural and structural factors in a holistic manner. I will show how educational content must be qualified by the context, and how the significance and meaning of educational texts is strongly dependent on the context.

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<sup>311</sup>Lall 2008

<sup>312</sup>Davies n.d.p119

<sup>313</sup> Korostelina 2008

<sup>314</sup>Davies n.d.

<sup>315</sup> Ahmad 2004b

<sup>316</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>317</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003 p6

## Glorification of War

Political violence and romanticizing wars occupy a unique position in the collective Pakistani psyche.<sup>318</sup> The curriculum content examination suggests that the Ministry of Education was eager to highlight the violent part of Islamic and Pakistan's history to inculcate militarism amongst students.<sup>319</sup> Undeniably, the partition of India and the independence from the British colonial rule was not peaceful. In fact, it was arguably the bloodiest part of Pakistani history. Pakistan's wars with its neighboring country India, the East Pakistan disintegration, the Afghan War and the ongoing War on Terror account for a history of violence. However, it is not prudent that each generation should learn about the details of the wholesale carnage that occurred during the previous century, unless they also learn how and why not to repeat it.<sup>320</sup>

In 66 years of Pakistan's short history, the military dictators have ruled the country by the means of martial law and the removal of the elected civilian governments for almost 30 years.<sup>321</sup> Popular joke in Pakistani society reflects the reality of Pakistan that "all countries have armies, but here, an army has a country".<sup>322</sup> Indisputably, the military enterprise is the biggest stakeholder in Pakistan. During their stint in power, they purposefully glorified war to justify their existence and power in the state. Miller and Affolter have pointed out that "social conflict provided steady work for soldiers",<sup>323</sup> and Pakistan is a case that supports their claim. In effort to militarize the society and create superiority concept among the Pakistani citizens, such advertisement is common in discourse: "*The Finest Men Join the Pakistan Army.*"<sup>324</sup>

However, even in peacetime, military and civilian leaderships glorified wars for political reasons. Emphasis has been placed on the role of martyrs to recruit soldiers and support for future wars. The glorification of war and the use of force can cause serious problems among children about their ability to empathize with other groups and ethnicities.

It has been observed that students have been exposed to war stories from the age of ten. The curriculum content even contains the accounts of the first Islamic war in 624 A.D, fought against non-Muslims under hostile circumstances. Furthermore, the curriculum values bravery, heroism, patriotism and valor of young Muslims. Stories of young Muslim commanders who fought against Non-Muslims are included to inspire students. One such story is the story of Muhammad bin Qasim, who conquered Sindh a province of Pakistan at the age of 17. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Muslim prince Tipu Sultan fought a war against the British colonial army at the same age. In my opinion, the stories of juvenile commanders do not produce any fine effects on students. Firstly, the school children at such an early age idolize commanders due to the alluring nature of these war stories where the main protagonists are portrayed as infallible, almost saint-like figures. Secondly, considering these wars were fought against Non-Muslims,

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<sup>318</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>319</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>320</sup> Harris 2004

<sup>321</sup> Behuria, 2010

<sup>322</sup> Hoodbhoy, 2004, p 123.

<sup>323</sup> Davies, p110.

<sup>324</sup> Hoodbhoy, p124.

the stories tend to vilify and delegitimize them. The first story recounts that Bin Qasim invaded and conquered Sindh purely on humanitarian grounds. One can argue that the occupation of Afghanistan and invasion of Iraq by US was also carried out for humanitarian reasons.

The curriculum is dominated by martial values of Caliphates, Muslim rulers and the struggle against colonialism. In addition, most of the stories depict a violent struggle against non-Muslims. The authors of the textbooks carefully placed Qur'anic verses out of context to justify Muslim rulers' violent conquests. In Madrasahs textbook, the concept of Jihad is reduced to violent aggression and the broader meaning was ignored.<sup>325</sup> Chapter 3 is been dedicated for the conceptualization of Jihad. It can be argued that extremists seek validation of their terrorist acts through the misinterpretation of qur'anic verses out of context. "*Kill the pagans [or infidels or unbelievers] wherever you find them*"

Considering that it has arguably promoted terrorism and violence across Pakistan, teaching of jihad and martyrdom is a source of grave concern. Children are taught the importance of Jihad in terms of violent struggle and its benefits in the afterlife. This subject matter is made more appealing for students by drawing on the war stories harkening back to the early era of Islam. The lessons of Jihad and martyrdom were designed so as to depict a win- win situation only for Muslims. If a Muslim goes to war and succeeds, his name would be among the Ghazis (Muslim warriors who come back alive after a successful fight or conquest); if a Muslim dies, he would be a martyr graced with a gift of eternal life. One can ask a question whether it is a rational choice to teach students about these sensitive topics at their early age. General wisdom suggests that war is about aggression and killing and as such, learning about it at a very early age, devoid of the right cultural and historical context, can appeal to the aggressive urges in children.<sup>326</sup>

Looking at the curriculum, it appears that heroism cannot be achieved without violence. Heroism is attributed to the sacrifice of one's life for the cause. The glorification of war is providing a lens for children to see the solution of conflicts through wars rather than peaceful means. Gregor Ziemer's *Education for Death* describes the educational method used by Nazi Germany which also focused on the glorification of war.<sup>327</sup> It promoted the importance of martyrdom and self-sacrifice for the German cause. Furthermore, the curriculum emphasized the importance of the military prowess for the survival of the nation. I did not find a similar level of extreme content in Pakistan's educational curriculum. However, the pervading themes of Jihad, martyrdom and just military conquests indeed pose a genuine threat to the peaceful co-habitation in Pakistan. To sum up, not only does glorification of war in educational content contribute to the violence but it also sets up obstacles towards "peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding strategies".<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> Hosena, Ahmad, and Arif 2011

<sup>326</sup> Bender and Frosch 1942

<sup>327</sup> Bartov 1998

<sup>328</sup> Harris 2004 p17

## Religious Insensitivity, Ignorance, and Discrimination

According to Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, "Pakistan is the third least tolerant country in the world in terms of social acceptance of religious diversity".<sup>329</sup> Constitution allows Non-Muslims to have full religious freedom. However, ignorance about minority rights are prevalent. Non-Muslims students till grade 3 are forced to read a compulsory book called (*Meri kitab*) My Book which contain seven chapters related to Islamic education.<sup>330</sup> After 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade religious minorities learn ethic instead of Islamiyat. However, the delivery of the ethic course largely depends on the availability of teachers, textbooks and minimum number of students. Thus, sometimes it forces Non-Muslim students to examine on Islamiyat to progress and get better grades.

This study also confirms that the content of the subjects such as Urdu, English and social studies/Pakistan studies is insensitive and aimed at devaluing and dehumanizing religious minorities of Pakistan. Educational critics Nayyar and Salim noted in their study that "Muslim majoritarianism in Pakistan amounts to creating an environment for non-Muslims in which (1) they become second-class citizens with lesser rights and privileges, (2) their patriotism becomes suspect, and (3) their contribution to the society is ignored"<sup>331</sup> with regard to formation and development of Pakistan. (4) Muslims are brothers to other Muslims and non-Muslims are excluded. All these factors may contribute to students being more insensitive towards minority groups.

An example from the textbooks will provide a better understanding of how we indoctrinate students to be intolerant towards religious minorities. "*Hindu has always been an enemy of Islam.*"<sup>332</sup> This line clearly showcases negative stereotyping of non-Muslims in Pakistan. It is pertinent to note that Hinduism is the second biggest religion in Pakistan with approximately 0.8 million followers after Islam.<sup>333</sup> Inoculating students with such content creates problems in maintaining religious harmony both within Pakistan and with its neighbors. Since, India has the biggest population of Hindu and such lessons are certainly not helpful to peaceful co-existence. The fundamental question is whether it is possible for any Hindu to be part of the mainstream Pakistani society and take an active role in it, if they are always considered the enemy of the state and its religion. Therefore, these themes are conducive to promote and foster discrimination and violent acts towards non-Muslims.

Madrasahs teacher and textbooks are more rigid and discriminating than mainstream textbooks. In these textbooks, Non-Muslims are portrayed as "(1) kafirs (infidels) or mushrakeen (pagans), (2) dhimmis (non-Muslims living under Islamic rule), or (3) murtids (apostates, i.e. people who have turned away from Islam)".<sup>334</sup> One possible reason for their narrow-mindedness to have limited or no interaction with Non-Muslims. Secondly Madrasahs is still

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<sup>329</sup> Hosena, Ahmad, and Arif 2011p17

<sup>330</sup> Hosena, Ahmad, and Arif 2011

<sup>331</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003p 25

<sup>332</sup> *Urdu Class V* 2002 108

<sup>333</sup> "Hindus Population In Pakistan" n.d. 3 April 2013.

<sup>334</sup> Hosena, Ahmad, and Arif 2011p51

using textbooks from 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century on religion that do not address the concern of modern life in a globalized world.

### **Islam is a Political Ideology**

In Pakistan, the educational curriculum depicts Islam as a political ideology rather than a religion. Islam is essentially the national ideology.<sup>335</sup> Pakistani Historian Dr. Mubarak noted that the aim of the revised curriculum was to reassert the fact that Pakistan had been created for Islam and that as such, it had no place for any other religion. Yvette Rosser, in her most cited work, also observed that the educational curriculum of Pakistan fostered a sectarian interpretation of Islam based on religious absolutism.<sup>336</sup> One can also argue that the educational content was revised for political reasons to find the religious justification for the purpose of advocating militancy. The curricula indicate that the curriculum-and-textbook authors see politics and religion are almost inseparable in Islam.

To make Islam the chief political ideology of Pakistan in 1956, the secular ideals of the state were replaced with a theocratic vision.<sup>337</sup> According to Ahmed the “purpose in presenting Islam as a national ideology has been to: (a) sanctify their political role in society; (b) galvanize social forces in Pakistan against India and the West; (c) unify the Muslim world;”<sup>338</sup>(d) to set foundation for Islamic state;(e) only pious and orthodox Muslims can become good and loyal Pakistani”.<sup>339</sup> This ideology has serious flaws. Creating animosity against outgroups based on a selective historical narrative has destroyed the plurality of the society and prompted absolutism. One can see no harm in the unification of the Muslim world for peace and economic cooperation much in the same way as secular. However, the political discourse gives the impression to students that the Muslim world has to unite least other religions will obliterate them. Again, we see how siege mentality is at the core of the problem.

In the second phase, the respective regimes adopted a foreign-influenced Islamic political ideology to set the foundation for the national unity. They arguably did so to assure their political survival. In the third phase, the government justified the privatization of violence in the name of Jihad and glorified the religious importance of martyrdom. There are several examples of Jihad and martyrdom in Pakistan’s history which will substantiate this assessment: For instance, during 1980, Jihadism was promoted to fight against the Soviet Union. In 1990s, Jihadism was launched against India in occupied Kashmir. Lately, when the culture of jihad has become a threat to Pakistan, the government has decided to fight against it. That is because now it has been acknowledged that the violent interpretation of jihad and the privatization of violence produce terrorism and political violence also among Muslims in Pakistan itself.

### **Millat concept, Muslim Brotherhood**

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<sup>335</sup> Ahmad 2004b

<sup>336</sup> Rosser 2003

<sup>337</sup> Hoodbhoy 2004

<sup>338</sup> Ahmad 2004, p39.

<sup>339</sup> Ahmad, 2010, p95.

The concept of *Millat* creates confusion among students by contesting the Western notion of the “nation state system”.<sup>340</sup> Moreover, it gives a hope that the alternative form of government is the Islamic regime based on the caliphate system.<sup>341</sup> The religious interpretation is presented in such a fashion as to portray Islam as rejecting the concepts of nation and nationalism. Mostly, it also emphasizes that the Western notion of nationalism is primarily founded on the grounds of ethnicity, region, race, color, language, and culture.<sup>342</sup> Furthermore, the religious discourse associates democracy with the Christian western concept of capitalism that is deemed alien to Muslims. Therefore, to question the legitimacy of a state based on a religion, and the rejection of the democratic state and its institutions are considered legitimate.<sup>343</sup>

The concept of *Millat* is advocated by the Muslim Brotherhood which necessarily means that every Muslim should be a brother to another Muslim.<sup>344</sup> The concept of Brotherhood also stresses that it is a religious duty of a Muslim to help a fellow Muslim brother in the hour of need. It is my view that the educational content and political discourse have mainly linked the brotherhood concept to the political issues rather than the social, moral and religious ones. It is pertinent to note that the concept of Brotherhood does not recognize political boundaries of the nationhood system.<sup>345</sup> Consequently, radicalized students take part in international politics of conflict rather than addressing the domestic concern. Historically, Pakistani students’ involvement in various surrounding conflicts was witnessed several times. Some of them took part in the Afghan conflict of the 1980s, Jihad in Kashmir in the 1990s and again in Afghanistan in 2001 when the US and its allied forces occupied Afghanistan.<sup>346</sup> Ultimately these Jihadists developed highly militaristic capabilities and started to pose a serious threat to the security of Pakistan upon their return from the aforementioned conflict zones.

Examples related to the historical events associated with Islamic democracies do not provide enough description and are sometimes presented out of context. As a result, students face a bewildering dilemma as to which democracy to follow, Islamic or Western style. It can be observed in the public discourse and religious rhetoric that the Western democracy is portrayed as a source of evil causing all problems faced by Muslims. Furthermore, students barely find more than a handful of examples of successful Muslim democratic countries, and the concept and basis of the democracy in these countries is rather vague. This situation creates a dangerous situation, because Western democracy is labeled as dangerous and unacceptable, while the Muslim democracy is vague and undefined.

The theocratic teaching challenges the secular concept of the nation-state system mainly because it is associated with the west.<sup>347</sup> Thus, it is deemed to be un-Islamic in extremists’ view. The basic notions of democracy and modern citizenship are presented with strong

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<sup>340</sup> Ahmad 2010

<sup>341</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>342</sup> Erich Marquardt and Christopher Heffelfinger 2008

<sup>343</sup> Hegghammer and Lacroix 2007

<sup>344</sup> Stern 2000

<sup>345</sup> Lee E. Dutter and Ofira Seliktar, 2007,

<sup>346</sup> Stern 2000

<sup>347</sup> Ahmad 2004

caveats.<sup>348</sup> On the other hand, the vague concept of Islamic democracy is presented with much zeal. I do not argue that the Islamic democracy is “flawed” while Western democracy is “flawless”. I only argue that the children should not learn at an early age that the opposite is the case. The examples given from the educational content clearly show that there are good reasons for this concern.

### **Muslim Moral Superiority**

Pakistan is not a religiously heterogeneous society in a real sense.<sup>349</sup> The educational content does not acknowledge the entire existence of non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan’s society.<sup>350</sup> In addition, the content also discourages pluralism and encourages moral absolutism of one faith, contributing to intolerance and unacceptance of difference. Such extreme values paved the way for “moral superiority that provides justification or legitimization for domination or active subjugation of outgroups”.<sup>351</sup> Furthermore, discriminating against and denying the fundamental rights of non-Muslims purely on the basis of their faith and belief is pervasive in the culture.

According to the religious competitive theory, the religious market is like any other economic market that runs on the principle of supply and demand. There is a demand for religions such as Hinduism, Christianity as well as other faiths in Pakistan. However, due to security concerns, religious minorities feel vulnerable and live in constant fear, abstaining from expressing their religious views and freely conducting their religious activities. Prior to the military coup and revised curriculum (1979), the religious minorities lived without grave constraints. However, following the revision the adverse effects were visible within a decade. The notion of moral superiority and absolutism, the duty to “command right and forbid wrong” was depicted as the right path of a good Muslim, and all other approaches to religion were considered “deviance”.<sup>352</sup> Non state actors began to control people and used violent means to enforce their self-assigned religious mission.<sup>353</sup> Initially, these groups were limited to the peripheral region of the Pak-Afghan border, but they subsequently spread throughout Pakistan and Afghanistan. The brutal regime of the *Taliban* in Afghanistan is a perfect example of such self-ascribed moral superiority evolving into the oppression of citizens, and minorities in particular.<sup>354</sup>

The revised curriculum promoted in-group love for Muslims and belittling non-Muslim out-group.<sup>355</sup> Sociologist Sumner also suggested that the in-group and the out-group are two sides of a coin.<sup>356</sup> In other words, the in-group association provides pride, demands loyalty, offers superiority and requires sacrifices from its members because of the existence of the out-group.

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<sup>348</sup> Ahmad.

<sup>349</sup> Zia 2003

<sup>350</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>351</sup> Brewer, 1999, p435.

<sup>352</sup> Hegghammer and Lacroix 2007p104

<sup>353</sup> Hello, Scheepers, and Gijssberts 2002

<sup>354</sup> Riedel 2010

<sup>355</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>356</sup> D Bar-Tal and Antebi 1992

In addition, it also provides the in-group members with the belief that they are righteous, pious, honest and credible. Simultaneously, the members of the out-group are dishonest, immoral and considered to be a source of evil. The out-group primarily causes all the real life problems which the in-group has to face. The in-group also expects members to hold some prejudice, and hostility for the members of the out-group.<sup>357</sup> To sum up, the sense of moral superiority justifies the corrosive measures against the out-group. The in-group holds the out-group responsible for the perceived injustice and grievances of the in-group members. Therefore, it “denies equal status, treatment” and peaceful co-existence for the members of the out-group.<sup>358</sup>

### **Victim Mentality delegitimization**

Bar-Tal has noted that “delegitimization is defined as a categorization of social groups into extreme negative categories that essentially deny their humanity.”<sup>359</sup> In Pakistan’s case, delegitimization was built on the premise that a vast number of Muslim lives were lost in various conflicts solely because the adversary could not tolerate their religious background. Delegitimization in Pakistan’s context is based on two themes. The first one is based on an individual interpretation of the religion where all the non-Muslims are considered to be the enemy of Islam.<sup>360</sup> The second one is based on religious nationalism where India as a country and Hinduism as a religion are portrayed as delegitimizing Pakistan and Muslims in general.<sup>361</sup> Therefore, careful and cautious approach needs to be adopted to counter the potential threat of a policy of delegitimization.

The educational content referred to above seems carefully designed to give the impression to students that Pakistanis and Muslims are not the ones who delegitimize others, but it is them instead who are being delegitimized. For example, narratives of the 7<sup>th</sup> century which highlight the rise of Islam, focus on the lack of recognition of Muslims by Non-Muslims, how this triggered *violent Jihad* from Muslims against non-Muslims, and how this war finally defeated all “pagans”.<sup>362</sup> It is emphasized in great detail how Muslims were initially oppressed, persecuted and denied the freedom of expression by Non-Muslims. Even though some of this is true, educating children that Muslims are being delegitimized *because of their faith* has sown the seed of hatred and built bewildering attitudes toward non-Muslims.<sup>363</sup> In addition, it has also disturbed the religious harmony within Pakistan, even among Muslims.

Students are exposed to a content that highlights the brutal role of India and the colonizing power. It is mentioned that India has never willingly accepted the existence of Pakistan and that Britain favored India as it was not a Muslim nation.<sup>364</sup> Specially designated chapters were included to educate pupils about “oppression, wholesale massacre, wrongs and persecution that

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<sup>357</sup> D Bar-Tal and Antebi 1992

<sup>358</sup> Daniel Bar-Tal 2004

<sup>359</sup> D Bar-Tal 2003 p10

<sup>360</sup> International Crisis Group 2005

<sup>361</sup> Lall 2008

<sup>362</sup> Akbarzadeh and Mansouri 2010

<sup>363</sup> Saigol 2010

<sup>364</sup> Rosser 2003

Muslims had suffered in 1947 at the hands of the Hindus”.<sup>365</sup> Also, 1971’s bloody partition of Pakistan, and various other conflicts are presented as part of India’s insidious agenda to obliterate Pakistan.<sup>366</sup> These popular themes in books and discourse motivate students to identify the enemy, delegitimize them and seek revenge. To sum up, this type of discourse encourages students to explore the possibilities of retribution.

The victim mentality is based on various grievances, some of which can be perceived in everyday life.<sup>367</sup> These grievances primarily relate to the loss of human life, atrocities, and harm inflicted on innocent people and rights denied by others. Society perceives itself as a victim, and all the responsibility of malicious acts are then associated with “the enemy”.<sup>368</sup> In this process, all the victims are attributed a unique, sacrosanct status. In addition, those who lost their lives are perceived as martyrs of the cause. In Pakistan’s case, grievances are the product of both perceived and actual issues stemming from the economic instability, ethnic strife, and political border dispute all of which help sustain the violence.<sup>369</sup>

In the educational curriculum, all these variables of grievances are viewed through the religious lens. In this regard, a case is built in such a way as to depict Muslims as being perpetually targeted by Non-Muslims because of their religious beliefs. Muslims were attacked during the colonial era which consequently deprived them of from the Mughal and Ottoman Empire.<sup>370</sup> The content only presented selective narratives of the brutality of the colonial period. Rather than attributing economic and political reasons to colonialization, the emphasis was solely placed on religion and the Christian-Muslim dichotomy.<sup>371</sup>

In the discourse the conflicts in Afghanistan, the Kashmir dispute, Chechnya and Palestine, are “viewed as one element in a long chain of historical events that involve oppression and victimization of the in-group including events that are unrelated to the current conflict”.<sup>372</sup> The media and political discourse build the impression that not only have Muslims been marginalized in these conflicts but they have also been victimized throughout the history. This has “led to an interpretation of present events as a continuation of past victimization from others” which in turn helps form a strong victim mentality<sup>373</sup> and a strong sense of vulnerability among students.

In Pakistan’s case students learn about collective and cultural trauma through their family members, educational content, media, politics and other cultural activities.<sup>374</sup> Therefore, the memories of the past harm remain alive in the collective consciousness that shapes their beliefs

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<sup>365</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>366</sup> Rosser 2003

<sup>367</sup> Bartov 1998

<sup>368</sup> Daniel Bar-Tal 2004

<sup>369</sup> Vollhardt 2009

<sup>370</sup> Jalal 2009

<sup>371</sup> Nelson 2006

<sup>372</sup> Vollhardt 2009 p139

<sup>373</sup> Vollhardt 2009 p137

<sup>374</sup> Vollhardt 2009

at the societal and individual level and may also lead to the formation of group identification.<sup>375</sup> This leads to the massive resentment against the west, neighboring country India and identifiable groups of religious minorities. As a consequence, it promotes the concept of ‘us versus them’.

It can be assumed that the victim mentality and the perception of injustice can cause violence and terrorism.<sup>376</sup> Nazi Germany’s example shows how successfully the victim mentality was used to instigate World War II. The historical trauma of World War I and the perception of injustice following the Treaty of Versailles 1919 made it possible for Nazis to forge the sense of victimhood among German people.<sup>377</sup> Furthermore, the political rhetoric of victimization, sparked intense emotions among the masses that led to the development of the strong sense of group identification among Germans. This is how Nazi Germany’s political leaders have disseminated self-victimization to gain support for destructive policies and maintain power to cause havoc.<sup>378</sup> A comparison with the Nazi regime has its limitations, and should be used with caution. However, the tendency to legitimize one’s own belligerence by referring to victimhood and righteousness can easily be related to Pakistan’s case, where the military regime managed to create a similar type of collective frenzy with a large part of Pakistan’s population.

### **Hostility against India and Hindus**

A series of unfortunate events such as the 1971 partition of Pakistan, the military coup of 1977 and the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Iranian revolution in Iran 1979, forced the government to redefine Pakistan’s ideology. When East Pakistan seceded from Pakistan to become Bangladesh because of cultural and language differences, the policy makers constructed the anti-India image among masses to unite Pakistan. Furthermore, to mitigate the internal political tension over the military coup of 1977, India was depicted as the enemy of the state.<sup>379</sup>

In Najum Mushtaq’s words, “‘ideology of Pakistan’ as defined to students at every school and college in the country is nothing other than anti-Indianism. The narrative is constructed to frame India as the true enemy and the cause of all evil bestowed upon Pakistan. In every walk of life in Pakistan, from academia to journalism, from sports to bureaucracy the vast majority of people have been inculcated with fantastic anti-India notions”.<sup>380</sup> Galtung’s distinction between the negative and the positive peace can be observed in the educational content and discourse. Negative peace refers to “absence of war and violence” whereas positive peace posit “integration of human society”.<sup>381</sup> The content itself does not directly cause the war. However,

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<sup>375</sup> Vollhardt 2009

<sup>376</sup> S. J. Schwartz, Dunkel, and Waterman 2009

<sup>377</sup> Erich Marquardt and Christopher Heffelfinger 2008

<sup>378</sup> Erich Marquardt and Christopher Heffelfinger 2008

<sup>379</sup> Lall 2008

<sup>380</sup> Rosser 2003 p38

<sup>381</sup> Galtung 1969

curricula do incite enmity and violent sentiments towards India rather than the lesson of peaceful co-existence.<sup>382</sup>

The educational content specifically draws attention to the notion that India has never accepted the existence of Pakistan. Due to this notion the peaceful coexistence of both nations is difficult if not entirely impossible. As Bar-Tal noted that “coexistence is a state of mind shared by society members who recognize the rights of another group to exist peacefully as a legitimate, equal partner with whom disagreements have to be resolved in nonviolent ways.”<sup>383</sup> Contrary to this, the content of Pakistani textbooks emphasize that the state of Pakistan is under the continuous threat from India. Moreover, there is the claim that the peaceful resolution of the conflict is difficult to achieve because India refuses to work towards that goal. Thus, it is contingent on the loyal citizens to perform the national duty of defending Pakistan in case of Indian aggression. This kind of content builds negative intergroup relations and promotes hostility.<sup>384</sup>

### **Collective Memory of Physical Violence**

The physical violence that includes the killing of combatants and non-combatants holds a particular importance in the educational content.<sup>385</sup> Firstly, it is believed that the collective memory based on the loss of human life has an emotional appeal to a future generation. Secondly, it's hard to find the societal acceptance to compromise on the loss of lives. In the educational curriculum, chapters have been dedicated to those soldiers who died in extraordinary circumstances in order to protect the homeland from the enemy.<sup>386</sup> To preserve collective memory, permanent sites with prominent edifices have been allocated to commemorate soldiers who sacrificed their lives during battles.<sup>387</sup> As Mosse rightly pointed out: “War monuments commemorating the fallen, symbolized the strength and manliness of the nation's youth and provided an example for other generations to follow”.<sup>388</sup>

The educational content contains a bitter reminder of the brutality of the colonizing era, horrific memories of the partition of India, the war, and debacle of East Pakistan.<sup>389</sup> Selective use of historical events becomes very serious in light of Connerton's proposition that “our experience of the present very largely depends upon our knowledge of the past. We experience our present world in the context that is causally connected with the past events and objects”.<sup>390</sup> The example of the conflicts with India will provide an even better example of this, than the selective references to the Crusades and colonialism, because it is a recent phenomenon, alive in the collective memory of masses. Pakistan and India fought wars over the territorial issue of

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<sup>382</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>383</sup> Daniel Bar-Tal 2004 p253

<sup>384</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>385</sup> Hosena, Ahmad, and Arif 2011

<sup>386</sup> D Bar-Tal 2003

<sup>387</sup> Winter 1998

<sup>388</sup> Mosse 1990 p35

<sup>389</sup> Ahmad 2004

<sup>390</sup> Connerton 1989 p2

Kashmir. The longevity of this conflict with violent intervals encourages masses to sustain the collective memory.<sup>391</sup> The educational content holds India primarily responsible for the outbreak of all conflicts, and for creating stumbling blocks on the path towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict. A one-sided picture and selective use of historical facts serve the purpose of instilling the belief among students that they as Pakistani Muslims are righteous, know the real truth about these events, and so hold a superior moral position than that of their enemy.<sup>392</sup>

In Pakistan, the constant reminder of the atrocities committed by the enemy provokes the desire for "an eye for an eye" type of revenge.<sup>393</sup> Scheff suggested that vengeance is one of the most important psychological basis for international conflict.<sup>394</sup> Additionally, the importance of vengeance in *some* cultures of Pakistan is viewed as a national obligation for all others. Vengeance as a cultural product and the education that evokes the physical violence of past generations, can incite to war and violence.<sup>395</sup>

### **Fear, anger, hatred**

Fear, anger, and diffuse hatred are primary components of negative emotions towards an out-group.<sup>396</sup> In addition, these variables play a vital role in "shaping the societal context and in guiding group members' behavior in response to conflict".<sup>397</sup> These variables provide fuel to old conflicts, create an obstruction for peaceful co-existence and serve as a powerful negative emotion leading to negative behavior. All conflict variables are then viewed through the lens of group-based hatred towards the out-group.<sup>398</sup>

Firstly, the perceptions of continuous threat and vulnerability lead to the development of fear, under the influence of which one requires a lot of courage and patience to resist the urges of aggression.<sup>399</sup> The content places historical memories in such a context that leads to the conclusion that the world, in general, is hostile and hateful towards Muslims, as all other religions stand united against them. Strikingly, it emphasizes that Muslims cannot trust Non-Muslims. Specific stories from the 7<sup>th</sup> century are borrowed to present Non-Muslims as being deceitful and dangerous to Muslims.<sup>400</sup>

The constant reminder of group victimization and personal attachment to victims cause anger.<sup>401</sup> In Pakistan's context anger has developed the siege mentality which can be defined as "*a mental state in which group members hold a central belief that the rest of the world has*

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<sup>391</sup> Lall 2008

<sup>392</sup> Saigol 2010

<sup>393</sup> Erich Marquardt and Christopher Heffelfinger 2008

<sup>394</sup> D Bar-Tal 2003 p9

<sup>395</sup> Post 2005

<sup>396</sup> Halperin 2008

<sup>397</sup> Halperin 2008 p714

<sup>398</sup> Halperin 2008

<sup>399</sup> Hoodbhoy 2004

<sup>400</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>401</sup> D Bar-Tal 2003

*negative behavioral intentions toward them*’’.<sup>402</sup> The reason to develop such mentality was to provide support and find mass approval of a hawkish policy. The purpose was to find Jihadists on the basis of the concept of Muslim brotherhood and uplift their morale to fight somebody else’s war, such as the Afghan war, Jihad in Kashmir, etc. In Pakistan, the brotherhood idea was not presented to create pluralism in society. It was rather designed to reinforce the Muslim identity and in-group solidarity... This stemmed the in-group’s mistrust and raised suspicion towards the out-group. Thus, it gave Muslim students the impression that they were alone with all other religions, and that the others are all being hostile against them.<sup>403</sup>

Hatred is a cultural product of historical enmity. According to Halperin, ”hatred is a powerful, extreme, and persistent emotion that rejects the group toward which it is directed in a generalized and totalistic fashion”.<sup>404</sup> This phenomenon has served the ideological grounds and defined moral, cultural and religious difference between Muslims and non-Muslims. In this regard, Halperin suggests that the in-group holds the out-group responsible for an unjust war and the use of intentional excessive force. With the understanding that the in-group is not capable of defending itself.<sup>405</sup> This negative emotion can serve as the departure point to cause harm to the out-group.

To sum up, when it comes to violence and terrorism, the in-group has a limited contact or no contact at all with the out-group in most cases. Nonetheless, due to anger and hatred, the in-group pursues a goal oriented task of causing harm to or eliminating the out-group.<sup>406</sup>

### **Foreclosed Identity.**

The revised education curriculum was the act of “political socialization through education”<sup>407</sup> within the context of a hostile social climate. Since religion is the chief reason for the existence of Pakistan, it was easy to forge the identity of the new nation as a Muslim identity.<sup>408</sup> Pakistani educationalist Saigol suggests religion has been exploited virtually by all civilian and military regimes in Pakistan. Thus, religious ideology has emerged as the dominant factor in the polity of Pakistan.<sup>409</sup> Some argue that governments were diverting the attention of the masses from serious issues such as corruption, bad governance, and inefficacy through the means of Islamization.<sup>410</sup> Pakistan’s educational authorities designed curriculum to promote a negative feeling towards the out-group in a way that boils down to an *antagonistic national identity*.

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<sup>402</sup> Vollhardt 2009 p140

<sup>403</sup> Zia 2003

<sup>404</sup> Halperin 2008 p718

<sup>405</sup> Halperin 2008

<sup>406</sup> Brewer 1999

<sup>407</sup> Davies n.d.p118

<sup>408</sup> Ahmad 2004

<sup>409</sup> Saigol 2010 p7

<sup>410</sup> Zia 2003

## National, ethnic and religious prejudice

*“It is easier, someone has said, to smash an atom than a prejudice”.*<sup>411</sup>

The prejudice built on a deep-seated conflict poses a challenge to the society’s efforts to maintain peace. One can assume that the educational content to a great extent shapes cultural and political values of the society. One can argue that the historical and political tradition of Pakistan is marked with violence. In such a context, educational values have failed to produce the strong foundation for liberal and democratic values. Sociologist Weil noted that tolerance may be the most important feature of democracy.<sup>412</sup> The value of tolerance seems to be suppressed and trivialized in Pakistan. Consequently, it is easy to challenge religious heterogeneity and promote religious intolerance within the society. Furthermore, the present educational content encourages and fosters a conflicting collective narrative that molds the prejudice against non-Muslims in a “belligerent social climate”.<sup>413</sup>

The content was designed in such a way as to highlight national, ethnic and religious differences. In addition, it also reminds students of the massacres that occurred during the partition of India and the continuing hostility against India as well as other perceived enemies (The West, Christians, Jews, The USA, and Israel). Furthermore, it highlights the role of India’s hegemonic aspirations which as a consequence produces a continuously perceived threat reasserting the prejudice.<sup>414</sup> Non-Muslims in Pakistan are considered to be less intelligent, less hardworking, less trustworthy and less patriotic.<sup>415</sup> On the other hand, only pious and orthodox Muslims are deemed loyal to the state.<sup>416</sup>

Bokovoy analysis of Titoist Yugoslavia has some similarities with Pakistan’s case. Titoists promoted Yugoslav nationalism that consequently led to the undesired effect of promotion of ethnocentrism, as the political culture of Yugoslavia was not properly developed for such adventure.<sup>417</sup> In Pakistan’s case, the Zia regime promoted religious nationalism by importing ideology *Wahhabism* from Saudia Arrabi. This ideology was alien to Pakistani society. *Wahhabism* and other Islamic denominations were promoted through Madrasahs to revive Islam. However, this ideology took sectarianism to unprecedented levels in Pakistan, where sectarianism developed religious prejudice against other religions and other denominations than Sunni Islam. It has been observed that among the most extreme Jihadists, sectarian absolutism is so intense that Muslims and Non-Muslim are treated equally bad.. Recent attacks on Hazara Shia community and religious minorities of Ahmadis and Christians are perfect examples of how ethnocentrism and religious sectarianism can wreak havoc and threaten religious harmony even among Muslims in the Pakistani society.

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<sup>411</sup> Allport 1979

<sup>412</sup> Hello, Scheepers, and Gijsberts 2002

<sup>413</sup> Salomon 2003 p38

<sup>414</sup> Hello, Scheepers, and Gijsberts 2002

<sup>415</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>416</sup> Ahmad 2010

<sup>417</sup> Davies n.d.

## Factual Inaccuracy of History

*“History is always written wrong, and so always needs to be rewritten.”*<sup>418</sup>

*--George Santayana*

History and the education of history are both bitterly contested subjects within the realm of politics and educational settings.<sup>419</sup> The history education shapes the attitudes of students about the political situation and the shared past, and creates a strong in-group feeling and hope for the future.<sup>420</sup> In the curriculum, the history education focuses on Islamization and focuses on the conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims.<sup>421</sup> Also, curricula deliberately ignore the achievement and contribution of religious minorities that exist in Pakistan. Noted army officers such as Air Vice Marshalls Eric Gordon Hall, Michael John O’Brian and Chief Justice of Pakistan’s Supreme Court Alvin Robert Cornelius all were from the Christian community. Moreover, Chief Justice of Pakistan’s Supreme Court Rana Bhagwandas was from Hindu community. Non-Muslims careers and entire existence are unknown to a large part of Muslim society. Students are also unaware of the multi-religious history of the people of Pakistan, such as the fact that at the time of partition in 1947 there were more Non-Muslims in Karachi than Muslims.<sup>422</sup>

Volkan’s psychodynamic theory suggests that the historical content, intergroup relations and core characteristics of a social group are necessary to build and preserve “group identity”.<sup>423</sup> Volkan also suggests that identity develops through ‘chosen glories’ and ‘chosen trauma’.<sup>424</sup> Chosen glory is achieved through the presentation of selective content about myths and glamorization of achievement of past heroes and omission of alternative, competing facts.<sup>425</sup> Chosen traumas are accomplished through creating victim mentality and mythology. Both glory and traumas represent “a shared mental representation of the event, which include realistic information, fantasized expectations, intense feelings, and defense against unacceptable thoughts.”<sup>426</sup> These notions assist individuals in the creation of a strong bond with the group and its struggle for real or illusory group benefits. The discussion above illustrates how the content of history education makes a significant impact on social identity.<sup>427</sup>

In Pakistan, the history curriculum was based on Islamic ideology and emphasized (a) Faithful Muslims should embrace the values of brotherhood. (b) The concept of unity is promoted amongst Muslim so that they fight against non-Muslim. (c) Pakistan is presented as victorious with pious Muslims always exhibiting higher moral values and remaining pure. (d) Ideological

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<sup>418</sup> Asensio and María 2012.

<sup>419</sup> Korostelina 2008

<sup>420</sup> Korostelina 2008

<sup>421</sup> Al-Rasheed Madawi and Marat Shterin. 2009

<sup>422</sup> Hosena, Ahmad, and Arif 2011

<sup>423</sup> Volkan and Sinclair 1997

<sup>424</sup> Volkan and Sinclair 1997

<sup>425</sup> Davies n.d.

<sup>426</sup> Volkan and Sinclair 1997p 48

<sup>427</sup> Korostelina 2008

identity which rests on the chosen trauma, conflicting historical narrative, selective presentation of the out-group violence has been implemented to fight against the conflicting ideology. (e) Less stress on the importance of world history. (f) National identity has been replaced by Muslim Ideology and Muslim Identity (g) Religious intolerance.<sup>428</sup>

On 6 September 1965, Pakistan fought its first full-scale war with India. Textbooks claimed that it was caused by India's naked aggression and unprovoked attack on Pakistani soil to obliterate Muslims. Interestingly, no historical account refer to the context that India invaded Pakistan. According Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century- A Political History*, on July 28, 1965 Pakistani military leadership launched Operation Gibraltar in Kashmir valley at the advice of the then Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was later sacked.<sup>429</sup> Operation Gibraltar was "designed to instigate an insurgency among the local Kashmiris, who were to rally local resistance to support Pakistan. [Operation Gibraltar] fizzled out when four Pakistani soldiers were captured and, upon interrogation, revealed the purpose and plan of the attack. The failure of the operation exposed the activities of the Inter-Services [Intelligence] Directorate (ISI)".<sup>430</sup> However, operation Gibraltar's failure led to escalating war on Pakistan's west front, which curricula remember as Operation Grand Slam. Many experts believe that had there been no 1965 war, there would have been no 1971, which resulted in the secession of Bangladesh.

## 5.12 Summary

The aim of this chapter is not to find any definite answers to such a complex subject. Through this study, elements of curricula in Pakistan have been picked to describe the difference between neutral/descriptive, radical and extreme contents of school curriculum and textbooks, and assessed accordingly. Neutral and extreme contents are relatively independent and resistant to changes in the context. Radical content, on the other hand changes color according to context. The *interpretation and impact* of this kind of content is influenced by the context, and may contribute to the violent behavior of students. *Conflicts with neighbors, the promotion of religious biases, victim and a siege mentality, delegitimization of the opponent, and the memories of unresolved conflicts can be perceived as a dangerous amalgam of factors.* In Pakistan, textbooks present the interplay of power and knowledge through which the out-group is delegitimized and partly demonized, while the in-group is portrayed as a victim. New educational curricula should be introduced, with an emphasis on peace, religious tolerance and empathy, to build a prosperous Pakistan. Improved socioeconomic conditions and political empowerment would reduce the recruitment and so increase the relative costs of terrorism".<sup>431</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> Nayyar and Salim 2003

<sup>429</sup> Rosser 2003

<sup>430</sup> Rosser 2003p93

<sup>431</sup> Krieger, Brockhoff, and Meierrieks 2012, p25

## Chapter 6. Conclusion

This study made an honest effort to explore and analyze how the educational content of Pakistani curricula can promote violence and terrorism. The study was based on the content analysis of scientific reports on curricula and fieldwork interviews and documentaries provided the opportunity to understand the context.

Religion is a central feature for a majority of Pakistanis. This made Islam inseparable from political, economic and social issues. Thus, it also forces secular concepts must also be in accordance with teaching of Islam.<sup>432</sup> The military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq (1979) revised the educational curricula and textbooks under the influence of politically motivated extreme interpretation of Islam.<sup>433</sup> His regime also supported the ideals of the imported ideology from Saudia Arabia (*Wahabis*) and promoted religious absolutism which flared up sectarian violence in Pakistan.

Breaking down the content of curricula into smaller units to make an in-depth analysis within the cultural and structural context was illuminating. In the first phase, radical and extreme content was chosen. In second phase contents are viewed through the theoretical lens and discussed in detail with examples. The analysis confirms that radical and extreme contents do not produce fine effects on young people and students minds. Contents have a higher probability to promote violent attitude amongst students within the hostile social climate of Pakistan.

The aim of mainstream educational curricula is to foster Islamic identity and draw a parallel line between the protection of Pakistan and protection of Islam. Curricula plays a substantial role to create an antagonistic national identity based on extreme interpretation of religion. Educational content within the religious realm promote Islamic superiority, Jihad, and martyrdom and within the secular sphere it supports, glorification of war, victim and siege mentality. Analytically, the combination of religious and secular content is very thought-provoking. As a Muslims, they are superior but also a victim of global injustice. They have to be prepared to do Jihad to break the siege mentality and have a strong urge to achieve martyrdom. These conflicting lessons cause identity dilemma for students.

Educational content presents Islamic ideology to discriminate the people of other religion. In addition, teachers and political discourse inoculated students that only Muslims are pure and others are impure. Besides, curricula also contain elements of the religious bigotry, intolerance, distortion of historical facts factual inaccuracy, negative stereotyping and biases against religious minorities.<sup>434</sup> Also, achievements and contributions of non-Muslims are downplayed or not highlighted to deprive them equal citizens of Pakistan.<sup>435</sup> Derogatory references are standard when mentioning Non-Muslims and religious minorities, who are referred to as kafirs (infidels) or, in other words, as mushrakeen (pagans).<sup>436</sup> Moreover, Hindus are mainly considered as an eternal enemy of Islam. It is pertinent to note that Hindus and Muslims lived peacefully for centuries during Muslim Mughal Empire. Also, cultural values of Non-Muslim

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432 Cavanaugh 2006

433 Zia 2003

434 Nayyar and Salim 2003

435 Ahmad 2004

436 Hosena, Aḥmad, and Arif 2011

are regarded as immoral, whereas, Muslims have a high moral culture, according to this rhetoric.<sup>437</sup> I argue that all these factors within the structural and cultural dynamics of Pakistan can contribute to violence and terrorism.

This study confirms that Islam was not presented as a religion but as a political ideology aimed to benefit the regime's political interest.<sup>438</sup> This study does support the results of previous studies conducted on the educational content of Pakistan. *Islam, Democracy, and Citizenship Education: An Examination of the Social Studies Curriculum in Pakistan. Curriculum as Destiny: Forging National Identity in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan.* Nonetheless, this study highlighted in great detail how radical and extreme content can produce violence within the specific context of Pakistan which other studies did not discuss.

Apart from other variables Jihad and martyrdom were particularly emphasized in this study to elucidate their meaning within a belligerent social climate. Teaching of violent Jihad and encouragement of martyrdom by non-state actors and government to private citizens should be taken into account. Since 1979, respective military and civil governments supported and promoted privatization of Jihad for their vested political interest. Within the socio-economic and political conditions of Pakistan Jihad can serve many purposes. Jihad can be a source of employment, a religious duty, political expression and many more. This has caused a serious problem to the very existence of Pakistan and promoted violence and terrorism.

A moderate Muslim believes Jihad is a personal application of religion rather than political, and lesser Jihad can be fought only for defensive purposes.<sup>439</sup> But Islamic history is full of ambitious wars in the name of 'Jihad' where Muslims were up against their fellow Muslims, brothers and non-Muslims alike. Within 25 years of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H)'s death, the Kharijites, a sect of the Muslims revolted against their own Muslim caliph Ali son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) on the pretext that he deviated from the fundamentals of the Qur'an. In 680 A.D. at Karbala Hussein, the third imam, was killed by another Muslim Umayyad ruler and both sides claimed they fought Jihad. A recent example is the Iranian Revolution of 1979 where a Muslim ruler was ousted by another Muslim theologian claiming that the former was not following Islamic principles. 1980-1988 Iran and Iraq both Muslim countries fought a bloody war that claimed around a million casualties on both sides. All these examples reflect that the subject of Jihad with reference to martyrdom should be dealt with utmost care because of its complexity and conflicting historical narratives. Ayesha Jalal rightly puts it that "the contested and fluid meanings of Jihad in Muslim history suggest that the issue is not settled, certainly not for all time to come".<sup>440</sup> But one must hope that the Muslim world and especially Pakistan will learn from its mistakes and take corrective measures. This has been witnessed in the Christian western world through a series of political and economic revolutions resulting in an incline to rationality and a decline in religious radicalism and mythology.

My conclusion is that more research is needed on this subject.

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<sup>437</sup> Lall 2008

<sup>438</sup> Ahmad 2004

<sup>439</sup> Knapp 2003

<sup>440</sup> Jalal 2009 p303

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1

Participants were encouraged to present and share their views candidly to understand beliefs and perception of teachers about out-group and extreme content. I conducted interviews of university professors who have expert knowledge on this subject. Interviewing school teachers and class room observation would have been ideal. However, due to limitation of time and resources it was not feasible.

I interviewed three professors one from professor of public administration, International relations and Islamic studies of University of Karachi. I selected university of Karachi because of two reasons. First, in Pakistan I was doing my research in Karachi. Second, it was relatively easy to get appointment from professor if you personally visit them. Interviews were conducted at their respective comfortable offices and discussion lasted roughly one hour. Interviews were not recorded because they were reluctant on tape. Interviews were conducted in Urdu which is national and widely spoken language in Pakistan.

I selected public administration and international relation professors to get overview on political matters on a secular basis. I selected Islamic studies professor to get an account based on tradition and culture. According to Islamic studies professor for Madrasahs students, Jihad is the way of life and they can and will do Jihad on their own, if their *Imam* or teacher tell them do so. On the other hand, students from other streams of education will do Jihad solely on their own discretion. It is pertinent to mention that in my interviews, I did not differentiate between Jihad and violent jihad.

Regarding tolerance the professor of public administration remarked that in theory, teachers of public, private and Madrasahs knows the importance of tolerance. However, socio political context, sectarian belief of teachers, ideological stance and religious absolutism of Pakistani society heavily influence them and most of the time compromises are made on tolerance over personal preferences. He even said that teachers mainly of Madrasahs and public school use violence to maintain order and punish students severely for minor mistakes. This phenomena is more common in rural area. With reference to teaching of Jihad he said state should learn from its mistakes and refuse to further elaborate it.

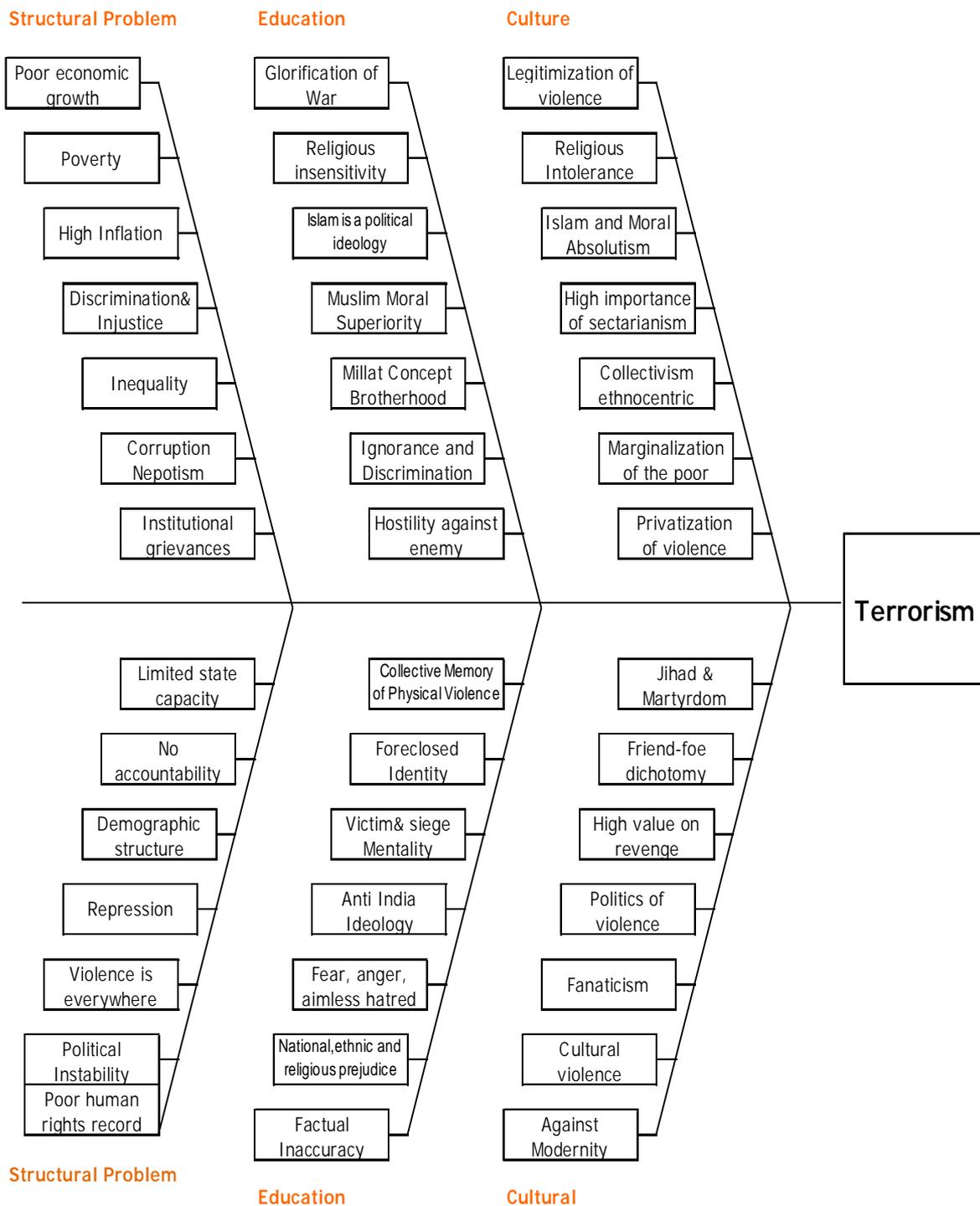
The professor of international relations warned that school teachers have very limited knowledge about the existences of religious minorities. Moreover, teachers have very negative views about Hindus, Jews and United states. He further asserted that jihad is commodity and it provide employments to those who need it. Mostly foot soldiers Jihadist are unemployed or underemployed people with identity crisis.

I interviewed two Christian students of age 17 from 10 grade at st. judes high school Karachi. It was Students discretion to answer or skip the questions. Discussion was not recorded in the interest of their security because Pakistani laws are very strict for religious minorities. I have selected two student to sit together and discuss to reduce the pressure because topic was sensitive for them. Surprisingly, tension was reduced during the course of interview. I asked

them how they feel about Pakistani society, are they satisfied with textbooks and did they ever felt marginalized because of their faith to get deeper insight about their grievance. Their answers reflected what curricula disseminated. As a Christian they were finding it extremely difficult to integrate in society. For them is difficult to be friends with Muslims because they are Christians and deemed to not trustworthy. Some Muslims were not sharing their benches, utensils, not eating our food, not accepting invitations to visit them at their houses. Some Muslims students even extended invitation to Christian students to convert to Islam. Muslim students view them associated with west and not loyal to Pakistan.

Two students from Madrasahs of age 17 were interviewed at local mosque there grades were unknown. Their views about Non-Muslim were tolerant. However, they were not willing to make friendship with Non-Muslim because they cannot trusted. I ask them about when they can do Jihad. Their answers were amazingly moderate and contrary to popular believe that they can wage jihad for defensive purposes. I asked them about their views of Western world they said west and America is the enemy of Pakistan and Islam. This is popular rhetoric which can be heard on every Friday sermon by firebrand Imam.

## Appendix 2



Structural, Cultural, and Educational variables may contribute to Terrorism: Towards a Causal Model.

Print advertisement from West Pakistan during 1971 civil war. These print ads ran from 14 to 18 December 1971.

**“Remember the PROMISE OF ALMIGHTY ALLAH** that, if you are steadfast in the path of Justice, He will bless you with final victory. Advance and strike at the enemy with the rallying call of Allah-o-Akbar. ‘God is with us’”

President Gen. A.M. Yahya Khan

**101** **ONE-O-ONE** is an ideal soap for instant, cleaner and economical laundering. Contains no harsh ingredients and does no harm to hands and clothes. Recommended for washing Cottons, Silks, Woollen and Nylon fabrics.

**TRANSPARENT SOAP**

DARBAR SOAP WORKS LTD. S.I.T.E. KARACHI-16

HAKESHAN

# JEHAD

**MEANS TOTAL COMMITMENT**

When Muslims are in a state of Jihad, total mobilisation becomes the need of the hour. Let each one of us work over and beyond the call of duty—Produce More, Export More, Save More and Avoid Wastage.

Habib Bank has made a contribution of Rs. 2.46 Crores to the National Defence Fund. The Staff of Habib Bank have not only donated a part of their salary, but they are going all out to collect donations for the national cause.

**DONATE GENEROUSLY TO NATIONAL DEFENCE FUND**

Donations accepted at all branches of Habib Bank Limited



**EXTERMINATE THE ENEMY ONCE AND FOR ALL**  
**CONTRIBUTE LIKE A MILITARY**



**Contribute  
generously to the  
NATIONAL  
DEFENCE  
FUND**

This is a war in which all of us have a duty to perform. While our Ghazis defend the motherland, we have to contribute to their success.

As a humble gesture, UBL has already donated Rs. 1.32 crores to the NATIONAL DEFENCE FUND. Our entire network of branches has been mobilized to go out with earnest zeal and collect contributions for the fund. The whole staff of UBL is at your service to call on you, advise you, and do all they can for this noble campaign.

Countrymen, no sacrifice is big enough for the nation.



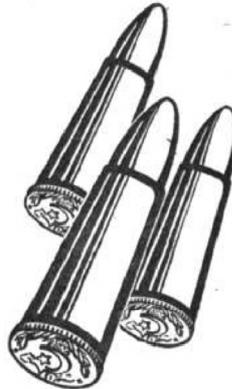
**UNITED BANK LTD.**

UBL.E.S.77.

LINTAB 881.

**silver bullets**

"Give me silver bullets and I will give you Pakistan" said the Quaid-e-Azam on the eve of 1946 elections. Silver bullets are again needed today to save the integrity & honour of our sacred homeland



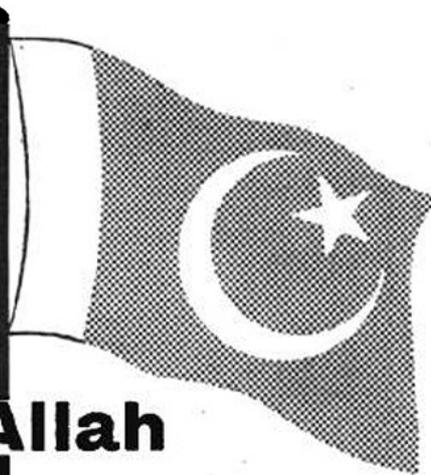
Donate liberally towards

**NATIONAL  
DEFENCE FUND**

With any of our branches all over Pakistan.

**Standard Bank Limited**

STANDARD BANK LIMITED



**Insha-Allah**

**we will emerge**

# Victorious



While our gallant forces are engaged in crushing the enemy in her territory, the entire nation has stood by them like a solid rock. We have resolved and it is our firm belief that Insha-Allah with the help of Almighty Allah we will give a crushing defeat to the coward enemy.



**RIZVI BROTHERS LTD.**

RIZVI CHAMBERS AKBAR ROAD SADAR KARACHI  
LAHORE-DACCA-CHITTAGONG

ORIENT

# **LADIES! RUSH TO JOIN JEHAD**

Donate generously woollen jersies of  
40" chest size to MUJAHIDS

Pure Mountaineous Jersey Wool at slashed  
down price of Rs. 4, 5, & 6 per Lb.

**Aftab Shafiq Qamar Shafiq & Brothers**

Glimmer Tex Show Room  
Opp: Saddiar Post Office, Victoria Road,  
Karachi.

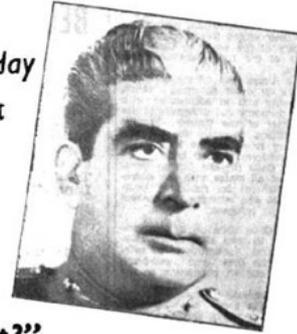
## APPEAL TO EVERY PAKISTANI

In the times of our Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) when Jihad Fund had to be raised, Hazrat Abu Bakr offered whatever he owned and Hazrat Omar gave away half of his wealth.

Today we appeal to every Pakistani; rich or poor, businessman or landlord, to donate at least 10% of his wealth towards the DEFENCE FUND. Whoever pays more will earn a greater reward from God Almighty. Today our valiant soldiers are laying their lives to protect us and our homeland. We must donate and donate generously to the Defence Fund to strengthen the hands of our Armed Forces.

(A)

*“Each hour of the day and night, you must ask yourself the question: **What contribution am I making to the national war effort?**”*



Contribute to the

### NATIONAL DEFENCE FUND



Donations accepted at every branch

**MUSLIM COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.**

ALYPIER

30/12/71

**Quaid-e-Azam  
said:**

**“Muslims can never be crushed. They have not been crushed during the last 1,000 years by any power. This is a dream and a hallucination. Shed them . . . Our religion, our culture and our Islamic ideals are our driving force . . .”**



**UNITED BANK LTD.**

UBL.E.4.71

LINTAB007

#### Appendix 4

Altaf Hussian Hali through his poem in *Musadas-I-Hali* depicted the plight of the Muslims of the Subcontinent during the colonial era and that situation has not changed much and remains the same at large.

If the stranger worships idols, he's an infidel;  
If he believes in the son of God, he's an infidel;  
If he calls fire his god, he's an infidel;  
If he attributes miracles to the sun, he's an infidel  
But for believers the ways are expansive.  
They may happily worship whom they like,  
Turn the Prophet into God if they wish,  
Give imams a status higher than the Prophet,  
Visit shrines to offer gifts day and night,  
Or pray to martyrs if they so desire.  
The unity of creation is not impaired  
Nor Islam distorted, nor does faith take its leave