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Review of Pakistani Textbooks

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Executive Summary

This report examines 86 government-approved textbooks currently in use across three educational boards in Pakistan: Punjab, Sindh, and the Federal Directorate. These three regions hold demographic and political significance. They also vary in teaching region-specific curricula and the Single National Curriculum, providing an interesting point of comparison. Textbooks reviewed include English, Urdu, Islamic Education, Social Studies, History, Geography, Mathematics, Science, Home Economics, and Ethics.

The report provides a comprehensive overview of how themes such as the character of the state, democracy, the portrayal of "the Other," Islamic principles, representations of non-Muslims and other religions, foreign policy and gender are presented across Pakistani curricula. These are assessed against UNESCO-derived standards for education including respect, anti-incitement, peacemaking, gender identity, and representation.

In many places, the curricula fall short of these UNESCO-derived standards. While some content promotes general concepts of tolerance and understanding, the textbooks frequently sideline non-Muslims and foster hostility towards specific groups such as Jews and Pakistan's neighbor India.

Islamic Republic: Textbooks consistently portray Pakistan as an Islamic republic, emphasizing its founding as a homeland for Muslims. Students are taught that Pakistan was established "exclusively as a free state for Muslims". While textbooks frequently affirm that minorities live freely and happily in Pakistan, there is little examination of their status or implications of living in an Islamic republic.

Democracy: Democracy is frequently hailed in textbooks as an ideal. However, there is little critical examination of the authoritarianism which has been a feature of Pakistan's history. The theoretical approval of democracy is further undermined by textbooks which criticize democracy's inefficiency. Meanwhile, authoritarian leadership (including dictatorships) is occasionally hailed for its perceived benefits. A History textbook even praises Hitler for restoring German pride, omitting any mention of the horrors of Nazism.

India and Hindus: Pakistani textbooks consistently portray India as a historic adversary and a contemporary hostile neighbor. No important agreements between the two countries are mentioned. In some cases, the textbooks present India posing a threat to Muslims or Islam through jihad discourse. In particular, the Kashmir conflict is attributed to Indian wrongdoing. Hinduism itself is sometimes positively portrayed, referred to as a religion of "love, tolerance, compassion, sacrifice, and peace." However, in the context of the Partition with India, Hindus are mainly described in deeply negative terms, in particular ascribed with "extremism" and violence against Muslims.

Islamic Principles and Islamization: Islamic values are woven into the curriculum beyond Islamic Education, including multiple seemingly secular subjects. Central Islamic tenets and the performance of blessings are repeated across disciplines including General Knowledge and Mathematics. In a Grade 3 Urdu language textbook, students learn that Allah created the sun, moon, and all living things. Meanwhile, in multiple Islamic Education textbooks, jihad is described primarily as a physical struggle or armed defense.

Gender: Textbooks offer a mixed picture of gender representation, oscillating between progressive messages and entrenched patriarchal norms. Some textbooks highlight women's contributions across fields such as politics, education, and science. However, this is frequently undercut by the reinforcement of traditional gender roles and dress codes, as well as implicit messaging that limits female agency. Notably, in one known case, criticism has convinced textbook authors to mitigate some traditional gender roles.

Foreign Policy: Pakistani textbooks present the country's foreign policy through a lens of Islamic identity and national pride. Pakistan is repeatedly portrayed as a vanguard of the Muslim world, often at odds with the West which is accused of opposing Muslim progress. Textbooks emphasize Pakistan's leadership in founding the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), as part of a divine mission to unify Muslims, supporting them "on every front in their war against Israel". A Pakistan Studies textbook teaches that Israel is responsible for the deteriorating humanitarian crisis in Gaza, particularly after October 7, 2023, without any reference to the Hamas-led attack on Israel. The textbook also describes the role of the United Nations in resolving conflicts, particularly the Israel–Palestine and Kashmir issues, as ineffective and biased against Muslims. However, Israel is nonetheless acknowledged in a world map. Meanwhile, a Pakistan Studies textbook proudly states that "Pakistan became… the Islamic world's first atomic power."

Jews and Judaism: Judaism is notably excluded from comparative religion chapters that describe Hinduism, Christianity, Confucianism, and Taoism, effectively erasing it from the religious education curriculum. Jews are primarily referenced in terms of early Islamic history, in which they are consistently accused of treachery "as usual" and disloyal—multiple passages accuse the Jews of Medina of "conspiracies". An Islamic Education textbook aligns with the antisemitic trope blaming Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus (who is also a prophet in Islamic tradition). There is no mention of the Holocaust, even in a passage referring to Hitler's rule over Germany.

Non-Muslim religions: Some textbooks explicitly promote religious tolerance, with students taught that "All religions in the world teach peace, harmony, brotherhood, and tolerance." In particular, textbooks include passages which describe Hinduism and Christianity in positive terms. One textbook lists and acknowledges non-Muslim religious holidays as significant dates, including the Jewish festivals of Hanukkah and Passover. However, such mentions are largely symbolic, with little explanation of the meaning or practices behind these observances.

Foreword

"What is considered in education is hardly ever the boy or the girl, the young man or young woman, but almost always, in some form, the maintenance of the existing order." It was over a hundred years ago when Bertrand Russell recognised the reality that "almost all education has a political motive."[1] Some may view this as an overly cynical assessment. Yet, in the twenty first century it remains a truism that state-mandated school systems and curricula in modern states are a hugely instructive reflection of governmental ambitions and intentions for shaping society.

Given this reality, it is perhaps optimistic to believe that there would be a school curriculum somewhere that would rise above these imperatives of influence and power. There are variations, of course. One should expect to find much more blatant distortions in authoritarian states without popular legitimacy but we regularly come across attempts to manipulate institutions of knowledge and their curricula in the world's oldest and largest democracies. It is also impossible to believe that societies can go along with extreme actions carried out in their names even today unless the ground has been prepared by years of what can only be called indoctrination.

In this context, the revelations about the curriculum in Pakistan should come as no surprise. This detailed review reminds us of what scholars in the field knew from the findings of *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan*[2] which came out twenty years ago in 2005. I am convinced that when another review is conducted twenty years hence the situation would not be much changed unless the sustained mis-education triggers societal anarchy in the interim, an outcome that cannot be ruled out given the increasing intolerance and violence directly attributable to the manipulation of school education.

Nevertheless, this remains a very useful exercise serving as an updated baseline and raw material for scholars who wish to study the changing nature of school education in a typical authoritarian state. First, as the report itself notes, compared to the 2005 review, some aspects have improved while others have worsened. It is important to examine these differing dimensions and understand the reasons for the divergences. Second, it is critical to examine the social acceptance of such distorted curricula and why there isn't more resistance to the manipulation of education that so blatantly hurts the future prospects of millions of children. Third, there is need to figure out the cumulative impact of mis-education on policymaking – most of the current policy makers are products of distorted curricula, an outcome that is irreversible. Fourth, there is need to study school curricula in a comparative perspective to see if there is a general pattern that can explicate the phenomenon under consideration and to distinguish the reasons for the variations both across states and over time. The aim is to be analytical not judgemental.

The specific problems in public school education in Pakistan go well beyond the very obvious curricular distortions noted in this review. Foremost among these is the choice of an alien language, English, as the medium of instruction which, given the quality of instruction in public schools, immediately rules out the vast majority of children from competing for the limited available opportunities. It engenders recourse to rote learning that serves the objective of indoctrination without challenge. Second, the increasing encroachment of religion in the general curriculum furthers two ends: it comes at the expense of subjects that promote critical thinking and its content is such that it rules out critical inquiry. These are the essential lifetime

1 Russell, Bertrand, 'Education as a Political Institution.' The Atlantic, June 1916. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1916/06/education-as-a-political-institution/305258/

2 https://sdpi.org/sdpiweb/publications/files/State%20of%20Curr&TextBooks.pdf

skills that students need to outgrow and overcome, on their own, despite the distorted curricula to which they are subjected in school.

We should consider ourselves fortunate today that we have curricula even though we have to combat their misuse by modern states. The right to education has been won against great odds which is also why there are attempts to negate its outcomes. We should never forget that it was not very long ago in the Southern United States where it was a crime for people to learn and even for others to try and teach.

It is my hope that this meticulous and painstaking work will spur critical inquiry into school education and highlight the meta reality in which modern states use it to enshrine selected values and to further their interests. Too often, it comes at the very high cost of the welfare and development of millions of children. Their enlightenment and prosperity is crucial for peace in our world.

Dr. Anjum Altaf Lahore

Introduction

Background

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan, strategically located at the crossroads of South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East, is bordered by India to the east, Afghanistan and Iran to the west, China to the north, and the Arabian Sea to the south. A diverse and geopolitically significant country, Pakistan was created as a homeland for South Asia's Muslims, and emerged from the partition of British India in 1947. The partition plan, known as the Mountbatten Plan, was developed by the last British Viceroy of India, Lord Louis Mountbatten, and was accepted by both the Indian National Congress (representing Hindus) and the All-India Muslim League (representing Muslims).[3] The plan called for the creation of two separate nations: India and Pakistan (with Pakistan itself being divided into West Pakistan and East Pakistan, which later became Bangladesh in 1971). Since its independence, Pakistan has grappled with a complex political history marked by recurring military coups,[4] alternating civilian and military rule, and the enduring influence of the army in matters of governance and foreign policy.[5]

Comprising four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Balochistan as well as the Islamabad Capital Territory and disputed regions like Gilgit-Baltistan and Pakistan administered Kashmir, Pakistan is a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual federation. Urdu serves as the national language, while English remains a key language of governance and education. A significant portion of public-school textbooks are available in English, reflecting the widespread presence of English-medium institutions across the country. This is partly a legacy of British colonial rule, which entrenched English as a language of power, education, and upward mobility within the state apparatus; English is now required to be a progressive part of Pakistani society.[6]

Pakistan is an important and highly relevant country, owing to its large population (over 240 million), its status as a nuclear-armed state, and its pivotal role in regional and global security dynamics. It has fought four wars with India (1947, 1965, 1971, and 1999), due to deep-rooted tensions over the disputed region of Kashmir.[7] Additionally, Pakistan has a long-standing border dispute with Afghanistan over the Durand Line, a colonial-era boundary that Kabul has historically refused to recognize as the official border, contributing to strained bilateral relations.[8]

Around 96.3 percent of Pakistan's population is Muslim, with 85-90 percent identifying as Sunni, 10-15 percent as Shia, and 0.2 percent as Ahmadi. However, Ahmadis were constitutionally declared non-Muslims in 1974 and are legally forbidden from identifying as such or using Islamic terminology in religious practice.[9] The country is also home to small communities of Hindus (1.6 percent), Christians (1.6 percent), and other minority groups including Sikhs, Buddhists, Baha'is,

3 Y. Krishan, "Mountbatten and the Partition of India," *History* 68, no. 222 (1983): 22–38. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24418393.

4 Aditya Bhave and Christopher Kingston, "Military coups and the consequences of durable de facto power: the case of Pakistan," *Economics of Governance 11*, no. 1 (2010): 51-76.

5 Ian Talbot, "Does the army shape Pakistan's foreign policy?," Pakistan. *Nationalism without a Nation* (2002): 311-36.

6 Sadia Asif, Imran Afzal, and Rahat Bashir, "An analysis of medium of instruction policies in the education system of Pakistan with specific reference to English medium education," *SJESR* 3, no. 2 (2020): 370-382.

7 Jasjit Singh, "Pakistan's Fourth War," *Strategic Analysis 23*, no. 5 (1999): 685–702.

8 Bijan Omrani, "The Durand line: History and problems of the Afghan-Pakistan border," *Asian Affairs* 40, no. 2 (2009): 177-195.

9 Ahmad Salim, and Rizvan Saeed. "Minorities in Pakistan–the legal definition." *Routledge Handbook of Autocratization in South Asia* (2021).

Jews and Zoroastrians, who make up less than one percent of the population.[10] Pakistan has been repeatedly accused of supporting terrorist groups, many of whom have carried out major attacks in India, including the 2001 Indian Parliament attack[11] and the 2008 Mumbai attacks.[12] It was also central to the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan during the 1990s.[13] Most notably, Osama bin Laden, the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks was found and killed in Abbottabad, Pakistan in 2011, just a short distance from a major military academy.[14] Due to these issues, Pakistan was placed on the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) grey list between 2018 and 2022, following international pressure to curb terror financing and money laundering.[15] The country's fragile economy, marked by persistent inflation, low exports, energy shortages, and a heavy debt burden makes it deeply reliant on international financial institutions.[16] Bailouts and loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank,[17] and bilateral partners like China, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates have been crucial in avoiding economic collapse.

Pakistan's Educational System

Pakistan's educational landscape has undergone significant transformations since its creation in 1947, mirroring the nation's ongoing quest to define its identity and ideological trajectory. Upon its formation, Pakistan inherited a diverse educational system, which included public schools, private institutions, and religious seminaries—each representing different facets of the country's historical, cultural, and linguistic diversity. This pluralistic approach, shaped largely by colonial educational frameworks, was complicated by the country's religious and political landscape. The early years after Pakistan's independence saw attempts to unify this fragmented system into a cohesive national framework, but these efforts were continually influenced by the competing forces of secularism and Islamism, which would define Pakistan's educational discourse for decades to come.

In the aftermath of partition, the challenges of uniting a diverse population with varying cultural and religious backgrounds were evident. The first National Education Conference in 1947 was a pivotal moment, as it proposed an education system rooted in Islamic values, while also recognizing the importance of scientific and technical knowledge. This dual approach aimed to establish a cohesive national identity that balanced Islamic teachings with modernity. This balance was an early attempt to resolve the tension between religious and secular education,

10 United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, "Country Update: Pakistan", August 2022. https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/2022-08/2022%20Pakistan%20Country%20Update.pdf.

11 Srinath Raghavan, "A Coercive Triangle: India, Pakistan, the United States, and the Crisis of 2001–2002," *Defence Studies* 9 (2), (2009): 242–60.

12 C. Christine Fair, "The 2008 Mumbai Attack," in *The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat: From 9/11 to Osama bin Laden's Death*, Columbia University Press, 2014: 571-599.

13 Nasreen Akhtar, "Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Taliban," *International Journal on World Peace* (2008): 49-73.

14 Seymour M. Hersh, "The killing of Osama bin Laden," *London Review of Books* 37, no. 10 (2015): 3.

15 Noor Ftima Iftikhar, Syed Qasim Abbas, and Areesha Shahid, "Pakistan's FATF Journey 2018-2022: Preparing for the October 2022 Plenary: Summarizing Pakistan's Compliance with the FATF Regime," Research Society of International Law, Pakistan, 2022. https://rsilpak.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Pakistans-FATF-Journey-Global-Governance-Initiative-RSIL.pdf

16 A. Shaji George, "Causes and consequences of Pakistan's economic crisis," *Partners Universal International Innovation Journal* 1, no. 5 (2023): 1-20.

17 Faisal Cheema, "Macroeconomic stability of Pakistan: the role of the IMF and World Bank (1997-2003)," *ACDIS Occasional Paper* (2004).

an issue that would continue to surface in the policies and reforms that followed.[18]

A more decisive shift towards Islamization in education occurred during the 1980s under the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq. This period marked the start of an overt Islamization of Pakistan's educational system, which saw the compulsory teaching of *Islamiat* (Islamic Education) and the introduction of Arabic as a compulsory language. Zia's regime utilized education as a tool for political consolidation, as his Islamization policies sought to forge a national identity based on Islamic principles. The Zia regime used the educational curriculum to legitimize military rule by tying it to Islam.[19] This period witnessed the widespread introduction of religious education across all levels, with the state's narrative closely aligning with a conservative interpretation of Islam. The textbooks produced during this era emphasized the Islamic character of Pakistan, while minimizing or even erasing the country's diverse pre-Islamic heritage. Furthermore, the proliferation of *madrasas* (religious seminaries) under Zia's regime played a significant role in shaping the religious landscape of the nation. These *madrasas*, which offered religious education, were often aligned with the state's political agenda, promoting at times a conservative, narrow interpretation of Islam that excluded or demonized minority communities.[20]

The legacy of these policies remains evident in Pakistan's current educational system, particularly in the introduction of the Single National Curriculum (SNC) in 2020. The SNC was launched with the goal of standardizing education across the country, ensuring that all students, regardless of region or social background, received the same basic education. However, the SNC has raised significant concerns, particularly regarding its approach to religious studies. Critics argue that the curriculum has intensified the Islamization of the educational framework, which has led to a narrowing of educational content to the exclusion of minority religious perspectives. While the SNC aims to promote national unity, its focus on Quranic studies and religious instruction has raised alarm about its potential to marginalize non-Muslim communities and deepen societal divisions.[21] The SNC's approach to Islamic education reflects ongoing concerns about the role of religion in shaping Pakistani identity, with critics arguing that it prioritizes religious homogeneity at the expense of inclusive, critical, and pluralistic education.

Tilak Devasher's Framework of non-traditional security threats (NTST) in Pakistan underscores the importance of education in shaping national security. Devasher identifies four critical areas—Water, Education, Economy, and Population (WEEP)—as pivotal to the well-being of a nation and its citizens.[22] In this context, education emerges as a vital non-traditional security threat, one that is often overlooked in strategic forums. Devasher's approach calls attention to the urgent need to address Pakistan's educational crisis, which is reflected in the growing disparities within the education system. UNESCO reports reveal alarming statistics, such as the fact that only 40,000 out of 163,000 primary schools in Pakistan teach girls, highlighting a significant gender disparity. Moreover, the literacy rate in Pakistan remains low, with a gender gap that further exacerbates societal inequalities.[23] Pakistan's allocation of just 1.77 percent of

18 T. Ali, & L. Tahir, "Reforming Education in Pakistan – Tracing Global Links," *Journal of Research and Reflections in Education* 3, no. 15 (2009) : 1-16.

19 Tariq Rahman, *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004.

20 Idem, "Madrasas: The Potential for Violence in Pakistan?" In *Madrasas in South Asia*, edited by Jamal Malik, 24. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 2007

21 M. Afzal, *Pakistan's Single National Curriculum: A New Path for Education or a Road to Nowhere?*, Brookings Institution, 2021.

22 T. Devasher, *Pakistan: Courting the Abyss*. HarperCollins, 2016.

23 D. Shah, G. Haider, and T. Taj, "Causes of Dropout Rate at Primary Level in Pakistan," *International Journal of Curriculum and Instruction* 11, no. 2 ,(2019): 38–74.

its GDP to education in the 2021-22 Economic Survey underscores the lack of investment in education, which remains a major barrier to the country's development.[24]

Pakistani public schools, which serve the majority of the population, are often the focus of academic scrutiny due to their central role in shaping national identity and societal values. *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan* remains one of the most influential critiques of Pakistani public-school textbooks, offering a comprehensive analysis of the biases and distortions inherent in the curriculum.[25] This report revealed that Pakistani textbooks often present a monolithic Muslim identity, marginalizing religious minorities and presenting them as outsiders to the national narrative. The text also found that textbooks tended to glorify military heroes and historical figures, framing Pakistan's military confrontations as justifiable, while ignoring or downplaying peaceful solutions. The report highlighted the problematic exclusion of critical thinking in these textbooks, where rote memorization was encouraged, rather than fostering inquiry or intellectual development.

Fatima Ebadat Khan's study of historical revisionism in Pakistani textbooks builds upon this argument, asserting that textbooks systematically manipulate historical facts to create a narrative that aligns with the political ideologies of the ruling elites.[26] Khan points out that the distortion of history in textbooks fosters a sense of ideological homogeneity, where those who do not align with the state's narrative are considered outsiders. This revisionist history, Khan argues, plays a crucial role in cultivating resentment towards religious and ethnic minorities, as well as foreign nations such as India and the West. Textbooks often portray non-Muslim communities, particularly Hindus, as enemies and collaborators with Pakistan's perceived adversaries, which exacerbates religious and ethnic tensions within the country.

Ashar Johnson Khokhar further explores how textbooks contribute to the creation of an "us versus them" mentality.[27] His research found that textbooks, especially those dealing with history, Urdu, and Pakistan Studies, systematically depict a narrative where Muslims (especially from the era of Muhammad bin Qasim) are framed as heroes, while Hindus and other non-Muslims are depicted as enemies. Khokhar's study emphasizes that the curriculum's portrayal of India, particularly the partition of 1947, continues to reinforce divisive narratives, with Hindu India consistently framed as the archenemy of Pakistan. By presenting Muslim rulers as benevolent figures and Hindu rulers as oppressive and intolerant, these textbooks contribute to a sense of Islamic superiority while downplaying the country's multi-ethnic and multi-religious foundations.

The findings of the 2015 USCIRF report titled *Teaching Intolerance in Pakistan: Religious Bias in Public School Textbooks* further illuminate the extent of religious bias in Pakistan's educational system.[28] According to the report, textbooks used in Pakistani schools frequently promote distrust and intolerance toward non-Muslims. These texts often depict religious minorities as untrustworthy, inferior, and aligned with Pakistan's enemies. For example, the report points out that Hinduism and Christianity are consistently misrepresented, with Hinduism portrayed

24 K. Abbasi, "Only 1.77pc of GDP spent on education last year," *Dawn*, June 10, 2022. https://www.dawn.com/news/1693997

25 A. H. Nayyar and Ahmed Salim. The Subtle Subversion: *The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan*, Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, 2003.

26 F. E. Khan, "Historical Revisionism in Pakistani Textbooks: A Case Study of Public School Curriculum," *Scholedge International Journal of Multidisciplinary & Allied Studies* 5, no. 8 (2018): 89-98.

27 A. J. Khokhar, "'Us' and 'Them' Analysis of History Textbooks Studied in Pakistani Schools," *Revista de Educación* 392 (2021): 191-212.

28 United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, *Teaching Intolerance in Pakistan: Religious Bias in Public School Textbooks*, Islamabad: United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, 2016.

as a cruel and unjust religion, and Christians as allies of colonial powers. The USCIRF report also highlights that while some progress has been made in removing objectionable content, new examples of religious intolerance continue to emerge, particularly in textbooks published by provincial authorities such as those in Sindh and Balochistan. This persistent bias in textbooks fosters a culture of exclusion and division, further marginalizing religious minorities.

Anjum Altaf's recent study of the Punjab Curriculum Board's Pre-1 to Grade 5 model textbooks under the Single National Curriculum (SNC) provides a critical analysis of its ideological and pedagogical foundations.[29] The SNC, according to Altaf, extends ideological interventions by embedding state narratives into early education, raising concerns about its impact on future generations. Altaf argues that the SNC prioritizes indoctrination over critical thinking, grooming students into passive citizens who accept information uncritically rather than engaging with it analytically. He critiques the absence of interactive, inquiry-based learning and the mechanical nature of the teaching process, which stifles curiosity and creativity. Additionally, he identifies linguistic challenges within the curriculum, particularly the problematic approach of teaching Mathematics (a symbolic language) in English to students who primarily think and learn in their native language.

Current Report

This report presents a comprehensive content analysis of 75 textbooks currently in use across three regional educational boards in Pakistan: Punjab, Sindh, and the Federal Directorate. These three regions were selected due to their political, demographic, and educational significance within the country. Punjab, Pakistan's most populous province, was chosen for its extensive public school system and early adoption of the Single National Curriculum (SNC) in 2021. Sindh, the second-largest province, continues to follow its provincial curriculum, providing a useful point of comparison. Meanwhile, the Federal Directorate, which governs Islamabad, holds strategic significance as the seat of Pakistan's capital, encompassing around 424 public schools, many of which serve children of government officials, diplomats, and bureaucrats.

The textbooks evaluated in this review are all government-approved materials officially prescribed for use in public schools. The analysis spans a wide range of subjects including English, Urdu, Islamic Education, Social Studies, History, Geography, Mathematics, Science, Home Economics, and Ethics. Where possible, the most recent editions have been consulted: Punjab textbooks reflect the latest versions published under the SNC reforms, while Sindh and Federal textbooks are taken from the most current editions available.

This study highlights both positive and problematic content, assessed according to international standards of peace and tolerance education. The report includes a total of 106 examples—illustrating how the textbooks influence students' perceptions of national identity, religion, gender roles, regional relations, and minority communities. The examples are organized thematically under the following categories: Pakistani State and Society, Portrayal of India, Islamic Principles and Islamization, Gender, Foreign Policy of Pakistan, and Portrayal of Jews and Other Religions.

29 Anjum Altaf, Single National Curriculum: *A Review of Pre-1 Model Textbooks,* Lahore: Folio Books, 2022.

Main Findings

The textbooks from Sindh, Punjab, and the Federal Board in Pakistan each present similar, although distinct, portrayals of the nation's identity, history, and values, reflecting regional perspectives. Sindh's textbooks tend to offer a more inclusive approach, with some emphasis on respecting religious diversity and promoting peace. However, Punjab and Federal textbooks often highlight Islam's central role in state identity and national unity, while presenting India as a key adversary, which may inadvertently reinforce exclusivist national narratives and foster divisiveness. The representation of gender roles across all regions leans toward traditional norms, with Sindh providing slightly more balanced depictions compared to Punjab and the Federal Directorate; overall, the portrayal still falls short of international standards of gender equality in education. Additionally, while the importance of national defense and military pride is a recurring theme in Punjab and Federal textbooks, it tends to overshadow discussions on regional cooperation and sustainable economic development. The most recent updates to the Punjab curriculum through the Single National Curriculum (SNC), were intended to create more inclusive and unified educational content, but have instead introduced problematic examples, such as oversimplified portrayals of religious and political issues, including problematic views on neighboring countries and minorities, which may hinder the promotion of mutual understanding and respect. Meanwhile, despite Pakistan's history of extremism, there has been no substantial change in textbooks to address or counteract radicalization.

Pakistani State and Society

Textbooks across Pakistan's Federal, Punjab, and Sindh Boards consistently portray Pakistan as an Islamic republic, emphasizing its religious foundation and national identity. Islam is presented as the cornerstone of the nation's formation, with many textbooks stating that Pakistan was established "exclusively as a free state for Muslims."[30] Minority groups, such as Hindus, Sikhs, and Christians, are mentioned as living "happily according to their beliefs," but there is little exploration of their real-life challenges or societal status.[31]

Democracy is acknowledged as an ideal system but is frequently criticized for its inefficiency and cost. For instance, one passage highlights that democracy is "considered relatively expensive" due to the financial burdens of elections and legislative bodies, suggesting that it is "a burden on the people."[32] In contrast, dictatorships and authoritarian governments are sometimes depicted favorably based on their "efficiency," such as in the case of Hitler's Germany, where rapid economic recovery is emphasized, omitting the horrific human rights violations and atrocities of the regime.[33]

The military's role is highlighted as a key institution of national pride and sovereignty. Textbooks frequently present military coups as restoring order and stability, such as the 1958 coup under General Ayub Khan, without critically addressing the democratic regression they caused.[34] Similarly, the 1999 coup led by General Pervez Musharraf is described factually, without labeling it as a military coup, offering a one-sided view of its impact on democracy.[35]

30 Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 5, 2019, p. 30
31 Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 3, 2014, p. 64
32 Punjab Board – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 28
33 Ibid.
34 Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 57
35 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2018, p. 22

Pakistan's nuclear program is portrayed as a source of national pride, intertwined with religious symbolism. A passage proudly claims "Pakistan became the world's seventh and the Islamic world's first atomic power."[36] This achievement is presented as not only a strategic defense milestone but also a symbolic victory for Islam, though the ethical, environmental, and security implications of nuclear weapons are not addressed. The narrative surrounding the nuclear program emphasizes defense against regional threats, particularly from India, without discussing broader international concerns about nuclear proliferation.[37]

Portrayal of India

Pakistani textbooks present a heavily adversarial view of India, often emphasizing conflict and division over shared history or cooperation. India is consistently depicted as a hostile neighbor, with Hindus frequently characterized as aggressors in both historical and contemporary contexts. This framing reinforces nationalistic and religious divisions.

The Kashmir conflict is a central theme in these textbooks, with India often portrayed as the aggressor. Textbooks simplify the complex political and legal factors that led to the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India in 1947, portraying India's actions as a unilateral occupation. For example, the Federal Board's Grade 11-12 Pakistan Studies textbook states that "the seeds of the Kashmir problem were sown by the Radcliffe Award," without delving into the broader historical and political context of the region's partition.[38] Similarly, a Grade 7 Urdu textbook refers to India's revocation of Article 370 in 2019 as a "black day," portraying it as a direct attack on Kashmir's autonomy, while omitting the broader legal and political dynamics of the situation.[39] The 2025 Pakistan Studies textbook for Grade 12 portrays a highly skewed account of the Pakistan-India war of 2025, presenting India as the unprovoked aggressor and Pakistan as a heroic and victorious defender. The narrative emphasizes Pakistan's military superiority, highlighting successful operations and U.S.-brokered ceasefire efforts, while glorifying the armed forces and omitting any reference to diplomacy, civilian suffering, or the broader complexities of the conflict.[40]

The portrayal of Hindus is equally one-sided, with a heavy emphasis on historical grievances and communal divisions. The Indian National Congress is depicted as corrupt, anti-Muslim, and responsible for the failure of Hindu-Muslim unity.[41] Similarly, Hindu-majoritarianism is highlighted as justification for the Two-Nation Theory, and figures like Mahatma Gandhi are criticized for exploiting Muslim support for his personal gain.[42] The textbooks frame Hindus as extremists who are primarily responsible for the violence of partition and present the Congress Party's attempts to marginalize Muslims as an existential threat.

The representation of Hinduism, however, shows some positive aspects, with Grade 8 Ethics textbooks offering a respectful portrayal of Hinduism, emphasizing its values of love, tolerance, compassion, sacrifice, and peace. Yet, in other texts, Hindus are frequently depicted as the primary aggressors in partition-related violence, reinforcing a communalized narrative that overlooks the suffering of both Hindus and Muslims.[43]

36 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 22
37 Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 73
38 Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 11-12, 2020, p. 30
39 Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 110
40 Federal Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 12, 2024, p. 41.
41 Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies,* Grade 9, 2021, p. 17
42 Punjab Board – *History*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 24
43 Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 16

Islamic Principles and Islamization

Pakistani textbooks reflect a deeply embedded process of Islamization in the educational curriculum. Islamization occurs where Islamic values are to be woven into the fabric of education, guiding not only the spiritual development of individuals but also their societal and civic roles. Textbooks routinely emphasize the role of Islam in shaping student character, morality, and worldview. Central tenets such as *tawḥid* (monotheism), compassion, and charity are repeated across disciplines – from General Knowledge to Mathematics – highlighting religion not only as a system of belief but as an ethical structure. The integration of Islamic values into non-religious subjects, such as General Knowledge, Urdu, and Civics, is pervasive. For example, in Grade 3 Sindh Board Urdu textbooks, students are taught that Allah is the creator of the sun, moon, and all living creatures, encouraging gratitude and appreciation for Allah's blessings in daily life.[44] Similarly, Grade 2 General Knowledge textbooks emphasize Islamic expressions such as "Insha Allah" (God willing) and "Masha Allah" (as God willed), reinforcing the importance of faith in Allah's will as part of everyday interactions.[45]

This approach extends to subjects that are traditionally seen as secular. In Mathematics and Science textbooks, students encounter Islamic values through practical scenarios. For example, Grade 7 Mathematics problems often include Islamic names such as "Hassan," "Zain," and "Moeen," and in some cases, questions involve prayer times, aligning religious practices with academic learning.[46]

Islamic views on justice, governance, and *jihad* play a significant role in shaping students' understanding of their civic duties and their responsibilities as members of the Islamic state. Pakistan's textbooks emphasize key Islamic principles such as the sanctity of human life, the importance of justice, and the duty of the state to protect its citizens from oppression. These themes are reinforced through the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, whose life serves as a model of moral conduct.

One of the central messages conveyed in the textbooks is the importance of justice. For example, the Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook stresses the significance of peace, patience, and tolerance, drawing on Qur'anic verses that highlight the sanctity of human life.[47] The text explains that unjustly killing one person is as grievous as killing all of humanity, emphasizing the ethical duty of every Muslim to uphold justice and protect human dignity. Similarly, the textbooks highlight the responsibility of the Islamic state to fight against oppression and injustice, with *jihad* presented as a means to defend the oppressed and maintain societal order.

However, the portrayal of *jihad* in the textbooks is limited and often lacks the necessary contextual explanation. While *jihad* is presented as a righteous struggle for justice, the textbooks tend to emphasize its physical, military aspects without fully addressing its spiritual dimensions. In some instances, *jihad* is framed as a duty of the Islamic state,[48] with the government being the sole authority to declare and engage in *jihad*. This approach risks fostering a narrow, militarized view of *jihad,* which overlooks its other meanings, such as spiritual self-improvement, striving for peace, and advocating for justice through non-violent means. The textbooks fail to differentiate between the various types of *jihad*—spiritual, intellectual, and physical—and often do not present non-violent alternatives for addressing injustice.

44 Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 3, 2014, p. 54
45 Sindh Board – *General Knowledge,* Grade 2, 2024, p. 2
46 Punjab Board – *Mathematics*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 117
47 Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021, pp. 21-22
48 Ibid., p. 78

Foreign Policy of Pakistan

Pakistani textbooks present the country's foreign policy through a lens that blends Islamic identity, national pride, and strategic self-positioning. The curriculum frames foreign relations not as pragmatic or evolving state strategies but as morally guided alignments, often rooted in religious solidarity and ideological opposition. The textbooks frequently equate diplomatic objectives with religious obligations. A Grade 10 Pakistan Studies textbook asserts that Pakistan's foreign policy is based on "Islamic ideology," and that success in foreign relations depends on "maintaining the stability of this ideology."[49]

A recurring theme in the curriculum is Pakistan's portrayal as a vanguard of the Muslim world. Textbooks emphasize its leadership in founding the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and frame this as part of a divine mission to unify the Islamic "Ummah" or community of believers. This corroborates the idea of religious obligations being translated into diplomacy.

Pakistan's rivalries, especially with India, are described in absolute moral terms like "enemy country."[50] The conflict over Kashmir is portrayed as a religious duty and a humanitarian struggle, with Pakistan supporting the "oppressed" people of Kashmir as well as in wider conflicts such as Palestine in their quest for self-determination.[51] Pakistan's involvement in supporting Middle Eastern countries "in their war against Israel" is presented as creating a unified Muslim front, ignoring intra-Muslim differences and the shifting dynamics following normalization agreements between several Arab states and Israel.[52] In the 2025 edition of the Grade 12 Pakistan Studies textbook, students are taught that the humanitarian crisis in Gaza has drastically worsened since October 7, 2023, due to Israeli airstrikes and aid blockades – while omitting any mention of Hamas's brutal assault on Israeli civilians that triggered the conflict. Furthermore, the United Nations is depicted as largely ineffective in addressing the Israel–Palestine and Kashmir issues, blaming geopolitical power dynamics and Western—particularly U.S.—support for Israel, yet overlooking several instances where the U.N. has played a constructive role in peacebuilding, such as in Namibia, Sierra Leone, and East Timor.[53] However, Israel is nonetheless acknowledged in a world map,[54] and in an Islamic Education lesson describing the birthplace of Jesus (Bethlehem).[55]

Pakistan's relationship with global institutions, particularly the United Nations, is framed with skepticism. One textbook critiques the U.N. as offering only "lip service" to Muslim nations while taking decisive action in non-Muslim conflicts like Rwanda and Kuwait.[56] In addition, textbooks are selective in their portrayal of Pakistan's geopolitical alliances; relations with China are portrayed as mutually beneficial and strategic, often exaggerating Pakistan's role in bringing China into the global mainstream.[57] Meanwhile, ties with Iran are idealized through shared Islamic causes, particularly over Kashmir, without acknowledging Iran's independent foreign policy decisions or its concurrent relations with India.[58]

49 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 31.
50 Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 89.
51 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 50.
52 Punjab Board – *Geography*, Grade 8, 2016, p. 65.
53 Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 12, 2025, p. 224.
54 Federal Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 4, 2020, p. 70.
55 Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, 2014, p. 78.
56 Sindh Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 8, 2022, pp. 114-115.
57 Punjab Board – *Geography*, Grade 8, 2016, p. 66.
58 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 33.

Portrayal of Jews and Other Religions

Textbooks across all analyzed school boards offer a mixed portrayal of religious minorities, simultaneously calling for tolerance while reinforcing historical and theological biases – particularly against Jews. While Civic and Ethics textbooks occasionally promote pluralism and respect for religious freedom, Islamic education and Qur'an translation textbooks often lack contextualization of certain issues. The textbooks depict Jews and non-Muslims through a lens of religious conflict, betrayal, and divine punishment, attributing these negative traits to the collective group, as opposed to offering a nuanced perspective.

Accordingly, Jews are largely excluded from neutral or constructive textbook discussions of world religions and are instead primarily referenced in the context of early Islamic history. For instance, a Grade 6 Islamic Education textbook from the Sindh Board teaches that the Jewish tribes were involved in various conspiracies against [Prophet Muhammad] and the Muslims of Medina, and violated their pact with Muhammad.[59] Similarly, a Punjab Board Islamic Education textbook describes how "the Jews of Medina… collaborated with the hypocrites in hatching conspiracies" after initially signing a treaty with the Prophet.[60] These passages consistently frame Jews as treacherous and disloyal, reinforcing a narrative of collective guilt rather than historical nuance.

Other textbooks go further by echoing theologically charged accusations. A Grade 5 Islamic Education textbook from Sindh states that the Jews "caused Prophet Isa and his mother to suffer," accusing them of plotting against Jesus due to fear of losing religious authority.[61] This portrayal aligns with medieval antisemitic tropes blaming Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus and is presented without context or clarification. Meanwhile, the same book alleges that Jews "encouraged the disbelievers of Mecca to seek revenge against Muslims,"[62] reinforcing an image of Jews as enemies of Islam.

Outside of Islamic studies, references to Jews are often limited or problematic. In a Grade 9–10 Civics textbook, the establishment of the State of Israel is presented solely as the result of Jewish settlement in Palestine after being "a nomadic tribe," without mention of the Holocaust, Jewish historical connection to the land, or other historical factors.[63] Judaism is notably excluded from comparative religion chapters that describe Hinduism, Christianity, Confucianism, and Taoism, effectively erasing it from the religious education curriculum despite its global and historical relevance.

In contrast to the treatment of Jews, the portrayal of other religions is more ambivalent, with Ethics textbooks offering some respectful summaries of major world religions. A Grade 8 textbook describes Hinduism as "an ancient religion" that teaches "love, tolerance, compassion, sacrifice, and peace."[64] Similarly, Christianity is explained as the faith of "Lord Jesus Christ," who taught "equality, sacrifice, peace, and love," with churches described as places where priests "guide people."[65]

59 Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, 2015, p. 48.
60 Punjab Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 33.
61 Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, 2014, p. 79.
62 Ibid., p. 42.
63 Punjab Board – *Civics*, Grade 9–10, 2023, p. 16.
64 Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 1.
65 Ibid., p. 2.

Some textbooks explicitly promote tolerance as a religiously-rooted concept. A Grade 7 Urdu textbook from Punjab states: "All religions in the world teach peace, harmony, brotherhood, and tolerance. No religion teaches its followers to hate others."[66] Similarly, the Grade 8 Ethics textbook urges students to "respect the freedom of other religions," their places of worship, and their festivals.[67]

Non-Muslim festivals are occasionally acknowledged. A Grade 2 General Knowledge textbook lists *Eid al-Fitr* and *Eid al-Adha* (celebrated in Islam), *Diwali* and *Holi* (celebrated in Hinduism), Christmas and Easter (celebrated in Christianity), and Hanukkah and Passover (celebrated in Judaism) as major global religious holidays, accompanied by images of each group in traditional clothing.[68] However, such mentions are largely symbolic, with little explanation of the meaning or practices behind these observances.

Gender

In Pakistan's educational textbooks, gender roles are portrayed with a mixture of progressive and traditional messages, reflecting both advancements in gender equality and persistent societal stereotypes. The curriculum acknowledges women's significant contributions in various professional fields, including leadership positions traditionally dominated by men. For example, the Grade 9 Pakistan Studies textbook highlights the accomplishments of prominent women such as Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah and Benazir Bhutto, emphasizing that "women are not lagging behind men in any respect" and celebrating their achievements in politics and governance.[69] Similarly, the Grade 10 Pakistan Studies textbook promotes gender equality by highlighting women in professions like engineering, teaching, and piloting, challenging traditional stereotypes and demonstrating that both men and women can excel in roles typically dominated by one gender.[70]

However, these progressive portrayals are often juxtaposed with messages that reinforce traditional gender roles and fail to address the unequal distribution of domestic labor. Additionally, textbooks perpetuate gender stereotypes by suggesting that young girls are inherently inclined towards sewing, implying that such tasks are naturally suited to them.[71]

Imagery in the textbooks further reflects traditional gender roles. In many subjects, female characters are consistently depicted wearing the hijab, while male characters are shown in Western attire, reinforcing a gendered division in dress codes. While the portrayal of women in textbooks which emphasize modesty are reflective of cultural norms, it can nonetheless be limiting. In a Grade 5 English textbook, an image of a mother and daughter sitting on the floor wearing traditional head coverings was initially criticized for reinforcing gender and cultural stereotypes. Although the image was revised to show the mother and daughter sitting on a sofa, the hijab remained, continuing to link women's dignity and protection to their adherence to specific dress codes.[72] Furthermore, the Grade 9 Pakistan Studies textbook includes a passage that links the wearing of the veil (*hijab*) to women's dignity, perpetuating the notion that women's modesty and protection are inherently tied to traditional attire.[73] It is prescriptive in its tone, outlining what constitutes a "modest" woman based on external appearance and adherence to specific cultural norms.

66 Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 50.
67 Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 31.
68 Sindh Board – *General Knowledge*, Grade 2, 2024, p. 6.
69 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, pp. 100-101
70 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 123
71 Punjab Board – *Home Economics*, Grade 7, 2018, p. 37, 92
72 Punjab Board – *English*, Grade 5, 2020-21, Cover page
73 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 97

Pakistani State and Society

Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has experienced four major military coups that interrupted civilian rule: the first in 1958 led by General Ayub Khan, the second in 1977 by General Zia-ul-Haq, the third in 1999 by General Pervez Musharraf, and intermittent military influence during periods of political instability. Each coup resulted in suspension or abrogation of the constitution and the installation of military or military-backed regimes. These regimes were eventually overthrown through constitutional restoration, political transitions, or, in Zia's case, his death in office.

The role of Islam is central to Pakistan's national identity and statecraft. Founded as a homeland for Muslims seeking religious freedom in the Indian subcontinent, Pakistan's constitution declares it an Islamic Republic, with Islam as the state religion. However, this fusion of religion and state has also presented challenges for religious minorities and secular governance, contributing to ongoing debates about pluralism and inclusivity.

This chapter will explore three significant aspects of the Pakistani state and society:

1. The portrayal of democracy and dictatorship
2. The role of Islam in statecraft
3. The army's role as a national institution and nuclear image

The textbooks analyzed portray Pakistan fundamentally as an Islamic republic, emphasizing its religious origins, cultural traditions, and political challenges. While these narratives generally promote national pride, unity, and respect for constitutional order, there are important nuances, omissions, and occasional biases that shape students' perceptions of their country and its socio-political realities.

The democracy versus dictatorship theme is presented with contrasting views on governance systems. Textbooks acknowledge democracy's ideals but often emphasize its perceived inefficiencies and costs. For example, one text notes that democracy "is considered relatively expensive because not only are billions spent on holding elections, but there is also a long list of necessary and unnecessary expenses related to legislative bodies, ministers, and advisors, making democracy a burden on the people".[74] In contrast, dictatorship is sometimes praised for its decisiveness and efficiency, as seen in references to Germany's rapid recovery under Hitler, though these passages tend to omit the grave human rights abuses and atrocities committed under such regimes.[75] This one-sided portrayal risks fostering misconceptions about governance by downplaying democratic participation and glossing over the moral and social costs of authoritarianism.

The role of Islam in statecraft and national identity emerges as the foundational pillar of Pakistan's ideology. The Two-Nation Theory remains a dominant narrative which portrays Hindus and Muslims as distinct nations with separate identities. The curriculum consistently frames Pakistan as a country "established exclusively as a free state for Muslims" and "based on the eternal golden principles of Islam."[76] While this accurately reflects Pakistan's constitutional framework,

74 Punjab Board – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 28.
75 Ibid., pp. 29, 49.
76 Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 5, 2019, p.30; Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 18.

the narrative often excludes the perspectives of religious minorities and fails to adequately address the pluralistic and multi-ethnic reality of Pakistani society.

Notably, minority groups such as Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, and others are mentioned as living "happily according to their beliefs."[77] However, in reality, religious minorities in Pakistan continue to face serious challenges, including misuse of blasphemy laws, forced conversions, mob violence, and lack of government support. These issues continue to marginalize and endanger minority communities, which receive little to no mention in Civics and Pakistan Studies textbooks.

Finally, the army's role as a national institution is depicted with a strong emphasis on its historical and ongoing influence. Textbooks recount episodes of military interventions, such as the imposition of martial law in 1958 under General Ayub Khan and the 1999 coup by General Pervez Musharraf, often describing these events in factual terms without explicitly naming them as military coups or critiquing their democratic implications.[78] Despite the army's strong presence and significant influence on society, the textbooks contain few references to its positive contributions or roles of the army.

The military is also celebrated as the guardian of national sovereignty, particularly through the glorification of Pakistan's nuclear program, which is framed as both a strategic achievement and a defense of the nation's Islamic ideological boundaries.[79] One textbook proudly states, "Pakistan became the world's seventh and the Islamic world's first atomic power."[80] While technically true, this formulation merges a strategic defense achievement with religious identity, suggesting that Pakistan's nuclear status serves not only national security but the symbolic defense of the Islamic world. It ignores the ethical, environmental, and strategic implications of nuclear weapons and contributes to a militaristic sense of religious exceptionalism.

The Portrayal of Democracy and Dictatorship

The examples in the next pages illustrate how Pakistani textbooks portray democracy and dictatorship by highlighting the perceived strengths and weaknesses of each system. While democracy is acknowledged as a valued form of governance, the texts often emphasize its costs and inefficiencies. In contrast, dictatorship is sometimes depicted as more decisive and efficient, though the serious ethical and human rights concerns associated with authoritarian rule are frequently downplayed or omitted.

77 Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 3, 2014, p. 64.
78 Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021 , p. 57; Punjab Board – Pakistan Studies, Grade 10, 2018, pp. 12, 22.
79 Federal Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 4, 2019, p. 58.
80 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 22.

Example 1

Punjab Board- *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 26

In a Civics lesson for high school students in Punjab, students learn that in a democracy, the "power to form the government lies with the people" and that democratic governments are "responsible" because elected representatives "consider the public interests" and face rejection by voters if unpopular. The text emphasizes that people indirectly run the government through their representatives and that cabinet members must answer questions from elected assemblies. Notably, the passage does not acknowledge the challenges that can limit this responsiveness, such as political influence, corruption, or failures in accountability. This omission risks leading students to an overly simplistic and idealized view of democracy, ignoring real-world complexities where representatives may not always act in the public interest or be fully accountable.

جمہوریت کی خوبیاں (Merits of Democracy)

۱- عوام کی حکومت

جمہوریت میں حکومت بنانے کا اختیار عوام کو حاصل ہوتا ہے۔ عوام کے ووٹوں سے منتخب شدہ نمائندے عوام کی مرضی کے مطابق حکومت چلاتے ہیں۔ لہٰذا ہم یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ جمہوری نظام حکومت میں عوام بالواسطہ نظام حکومت چلا رہے ہوتے ہیں۔

۲- ذمہ دار حکومت

جمہوری حکومت ذمہ دار حکومت ہوتی ہے کیونکہ عوامی نمائندے اپنے ہر فیصلے میں عوامی مفادات اور خواہشات کو مدنظر رکھنے پر مجبور ہوتے ہیں۔ بصورت دیگر آنے والے انتخابات میں عوام غیر مقبول سیاسی جماعتوں اور نمائندوں کو مسترد کر دیتے ہیں۔ اسی لیے کابینہ کے تمام ممبران اسمبلیوں میں منتخب نمائندوں کے سوالات کے جوابات دینے کے پابند ہوتے ہیں۔

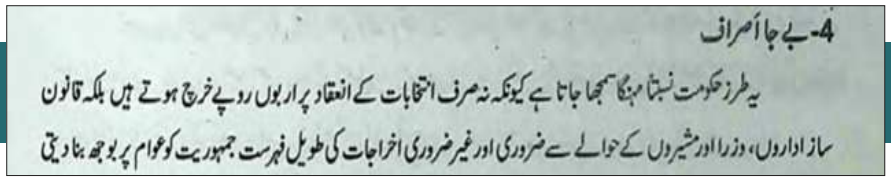
Merits of Democracy
1- Government of the People
In a democracy, the power to form the government lies with the people. Representatives elected by the votes of the people run the government according to the will of the people. Therefore, we can say that in a democratic system of government, the people indirectly run the government.
2- Responsible Government

A democratic government is a responsible government because the public representatives are compelled to consider the public interests and desires in every decision they make. Otherwise, in the upcoming elections, the people reject unpopular political parties and representatives. For this reason, all members of the cabinet are bound to answer questions from elected representatives in the assemblies.

Example 2

Punjab Board- *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 28

Following the reference to the merits of democracy, the textbook discusses its fallbacks, referring to “unnecessary extravagance” as one of them. Democracy is described as a “burden on the people” and “relatively expensive,” not only due to election costs, but also “necessary and unnecessary” expenses that are incurred by operating a democratic administration, namely legislative bodies, ministers, and advisors. Notably, the text does not state which costs are “unnecessary,” which risks leading students to the problematic conclusion that any of the elections, legislation, or ministerial government systems are unnecessary. While the passage reflects a genuine concern about resource allocation, presenting democracy as inherently flawed risks fostering a narrative that it is wasteful or burdensome.



4- بے جا اَصراف

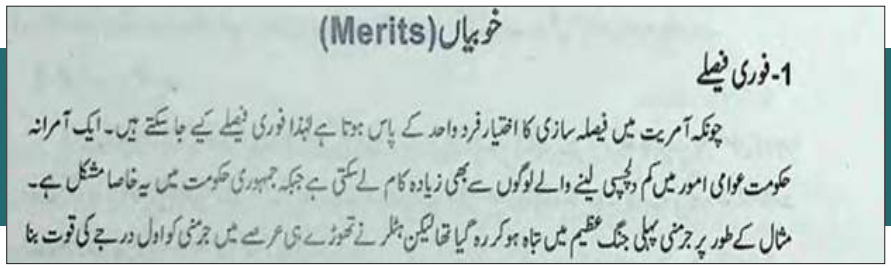
یہ طرزِ حکومت نسبتاً مہنگا سمجھا جاتا ہے کیونکہ نہ صرف انتخابات کے انعقاد پر اربوں روپے خرچ ہوتے ہیں بلکہ قانون ساز اداروں، وزرا اور مشیروں کے حوالے سے ضروری اور غیر ضروری اخراجات کی طویل فہرست جمہوریت کو عوام پر بوجھ بنا دیتی

Unnecessary Extravagance
This form of government is considered relatively expensive because not only are billions spent on holding elections, but there is also a long list of necessary and unnecessary expenses related to legislative bodies, ministers, and advisors, making democracy a burden on the people.

Example 3

Punjab Board- *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 28

In the same Civics textbook, while discussing the merits of dictatorship, the text emphasizes its "efficiency" while omitting the well-documented human rights abuses and atrocities committed under such regimes. For instance, it cites Germany under Hitler as an example of successful economic and industrial recovery. While this historical reference is factually accurate in terms of Germany's rapid economic revival, it entirely ignores the catastrophic consequences of Hitler's dictatorship, most notably the Holocaust, which led to the systematic genocide of six million Jews and millions of others. By presenting this period solely through the lens of economic progress, the text fosters a dangerous one-sided narrative that risks glorifying authoritarian rule. The omission of these atrocities not only distorts historical understanding but also fails to prepare students to critically assess the moral and ethical implications of governance systems. [81]



خوبیاں (Merits)

1- فوری فیصلے

چونکہ آمریت میں فیصلہ سازی کا اختیار فرد واحد کے پاس ہوتا ہے لہٰذا فوری فیصلے کیے جا سکتے ہیں۔ ایک آمرانہ حکومت عوامی امور میں کم دلچسپی لینے والے لوگوں سے بھی زیادہ کام لے سکتی ہے جبکہ جمہوری حکومت میں یہ خاصا مشکل ہے۔ مثال کے طور پر جرمنی پہلی جنگ عظیم میں تباہ ہو کر رہ گیا تھا لیکن ہٹلر نے تھوڑے ہی عرصے میں جرمنی کو اول درجے کی قوت بنا

Merits
1. Immediate Decisions
In a dictatorship, the decision-making power rests with one individual, allowing for immediate decisions. An authoritarian government can also get more work done from people who take less interest in public affairs, whereas this is quite difficult in a democratic government. For example, Germany was devastated after World War I, but Hitler made Germany a top power in a short period.

81 The same example is repeated in Federal Board – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2024, p. 49.

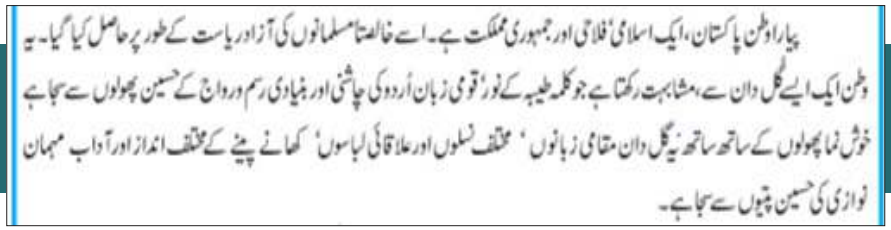
The Role of Islam in Statecraft

The examples in the next pages demonstrate how Pakistani textbooks emphasize Islam as the foundational basis of the state and its governance. Islam is portrayed not only as a religion but as a guiding framework shaping the nation's laws, identity, and social values. While this reinforces the country's Islamic character, some of the textbooks mention that minorities enjoy the same rights as Muslims.

Example 4

Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 5, 2019, p. 30

In a Grade 5 Urdu textbook from the Sindh Board, students learn that Pakistan is described as an "Islamic, welfare, and democratic country" established "exclusively as a free state for Muslims." The country is portrayed as a "bouquet" adorned with the "radiant light of Kalima Tayyiba," the national language Urdu, and fundamental traditions and customs. Alongside these, the bouquet is enriched with regional languages, diverse ethnicities, local attire, various styles of food and drink, and the tradition of hospitality, which acknowledges positive aspects of societal diversity. The text affirms that Islam is the foundational basis of the state and governance, shaping the nation's laws, identity, and social values.



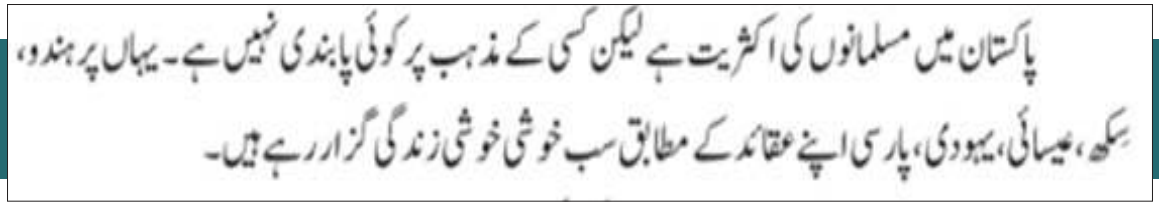
پیارا وطن پاکستان، ایک اسلامی فلاحی اور جمہوری مملکت ہے۔ اسے خالصتاً مسلمانوں کی آزاد ریاست کے طور پر حاصل کیا گیا۔ یہ وطن ایک ایسے گل دان سے مشابہت رکھتا ہے جو کلمہ طیبہ کے نور، قومی زبان اُردو کی چاشنی اور بنیادی رسم و رواج کے حسین پھولوں سے سجا ہے خوش نما پھولوں کے ساتھ ساتھ یہ گل دان مقامی زبانوں، مختلف نسلوں اور علاقائی لباسوں، کھانے پینے کے مختلف انداز اور آداب مہمان نوازی کی حسین پتیوں سے سجا ہے۔

Beloved country Pakistan is an Islamic, welfare, and democratic state. It was established exclusively as a free state for Muslims. This homeland resembles a bouquet adorned with the radiant light of Kalima Tayyiba, the sweetness of the national language Urdu, and the beautiful flowers of fundamental traditions and customs. Alongside these charming flowers, this bouquet is further enriched with the delightful leaves of regional languages, diverse ethnicities, local attire, various delicacies of food and drink, and the cherished tradition of hospitality.

Example 5

Sindh Board – Urdu, Grade 3, 2014, p. 64

In another Urdu textbook from Grade 7 in Sindh Board, students learn that "the majority of the population is Muslim, but there are no restrictions on any religion," and that Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Jews, and Parsis "are all living happily according to their beliefs." This passage outlines the status of minorities and the rights afforded to them in Pakistani society; presenting these principles to young students helps instill them as core societal values. A similar narrative appears in the Urdu Grade 7 textbook from the Punjab Board, which states that "the constitution of our country protects the rights of minorities," and that "the white color in our flag also represents minorities," while also acknowledging that "some elements in our country try to create an atmosphere of hatred and unrest between us and minorities."[82]


پاکستان میں مسلمانوں کی اکثریت ہے لیکن کسی کے مذہب پر کوئی پابندی نہیں ہے۔ یہاں پر ہندو،
سکھ، عیسائی، یہودی، پارسی اپنے عقائد کے مطابق سب خوشی خوشی زندگی گزار رہے ہیں۔

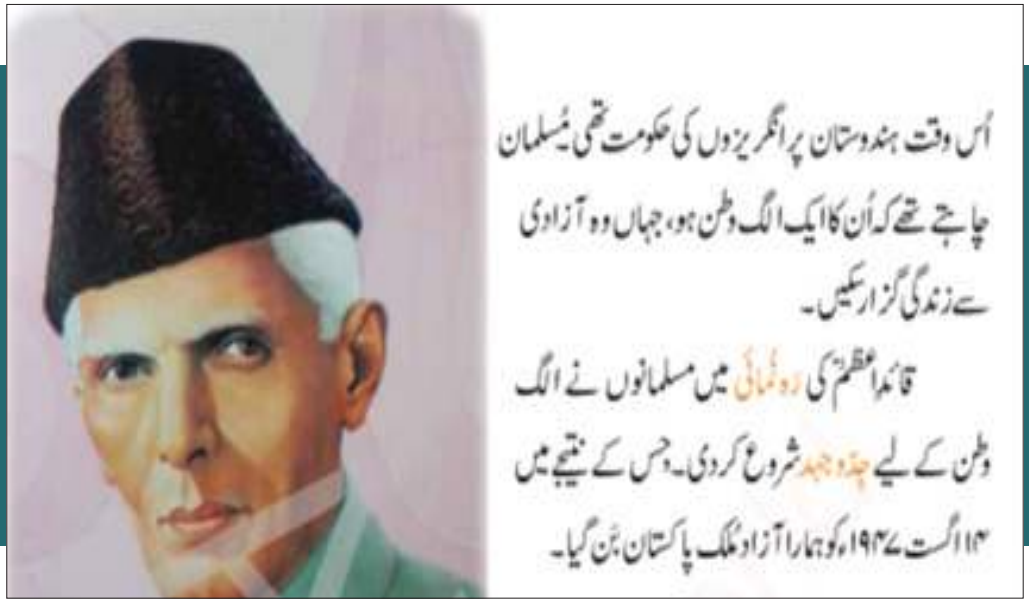
Muslims are in majority in Pakistan, but there are no restrictions on any religion. Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Jews, and Parsis are all living happily according to their beliefs.

82 Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 51.

Example 6

Federal Board – *Urdu*, Grade 2, 2020, p. 35

In a Grade 2 Urdu textbook from the Federal Board, students learn about the creation of Pakistan, focusing on the desire of Muslims in India for a separate nation. The Two Nation theory is presented as a dominant narrative, portraying Hindus and Muslims as distinct nations with separate identities. The passage emphasizes the foundational basis of Pakistan as a separate homeland for Muslims, shaping students' understanding of the country's origins.

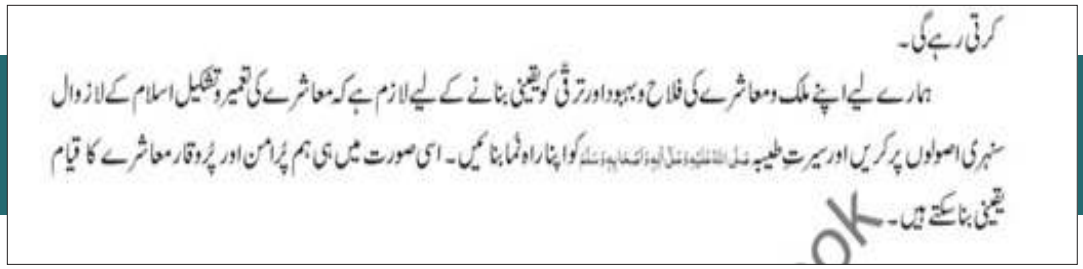


At that time, India was ruled by the British Government, Muslims wanted a separate homeland for them, where they could live freely.
Under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam, Muslims started striving for a separate homeland. As a result, on 14 August 1947, our independent country Pakistan came into existence.

Example 7

Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 18.

In this Urdu Grade 7 textbook, the passage teaches that the welfare and development of Pakistan depend on building society according to the "eternal golden principles of Islam" and following the "good conduct (*sirat*) of the Prophet Muhammad, […] his kin and Companions." It emphasizes that only by using the Prophet's example as a guide can a peaceful and dignified society be established. This presentation underscores the centrality of Islamic teachings and the Prophet's moral example as foundational to social development and national identity in Pakistan.


کرتی رہے گی۔
ہمارے لیے اپنے ملک و معاشرے کی فلاح و بہبود اور ترقی کو یقینی بنانے کے لیے لازم ہے کہ معاشرے کی تعمیر و تشکیل اسلام کے لازوال سنہری اصولوں پر کریں اور سیرت طیبہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کو اپنا راہ نما بنائیں۔ اسی صورت میں ہی ہم پُرامن اور پُروقار معاشرے کا قیام یقینی بنا سکتے ہیں۔

For us to ensure the welfare and development of our country and society, it is necessary to build and shape the society on the eternal golden principles of Islam and make Sirat-e-Tayyaba (Sacred biography of Prophet Muhammad) as our guide. Only in this case/way can we ensure the establishment of a peaceful and dignified society.

Example 8

Punjab Board- *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 38

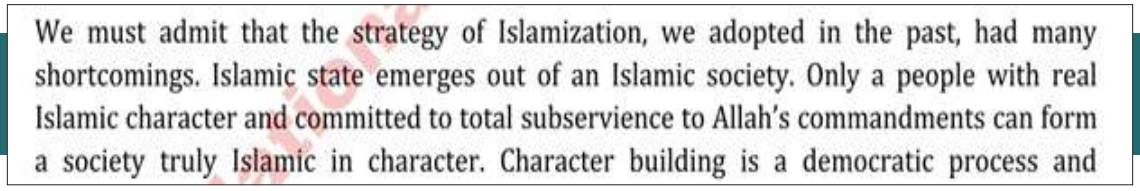
In an Urdu Grade 7 textbook, a passage emphasizes the connection between national identity and Islamic religious beliefs by encouraging students to pray for the prosperity of the homeland. This reflects the importance of faith in the lives of many students and promotes a positive sense of patriotism.

We should always supplicate for a better future for our country and its people.
May Allah keep our homeland always green and prosperous and to bestow honor and dignity upon it worldwide. May Allah bless every citizen with the highest abilities and keep them free from sorrow.

Example 9

Federal Board- *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 11-12, 2020, p. 75

In a Pakistan Studies lesson for Grades 11-12, the text highlights the Objectives Resolution of 1949 and the constitutional incorporation of Islamic principles as foundational to making Pakistan an Islamic state. It claims Pakistan has an "excellent Islamic Constitution" but questions whether the country has made real progress in becoming an ideal Islamic state or society. The passage stresses that Islamization is a long-term, democratic process requiring the gradual building of an Islamic character among the people through education, spiritual purification, and peaceful persuasion (*da'wa*). It argues that an Islamic state cannot be created solely by laws or authoritative measures but must emerge naturally from an Islamic society reflecting the "general will" of its people. The example of the Prophet Muhammad's early years in Mecca is cited to illustrate the necessity of societal acceptance before implementing Islamic governance.



We must admit that the strategy of Islamization, we adopted in the past, had many shortcomings. Islamic state emerges out of an Islamic society. Only a people with real Islamic character and committed to total subservience to Allah's commandments can form a society truly Islamic in character. Character building is a democratic process and

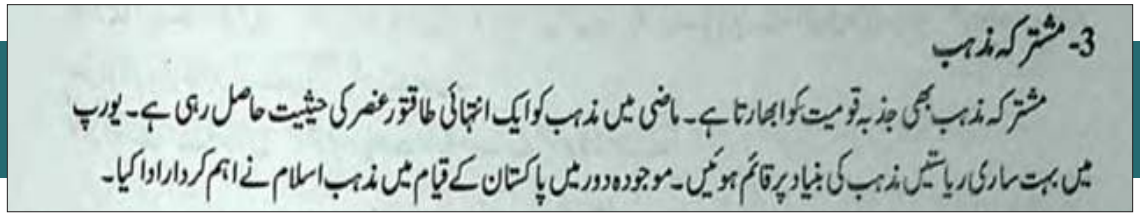
Example 10

Punjab Board – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, pp. 12, 13, 17

In a Pakistan Studies lesson for Grade 9, the text presents Pakistan's ideology primarily through a religious lens, emphasizing Islam as the central force behind the country's creation. It asserts that religion "enhances the sentiment of nationality" and highlights that many European states were historically founded on religious bases, concluding that Islam has similarly played a "crucial role" in the formation of Pakistan. Furthermore, the text emphasizes the universal and egalitarian values of Islam, encouraging students to treat all human beings with respect, regardless of "nationality, homeland, race, language, culture, and society." It promotes the idea that "all Muslims should live as brothers and hold firmly to the rope of Allah," highlighting Islamic principles of unity and moral conduct.

The text also reinforces the idea that Pakistan's identity is fundamentally Islamic and every human being, irrespective of their religious belief was created by Allah. Thus, in Pakistan, being an Islamic state, "the Muslim ruler exercises his powers as a trust from Allah and administers the state according to Islamic commandments." The principles of an Islamic state, according to the textbook, are "monotheism, equality, justice, morality, piety, and the pursuit of knowledge".

[pg. 12]



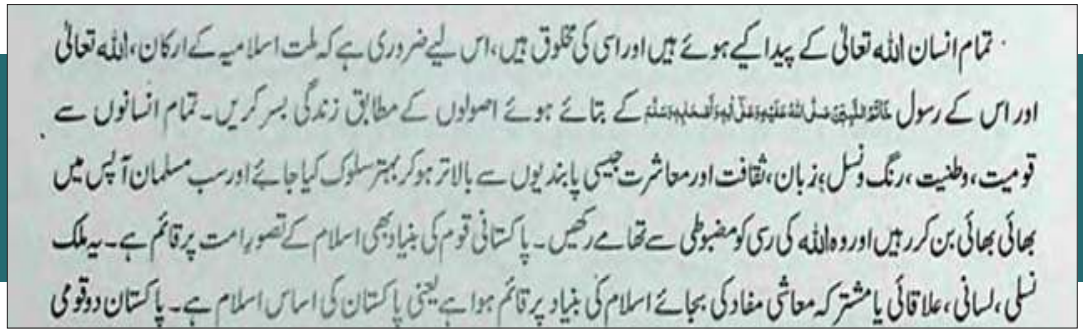
3- مشترکہ مذہب

مشترکہ مذہب بھی جذبہ قومیت کو ابھارتا ہے۔ ماضی میں مذہب کو ایک انتہائی طاقتور عنصر کی حیثیت حاصل رہی ہے۔ یورپ میں بہت ساری ریاستیں مذہب کی بنیاد پر قائم ہوئیں۔ موجودہ دور میں پاکستان کے قیام میں مذہب اسلام نے اہم کردار ادا کیا۔

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)

Role of Religion in Nationality
Religion also enhances the sentiment of nationality. In the past, religion gained immense power as an era of strength. Many states in Europe were founded on the basis of religion. In the present era, religion, specifically Islam, played a crucial role in the creation of Pakistan.

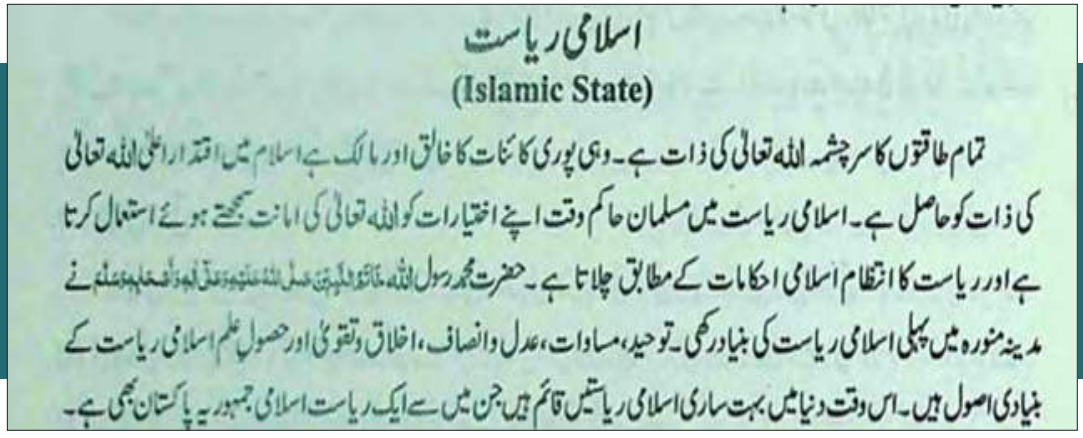
[pg. 13]



تمام انسان اللہ تعالیٰ کے پیدا کیے ہوئے ہیں اور اسی کی مخلوق ہیں، اس لیے ضروری ہے کہ ملت اسلامیہ کے ارکان، اللہ تعالیٰ اور اس کے رسول خاتم النبیین صلی اللہ علیہ وعلیٰ آلہ واصحابہ وسلم کے بتائے ہوئے اصولوں کے مطابق زندگی بسر کریں۔ تمام انسانوں سے قومیت، وطنیت، رنگ و نسل، زبان، ثقافت اور معاشرت جیسی پابندیوں سے بالاتر ہو کر بہتر سلوک کیا جائے اور سب مسلمان آپس میں بھائی بھائی بن کر رہیں اور وہ اللہ کی رسی کو مضبوطی سے تھامے رکھیں۔ پاکستانی قوم کی بنیاد بھی اسلام کے تصورِ امت پر قائم ہے۔ یہ ملک نسلی، لسانی، علاقائی یا مشترکہ معاشی مفاد کی بجائے اسلام کی بنیاد پر قائم ہوا ہے یعنی پاکستان کی اساس اسلام ہے۔ پاکستان دو قومی

All human beings are created by Allah and are His creation, so it is necessary that the members of the Islamic Ummah live their lives according to the principles set by Allah and His Messenger Muhammad (peace be upon him). They should treat all humans well, transcending restrictions like nationality, homeland, race, language, culture, and society, and all Muslims should live as brothers and hold firmly to the rope of Allah. The foundation of Pakistani nationalism is also based on the concept of the Islamic Ummah. This country was established not on the basis of racial, linguistic, regional, or shared economic interests, but on the foundation of Islam, meaning that the basis of Pakistan is Islam.

[pg. 17]



اسلامی ریاست
(Islamic State)

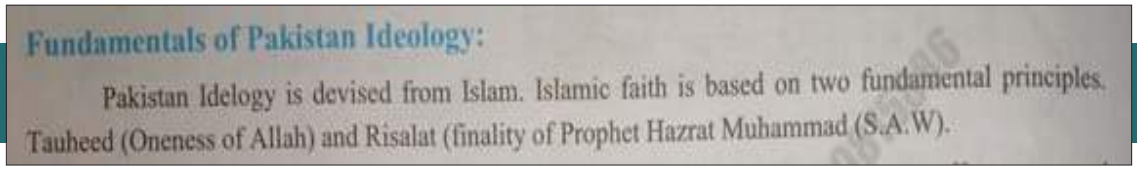
تمام طاقتوں کا سرچشمہ اللہ تعالیٰ کی ذات ہے۔ وہی پوری کائنات کا خالق اور مالک ہے اسلام میں اقتدار اعلیٰ اللہ تعالیٰ کی ذات کو حاصل ہے۔ اسلامی ریاست میں مسلمان حاکم وقت اپنے اختیارات کو اللہ تعالیٰ کی امانت سمجھتے ہوئے استعمال کرتا ہے اور ریاست کا انتظام اسلامی احکامات کے مطابق چلاتا ہے۔ حضرت محمد رسول اللہ خاتم النبیین صلی اللہ علیہ وعلیٰ آلہ واصحابہ وسلم نے مدینہ منورہ میں پہلی اسلامی ریاست کی بنیاد رکھی۔ توحید، مساوات، عدل و انصاف، اخلاق و تقویٰ اور حصولِ علم اسلامی ریاست کے بنیادی اصول ہیں۔ اس وقت دنیا میں بہت ساری اسلامی ریاستیں قائم ہیں جن میں سے ایک ریاست اسلامی جمہوریہ پاکستان بھی ہے۔

Islamic State
All power originates from Allah. He is the creator and owner of the entire universe, and in Islam, sovereignty belongs to Allah alone. In an Islamic state, the Muslim ruler exercises his powers as a trust from Allah and administers the state according to Islamic commandments. Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) established the first Islamic state in Medina. The fundamental principles of an Islamic state are monotheism, equality, justice, morality, piety, and the pursuit of knowledge. There are many Islamic states in the world today, one of which is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Example 11

Federal Board- *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 12

Similarly, a Pakistan Studies Grade 9 textbook also presents Pakistan's ideology as solely religious, reducing it to Islamic principles and excluding political, historical, and cultural factors that contributed to the country's formation. While Islam played a role in shaping Pakistan's identity, the ideology of Pakistan was also influenced by economic, social, and political struggles, including Muslim representation in British India and fears of Hindu political dominance.



Fundamentals of Pakistan Ideology:

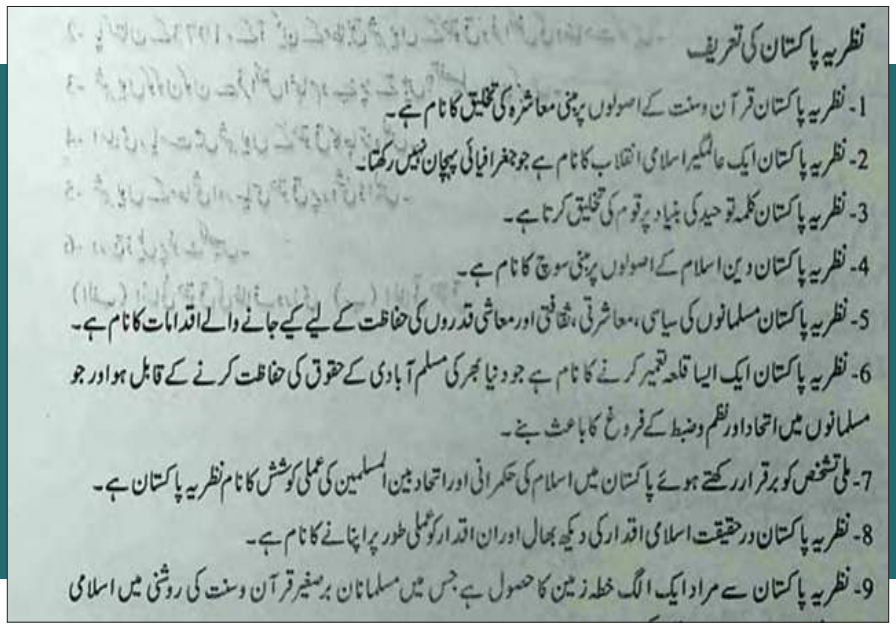
Pakistan Idelogy is devised from Islam. Islamic faith is based on two fundamental principles. Tauheed (Oneness of Allah) and Risalat (finality of Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W).

Example 12

Punjab Board – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, pp. 48-49

In a Civics textbook, the passage refers to the requirement that the head of state must be Muslim, alluding to the constitutional mandate. It then cites the Constitution of Pakistan, which states, "A person shall not be qualified for election as President unless he is a Muslim of not less than forty-five years of age and is qualified to be elected as member of the National Assembly.[83]" The passage also emphasizes Islam as the central foundation of Pakistan's ideology and governance, highlighting the slogan "Pakistan means *lā ilāh illa Allāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*" – that is to say, that Pakistan encapsulates the declaration of belief in Islam (*shahāda*). Thus, the text asserts that Islam provides timeless principles, with the current constitution reflecting these interpretations according to Pakistan's evolving social, political, and economic conditions.

[pg. 48]



نظریہ پاکستان کی تعریف

1- نظریہ پاکستان قرآن وسنت کے اصولوں پر مبنی معاشرہ کی تخلیق کا نام ہے۔

2- نظریہ پاکستان ایک عالمگیر اسلامی انقلاب کا نام ہے جو جغرافیائی پہچان نہیں رکھتا۔

3- نظریہ پاکستان کلمہ توحید کی بنیاد پر قوم کی تخلیق کرتا ہے۔

4- نظریہ پاکستان دین اسلام کے اصولوں پر مبنی سوچ کا نام ہے۔

5- نظریہ پاکستان مسلمانوں کی سیاسی، معاشرتی، ثقافتی اور معاشی قدروں کی حفاظت کے لیے کیے جانے والے اقدامات کا نام ہے۔

6- نظریہ پاکستان ایک ایسا قلعہ تعمیر کرنے کا نام ہے جو دنیا بھر کی مسلم آبادی کے حقوق کی حفاظت کرنے کے قابل ہو اور جو مسلمانوں میں اتحاد اور نظم وضبط کے فروغ کا باعث بنے۔

7- ملی تشخص کو برقرار رکھتے ہوئے پاکستان میں اسلام کی حکمرانی اور اتحاد بین المسلمین کی عملی کوشش کا نام نظریہ پاکستان ہے۔

8- نظریہ پاکستان درحقیقت اسلامی اقدار کی دیکھ بھال اور ان اقدار کو عملی طور پر اپنانے کا نام ہے۔

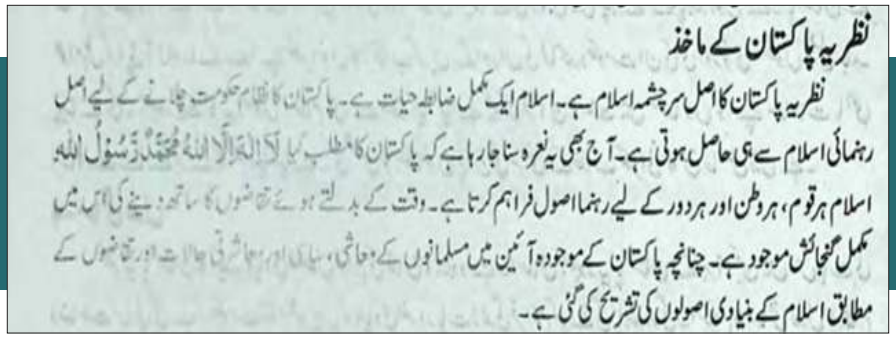
9- نظریہ پاکستان سے مراد ایک الگ خطہ زمین کا حصول ہے جس میں مسلمانان برصغیر قرآن وسنت کی روشنی میں اسلامی

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)

83 Constitution of Pakistan. 1973. Amended 2010. http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/.

Definition of the Ideology of Pakistan
1. The ideology of Pakistan is the creation of a society based on the principles of the Quran and Sunnah.
2. The ideology of Pakistan is the name of a universal Islamic revolution that does not have geographical boundaries.
3. The ideology of Pakistan creates a nation based on the Kalima (the declaration of the oneness of God).
4. The ideology of Pakistan is the name of a mindset built on the principles of Islam.
5. The ideology of Pakistan involves actions taken to protect the political, social, cultural, and economic values of Muslims.
6. The ideology of Pakistan is about building a fortress capable of protecting the rights of the Muslim population worldwide and promoting unity and discipline among Muslims.
7. The ideology of Pakistan is the practical effort to establish Islamic rule and unity among Muslims in Pakistan while maintaining national identity.
8. The ideology of Pakistan is essentially about the care and practical adoption of Islamic values.
9. The ideology of Pakistan means obtaining a separate land where the Muslims of the subcontinent can live according to the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah.

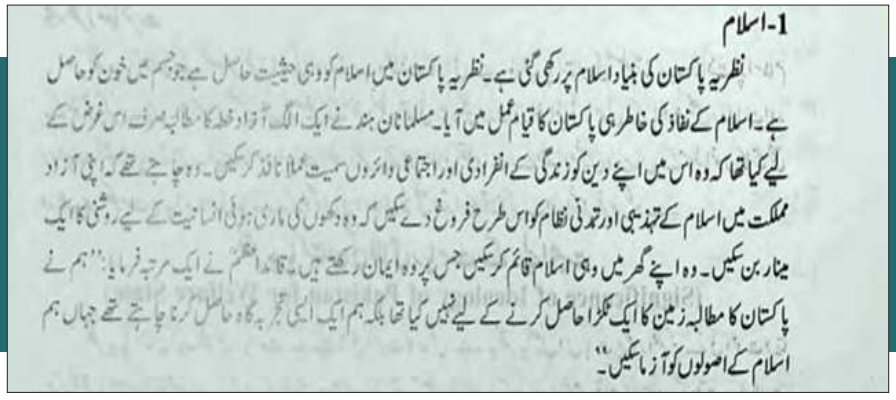
[pg. 49]



نظریہ پاکستان کے ماخذ

نظریہ پاکستان کا اصل سرچشمہ اسلام ہے۔ اسلام ایک مکمل ضابطہ حیات ہے۔ پاکستان کا نظام حکومت چلانے کے لیے اصل رہنمائی اسلام سے ہی حاصل ہوتی ہے۔ آج بھی یہ نعرہ سنا جا رہا ہے کہ پاکستان کا مطلب کیا لَآ اِلٰہَ اِلَّا اللّٰہُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰہِ اسلام ہر قوم، ہر وطن اور ہر دور کے لیے رہنما اصول فراہم کرتا ہے۔ وقت کے بدلتے ہوئے تقاضوں کا ساتھ دینے کی اس میں مکمل گنجائش موجود ہے۔ چنانچہ پاکستان کے موجودہ آئین میں مسلمانوں کے معاشی، سیاسی اور معاشرتی حالات اور تقاضوں کے مطابق اسلام کے بنیادی اصولوں کی تشریح کی گئی ہے۔

Origins of the Ideology of Pakistan
The main source of the ideology of Pakistan is Islam. Islam is a complete way of life. The true guidance comes from Islam to run the Pakistan's system of governance. Even today this slogan is being heard that Pakistan means "lā ilāh illa Allāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh" (There is no deity worthy of worship except Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah). Islam provides guiding principles to every nation, every country in every era. It has full scope to support the changing requirements of time. Therefore, in the current constitution of Pakistan, the basic principles of Islam have been interpreted according to the economic and social conditions and requirements of Muslims.



1- اسلام

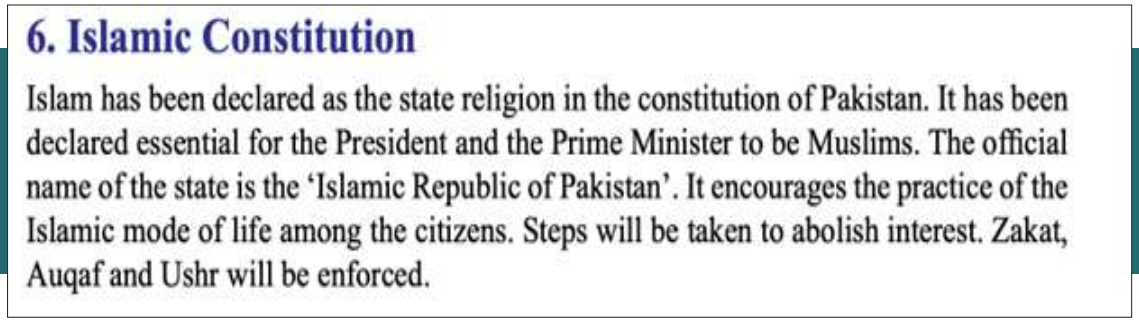
نظریہ پاکستان کی بنیاد اسلام پر رکھی گئی ہے۔ نظریہ پاکستان میں اسلام کو وہی حیثیت حاصل ہے جو جسم میں خون کو حاصل ہے۔ اسلام کے نفاذ کی خاطر ہی پاکستان کا قیام عمل میں آیا۔ مسلمانان ہند نے ایک الگ آزاد خطہ کا مطالبہ صرف اس غرض کے لیے کیا تھا کہ وہ اس میں اپنے دین کو زندگی کے انفرادی اور اجتماعی دائروں سمیت عملاً نافذ کر سکیں۔ وہ چاہتے تھے کہ اپنی آزاد مملکت میں اسلام کے تہذیبی اور تمدنی نظام کو اس طرح فروغ دے سکیں کہ وہ دکھوں کی ماری ہوئی انسانیت کے لیے روشنی کا ایک مینار بن سکیں۔ وہ اپنے گھر میں وہی اسلام قائم کر سکیں جس پر وہ ایمان رکھتے ہیں۔ قائداعظم نے ایک مرتبہ فرمایا: ''ہم نے پاکستان کا مطالبہ زمین کا ایک ٹکڑا حاصل کرنے کے لیے نہیں کیا تھا بلکہ ہم ایک ایسی تجربہ گاہ حاصل کرنا چاہتے تھے جہاں ہم اسلام کے اصولوں کو آزما سکیں۔''

The ideology of Pakistan is based on Islam. In the ideology of Pakistan, Islam has the same status as blood in the body. Pakistan was established for the implementation of Islam. The Muslims of India had demanded a separate individual state only for the purpose of establishing their religion, including the individual and collective spheres of life. They wanted to promote the cultural and civilizational system of Islam in their independent state in such a way that they could become a beacon of light for the suffering humanity. They can establish the same Islam in their home that they believe in. The Quaid-e-Azam once said: "We did not demand Pakistan to get a piece of land, but we wanted to get a laboratory where we could test the principles of Islam".

Example 13

Punjab Board- *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2018, p. 11

In a Grade 10 Pakistan Studies, the text defines the Constitution of Pakistan as an "Islamic constitution," emphasizing Islam as the state religion and requiring Muslim leadership. The passage highlights aspects such as the abolition of interest and the enforcement of religious financial practices including *Zakat* (alms giving), *Auqaf* (religious endowments), and *Ushr* (the one-tenth tax) – terms rooted in Islamic tax law and administration. It states that the constitution "encourages the practice of the Islamic mode of life among the citizens," framing governance as inseparable from religious obligations.



6. Islamic Constitution

Islam has been declared as the state religion in the constitution of Pakistan. It has been declared essential for the President and the Prime Minister to be Muslims. The official name of the state is the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan'. It encourages the practice of the Islamic mode of life among the citizens. Steps will be taken to abolish interest. Zakat, Auqaf and Ushr will be enforced.

The Army's Role as a National Institution and Nuclear Image

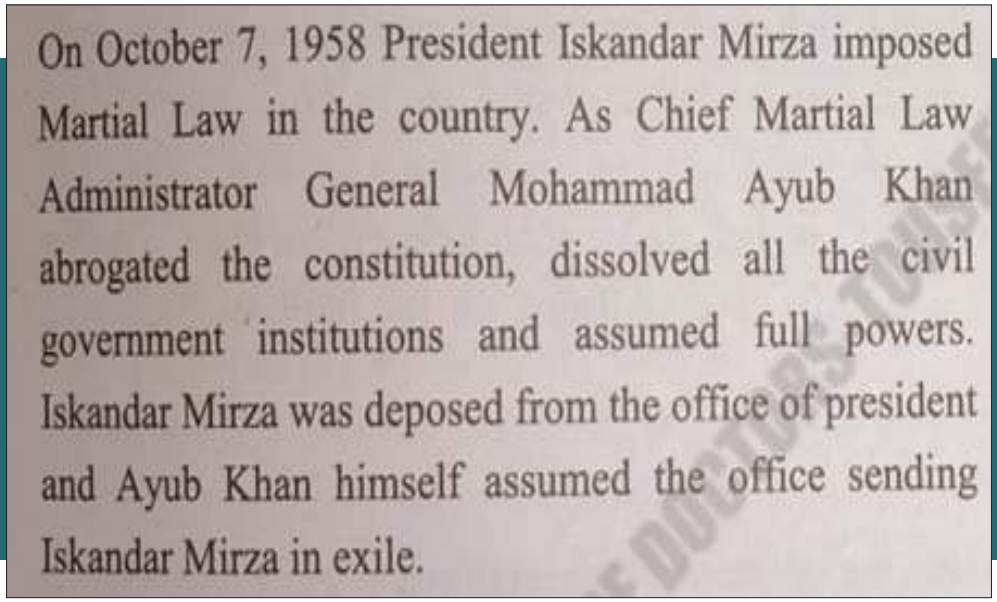
The examples in the next pages highlight the prominent role of the Pakistani military as a key national institution, portrayed not only as a guardian of the country's stability and sovereignty but also as a symbol of patriotism and national unity. While the textbooks present military coups factually, they also frequently emphasize the military's broader contributions, such as its role in defending the country's borders, providing disaster relief, and fostering discipline and service among citizens. Military service and values are often celebrated, reinforcing respect and pride for the armed forces beyond political interventions. Additionally, Pakistan's nuclear program is depicted as a source of national pride, deeply intertwined with religious symbolism and the defense of the nation's ideological identity. This more general portrayal underscores the military's central place in national identity and civic education across the curriculum.

Example 14

Federal Board- *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 57

In the Pakistan Studies textbook, a passage factually states that President Iskandar Mirza imposed martial law in 1958, with General Ayub Khan becoming the Chief Martial Law Administrator, dissolving civil institutions, and eventually assuming the presidency. It accurately records the constitutional abrogation and transfer of power. However, the text presents these events without explicitly labeling them as a military coup orchestrated by the army. This omission downplays the seriousness of the event, as understanding the history of military coups in Pakistan is crucial.

Similar narratives appear in the Pakistan Studies Grade 10 textbook, such as the account of the political turmoil leading to General Zia-ul-Haq's coup in 1977. This passage highlights the breakdown of negotiations and the army chief's decisive role in overthrowing Bhutto's government, noting Zia's eleven-year rule, his death in an air crash, and the appointment of a caretaker government. The Pakistani army is often regarded as one of the most credible and powerful institutions in the country which is positioned beyond criticism. Given the military's central role in shaping civilian and political life, textbooks tend to portray the army's involvement in politics in a sanitized light, even during periods when democratic processes were suspended.


On October 7, 1958 President Iskandar Mirza imposed Martial Law in the country. As Chief Martial Law Administrator General Mohammad Ayub Khan abrogated the constitution, dissolved all the civil government institutions and assumed full powers. Iskandar Mirza was deposed from the office of president and Ayub Khan himself assumed the office sending Iskandar Mirza in exile.

Example 15

Punjab Board- *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2018, p. 12

Similarly, a passage in the Pakistan Studies textbook for Grade 10 focuses on the military coup of 1977 led by General Zia-ul-Haq, describing the political context that led to his takeover. It notes the failure of negotiations between Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the National Alliance, which preceded Zia's overthrow of the civilian government and declaration of martial law on July 5, 1977.

When the situation was beyond control, Mr. Bhutto invited the National Alliance for negotiations. The negotiations were still in progress. When army's Chief, Zia-ul-Haq, overthrew the Bhutto government and declared martial law on 5th July 1977. He ruled over the country for about 11 years from July 1977 to August 1988. General Zia-ul-Haq was killed in an air crash on 17th August, 1988. The Chairman of Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, took over as the Caretaker President of Pakistan.

Example 16

Punjab Board- *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2018, p. 22

Another mention of the Pakistani military coup can be found in the Pakistan Studies textbook for Grade 10, where a passage focuses on the military takeover of 1999 led by General Pervez Musharraf. It describes the suspension of the constitution, the overthrow of Nawaz Sharif's government, and the dissolution of assemblies. The text also notes the Supreme Court's subsequent legitimization of Musharraf's regime. Unlike earlier textbook passages on military interventions, this account explicitly identifies the military's role in removing the civilian government, reflecting a more direct and factual presentation of the events.

The Causes of the Military Take-over of 12th October, 1999

1. On 12 October 1999, the Chief of Army Staff General Pervaz Musharraf suspended the constitution, overthrew the government of Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and dissolved the national and provincial assemblies. The Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's decision of appointing General Zia-ud-Din, Chief of Army Staff was also declared unconstitutional.
2. Later on, Supreme Court, in a decision, gave General Pervez Musharraf's government a period of three years so he could bring constitutional and social reforms in the country.

Example 17

Punjab Board - *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 89

Throughout the textbooks, there are numerous army-related stories designed to evoke a sense of pride and valor about the Pakistani military. For example, in the Urdu Grade 7 textbook from the Punjab Board, the story of Rashid Abbas describes a tense situation in which he prevents a plane from being hijacked above Indian airspace, highlighting bravery, vigilance, and patriotism. The story also portrays India as the adversary, reinforcing a nationalistic sentiment of ongoing rivalry and conflict.

ٹھہریں اور بتائیں

- مطیع الرحمٰن کون تھا؟
- راشد منہاس نے ایئر بیس کے کنٹرول روم سے کیا کہا؟

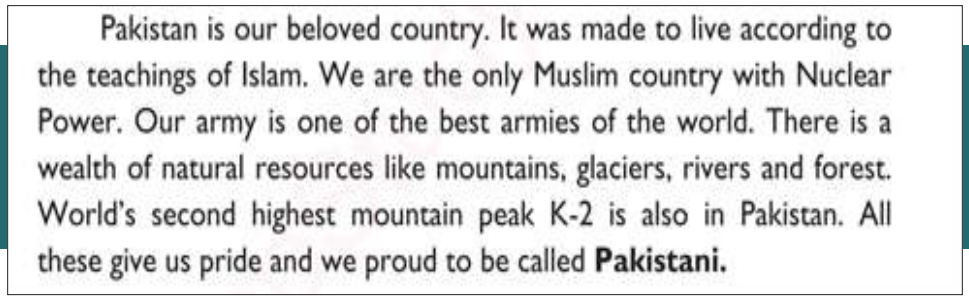
راشد منہاس ابھی صورتِ حال جانچنے کی کوشش ہی کی کہ مطیع الرحمٰن نے دشمن ملک کو اطلاع دی کہ وہ پاکستان کا طیارہ اور قیمتی راز چُرا کر لا رہا ہے۔ راشد منہاس نے فوراً ایئر بیس کے کنٹرول روم کو اطلاع دی کہ میرا جہاز اغوا کر لیا گیا ہے۔ یہ سنتے ہی مطیع الرحمٰن نے راشد منہاس کے سر میں ضرب لگا کے بے ہوش کر دیا۔ لیکن جلد ہی راشد منہاس ہوش میں آ گئے انھوں نے دیکھا کہ ان کا طیارہ تیز رفتاری سے دشمن ملک بھارت کی طرف بڑھ رہا تھا۔ فوری امداد کا امکان نہ پا کر راشد منہاس نے حالات کو دیکھتے ہوئے خود ہی کچھ کرنے کا سوچا۔ وہ بھانپ چکے تھے کہ مطیع الرحمٰن وطن سے غداری کر کے انتہائی قیمتی راز بھارت لے جانا چاہتا ہے۔ انھوں نے مطیع الرحمٰن سے جہاز کا کنٹرول حاصل کرنے کی کوشش شروع کر دی۔ بھارتی سرحد سے جہاز کا فاصلہ تیزی سے کم ہوتا جا رہا تھا۔ جہاز اگر بھارتی حدود میں داخل ہو جاتا تو صرف پاکستان کو نا صرف ناقابلِ تلافی نقصان پہنچ سکتا تھا بلکہ اس کے ساتھ عالمی سطح پر جگ ہنسائی کا سامان بھی

Rashid Minhas tried to understand the situation. He informed the country's intelligence that Pakistan's plane and some confidential documents are being hijacked. Rashid Minhas immediately informed the control room of the Air Force that their plane had been hijacked. As soon as he heard this, Muti ur Rahman attacked Rashid Minhas on his head. But Rashid Abbas quickly regained consciousness.
They saw that their plane was flying rapidly towards India, the enemy country. Seeing no chance of immediate help, Rashid Minhas decided to take control of the situation himself. He thought that Muti ur Rahman wanted to betray the country and take important confidential documents to India.
Muti ur Rahman started trying to gain control of the plane. The distance from the Indian border was decreasing rapidly. If the plane entered Indian airspace, it would not only cause irreparable damage to Pakistan's defense, it would even become a laughing stock on a global level.

Example 18

Federal Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 4, 2019, p. 58

The following passage strongly associates Pakistan's nuclear capability with its Islamic identity, portraying the development and testing of nuclear weapons as not only a strategic achievement but also as a defense of the ideological and religious boundaries of the Pakistani state.

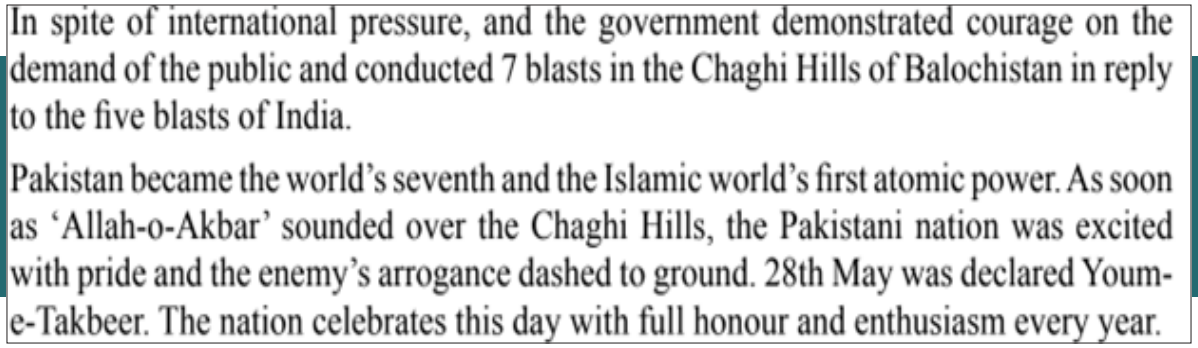


Pakistan is our beloved country. It was made to live according to the teachings of Islam. We are the only Muslim country with Nuclear Power. Our army is one of the best armies of the world. There is a wealth of natural resources like mountains, glaciers, rivers and forest. World's second highest mountain peak K-2 is also in Pakistan. All these give us pride and we proud to be called **Pakistani.**

Example 19

Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 22

A passage in the Grade 10 Pakistan Studies textbook states that "Pakistan became the world's seventh and the Islamic world's first atomic power." It highlights Pakistan's achievement in becoming a nuclear-armed state, positioning it as the first Muslim-majority nation to develop nuclear capabilities. The text implies a connection between Pakistan's atomic power and its Islamic identity, suggesting that acquiring nuclear weapons legitimizes Pakistan's role as a prominent Islamic nation. This portrayal frames the development of nuclear weapons as a source of national pride, with the achievement viewed as a means to challenge the "enemy's arrogance." While the "enemy" is not explicitly named, it is implicitly understood to refer to India, given the historical context of the India-Pakistan rivalry. However, the text does not clarify the intended purpose of Pakistan's nuclear capabilities, leaving the impression that atomic power is a tool against the enemy. It fails to distinguish whether the nuclear arsenal is solely for deterrence or could be intended for offensive purposes. This omission is significant, as it does not provide a clear understanding of Pakistan's nuclear strategy and the broader implications for regional and global security.



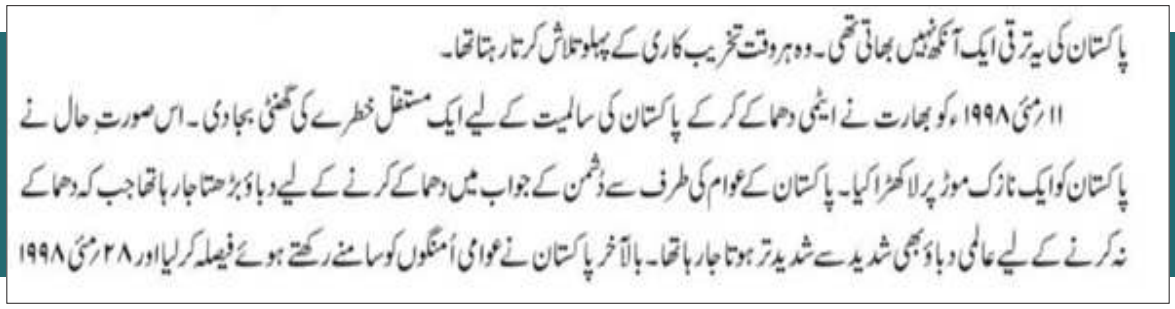
In spite of international pressure, and the government demonstrated courage on the demand of the public and conducted 7 blasts in the Chaghi Hills of Balochistan in reply to the five blasts of India.

Pakistan became the world's seventh and the Islamic world's first atomic power. As soon as 'Allah-o-Akbar' sounded over the Chaghi Hills, the Pakistani nation was excited with pride and the enemy's arrogance dashed to ground. 28th May was declared Youm-e-Takbeer. The nation celebrates this day with full honour and enthusiasm every year.

Example 20

Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 73

Pakistan's development of nuclear weapons is framed as a strategic response to India's nuclear capabilities, emphasizing national security concerns. A Grade 7 Urdu textbook highlights India's nuclear tests as provocative actions that heightened Pakistan's perception of threat and compelled the country to act to keep the enemy in check. Notably, the nuclear project is not presented as tied to considerations of religion. Rather, this presentation situates Pakistan's nuclear program within the context of regional rivalry and defense, focusing on deterrence and security imperatives in response to India's actions.



پاکستان کی یہ ترقی ایک آنکھ نہیں بھاتی تھی۔ وہ ہر وقت تخریب کاری کے پہلو تلاش کرتا رہتا تھا۔
۱۱ رمئی ۱۹۹۸ء کو بھارت نے ایٹمی دھماکے کر کے پاکستان کی سالمیت کے لیے ایک مستقل خطرے کی گھنٹی بجا دی۔ اس صورتِ حال نے پاکستان کو ایک نازک موڑ پر لا کھڑا کیا۔ پاکستان کے عوام کی طرف سے دشمن کے جواب میں دھماکے کرنے کے لیے دباؤ بڑھتا جا رہا تھا جب کہ دھماکے نہ کرنے کے لیے عالمی دباؤ بھی شدید سے شدید تر ہوتا جا رہا تھا۔ بالآخر پاکستان نے عوامی اُمنگوں کو سامنے رکھتے ہوئے فیصلہ کر لیا اور ۲۸ رمئی ۱۹۹۸

Pakistan's progress was totally unacceptable. It [India] has always looked for ways to sabotage it.
On May 11, 1998, India conducted nuclear tests, ringing a perpetual alarm bell for Pakistan's Integrity. This situation brought Pakistan to a critical juncture. The pressure from the Pakistani public to respond to the enemy with nuclear tests was increasing, while the international pressure to thwart from testing was becoming more and more intense. Finally, considering the public's aspirations, Pakistan made the decision […]

Islamic Principles and Islamization

A major recommendation from the first Pakistani educational conference in 1947 was the creation of an educational framework rooted in Islamic values, which laid the foundation for integrating Islamic principles into Pakistan's education system. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah emphasized the importance of Islamic teachings in shaping a productive society, believing that an education system grounded in these values would benefit the nation. His vision for an Islamic education system can be considered a form of "Islamization," where Islamic values were to be woven into the fabric of education, guiding not only the spiritual development of individuals but also their societal and civic roles. However, political instability delayed the implementation of these recommendations

.

In 1959, during the rule of Mohammed Ayub Khan, the National Commission on Education emphasized the integration of Islamic education at all levels,[84] marking a significant move towards Islamizing education. In 1969, Air Marshal Noor Khan's proposal furthered this by making Islamic Education compulsory up to the Grade 10, and seeking to incorporate Islamic values into subjects like science and mathematics. The idea behind this sort of Islamization was that subjects traditionally seen as secular should also align with the country's Islamic ethos, ensuring that the students' academic knowledge was complemented by a spiritual and ethical framework derived from Islam.

The 1970s focused on improving primary education and technological advancement. The 1972 educational policy emphasized Pakistan's ideological foundation and introduced free education up to the Grade 10. Under President Zia-ul-Haq in the late 1970s, policies promoted religious ideologies alongside scientific and technical education. The 1978 educational plan made Islamic Education a mandatory subject and established *Shariah* centers and mosque schools to further Islamize the educational system.[85]

From 1992 to 2015, policies aimed to incorporate Qur'anic principles into the curriculum were introduced. The 1992 educational policy emphasized moral education by mandating the recitation of Qur'anic Surahs during school hours, with recitation of the Qur'an (*nazira-e quran*) becoming compulsory from the pre-primary stage. This practice aimed to ensure that students engaged directly with the Qur'an's text, fostering not only knowledge but also an internalization of its moral and ethical guidelines.[86] The 1998-2010 policy sought to bridge the gap between formal education and religious seminaries (*deeni madaris*), integrating Qur'anic teachings into all subjects.[87]

This chapter explores the integration of Islamic values and the role of Islamic education in the curriculum through two major subthemes:

1. Integration of Islamic Values in non-Religious Subjects
2. Islamic Views on Justice, Governance, and *Jihad*

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84 W. Faizi, W. Bibi, and F. Khan, "Educational Policies (1947-2009) of Pakistan and Integration of Islamic Values Among Secondary Level Learners: An Evaluative Study," *Pakistan Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Research* 3, no. 01: 79–90 (2020). https://doi.org/10.37605/pjhssr.3.1.7.

85 M. S. Awan, "Impact of Radical Islamisation of Education on Pakistani Society." *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies* 4, no. 2 (2012): 45–55.

86 Faizi et al., "Educational policies (1947-2009)," 79.

87 A. Sajid, "Educational Policies of Pakistan – Where Pakistan Stands?" *The Educationist*, December 26, 2016. https://educationist.com.pk/educational-policies-of-pakistan-where-pakistan-stands/.

The integration of Islamic values in education, as reflected in the textbooks, aims to foster a strong sense of faith, ethics, and character development among students. Islamic teachings, such as the exclusivity of God (*tawḥid*), the importance of worship, and the values of charity, compassion, and empathy, are emphasized across various subjects like Islamic Education, Urdu, and General Knowledge. These values are presented not only as religious obligations but as essential principles for leading a morally upright life. The curriculum encourages students to internalize the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith, emphasizing universal values like helping the poor and recognizing God in everyday life, all of which allegedly contribute to a well-rounded spiritual and ethical foundation. It also highlights a vision of Islamic governance system rooted in the principles of justice, compassion, and the sanctity of human life.

Students are introduced to key Islamic concepts, including the exclusiveness of Allah and the significance of adhering to ethical principles and *Shariah*. Core Islamic practices – such as prayer, fasting, charity, and empathy – are presented not only as religious obligations but also as pathways to personal development, self-discipline, and compassion for others.[88] These values are reinforced through narratives about the Prophets, with particular emphasis on the Prophet Muhammad, whose life and teachings are portrayed as the ultimate model of moral conduct.

The textbooks also convey a vision of Islamic governance founded on justice, underscoring the sanctity of human life and the imperative of maintaining peace. They emphasize the responsibility of the Islamic state to combat oppression, highlighting the legitimacy of armed resistance when confronting injustice. The Qur'an is cited in support of defending the vulnerable, with Surah Al-Nisa (4:75) specifically urging intervention to end oppression and presenting *jihad* as a means to protect the oppressed.[89]

However, the presentation of certain concepts, particularly *jihad*, lacks sufficient contextual explanation, potentially leading to a limited understanding. Indeed, there are references limiting the use of *jihad* to the authority of the state,[90] thus distinguishing it from unauthorized and radicalized violence. Nevertheless, the textbooks tend to focus on *jihad* as physical defense or struggle, often associating it with the state's authority, without differentiating between the various types of *jihad*: spiritual and physical. This narrow depiction overlooks the broader, more profound meanings of *jihad* in Islam, such as personal growth, striving against one's desires, and standing up for justice. For instance, a Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook teaches the importance of practicing *jihad* as a means of intervention wherever "human rights are being violated," without presenting non-violent alternative courses of action. Additionally, while Islamic values are seamlessly integrated into subjects, the curriculum may benefit from a more inclusive approach, acknowledging diverse belief systems and fostering respect for non-Muslim perspectives.

Integration of Islamic Values in non-Religious Subjects

The examples in the next pages highlight the integration of Islamic values into non-religious educational materials, especially in textbooks like those for Sindh and Federal curricula, reflecting an overarching effort to impart not just knowledge, but also spiritual and ethical guidance to students. The inclusion of Islamic values in a variety of subjects from General Knowledge (GK)

88 Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 3, 2014, p. 51
89 Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 77
90 Ibid., p. 78

to Civics, Mathematics, and Islamic Education indicates a consistent attempt to weave Islamic principles into daily learning experiences.

Throughout these textbooks, Islamic concepts such as the belief in Allah's creation, gratitude for blessings, and the importance of prayer are emphasized. For example, in the Sindh Board Urdu textbook for Grade 2, students are taught that Allah created the world and everything in it, including the sun, moon, stars, and animals, with the message of thanking Allah for His blessings being central. Similarly, in the Sindh Board Urdu textbook for Grade 3, the text includes references to the sun as a gift from Allah and encourages students to appreciate the warmth and light it provides, underscoring the belief in the interconnectedness of Allah's creations. Given that these are language textbooks, as opposed to religious education textbooks, employing this Islamic religious perspective demonstrates the pervasiveness of Islamization, which may come at the expense of non-Islamic creation narratives or scientific theories.
The concept of helping the poor and distressed is highlighted in the Grade 3 Urdu textbook, reflecting the Islamic teachings of compassion and charity. The focus here is on how these values are universally applicable, reminding students that the Quran's guidance on feeding the hungry and aiding those in need extends to all of humanity.
Similarly, introducing blessings like "*Insha Allah*" and "*Masha Allah*" in the Sindh Board General Knowledge Grade 2 textbook reinforces the daily application of Islamic expressions that reflect a student's faith in Allah's will. These expressions are part of the cultural and religious fabric that is embedded in students' daily activities and thought processes, beyond academic subjects.

The integration of Islamic values extends into sensitive areas like family life as well. For example, in the Punjab Pakistan Studies Grade 10 textbook, the concept of marriage (Nikkah) is presented from an Islamic viewpoint, reinforcing the idea of mutual consent and respect between spouses while discussing marriage and family formation in society. This adds a religious perspective to the understanding of family and societal responsibilities.

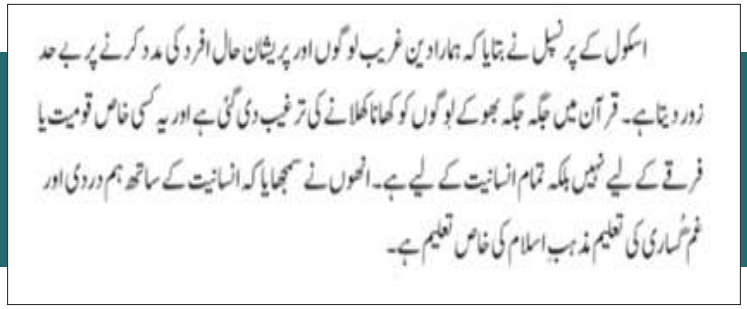
However, the repetition of certain Islamic concepts through various non-religious subject textbooks might reinforce a homogeneous worldview. For instance, the continuous reference to Allah as the Creator of all things in various contexts, while accurate from an Islamic standpoint, does not account for the diverse beliefs and values that exist in the broader multicultural context of modern classrooms. This becomes particularly evident in textbooks like Sindh-GK and Civics, where the phrase "created by Allah" is consistently used, potentially excluding non-Muslim or atheist students or presenting a monolithic view of humanity that may not fully reflect the diversity of beliefs present in the classroom. Similarly, the use of names like "Hassan," "Zain," "Moeen," and "Hamza" in mathematics problems raises the question of whether there is sufficient diversity in representing all communities, as these names overwhelmingly reflect Muslim identities.

While these textbooks effectively integrate Islamic teachings and cultural references, a more inclusive approach could provide a more balanced representation of diverse cultures and belief systems. This would not only enrich the learning experience but also promote tolerance and understanding among students from different backgrounds, ensuring that all students feel seen and valued in their educational journey.

Example 21

Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 3, 2014, p. 51

In a Grade 3 Urdu textbook, the students learn about helping the poor and the distressed through an Islamic perspective. The Qur'an's teachings on charity, compassion, and empathy are highlighted, emphasizing that these values are not limited to a specific group but apply to all of humanity. The message conveys a universal principle of kindness, reflecting the core teachings of Islam about caring for others.



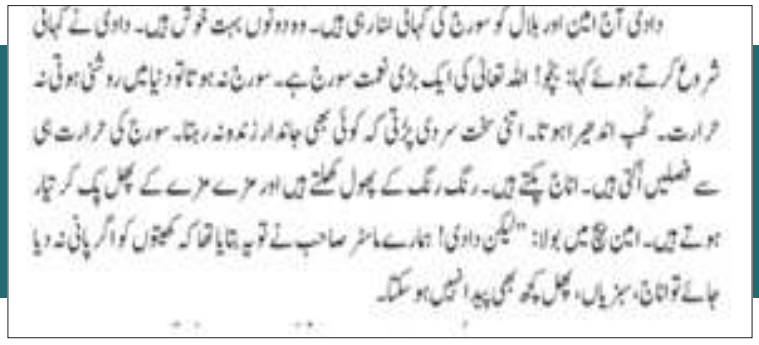
اسکول کے پرنسپل نے بتایا کہ ہمارا دین غریب لوگوں اور پریشان حال افراد کی مدد کرنے پر بے حد زور دیتا ہے۔ قرآن میں جگہ جگہ بھوکے لوگوں کو کھانا کھلانے کی ترغیب دی گئی ہے اور یہ کسی خاص قومیت یا فرقے کے لیے نہیں بلکہ تمام انسانیت کے لیے ہے۔ انھوں نے سمجھایا کہ انسانیت کے ساتھ ہم دردی اور غم گساری کی تعلیم مذہب اسلام کی خاص تعلیم ہے۔

The principal of the school explained that our religion emphasizes helping the poor and distressed to the utmost extent. The Quran repeatedly advises feeding the hungry and assisting the needy, and this teaching is not limited to a specific group but applies to all of humanity. It conveys that humanity must be approached with compassion and empathy. This education of kindness and humanity is a special teaching of Islam.

Example 22

Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 3, 2014, p. 54

This passage presents a conversation between a grandmother and his grandson, discussing the blessings of the sun. The description highlights the significance of the sun as a gift from Allah, which sustains life by providing warmth, ripening fruits, and ensuring the survival of living beings. This framing encourages students to view natural phenomena not through scientific or cosmological explanations, but primarily through religious attribution.



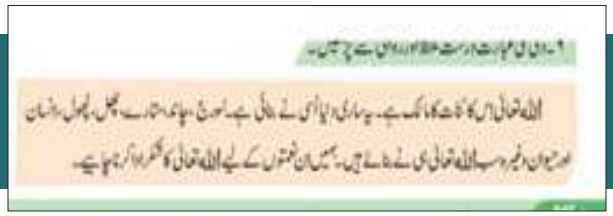
دادی آج امین اور بلال کو سورج کی کہانی سنا رہی ہیں۔ دونوں بہت خوش ہیں۔ دادی نے کہانی شروع کرتے ہوئے کہا: بچو! اللہ تعالیٰ کی ایک بڑی نعمت سورج ہے۔ سورج نہ ہو تو دنیا میں روشنی ہوتی نہ حرارت۔ گھپ اندھیرا ہوتا۔ اتنی سخت سردی پڑتی کہ کوئی بھی جاندار زندہ نہ رہتا۔ سورج کی حرارت ہی سے فصلیں اگتی ہیں۔ اناج پکتے ہیں۔ رنگ رنگ کے پھول کھلتے ہیں اور مزے مزے کے پھل پک کر تیار ہوتے ہیں۔ امین بیچ میں بولا: "لیکن دادی! ہمارے ماسٹر صاحب نے تو یہ بتایا تھا کہ کھیتوں کو اگر پانی نہ دیا جائے تو اناج، سبزیاں، پھل کچھ بھی پیدا نہیں ہو سکتا۔

Today, Grandmother is narrating a story to Ameen and Bilal about the sun. Both of them were very happy. Grandmother begins the story by saying, "Kids, the sun is the great blessing of Allah. If there were no sun, there would not be any light and warmth. Rather darkness will be here. There will be extreme cold so that no one with a soul could be alive. Grains are produced and ripen. Flowers of different colours blossom and delicious fruits get ripe and become fit to eat. Ameen interrupted, "But Grandmother, our teacher taught us that if water is irrigated then grains, vegetables and fruits could not be produced".

Example 23

Federal Board – *Urdu*, Grade 2, 2020, p. 5

This passage reflects a basic concept of Islamic teachings, emphasizing that Allah is the Creator of everything in the world, including the sun, moon, stars, fruits, flowers, humans, and animals. The primary message is one of gratitude to Allah for His creations, underscoring the importance of recognizing and appreciating His blessings. Notably, this Islamic narrative is embedded within an Urdu language learning textbook, highlighting how religious messaging is integrated even into subjects that are not explicitly religious.



Allah is the owner of the Universe. He has created this whole world. The sun, moon, stars, fruits, flowers, humans and animals are all created by Allah. We should thank Allah for these blessings.

Example 24

Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 3, 2020, p. 1

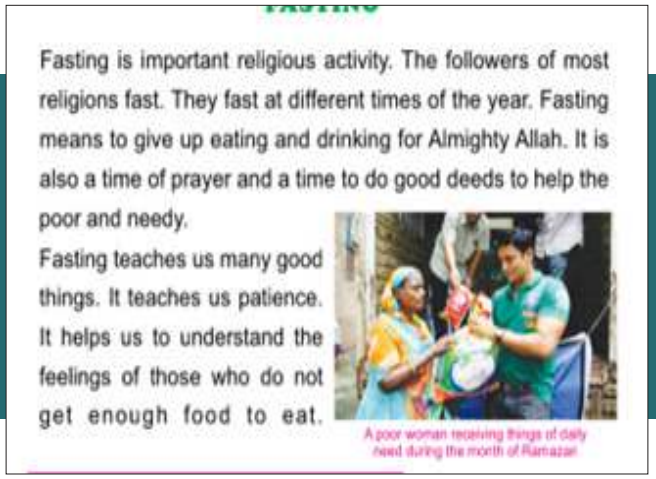
This passage introduces the worship of natural phenomena, discussing how people in history worshipped deities representing various natural elements such as the sun, moon, trees, and animals. However, the text starts by stating that "the True Creator", i.e., Allah created the concept of worship, and only later people "adopted new religions based on their own thinking." Thus, while the text seems to provide historical context for these practices, it also implies that such worship was based on human beliefs rather than divine truth, which may indicate a less respectful perception of other religions.

The True Creator taught humans ethics and servitude. Later, people adopted new religions based on their own thinking, and they began to consider anything that benefited them as their deity or goddess. Among these, the worship of natural phenomena is noteworthy, such as the sun, moon, trees, birds, animals, natural objects, and landscapes. Not only did they try to please these entities, but they also found inner satisfaction in doing so. Each religion had its own concepts to explain to its followers the deities, their worship practices, specific symbols, and mythical stories, which were used to persuade people to follow that religion. This chapter provides information about the worship of natural phenomena, animism, and magic under topics such as celestial deities, terrestrial deities, mythical stories, fables, magic, spirit worship, and object worship.

Example 25

Sindh Board – *General Knowledge*, Grade 2, 2024, p. 4

The passage on effective fasting connects the practice to developing empathy for the underprivileged and emphasizes the spiritual and ethical dimensions of fasting. The text is clear in explaining that fasting is not just an act of abstaining from food but also a time for self-reflection and helping others.



Fasting is important religious activity. The followers of most religions fast. They fast at different times of the year. Fasting means to give up eating and drinking for Almighty Allah. It is also a time of prayer and a time to do good deeds to help the poor and needy.

Fasting teaches us many good things. It teaches us patience. It helps us to understand the feelings of those who do not get enough food to eat.

A poor woman receiving things of daily need during the month of Ramazan

Example 26

Punjab Board - *Civics*, Grades 9-10, 2023, p. 13

High school students learn in Civics textbooks about the importance of adhering to Islamic principles in daily life. It encourages students to treat others well, regardless of nationality, race, or culture, promoting a sense of solidarity and compassion. However, the textbook states that all human beings are "created by Allah" and should live their lives “according to the principles set by Allah and His Messenger Muhammad.” Furthermore, the textbook emphasizes that Pakistan was not established on “racial, linguistic, regional, or shared economic interests” but on Islam. Teaching this message in a Civics textbook may reinforce a monolithic view of the role of Islam in Pakistani society, which may not fully acknowledge the diversity of beliefs present in society.

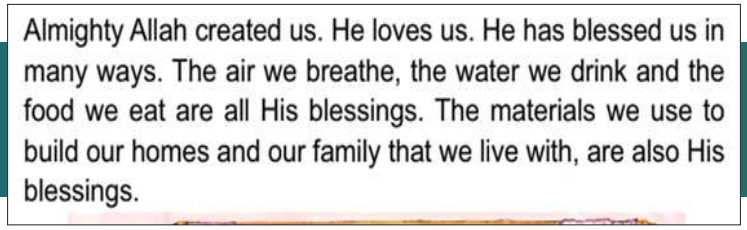
تمام انسان اللہ تعالیٰ کے پیدا کیے ہوئے ہیں اور اسی کی مخلوق ہیں، اس لیے ضروری ہے کہ ملت اسلامیہ کے ارکان، اللہ تعالیٰ اور اس کے رسول ﷺ کے بتائے ہوئے اصولوں کے مطابق زندگی بسر کریں۔ تمام انسانوں سے قومیت، وطنیت، رنگ و نسل، زبان، ثقافت اور معاشرت جیسی پابندیوں سے بالاتر ہو کر بہتر سلوک کیا جائے اور سب مسلمان آپس میں بھائی بھائی بن کر رہیں اور وہ اللہ کی رسی کو مضبوطی سے تھامے رکھیں۔ پاکستانی قوم کی بنیاد بھی اسلام کے تصورِ امت پر قائم ہے۔ یہ ملک نسلی، لسانی، علاقائی یا مشترکہ معاشی مفاد کی بجائے اسلام کی بنیاد پر قائم ہوا ہے یعنی پاکستان کی اساس اسلام ہے۔ پاکستان دو قومی

All human beings are created by Allah and are His creation, so it is necessary that the members of the Islamic Ummah live their lives according to the principles set by Allah and His Messenger Muhammad (peace be upon him). They should treat all humans well, transcending restrictions like nationality, homeland, race, language, culture, and society, and all Muslims should live as brothers and hold firmly to the rope of Allah. The foundation of Pakistan nationalism is also based on the concept of the Islamic Ummah. This country was established not on the basis of racial, linguistic, regional, or shared economic interests, but on the foundation of Islam, meaning that the basis of Pakistan is Islam.

Example 27

Sindh Board – *General Knowledge*, Grade 2, 2024, p. 2

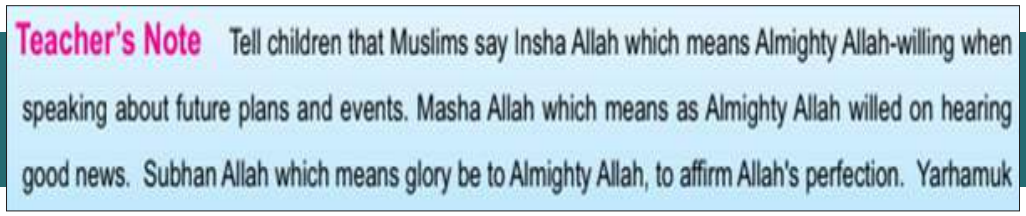
The following passage emphasizes the many blessings Allah has granted, such as air, water, food, and family, highlighting the constant presence of Allah's mercy in everyday life. While this message serves as a reminder to recognize these blessings, learning this as part of General Knowledge textbook, as opposed to Islamic Education, may foster a particular view of the preponderant importance of Islam, excluding other religious views or scientific approaches.


Almighty Allah created us. He loves us. He has blessed us in many ways. The air we breathe, the water we drink and the food we eat are all His blessings. The materials we use to build our homes and our family that we live with, are also His blessings.

Example 28

Sindh Board – *General Knowledge*, Grade 2, 2024, p. 2

In a General Knowledge Grade 2 textbook, a teacher's note explains that common some expressions originating in Arabic, such as "*Insha Allah*" (God willing) and "*Masha Allah*" (as God willed), which are frequently used by Muslims in daily life. These expressions reflect the core principles of faith in Allah's will and perfection. Students learn how to implement these expressions in daily life, such as while speaking about plans and events and hearing good news, respectively.

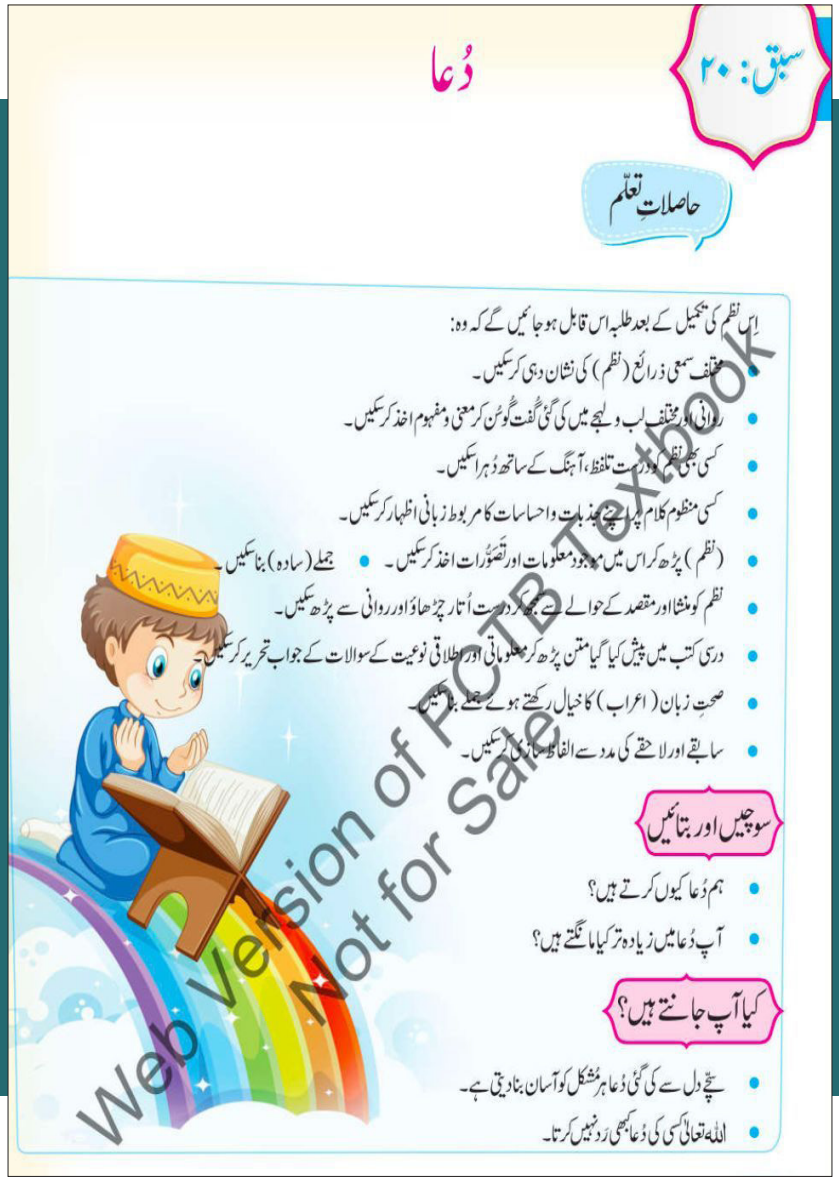

Teacher's Note Tell children that Muslims say Insha Allah which means Almighty Allah-willing when speaking about future plans and events. Masha Allah which means as Almighty Allah willed on hearing good news. Subhan Allah which means glory be to Almighty Allah, to affirm Allah's perfection. Yarhamuk

Example 29

Punjab Board - *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 136

An Urdu language textbook teaches reading comprehension with a text which addresses the importance of supplication prayers (*du'ā'*) in Islam. It emphasizes the need to pray to God with sincerity and humility and encourages students to develop a personal connection with Allah through prayer. The goals of the lesson explicitly include encouraging students to "write and recite" specific Islamic prayers in Arabic, and "pray[ing] to Allah." Teaching this kind of proselytized content in a language textbook, as opposed to religious education textbooks, amounts to a kind of religionization of non-religious content – specifically Islamization – which risks invoking feeling of exclusion and non-representation in non-Muslim or atheist students.

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)



سبق: ۲۰

دُعا

حاصلاتِ تعلّم

اِس نظم کی تکمیل کے بعد طلبہ اس قابل ہو جائیں گے کہ وہ:

- مختلف سمعی ذرائع (نظم) کی نشان دہی کر سکیں۔
- روانی اور مختلف لب و لہجے میں کی گئی گفت گو سُن کر معنی و مفہوم اخذ کر سکیں۔
- کسی بھی نظم کو درست تلفظ، آہنگ کے ساتھ دُہرا سکیں۔
- کسی منظوم کلام پر اپنے جذبات و احساسات کا مربوط زبانی اظہار کر سکیں۔
- (نظم) پڑھ کر اس میں موجود معلومات اور تصوّرات اخذ کر سکیں۔
- جملے (سادہ) بنا سکیں۔
- نظم کو منشا اور مقصد کے حوالے سے سمجھ کر درست اُتار چڑھاؤ اور روانی سے پڑھ سکیں۔
- درسی کتب میں پیش کیا گیا متن پڑھ کر معلوماتی اور اطلاقی نوعیت کے سوالات کے جواب تحریر کر سکیں۔
- صحتِ زبان (اعراب) کا خیال رکھتے ہوئے جملے بنا سکیں۔
- سابقے اور لاحقے کی مدد سے الفاظ سازی کر سکیں۔

سوچیں اور بتائیں

- ہم دُعا کیوں کرتے ہیں؟
- آپ دُعا میں زیادہ تر کیا مانگتے ہیں؟

کیا آپ جانتے ہیں؟

- سچّے دل سے کی گئی دُعا ہر مُشکل کو آسان بنا دیتی ہے۔
- اللہ تعالیٰ کسی کی دُعا کبھی رَد نہیں کرتا۔

Web Version of PCTB Textbook Not for Sale

Prayer
Learning Outcomes:
After completing this lesson, students will be able to:
- *Explain the importance of prayer (dua) in religion.*
- *Write and recite prayers with correct pronunciation in their daily lives.*
- *Pray to Allah with sincerity and humility.*
- *Express their feelings and emotions through organized speech.*
- *Use new words and concepts in sentences.*
- *Read prayers with correct pronunciation and intonation.*
- *Write answers to questions about the importance and benefits of prayer in their notebooks.*
- *Speak while keeping in mind the rules of language (Arabic).*
- *Understand the importance of supplication and prayer.*

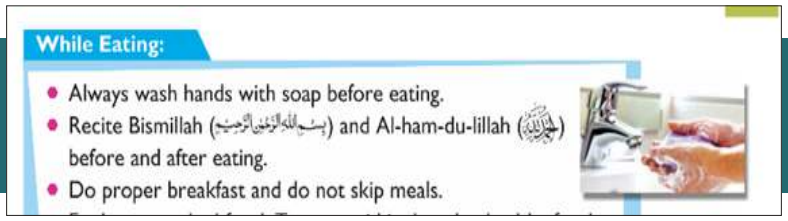
Think and Tell:
- *Why do we pray?*
- *What do you pray for most often?*

What do you know?
- *Prayer from the heart is never rejected.*
- *Allah never rejects the prayers of anyone.*

Example 30

Punjab Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 4, 2020, p. 13

This passage from a Grade 4 Social Studies textbook offers guidance on hygiene practices and Islamic etiquette before and after eating, such as washing hands and reciting *Bismillah* ("in the name of Allah the Most Gracious and Merciful") and *Alhamdulillah* ("praise be to Allah"). Teaching this kind of content in a Social Studies textbook, as opposed to Religious Education textbooks, amounts to the religionization of non-religious content – specifically Islamization – which risks exclusion and non-representation of non-Muslim or atheist students.

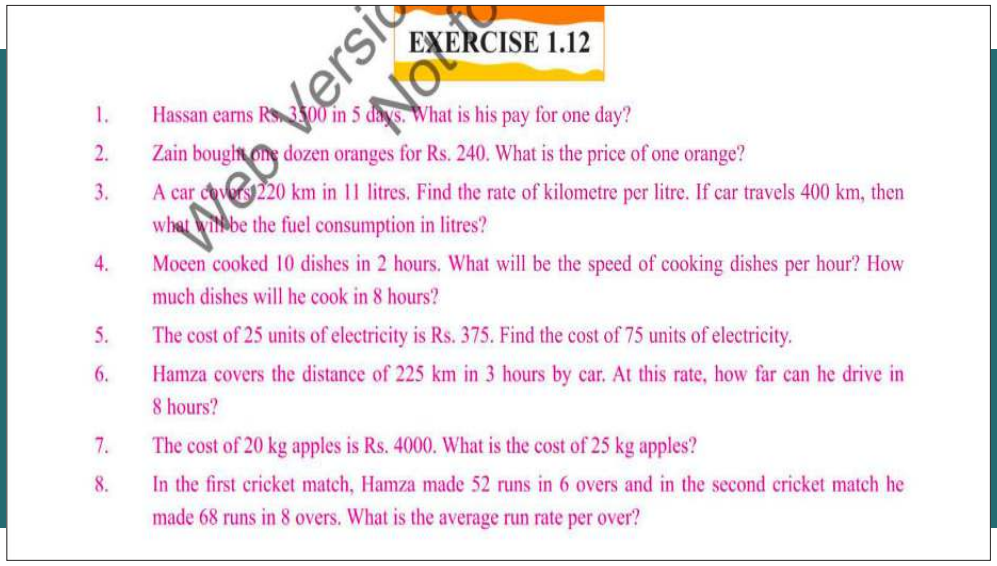

While Eating:

- Always wash hands with soap before eating.
- Recite Bismillah (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم) and Al-ham-du-lillah (الحمد لله) before and after eating.
- Do proper breakfast and do not skip meals.

Example 31

Punjab Board – *Mathematics*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 48

In the Mathematics textbook for Grade 7, a set of questions focuses on practical scenarios involving basic arithmetic, rates, and proportions. However, it is notable that none of the questions use non-Muslim names in the examples. All the names provided in the scenarios, such as "Hassan," "Zain," "Moeen," and "Hamza," reflect Muslim names. This repetition and exclusive use of Muslim names, while consistent with the cultural context of the textbook, could benefit from greater diversity.


EXERCISE 1.12

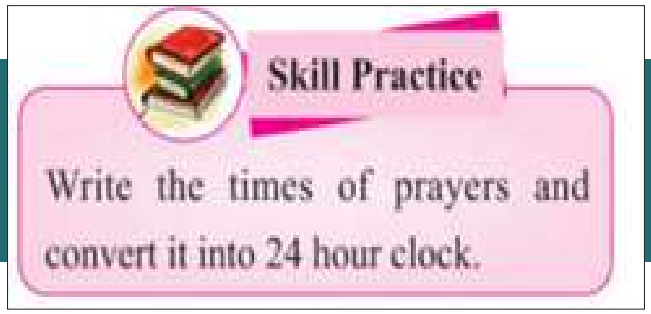
Web Version Not to

1. Hassan earns Rs. 3500 in 5 days. What is his pay for one day?
2. Zain bought one dozen oranges for Rs. 240. What is the price of one orange?
3. A car covers 220 km in 11 litres. Find the rate of kilometre per litre. If car travels 400 km, then what will be the fuel consumption in litres?
4. Moeen cooked 10 dishes in 2 hours. What will be the speed of cooking dishes per hour? How much dishes will he cook in 8 hours?
5. The cost of 25 units of electricity is Rs. 375. Find the cost of 75 units of electricity.
6. Hamza covers the distance of 225 km in 3 hours by car. At this rate, how far can he drive in 8 hours?
7. The cost of 20 kg apples is Rs. 4000. What is the cost of 25 kg apples?
8. In the first cricket match, Hamza made 52 runs in 6 overs and in the second cricket match he made 68 runs in 8 overs. What is the average run rate per over?

Example 32

Punjab Board- *Mathematics*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 117

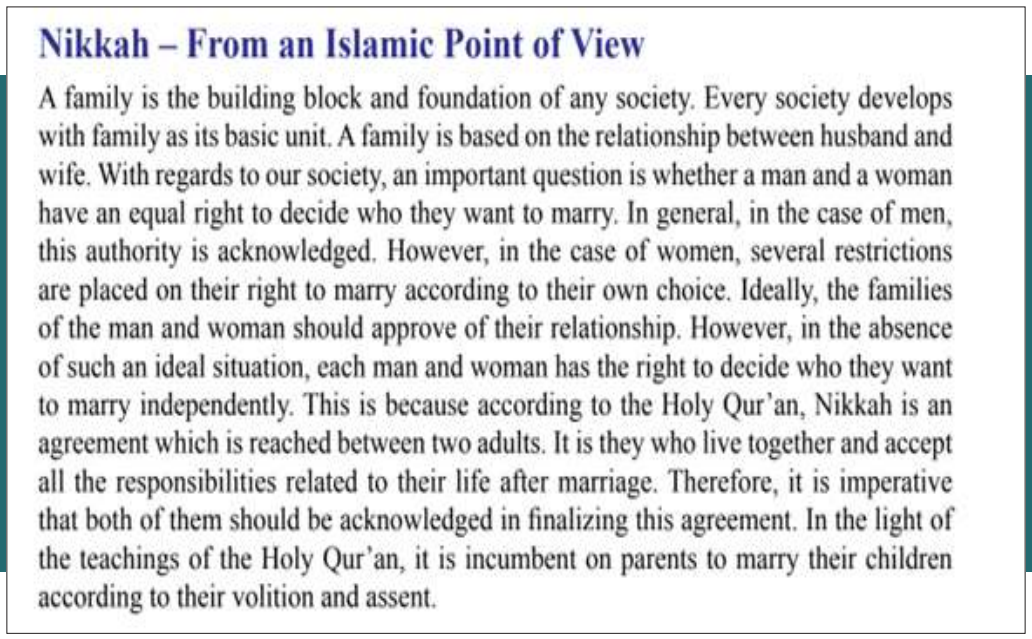
In a Mathematics textbook, students are given a skill practice exercise that focuses on converting the five daily Muslim prayer times to the 24-hour clock format. This example illustrates how Islamic practices are incorporated into subjects beyond religious studies, including mathematics.



Example 33

Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 124

Grade 10 students learn from a Pakistan Studies textbook about the concept of *Nikkah* (marriage) from an Islamic perspective. The passage focuses on the rights of both men and women in the marriage process, emphasizing mutual consent and the importance of both parties being involved in the decision. Notably, it states that "a family is based on the relationship between husband and wife," potentially excluding same-sex relationships.



Nikkah – From an Islamic Point of View

A family is the building block and foundation of any society. Every society develops with family as its basic unit. A family is based on the relationship between husband and wife. With regards to our society, an important question is whether a man and a woman have an equal right to decide who they want to marry. In general, in the case of men, this authority is acknowledged. However, in the case of women, several restrictions are placed on their right to marry according to their own choice. Ideally, the families of the man and woman should approve of their relationship. However, in the absence of such an ideal situation, each man and woman has the right to decide who they want to marry independently. This is because according to the Holy Qur'an, Nikkah is an agreement which is reached between two adults. It is they who live together and accept all the responsibilities related to their life after marriage. Therefore, it is imperative that both of them should be acknowledged in finalizing this agreement. In the light of the teachings of the Holy Qur'an, it is incumbent on parents to marry their children according to their volition and assent.

Islamic Views on Justice, Governance and *Jihad*

The examples below show how Islamic education plays a pivotal role in shaping students' understanding of their faith, guiding their moral compass, and helping them navigate the world with an Islamic worldview.

In these textbooks, students are introduced to significant Islamic concepts, such as the exclusiveness of Allah and the importance of adhering to ethical principles and the *Shariah*. They learn about essential Islamic teachings such as prayer, fasting, charity, and empathy, which are not just viewed as religious duties but also as acts of personal growth, discipline, and compassion toward others. These values are reinforced through stories of the Prophets, especially the Prophet Muhammad, whose teachings are emphasized as the ideal model for moral conduct.[91] For example, a Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook teaches that the prophets' teachings condemn "bloodshed, strife, and corruption," while encouraging their followers to adopt "peace, patience, tolerance, and coexistence."

The textbooks also present a vision of Islamic governance rooted in justice, highlighting the sanctity of human life and the importance of maintaining peace. It stresses that the duty of the Islamic state is to fight oppression. The concept of armed resistance in the face of injustice is highlighted, with the Qur'an encouraging the protection of the weak. *Surah Al-Nisa* (4:75) emphasizes the state's role in intervening to stop oppression, presenting *jihad* as a means to protect those who are oppressed.

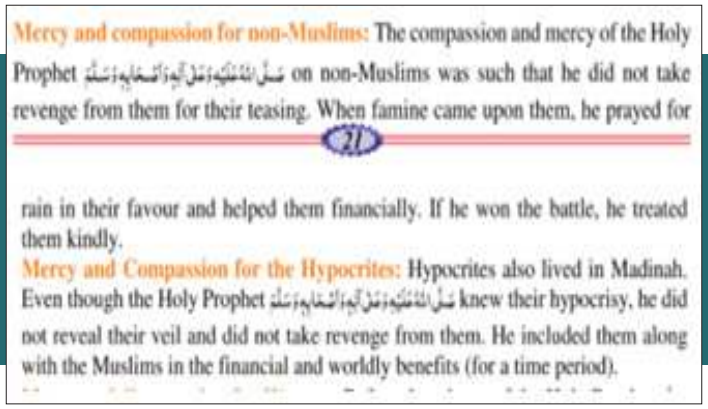
Nevertheless, the portrayal of *jihad* raises important questions. While the term *jihad* carries profound significance in Islam, it is essential to note that it encompasses a broad range of meanings, from personal spiritual struggle to physical defense against oppression. However, in several textbooks, the term is mentioned without sufficient context or explanation, often focusing mainly on its role in warfare and defense, without explaining the different types and contexts of *jihad*. In some textbooks, *jihad* is presented as an act reserved solely for the state, implying that only an official government can declare and engage in *jihad*. The lack of distinction between the various forms of *jihad* may lead to a misunderstanding of its broader spiritual and ethical implications, and to the affirmation of only one kind of *jihad* – namely the violent one. By focusing predominantly on the violent and defensive aspects, the textbooks risk neglecting *jihad's* other spiritual connotations, such as striving for self-improvement, helping others, and standing against oppression in all forms, which are crucial in Islam's broader message of peace and justice.

91 See for instance: Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021, pp. 60, 71-72; Federal Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, 2019, pp. 18, 27; Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, 2014, pp. 7, 32; Federal Board – ḍ, Grade 4, 2022, p. 9; Punjab Board – *Qur'an Translation (Tarjuma Tul Quran)*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 5.

Example 34

Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 8, 2016, pp. 21-22

The passage emphasizes the Prophet Muhammad's teachings of compassion and mercy, not only towards Muslims but also towards those who opposed Islam in the days of Muhammad, namely non-Muslims and the "hypocrites." However, the text nevertheless frames the actions of these groups as hostile to Islam; it mentions how Muhammad "did not take revenge from them" when they teased him but instead prayed for them when famine struck and treated them kindly after he defeated them in battle. Likewise, "hypocrites" denotes those who outwardly appear to follow Islam but secretly oppose it. It would have been less inflammatory to leave out these facts and focus instead on Muhammad's acts of compassion and mercy.



Mercy and compassion for non-Muslims: The compassion and mercy of the Holy Prophet ﷺ on non-Muslims was such that he did not take revenge from them for their teasing. When famine came upon them, he prayed for

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rain in their favour and helped them financially. If he won the battle, he treated them kindly.

Mercy and Compassion for the Hypocrites: Hypocrites also lived in Madinah. Even though the Holy Prophet ﷺ knew their hypocrisy, he did not reveal their veil and did not take revenge from them. He included them along with the Muslims in the financial and worldly benefits (for a time period).

Example 35

Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021, pp. 21-22

The Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook teaches "that Islam strongly condemns bloodshed, strife, and corruption, and encourages its followers to adopt peace, patience, tolerance, and coexistence." The text emphasizes the sanctity of human life by referencing the Quranic verse from *Surah Al-Ma'idah*, which equates unjustly killing one person to killing all of humanity, and saving a life to saving all of humanity. Emphasizing the need to always maintain compassion, the interpretation given in the textbook states that one risks becoming a murderer by losing compassion for fellow human beings. Notably, the verse states that God gave this law to the "Children of Israel," using Prophets, however, they were nonetheless "transgressors" even after receiving this message. The text emphasizes that this law applies to all humanity, and not just the Israelites, yet highlighting the failures of the Israelites may foster negative perceptions of Jews.

آیت نمبر ۱۳: مِنْ اَجْلِ ذٰلِكَ ۚ كَتَبْنَا عَلٰى بَنِيْٓ اِسْرَآءِيْلَ اَنَّهٗ مَنْ قَتَلَ نَفْسًۢا بِغَيْرِ نَفْسٍ اَوْ فَسَادٍ فِي الْاَرْضِ فَكَاَنَّمَا قَتَلَ النَّاسَ جَمِيْعًا ۭ وَمَنْ اَحْيَاهَا فَكَاَنَّمَآ اَحْيَا النَّاسَ جَمِيْعًا ۭ وَلَقَدْ جَاۗءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُنَا بِالْبَيِّنٰتِ ۡ ثُمَّ اِنَّ كَثِيْرًا مِّنْهُمْ بَعْدَ ذٰلِكَ فِي الْاَرْضِ لَمُسْرِفُوْنَ ۝ (سورۃ المائدہ: آیت ۳۲)

ترجمہ: اس قتل کی وجہ سے ہم نے بنی اسرائیل کے ذمے یہ بات لکھ دی کہ جو شخص کسی کو ناحق قتل کرے گا یعنی بغیر اس کے کہ جان کا بدلہ لیا جائے یا ملک میں خرابی کرنے کی سزا دی جائے تو اس نے گویا تمام انسانوں کو قتل کیا اور جو ایک انسان کی جان بچا لے تو گویا اس نے سارے انسانوں کو زندگی دے دی۔ اور ان لوگوں کے پاس ہمارے پیغمبر روشن دلیلیں لا چکے ہیں، پھر اس کے بعد بھی ان میں بہت سے لوگ ملک میں حد اعتدال سے نکل جاتے ہیں۔

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)

تشریح: اس آیت میں انسانی جان کی حرمت اور حفاظت کی اہمیت بیان کی گئی ہے۔ جب بنی اسرائیل میں قتل ناحق کا عام رواج شروع ہوا تو اللہ تعالیٰ نے قانون بنا دیا کہ کسی آدمی کا ناحق قتل کرنا (جس نے کسی کو قتل کیا نہ زمین میں فساد پھیلایا) ایسا ہے کہ گویا پوری انسانیت کو مار دینا ہے اور کسی کی جان بچانا پوری انسانیت کے بچانے کے برابر ہے۔ ناحق قتل سے انسان کی حرمت کا اندازہ لگایا جا سکتا ہے۔ یہ اس لیے کہا گیا ہے کہ کوئی شخص قاتل اس وقت بنتا ہے، جب وہ انسانی خون کے رشتے کو توڑ دیتا ہے اور اس کی دل سے بنی نوع انسان سے ہمدردی کا جذبہ نکل جاتا ہے اور اس کے سامنے صرف اپنا مفاد ہوتا ہے، جس کے نتیجے میں دوسروں کی جان لے لیتا ہے۔ یہ قانون صرف بنی اسرائیل کے لیے نہیں ہے بلکہ تا قیامت بنی نوع انسان کے لیے ہے۔ یہ آیت واضح دلیل ہے کہ اسلام خون ریزی اور فتنہ و فساد کو سخت ناپسند کرتا ہے اور اپنے ماننے والوں کو امن و صلح، صبر و تحمل اور بقائے باہمی اور

Surah Al-Ma'idah, Ayah 32
"Because of that, We decreed upon the Children of Israel that whoever kills a soul—unless for a soul or for corruption [done] in the land—it is as if he had slain all mankind. And whoever saves one life, it is as if he had saved all mankind. And certainly, Our messengers came to them with clear signs, yet even after that, many of them continued to be transgressors in the land."
Explanation: This verse emphasizes the sanctity and protection of human life. When the practice of unjust killing became widespread among the Children of Israel, Allah revealed a law stating that unjustly killing a person (one who has neither killed anyone nor spread corruption on the earth) is as if one has killed all of humanity, and saving a life is as if one has saved all of humanity. This highlights the immense value of human life. It is stated that a person becomes a murderer when they sever the bond of human blood and lose their compassion for fellow humans, focusing solely on their own interests, which leads them to take someone else's life. This law is not limited to the Children of Israel but applies to all of humanity until the Day of Judgment. This verse serves as clear evidence that Islam strongly condemns bloodshed, strife, and corruption, and encourages its followers to adopt peace, patience, tolerance, and coexistence.

Example 36

Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021, pp. 22-23

In this excerpt from a Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook in Pakistan, Islam is presented as a faith that prioritizes justice, societal order, and deterrence of violent crime, especially within the framework of an Islamic state. The verse from *Surah Al-Ma'idah* (5:33–34) lays out severe punishments for those who "wage war against Allah and His Messenger and strive upon earth to cause corruption," including death, crucifixion, amputation, or exile. These penalties are not portrayed as arbitrary but as necessary tools for protecting the peace and "tranquility of the community" from armed revolt, robbery, murder, and terror. The explanation emphasizes that such acts are considered "among the gravest crimes," with the punishment tailored by a *qāḍī* (Islamic judge) based on *ijtihād* (legal reasoning), indicating a legal system grounded in both divine command and interpretive justice.

At the same time, the excerpt underscores Islam's capacity for mercy and forgiveness through the principle of repentance before apprehension. It explains that if an offender repents sincerely before being captured, the *ḥudūd* punishments ("rights of Allah") are waived, though the "rights of people" still apply and must be resolved through restitution or forgiveness.

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)

آیت نمبر ۱۴۔۱۵: اِنَّمَا جَزٰٓؤُا الَّذِیْنَ یُحَارِبُوْنَ اللّٰهَ وَ رَسُوْلَهٗ وَ یَسْعَوْنَ فِی الْاَرْضِ فَسَادًا اَنْ یُّقَتَّلُوْۤا اَوْ یُصَلَّبُوْۤا اَوْ تُقَطَّعَ اَیْدِیْهِمْ وَ اَرْجُلُهُمْ مِّنْ خِلَافٍ اَوْ یُنْفَوْا مِنَ الْاَرْضِ ؕ ذٰلِكَ لَهُمْ خِزْیٌ فِی الدُّنْیَا وَ لَهُمْ فِی الْاٰخِرَةِ عَذَابٌ عَظِیْمٌ ۙ﴿۳۳﴾ اِلَّا الَّذِیْنَ تَابُوْا مِنْ قَبْلِ اَنْ تَقْدِرُوْا عَلَیْهِمْ ۚ فَاعْلَمُوْۤا اَنَّ اللّٰهَ غَفُوْرٌ رَّحِیْمٌ ﴿۳۴﴾ (سورۃ المائدہ: آیت ۳۳،۳۴)

ترجمہ: جو لوگ اللہ اور اس کے رسول سے لڑائی کریں اور ملک میں فساد کرنے کو دوڑتے پھریں ان کی یہی سزا ہے کہ بری طرح قتل کر دیئے جائیں یا سولی چڑھا دیئے جائیں یا ان کے ایک ایک طرف کے ہاتھ اور ایک ایک طرف کے پاؤں کاٹ دیئے جائیں یا ملک سے نکال دیئے جائیں۔ یہ تو دنیا میں ان کی رسوائی ہے اور آخرت میں ان کے لیے بڑا بھاری عذاب تیار ہے۔ (۳۳) ہاں! جن لوگوں نے اس سے پیشتر کہ تمھارے قابو آجائیں توبہ کر لی تو جان رکھو کہ اللہ بخشنے والا ہے مہربان ہے۔ (۳۴)

اس آیت میں "الارض" سے مراد وہ جگہ (ملک، ریاست، علاقہ) ہے جہاں اسلامی حکومت قائم ہو اور جس میں امن امان قائم کرنے کی ذمہ داری اسلامی مملکت کی ہو۔

تشریح: اس آیت مبارکہ میں جرم اور فتنہ و فساد کی ممانعت اور ان فسادی لوگوں کی شرعی سزا کا بیان ہے جو اللہ تعالیٰ اور اس کے نبی حضور اکرم صَلَّی اللّٰہُ عَلَیْہِ وَعَلٰی آلِہٖ وَاَصْحَابِہٖ وَسَلَّمَ کے قوانین کی بے حرمتی کر کے گویا اس صالح نظام و معاشرہ سے لڑائی کرنے کے مرتکب ہوئے ہیں، پر امن لوگوں کو اسلحے کے زور پر لوٹتے مارتے اور زمین میں فساد برپا کرتے ہیں، سماج کے امن اور سکون کو برباد کرتے ہیں۔ ایسے ظالم اور فسادی قسم کے لوگوں کے لیے اس آیت میں چار قسم کی سزائیں بتائی گئی ہیں۔ ان کو قتل کیا جائے یا سولی پر چڑھائے جائیں یا ان کے ہاتھ اور پاؤں مخالف سمتوں سے کاٹ ڈالے جائیں یا جلاوطن کر دیے جائیں۔

یہ سزائیں اجمالی طور پر بیان کی گئیں ہیں، تاکہ قاضی یا حاکم اپنے اجتہاد سے ہر جرم کو اس کے جرم کی نوعیت کے مطابق سزا دے۔ اس کا بنیادی مقصد یہ ہے کہ اسلامی حکومت کے اندر قتل و غارت، ڈاکہ زنی اور اسلامی حکومت کے خلاف بغاوت کرنا یا ہر قسم کا فتنہ و فساد کرنا بدترین جرائم ہیں۔ اور مجرم کو انتہائی سزاؤں میں سے کوئی بھی سزا دی جا سکتی ہے۔

جرم سے توبہ تائب ہونا: دوسری آیت سے معلوم ہوا کہ اگر کوئی فسادی اور ظالم حکومت کی گرفتاری سے پہلے توبہ تائب ہو تا ہے تو یہ شرعی سزائیں جو حقوق اللہ میں سے ہیں، اس پر سے ساقط ہو جائیں گی، البتہ حقوق العباد کے تحت ان کا معاملہ حق داروں سے ہی طے کرنا ضروری ہے یعنی لوٹا ہوا مال اس کو واپس کرنا ہو گا یا اس کا تاوان دینا ہو گا، اور اگر قتل یا زخمی کیا ہے تو ورثاء قصاص یا دیت (خون بہا) پر راضی ہو جائیں یا اس کو معاف کر دیں، تو اس کی جان بخشی ہو سکتی ہے ورنہ نہیں۔

The recompense of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and strive to spread corruption in the land is that they be killed, or crucified, or have their hands and feet cut off on opposite sides, or be exiled from the land. That is their disgrace in this world, and for them in the Hereafter is a great punishment. Except for those who repent before you apprehend them—know that Allah is Forgiving, Merciful." (Surah Al-Ma'idah, 5:33–34)

[…]

In this verse, al-arḍ ("the land") refers to any territory — country, state, or region — where an Islamic government is established and is responsible for maintaining law and order.

Explanation

This blessed verse forbids crime, turmoil, and rebellion, and it sets out the Shariah penalties for those who disgrace the laws of Allah and His Messenger (PBUH), thereby, in effect, waging war against a righteous system and society. Such people terrorize the innocent with weapons, rob and kill, and spread chaos, destroying the peace and tranquility of the community.

Four categories of punishment are mentioned for these oppressors and fomenters of disorder:

Firstly, they may be put to death. Secondly, or crucified. Thirdly, or have their hands and feet cut off on opposite sides. Fourthly, or be banished from the land.

These penalties are stated in general terms so that a qāḍī (judge) may, through ijtihād, match the punishment to the nature of the offense. The core message is that within an Islamic state, murder, banditry, armed revolt, and any kind of violent sedition are among the gravest crimes, and the perpetrator may receive any of these severe punishments.

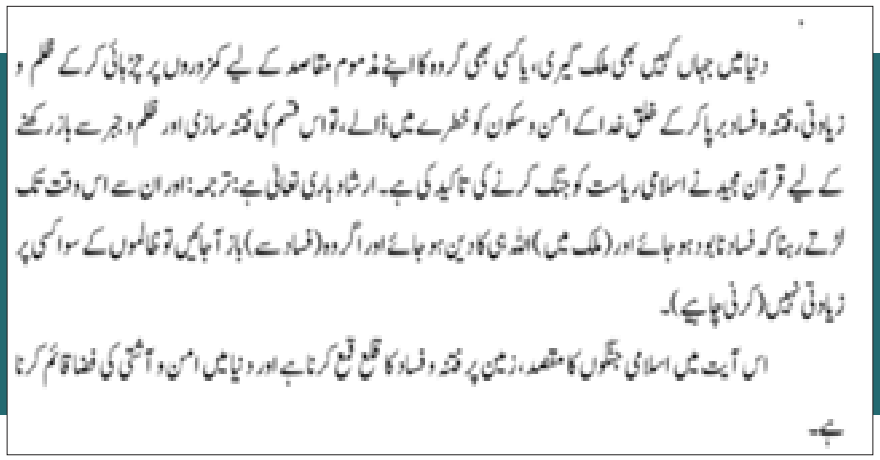
Repentance before arrest

A subsequent verse makes clear that if a rebel or violent criminal repents before being apprehended, the ḥudūd penalties (which fall under the "rights of Allah") are lifted. However, matters falling under the "rights of people" remain: stolen property must be returned or its value paid; if someone has been killed or injured, the heirs may insist on Qisas (equal retribution) or accept diya (blood money) or pardon the offender. Only then can the offender's life be spared.

Example 37

Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 77

In a Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook, students learn about the Islamic perspective on fighting against oppression, where the Qur'an emphasizes the duty of an Islamic state to intervene when violence or oppression threatens peace and stability. The passage justifies "armed resistance" when necessary to protect the weak and maintain order.



دنیا میں جہاں کہیں بھی ملک گیری، یا کسی بھی گروہ کا اپنے مذموم مقاصد کے لیے کمزوروں پر چڑھائی کر کے ظلم و زیادتی، فتنہ و فساد برپا کر کے خلق خدا کے امن و سکون کو خطرے میں ڈالے، تو اس قسم کی فتنہ سازی اور ظلم و جبر سے باز رکھنے کے لیے قرآن مجید نے اسلامی ریاست کو جنگ کرنے کی تاکید کی ہے۔ ارشاد باری تعالیٰ ہے: ترجمہ: اور ان سے اس وقت تک لڑتے رہنا کہ فساد نابود ہو جائے اور (ملک میں) اللہ ہی کا دین ہو جائے اور اگر وہ (فساد سے) باز آجائیں تو ظالموں کے سوا کسی پر زیادتی نہیں (کرنی چاہیے)۔

اس آیت میں اسلامی جنگوں کا مقصد، زمین پر فتنہ و فساد کا قلع قمع کرنا ہے اور دنیا میں امن و آشتی کی فضا قائم کرنا ہے۔

Wherever in the world any group engages in violence or oppression—attacking the weak to fulfill unjust goals, spreading chaos and endangering peace and stability—the Qur'an emphasizes that it is the duty of an Islamic state to prevent such wrongdoing. In such cases, the Qur'an permits armed resistance to stop oppression and disorder.
Translation: "O people of understanding! In Qisas, there is life for you, so that you may become righteous." (Surah Al-Baqarah, 2:179)
This verse explains that the Islamic system of justice is based on the objective of establishing peace and security on earth. And to bring an atmosphere of peace in the world.

Example 38

Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021, pp. 43-44

In this excerpt from a Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook in Pakistan, *jihad* is presented as a highly virtuous and spiritually superior duty, particularly through *ribāṭ* – guarding the frontiers of an Islamic state. The hadith from *Sahih Muslim* states that "guarding the frontier for one day and one night is better than fasting and praying for a whole month," highlighting the immense reward for those who defend Muslim lands. However, this portrayal raises significant concerns. First, it glorifies militarized religious duty, ranking it above personal devotion, which can create an imbalanced view of Islamic practice. Second, by blurring religious and national identity, it frames religious commitment in terms of loyalty to state borders, potentially fostering exclusionary or adversarial attitudes toward non-Muslims or dissenters. Third, its ambiguous reference to "hostile eyes" lacks clarity, which may cause students to develop a generalized fear or suspicion. Moreover, without explicitly grounding the concept in ethical guidelines or emphasizing peaceful forms of *jihad* – such as education, self-improvement, or service – the passage is vulnerable to misinterpretation or radical misuse. Finally, its lack of broader context, such as the Prophet's emphasis on peacemaking, undermines Islam's comprehensive teachings on justice, restraint, and compassion in conflict.

Students are thus encouraged to perform *ribāṭ* and *jihad* to feel the "zeal to uphold the word of Allah," suggesting that preserving faith and territory from hostile forces is the key to "true success in both worlds."

حدیث (۹): رَبَاطُ یَوْمٍ وَّلَیْلَۃٍ خَیْرٌ مِّنْ صِیَامِ شَھْرٍ وَّقِیَامِہٖ۔ (صحیح مسلم، حدیث: ۱۹۱۳)

ترجمہ: ایک دن یا ایک رات جہاد میں بسر کرنا ایک مہینے کے روزے اور نفلی عبادت سے بہتر ہے۔

تشریح: اس حدیث میں اسلامی ریاست کی سرحدوں کی حفاظت کرنے کی فضیلت و اہمیت بیان کی گئی ہے، کہ مورچہ بند ہو کر ملکی سرحدوں کی حفاظت و نگرانی کرنا بھی جہاد شمار کیا گیا ہے۔ اور ان تمام کاموں کو جو لوگ اللہ تعالیٰ کی خوشنودی حاصل کرنے کے لیے سرانجام دیتے ہیں، ایسے مجاہدین اور اسلامی ممالک کے جانبازوں کے لیے بڑا اجر و ثواب ہے، چنانچہ اس حدیث میں بتایا گیا

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ہے کہ مورچہ بند اسلامی مجاہد اگر ایک دن یا ایک رات سرحدوں کا دفاع کرتے ہیں تو ان کو مہینہ بھر دن کے روزوں اور راتوں کے تہجد سے بہتر ثواب ملتا ہے۔ لہٰذا ہمیں بھی چاہیے کہ ہم اعلاء کلمۃ اللہ کے لیے جہاد، وطن اور وطن کی سرحدوں کی حفاظت کے جذبے سے سرشار ہوں۔ تاکہ اسلام، ملک اور وطن پر کوئی میلی آنکھ سے نہ دیکھ سکے اور دین کا اعزاز بھی قائم رہے، اسی میں ہی فلاح دارین ہے۔

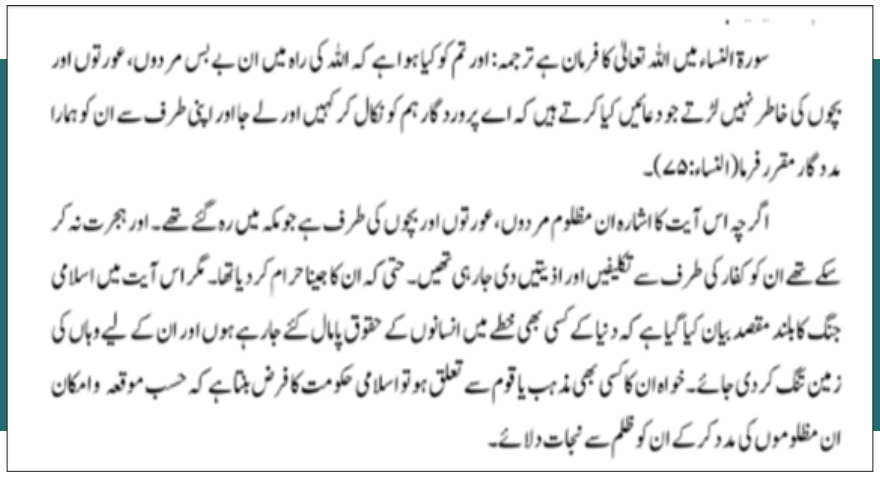
"Ribāṭ (guarding the frontier i.e engaging in jihad) for one day and one night is better than fasting and praying for a whole month." (Sahih Muslim, Hadith: 1913)
Explanation:
This ḥadīth highlights the virtue and importance of protecting the borders of an Islamic state. Standing guard at the frontiers, fully fortified, is regarded as an act of jihād. All those deeds performed sincerely for the sake of pleasing Allah carry great reward for such warriors and defenders of Muslim lands.
The ḥadīth states that if a fortified Muslim fighter (murābiṭ) defends the borders for just one day or one night, he receives a reward greater than fasting for an entire month by day and spending its nights in tahajjud prayer. Therefore, we too should be filled with zeal to uphold the word of Allah, safeguarding our homeland and its borders so that no hostile eye can look upon Islam, our country, or our nation with ill intent. Preserving the honour of the faith and the land in this way is the true success in both worlds.

Example 39

Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 77

In this excerpt from a Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook in Pakistan, *jihad* is framed as a morally driven, justice-oriented struggle, emphasizing the duty to defend the oppressed. The verse from *Surah Al-Nisa* (4:75) urges believers to fight "in the cause of Allah" for "oppressed men, women, and children" who cry out for divine rescue from injustice. Importantly, the explanation expands this command beyond its historical context in Mecca, asserting that Islamic warfare carries a "broader and noble purpose" – namely, to intervene wherever "human rights are being violated," regardless of the victims' "religion or ethnicity." It describes this intervention as a responsibility of an Islamic government to aid the oppressed and uphold justice.

While the message emphasizes compassion and justice, it raises important concerns in a modern educational setting. Most notably, the text presents military intervention as a religious obligation, which – though framed as protective – could be interpreted as legitimizing cross-border or unilateral action in the name of Islam, especially without clear checks or conditions. The phrase "it becomes the responsibility…to come to their aid" could be misused to justify militant activism or interventionism under the guise of moral duty. The statement remains ambiguous about *whose* responsibility it becomes to declare such a *jihad*. Moreover, the absence of any mention of nonviolent alternatives, international law, diplomacy, or multilateral solutions narrows the understanding of *jihad* to a militarized framework.



سورۃ النساء میں اللہ تعالیٰ کا فرمان ہے ترجمہ: اور تم کو کیا ہوا ہے کہ اللہ کی راہ میں ان بے بس مردوں، عورتوں اور بچوں کی خاطر نہیں لڑتے جو دعائیں کیا کرتے ہیں کہ اے پروردگار ہم کو نکال کر کہیں اور لے جا اور اپنی طرف سے ان کو ہمارا مددگار مقرر فرما (النساء:۷۵)۔

اگرچہ اس آیت کا اشارہ ان مظلوم مردوں، عورتوں اور بچوں کی طرف ہے جو مکہ میں رہ گئے تھے۔ اور ہجرت نہ کر سکے تھے ان کو کفار کی طرف سے تکلیفیں اور اذیتیں دی جارہی تھیں۔ حتیٰ کہ ان کا جینا حرام کر دیا تھا۔ مگر اس آیت میں اسلامی جنگ کا بلند مقصد بیان کیا گیا ہے کہ دنیا کے کسی بھی خطے میں انسانوں کے حقوق پامال کئے جارہے ہوں اور ان کے لیے وہاں کی زمین تنگ کر دی جائے۔ خواہ ان کا کسی بھی مذہب یا قوم سے تعلق ہو تو اسلامی حکومت کا فرض بنتا ہے کہ حسب موقعہ و امکان ان مظلوموں کی مدد کر کے ان کو ظلم سے نجات دلائے۔

"And what is [the matter] with you that you do not fight in the cause of Allah and for those oppressed men, women, and children who say: 'Our Lord, take us out of this city whose people are oppressors, and appoint for us from Yourself a protector and appoint for us from Yourself a helper.'" (Surah An-Nisa, 4:75)
Although this verse refers specifically to the oppressed men, women, and children who remained in Makkah and were unable to migrate, suffering harm and persecution at the hands of the disbelievers to the extent that life had become unbearable for them — it conveys a broader and noble purpose of Islamic warfare:
That wherever in the world human rights are being violated and people are subjected to oppression—regardless of their religion or ethnicity—and the land becomes constricted for them, it becomes the responsibility of an Islamic government, when possible and appropriate, to come to their aid and deliver them from injustice.

Example 40

Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 78

In this excerpt from a Grade 9 Islamic Education textbook, the conditions for armed *jihad* are presented with a strong emphasis on state authority and military preparedness. It is stated that only a legitimate Islamic state can declare war, and any attempt by "an individual or a group" to issue a *fatwa* for *jihad* is "invalid" under *Shariah* and even considered "corruption on earth" (*fasād fī al-arḍ*). This is a commended attempt to restrict unauthorized violence and distinguish legitimate armed *jihad* from extremist actions carried out by non-state actors which is essential in fighting radicalism and educating the students. Additionally, the text cites *Surah Al-Anfal* (8:60) to stress the importance of military strength, urging Muslims to "have weapons and a standing army prepared" to effectively deter and defend against enemies.

However, while the text attempts to define legitimate *jihad* within state structures, it also presents problematic elements, particularly in its uncritical tone toward militarization. The heavy focus on military preparedness and the implied perpetual readiness for conflict may also encourage a siege mentality, framing the Islamic state as in a constant state of confrontation. Furthermore, the omission of peaceful strategies, diplomatic alternatives, or moral constraints on warfare reduces *jihad* to a largely militarized concept, which can contribute to rigid or militant interpretations of Islamic duty if not critically contextualized.

ب: اسلامی ریاست کی طرف سے اعلان: مسلح جہاد کی دوسری شرط یہ ہے کہ قتال کا اعلان ریاست کی طرف سے ہو۔ اسلام میں قتال کے اعلان کی مجاز صرف اور صرف ریاست ہے کسی فرد یا جماعت کے اعلان یا فتویٰ (جنگ کے لیے) کی شرعی حیثیت نہیں ہے بلکہ اس قسم کے فتوے یا اعلان فساد فی الارض کے زمرے میں آتے ہیں۔

ج: مناسب حد تک قوتی طاقت میسر ہو: مخالف قوت سے لڑنے کے لیے حکومت کے پاس موافق طاقت و قوت میسر ہو۔ قرآن مجید نے اسلامی ریاست کو مضبوط رکھنے کے لیے تاکید کی ہے۔ فرمایا ترجمہ: اور جہاں تک ہو سکے (قوت کے) زور سے اور گھوڑوں کے تیار رکھنے سے ان کے (مقابلے کے) لیے مستعد رہو کہ اس سے اللہ کے دشمنوں اور تمہارے دشمنوں اور ان کے سوا اور لوگوں پر جن کو تم نہیں جانتے اور اللہ جانتا ہے۔ دہشت بیٹھی رہے گی اور تم جو کچھ بھی اللہ کی راہ میں خرچ کرو گے اس کا ثواب تم کو پورا پورا دیا جائے گا۔ اور تمہارا ذرا نقصان نہ کیا جائے گا۔

اس آیت کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ مسلمانو! تمہارے پاس سامان جنگ اور ایک مستقل فوج ہر وقت تیار رہنی چاہیے تاکہ بوقت ضرورت فوراً کارروائی کر سکو اور دشمن کا بھرپور مقابلہ کر سکو۔

B: Declaration of Armed Jihad by the Islamic State
The second condition for armed jihad is that the declaration of battle must be made by the state. In Islam, only the state has the authority to declare war. A declaration or fatwa (religious decree) for war issued by an individual or a group holds no legal (Shari'ah) validity. In fact, such declarations or fatwas fall under the category of fasād fī al-arḍ (corruption on earth).
C: Sufficient Military Power Must Be Available
To fight against opposing forces, the government must possess adequate strength and power.
The Qur'an emphasizes the need to keep the Islamic state strong. It says:
"Prepare against them whatever force you can and cavalry units, so that you may terrify the enemies of Allah and your enemies, and others besides them whom you do not know but Allah knows. And whatever you spend in the way of Allah will be repaid to you in full, and you will not be wronged." (Surah Al-Anfal 8:60)
Explanation of the Verse:
This verse means that, O Muslims! You must always have weapons and a standing army prepared so that you can respond immediately in times of need and effectively face the enemy.

Example 41

Punjab Board – *Qur'an Translation (Tarjuma Tul Quran)*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 105

IIn this excerpt, the conditions and values of *jihad* are presented in a way that glorifies militarized struggle and romanticizes its instruments, particularly through the symbolism of warhorses. The passage praises horses as noble because they are used in *jihad*, describing the act as "a significant branch of Islam" and asserting that "anything associated with it also becomes virtuous." Quoting *Sahih Bukhari*, a collection of authoritative Hadiths, it states that "goodness has been tied to the forelocks of horses until the Day of Judgment," reinforcing the idea that participation in armed jihad brings both spiritual reward and material gain, including "spoils of war." The accompanying verses from *Surah Al-'Adiyat* use vivid and heroic imagery – "panting steeds," "striking sparks," and "charging at dawn" – to evoke a sense of valor and divine purpose in battle.

However, this portrayal can be problematic in a modern educational setting for several reasons. It presents a romanticized, one-dimensional view of *jihad* centered on physical warfare, with no mention of its broader, nonviolent dimensions, such as intellectual or spiritual struggle. By associating virtue with the tools of war and highlighting material incentives like spoils, the passage risks encouraging militaristic thinking and glorifying armed conflict as inherently pious. There is no discussion of the ethical boundaries of warfare, legitimate authority, or peaceful alternatives – all of which are crucial components of Islamic teachings on *jihad*. This lack of nuance could make the text susceptible to misinterpretation or misuse, particularly by individuals or groups looking to justify violence in the name of religion.

اس سورت میں گھوڑوں کی تعریف اس لیے بھی کی گئی ہے کیوں کہ گھوڑا جہاد کا ایک ذریعہ ہے۔ جہاد اسلام کا اہم شعبہ ہے۔ جہاد اتنا فضیلت والا عمل ہے کہ جو چیز اس سے وابستہ ہو جاتی ہے وہ بھی فضیلت والی ہو جاتی ہے۔ نبی کریم

گھوڑوں کی پیشانی میں قیامت تک کے لیے خیر باندھ دی گئی ہے، ان پر سوار ہو کر جہاد کرنے والوں کو اَجر بھی ملتا ہے اور مالِ غنیمت بھی۔ (صحیح بخاری: 2852)

وَ الْعٰدِيٰتِ ضَبْحًا ۙ﴿۱﴾ فَالْمُوْرِيٰتِ قَدْحًا ۙ﴿۲﴾

قسم ان (گھوڑوں) کی جو (میدان جہاد میں) تیزی سے دوڑتے ہیں زور سے ہانپتے ہوئے۔ پھر سُم مار کر چنگاریاں نکالنے والے (گھوڑوں کی قسم)۔

فَالْمُغِيْرٰتِ صُبْحًا ۙ﴿۳﴾ فَاَثَرْنَ بِهٖ نَقْعًا ۙ﴿۴﴾ فَوَسَطْنَ بِهٖ

پھر صبح کے وقت حملہ کرنے والے (گھوڑوں) کی (قسم)۔ پھر وہ اس وقت گردوغبار اُڑاتے ہیں۔ پھر وہ اس وقت (دشمن کی)

جَمْعًا ۙ﴿۵﴾ اِنَّ الْاِنْسَانَ لِرَبِّهٖ لَكَنُوْدٌ ۚ﴿۶﴾ وَ اِنَّهٗ

فوج میں گھس جاتے ہیں۔ بے شک انسان اپنے ربّ کا یقیناً بڑا ناشکرا ہے۔ اور بے شک

In this Surah, horses are praised because they serve as a means of carrying out jihad. Jihad is a significant branch of Islam. It is such a noble act that anything associated with it also becomes virtuous. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said that goodness has been tied to the forelocks of horses until the Day of Judgment. Those who ride horses for jihad receive both spiritual reward and spoils of war.
(Sahih Bukhari 25)
"By the [steeds] that run swiftly, panting,
And striking sparks of fire [with their hooves],
And charging at dawn,
Stirring up clouds of dust,
And penetrating into the midst of the enemy ranks—
Indeed, mankind is ungrateful to his Lord."
(Surah Al-'Adiyat, 100:1–6)

Portrayal of India

The portrayal of India in educational textbooks, particularly in Pakistan, is often colored by historical distortions, cultural biases, and political agendas. The partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 after the British empire left India, remains one of the bloodiest and most traumatic events in South Asian history, marked by unprecedented violence, mass displacement, and the division of families. The creation of Pakistan was rooted in the ideological opposition to the vision of a unified, secular India, as outlined by leaders like Mahatma Gandhi. The Two-Nation Theory, proposed by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and later championed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, argued that Muslims and Hindus were two distinct nations, with separate cultural, religious, and political interests. This theory was the cornerstone of the demand for Pakistan, a separate state for Muslims, which ultimately culminated in the partition.[92]

As violence erupted across the subcontinent, the partition became a violent reality, leaving approximately one million dead and over ten million displaced. The bloodshed was not only a result of political decisions but also a deep-seated religious divide that was manipulated by political leaders. Historians like Ayesha Jalal argue that the partition was largely the result of a series of political missteps, a lack of consensus, and the manipulation of religious identities for political gain.[93]

For Pakistan, the struggle against the idea of a unified India was central to its identity. The creation of Pakistan was a direct challenge to the notion of a unified India and its secular ideals which allowed a greater deal of religious pluralism. The narrative of a Muslim-majority Pakistan opposed to a Hindu-majority India began to take root and shaped the relationship between the two nations in the years that followed.

Since the partition, India and Pakistan have fought four major wars: the 1947-1948 war over Kashmir, the 1965 Indo-Pakistani war, the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation war and the 1999 Kargil war. The Kashmir conflict, which continues to be a point of contention, stems from the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir's decision to accede to India in 1947. Pakistan claims the region as its own, which has led to continuous tensions and military confrontations. The 1965 war, although ending in a stalemate, further solidified the adversarial relationship between the two nations, with both sides accusing the other of aggression and territorial expansion.[94] The 1971 war, however, marked a significant shift in the geopolitics of South Asia, as India intervened to support the Bengali independence movement, resulting in the creation of Bangladesh and a decisive defeat for Pakistan.[95]

Since these wars, India and Pakistan have engaged in a series of proxy wars, particularly in Kashmir, and have faced numerous crises, most notably after the 2001 Indian Parliament attack, the 2008 Mumbai attacks, the 2016 attack on Uri, and the 2019 Pulwama attack which was

92 D. Şahbaz, "The Two Nations Theory and Its Role in the Establishment of Pakistan," *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi* 7, no. 1 (2020): 207–232.

93 Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League, and the Demand for Pakistan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

94 Sumit Ganguly, "Wars without end: the Indo-Pakistani conflict," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 541, no. 1 (1995): 167-178.

95 John H. Gill, *An atlas of the 1971 India-Pakistan War: the creation of Bangladesh*, National Defense University, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, 2003.

orchestrated by Pakistan-based terrorist groups.[96] This ongoing tension has contributed to a discourse of hostility in both countries, with Pakistan often positioning India as an ideological, territorial, and religious adversary.

Pakistan's educational textbooks play a significant role in shaping the perception of India among Pakistani students. The portrayal of India is often one-sided, presenting the country as a territorial and ideological adversary. This chapter will explore how Pakistani textbooks present the historical narrative of the partition, the Two-Nation Theory, and the creation of Pakistan, as well as how they portray Hindus and India through the following themes:

1. Portrayal of Hindus
2. Portrayal of the Partition and the Kashmir Conflict

Although a few examples portray Hinduism positively, as a religion rooted in values of love, tolerance, compassion, sacrifice, and peace,[97] the portrayal of Hindus in Pakistani textbooks is often negative, especially in the context of the partition and the creation of Pakistan. Hindus are frequently depicted as the primary aggressors in the violence that ensued between the two countries, fostering a narrative of intolerance and Muslim victimhood. This narrative overlooks the complex realities of the partition, where both Hindus and Muslims were victims of violence. The Indian National Congress, also known as the "Congress Party," is portrayed as corrupt and anti-Muslim, ignoring the efforts of Congress leaders to include Muslims in governance.[98] Similarly, the portrayal of the *Bande Mataram* anthem as solely anti-Muslim is a distortion of its nationalist intent, which was viewed differently by various communities at the time.

The pre-partition history presented in the textbooks reflects a heavily distorted, communalized narrative. It portrays Muslims as consistent victims of Hindu betrayal and British oppression. The examined textbooks frequently oversimplify the partition and its aftermath, often blaming Hindus for the violence and presenting Muslims as the sole victims of the event. The complexities of the partition, which involved violence between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, are often ignored. Textbooks fail to acknowledge that both communities suffered and that the violence was not solely perpetrated by one side. For example, the partition is presented as an outcome of Muslim victimization,[99] while the role of British colonial policies in exacerbating religious divisions is downplayed. The Two-Nation Theory is presented as the ideological foundation of Pakistan's creation, often portraying Muslims as being fundamentally distinct from Hindus.[100] Textbooks tend to depict the theory as a universally accepted and unquestionable truth, overlooking the critiques made by figures like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru (India's first Prime Minister), who envisioned a pluralistic India.

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96 Srinath Raghavan, "A Coercive Triangle: India, Pakistan, the United States, and the Crisis of 2001–2002," Defence Studies 9 (2), (2009): 242–60. doi:10.1080/14702430902921486. C. Christine Fair, "24. The 2008 Mumbai Attack" In T*he Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat: From 9/11 to Osama bin Laden's Death*, edited by Bruce Hoffman and Fernando Reinares, 571-599. New York Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.7312/hoff16898-024.
Mohammed Sinan Siyech, "The Pulwama Attack: Significance, Implications and the Way Forward," *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 11, no. 4 (2019): 6–10 https://www.jstor.org/stable/26631532.

97 Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 1. For the analysis of this example see chapter about Jews and other religions, p.130.

98 Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 17

99 Ibid.

100 Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 11-12, 2020, p. 16

India is frequently portrayed as an ideological, religious, and territorial rival in Pakistani textbooks. In particular, the Kashmir conflict is oversimplified and presented as a territorial dispute caused by Indian aggression, with little attention paid to the complex political and legal factors that shaped the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. Textbooks often blame the Radcliffe Award[101] (i.e., the boundary demarcated in 1947 by two British boundary commissions during the Partition of India) and India's actions without acknowledging Pakistan's role in supporting militancy in the region. Similarly, the portrayal of India as an adversary is reinforced by phrases like "Indian arrogance," which perpetuate a narrative of hostility and national rivalry rather than understanding.

Portrayal of Hindus

The Pakistani curriculum presents a complex and often contradictory portrayal of India and Hindus. On one hand, a Grade 8 Ethics textbook offers a respectful and detailed account of Hinduism, emphasizing its peaceful values and spiritual depth. However, in History and Pakistan Studies textbooks across multiple grades, Hindus are frequently depicted in a negative light – labeled as extremists, blamed for the failure of Hindu-Muslim unity, and portrayed as oppressors of Muslims during the independence movement. India is framed as culturally hostile, with nationalist efforts like promoting Hindi or "*Bande Mataram*" cast as anti-Muslim acts, while Hindu-majoritarianism is emphasized as justification for the Two Nation Theory. Historical figures such as Muhammad Ghori and Mahmoud Ghaznavi are used to illustrate a long-standing religious divide, with Hindus positioned as adversaries in both medieval and modern contexts. These narratives tend to oversimplify complex historical dynamics.

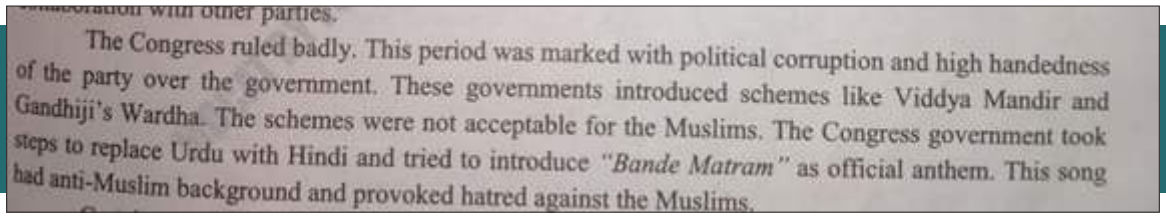
101 Ibid., p. 30

Example 42

Federal Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 17

In a Grade 9 Pakistan Studies textbook, the Congress Party is depicted as entirely corrupt, oppressive, and anti-Muslim – a portrayal that is deeply biased and historically reductive. The passage references policies such as the Vidya Mandir scheme and Gandhi's Wardha Scheme of Basic Education, which aimed to promote primary education through Indian languages and cultural content. While these schemes were intended to foster Indian self-reliance and national identity, the textbook frames them as tools of Hindu cultural imposition, ignoring their broader educational goals and the political diversity within the Congress. The passage also accuses Congress of attempting to replace Urdu with Hindi and imposing "*Bande Mataram*" as the official anthem – presenting these as deliberate efforts to marginalize Muslims. While it is true that linguistic and cultural policies were a source of tension, the broader nationalist movement often used symbols like "*Bande Mataram*" to promote anti-colonial unity. The song, originally a hymn from Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel *Anandamath*, did contain religious imagery that some Muslim leaders found exclusionary.

Moreover, the assertion that the Congress sought to "replace Urdu with Hindi" exaggerates the linguistic debates of the time. While Hindi was promoted in some provinces, especially in Congress-ruled areas, Urdu continued to be used widely, and language policy remained a contested and evolving issue rather than a unilateral anti-Muslim campaign.



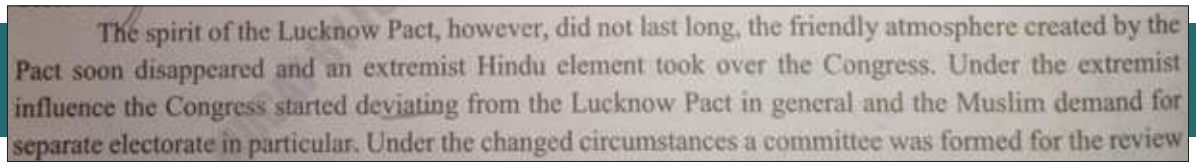
collaboration with other parties.

The Congress ruled badly. This period was marked with political corruption and high handedness of the party over the government. These governments introduced schemes like Viddya Mandir and Gandhiji's Wardha. The schemes were not acceptable for the Muslims. The Congress government took steps to replace Urdu with Hindi and tried to introduce *"Bande Matram"* as official anthem. This song had anti-Muslim background and provoked hatred against the Muslims.

Example 43

Federal Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 16

In a Grade 9 Pakistan Studies textbook, Hindus are presented as extremists and are blamed entirely for the failure of Hindu-Muslim unity, which is a highly biased and misleading narrative. The Lucknow Pact (1916) was a historic agreement between the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, aimed at fostering cooperation and political unity between Hindus and Muslims in British India. However, its decline was due to multiple factors, including changing political environments, the rise of communal tensions, and British colonial policies. Labeling Hindus as “extremists” who "overpowered" the Congress erases the role of moderates who sought cooperation, particularly during the Lucknow Pact, and promotes division rather than understanding.

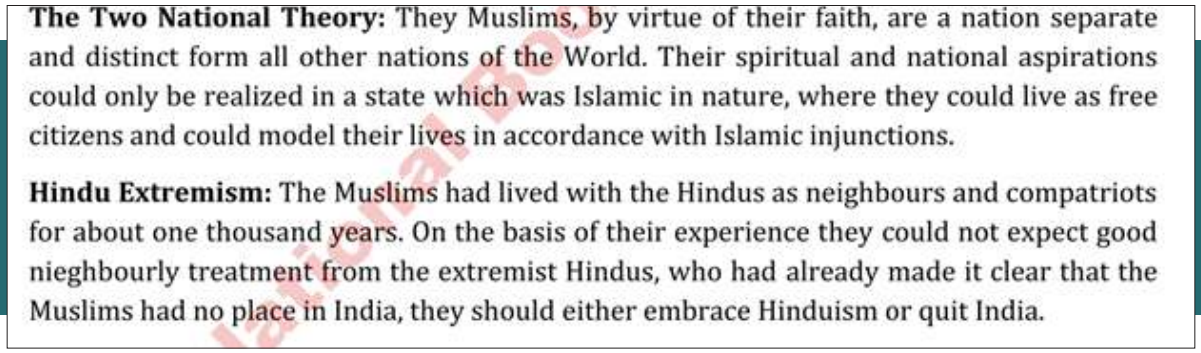


The spirit of the Lucknow Pact, however, did not last long, the friendly atmosphere created by the Pact soon disappeared and an extremist Hindu element took over the Congress. Under the extremist influence the Congress started deviating from the Lucknow Pact in general and the Muslim demand for separate electorate in particular. Under the changed circumstances a committee was formed for the review

Example 44

Federal Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 11-12, 2020, p. 16

In a Pakistan Studies textbook for Grades 11-12, while discussing the Two Nation Theory, it is taught that Muslims were separate from all other nations globally, rather than specifically politically and culturally distinct from Hindus in British India. It implies that Pakistan was intended to be an explicitly Islamic state, contrasting with the original vision by leaders like Jinnah, who envisioned a state where Muslims could freely practice their faith while ensuring rights for all citizens, including non-Muslims. The passage also refers to "Hindu Extremism," stating that Muslims, having lived alongside Hindus as neighbors and compatriots for around one thousand years, could not expect good neighborly treatment from extremist Hindus who allegedly declared that Muslims had no place in India and should either convert to Hinduism or leave. While many Muslim leaders and intellectuals perceived growing Hindu majoritarianism as a threat to their political and cultural rights (this fear was a significant factor behind the demand for a separate Muslim state, as articulated in the Two-Nation Theory), ascribing extremism solely to India presents a reductive and one-sided historical narrative.



The Two National Theory: They Muslims, by virtue of their faith, are a nation separate and distinct form all other nations of the World. Their spiritual and national aspirations could only be realized in a state which was Islamic in nature, where they could live as free citizens and could model their lives in accordance with Islamic injunctions.

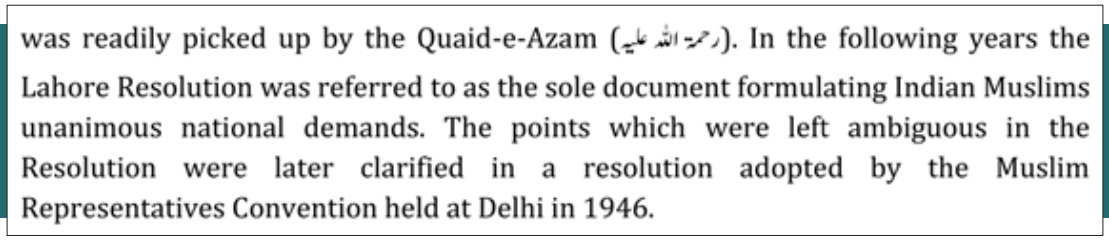
Hindu Extremism: The Muslims had lived with the Hindus as neighbours and compatriots for about one thousand years. On the basis of their experience they could not expect good nieghbourly treatment from the extremist Hindus, who had already made it clear that the Muslims had no place in India, they should either embrace Hinduism or quit India.

Example 45

Federal Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 11-12, 2020, pp. 18-19

A passage from a Pakistan Studies textbook for Grade 11-12 presents a biased and incomplete view of the Lahore Resolution, later known as the Pakistan Resolution. The passage claims that the resolution was initially called the “Lahore Resolution” but was later renamed the “Pakistan Resolution” by the "hostile Hindu press," a phrase that implicitly suggests that Hindus were adversarial to the resolution and its aims. While the Lahore Resolution of 1940 did indeed demand separate states for Muslims in India, the passage overlooks the broader negotiations and political dynamics between Hindu and Muslim leaders. It oversimplifies the narrative by suggesting that the name change was driven solely by the Hindu press, rather than considering the role of Muslim leaders, including Quaid-e-Azam, in shaping the resolution’s political trajectory.

Furthermore, the claim that the resolution was "unanimously" accepted by Indian Muslims is misleading, as not all Muslims supported the idea of a separate Pakistan, and the resolution itself left many details ambiguous, which were later clarified at the 1946 Muslim Representatives Convention in Delhi.

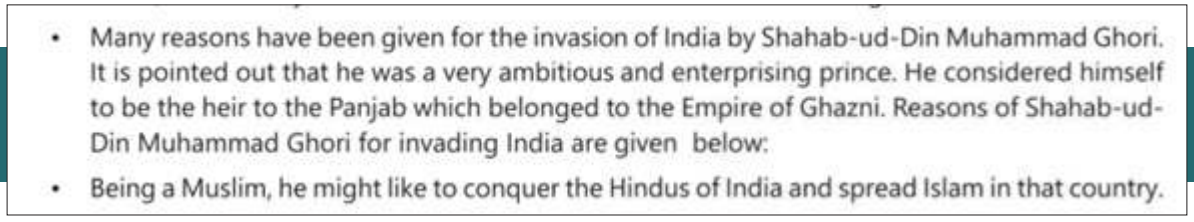


was readily picked up by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ). In the following years the Lahore Resolution was referred to as the sole document formulating Indian Muslims unanimous national demands. The points which were left ambiguous in the Resolution were later clarified in a resolution adopted by the Muslim Representatives Convention held at Delhi in 1946.

Example 46

Punjab Board – *History*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 59

In a Grade 7 History textbook, students learn that Sultan Muhammad Ghori’s invasions of India were due to his identity as a Muslim, suggesting that his motivation was to “conquer the Hindus of India and spread Islam.” India and Hindus are thus identified as targets for Islamic expansion during the twelfth century. However, the passage fails to mention the widespread destruction caused by Muhammad Ghori’s campaigns, including the sacking of cities and desecration of temples.

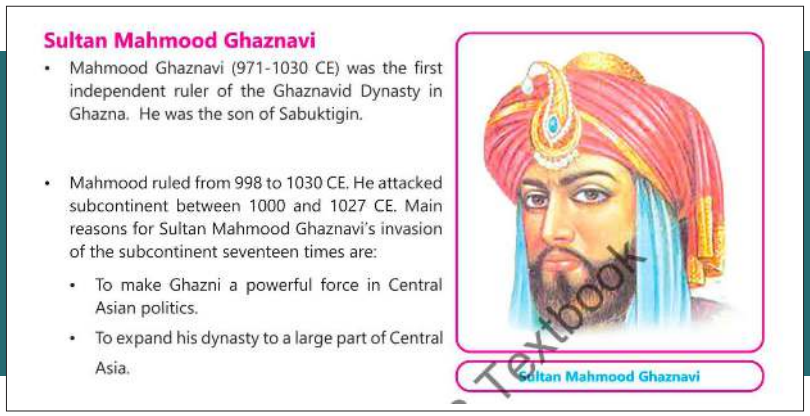


- Many reasons have been given for the invasion of India by Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori. It is pointed out that he was a very ambitious and enterprising prince. He considered himself to be the heir to the Panjab which belonged to the Empire of Ghazni. Reasons of Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori for invading India are given below:
- Being a Muslim, he might like to conquer the Hindus of India and spread Islam in that country.

Example 47

Punjab Board – *History*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 59

Grade 7 History students learn about Mahmood Ghaznavi, the first independent ruler of the Ghaznavid dynasty who attacked the "subcontinent between 1000 and 1027 CE." The passage offers a narrow account of Ghaznavi's seventeen invasions of the Indian subcontinent, framing them solely as efforts to expand his dynasty and strengthen Ghaznavi's role in Central Asian politics. The textbook states that he "attacked [the] subcontinent," avoiding not using typical Islamic terms of "liberation" (*fatḥ*) or leading *jihad* campaigns. Nonetheless, the text fails to reference Ghaznavi's infamous attack and looting of one of the holiest Hindu temples in India – Somnath – where a massacre reportedly occurred.



Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi

- Mahmood Ghaznavi (971-1030 CE) was the first independent ruler of the Ghaznavid Dynasty in Ghazna. He was the son of Sabuktigin.
- Mahmood ruled from 998 to 1030 CE. He attacked subcontinent between 1000 and 1027 CE. Main reasons for Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi's invasion of the subcontinent seventeen times are:
  - To make Ghazni a powerful force in Central Asian politics.
  - To expand his dynasty to a large part of Central Asia.

Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi

Textbook

Portrayal of the Partition and the Kashmir Conflict

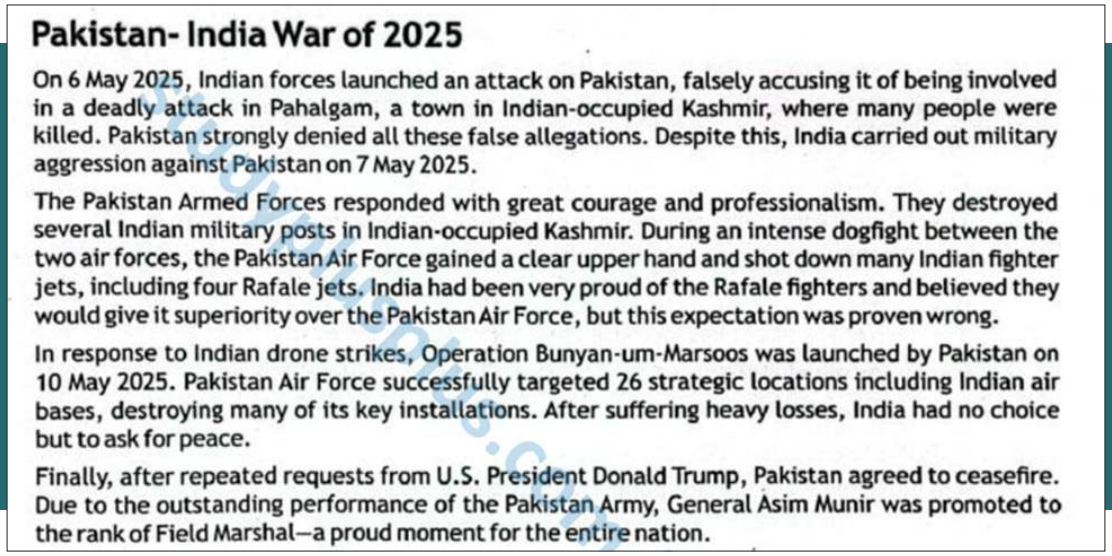
The examples in the next pages illustrate how Pakistani textbooks distort the historical narrative of the partition of India by presenting one-sided portrayals of the event and the freedom struggle movement against the British. While some texts acknowledge the shared suffering of all communities during the partition, they often highlight Muslim victimhood and attribute violence primarily to Hindus. These portrayals oversimplify the complex dynamics of the partition, neglecting the fact that both Hindus and Muslims endured significant violence and loss. The textbooks tend to portray Muslims as the sole victims and Hindus as the sole aggressors, ignoring the mutual hardships and shared responsibility of the violence that followed partition. This distortion of facts contributes to a biased understanding of history and reinforces divisive narratives, rather than fostering a more balanced perspective on the tragedy of partition. The portrayal of this event continues to shape national identity and political discourse in Pakistan, influencing perceptions of India and its role in the partition.

The textbooks also present India as an adversary, particularly focusing on the Kashmir conflict, by offering one-sided and biased portrayals of the issue. A 2025 Pakistan Studies Textbook for Grade 12 teaches about the Pakistan-India War of 2025, depicting India as the aggressor and Pakistan as a courageous and victorious defender. The narrative glorifies Pakistan's military response and omits any mention of diplomatic efforts or civilian consequences, offering a one-sided and nationalistic portrayal of the Kashmir conflict. While some texts mention the complexities of the Kashmir dispute, they often blame India entirely for the conflict, presenting it as an unjust occupation of Kashmir.

Example 48

Federal Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 12, 2025, p. 41

The Pakistan Studies textbook for Grade 12 frames the Kashmir conflict as a military confrontation in which Pakistan emerges as both morally justified and militarily superior, while India is depicted as reckless, deceitful, and ultimately defeated. The textbook outlines events of the 2025 India-Pakistan war, noting India's military action in May 2025 following a terrorist incident in Pahalgam and Pakistan's forceful response. While the account captures the sequence – an Indian strike on May 7, Pakistan's Operation Bunyan-un-Marsoos launched on May 10, and eventual ceasefire – it notably fails to mention critical details and thus fosters a skewed narrative Firstly, India launched Operation Sindoor on May 7, targeting nine terrorist bases in direct retaliation for the Pahalgam massacre, which killed 26 civilians. Secondly, while the textbook credits Pakistan with shooting down Indian jets and inflicting losses, it omits India's own air campaign, which was effective in degrading Pakistani military installations, and the overall mutual toll of the four-day confrontation. The textbook concludes with a triumphant tone, stating that Pakistan agreed to a ceasefire only "after repeated requests from U.S. President Donald Trump" and highlighting the promotion of General Asim Munir to Field Marshal as a "proud moment for the entire nation".



Pakistan- India War of 2025

On 6 May 2025, Indian forces launched an attack on Pakistan, falsely accusing it of being involved in a deadly attack in Pahalgam, a town in Indian-occupied Kashmir, where many people were killed. Pakistan strongly denied all these false allegations. Despite this, India carried out military aggression against Pakistan on 7 May 2025.

The Pakistan Armed Forces responded with great courage and professionalism. They destroyed several Indian military posts in Indian-occupied Kashmir. During an intense dogfight between the two air forces, the Pakistan Air Force gained a clear upper hand and shot down many Indian fighter jets, including four Rafale jets. India had been very proud of the Rafale fighters and believed they would give it superiority over the Pakistan Air Force, but this expectation was proven wrong.

In response to Indian drone strikes, Operation Bunyan-um-Marsoos was launched by Pakistan on 10 May 2025. Pakistan Air Force successfully targeted 26 strategic locations including Indian air bases, destroying many of its key installations. After suffering heavy losses, India had no choice but to ask for peace.

Finally, after repeated requests from U.S. President Donald Trump, Pakistan agreed to ceasefire. Due to the outstanding performance of the Pakistan Army, General Asim Munir was promoted to the rank of Field Marshal—a proud moment for the entire nation.

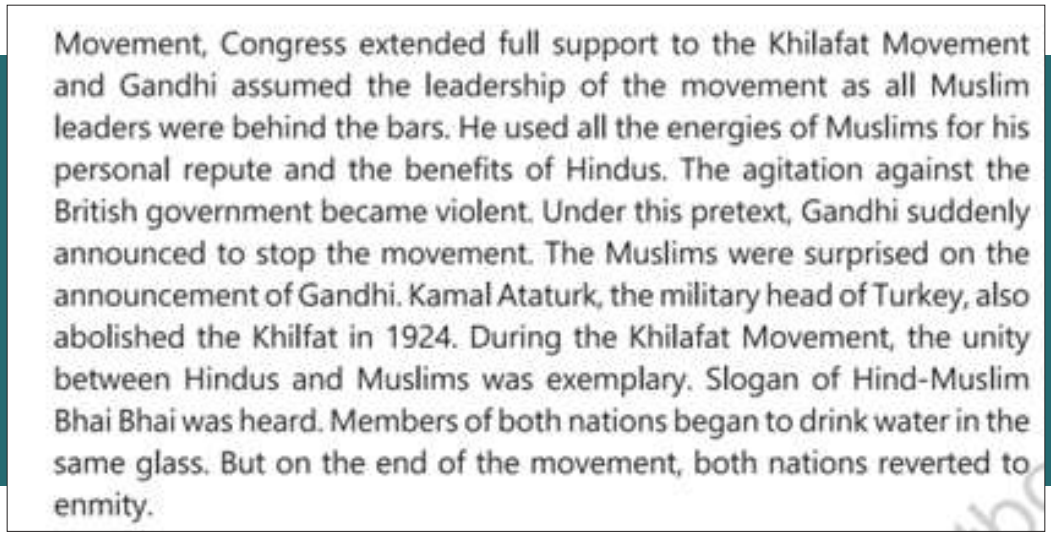
Example 49

Punjab Board – *History*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 24

A passage in a Grade 8 History textbook criticizes Mahatma Gandhi by claiming that he exploited Muslim support for personal reputation and Hindu benefit. This claim is a distorted interpretation of this collaboration. This view is further shaped by Gandhi's personal identity as a devout Hindu and a prominent leader of the Indian National Congress, a party increasingly viewed with suspicion by the Muslim League during that period. It ignores Gandhi's sincere efforts to unite Indians of all faiths against British imperialism and his deep belief in non-violent resistance. His engagement with the Khilafat Movement was not for personal or sectarian gain but part of a broader vision to forge Hindu-Muslim solidarity in the national struggle for independence.

The text further asserts that the anti-British agitation became violent. This statement is made in the context of the Indian National Congress party's support for the Khilafat Movement – a pan-Islamic political campaign launched by Indian Muslims from 1919-1924 to pressure the British government into preserving the authority of the Ottoman Caliphate after World War I.

The assertion that the movement "became violent" selectively overlooks Gandhi's consistent opposition to violence. When the Non-Cooperation Movement – which had been launched in tandem with the Khilafat cause – turned violent during the 1922 Chauri Chaura incident, Gandhi immediately suspended it, demonstrating his unwavering commitment to non-violence.

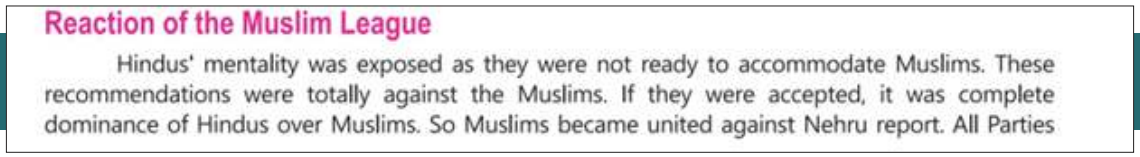


Movement, Congress extended full support to the Khilafat Movement and Gandhi assumed the leadership of the movement as all Muslim leaders were behind the bars. He used all the energies of Muslims for his personal repute and the benefits of Hindus. The agitation against the British government became violent. Under this pretext, Gandhi suddenly announced to stop the movement. The Muslims were surprised on the announcement of Gandhi. Kamal Ataturk, the military head of Turkey, also abolished the Khilfat in 1924. During the Khilafat Movement, the unity between Hindus and Muslims was exemplary. Slogan of Hind-Muslim Bhai Bhai was heard. Members of both nations began to drink water in the same glass. But on the end of the movement, both nations reverted to enmity.

Example 50

Punjab Board – *History*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 29

History students also learn a starkly critical view of the Nehru Report (1928), asserting that it exposed a Hindu “mentality” unwilling to accommodate Muslims and portraying the report as fundamentally anti-Muslim. The Nehru Report, prepared under the leadership of Motilal Nehru, was the first major Indian effort to draft a constitution for self-governance. It proposed a dominion status for India within the British Empire and emphasized a unified Indian identity with equal citizenship. However, its rejection of separate electorates for Muslims, which had been granted under earlier British policies like the Morley-Minto Reforms (1909), led to significant opposition from Muslim leaders. The passage argues that the recommendations would have resulted in complete Hindu dominance and thus triggered Muslim unity in opposition. While this interpretation reflects a significant perspective in the political discourse of the time – particularly that of the Muslim League – it is also deeply reductive and laden with communal framing. The passage's sweeping generalization about "Hindus' mentality" and its claim that “these recommendations were totally against the Muslims” promotes a binary and communal narrative. It overlooks the diversity of opinion within both Hindu and Muslim communities and ignores the efforts of many leaders, including Gandhi and Nehru, to bridge communal divides.



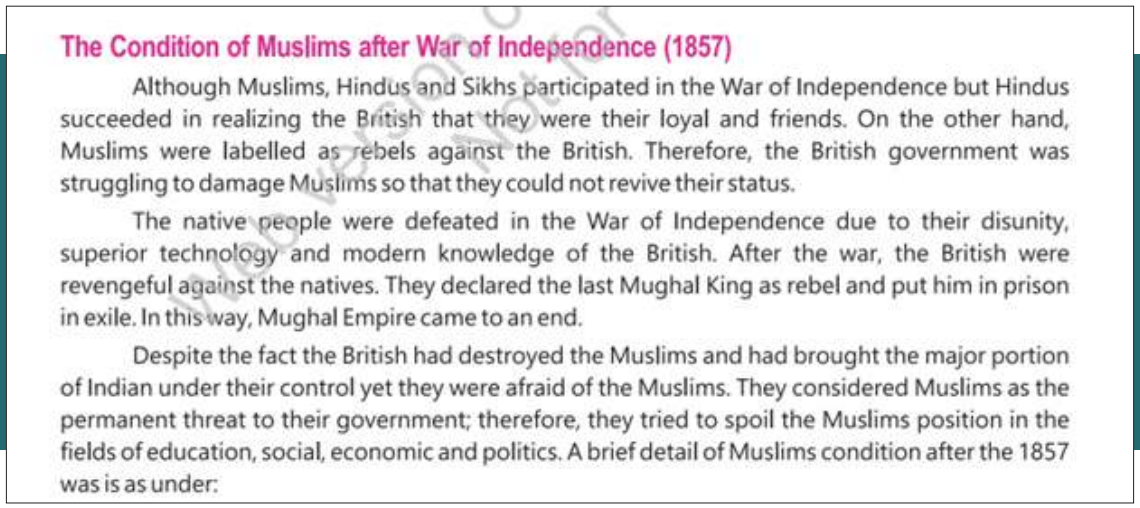
Reaction of the Muslim League

Hindus' mentality was exposed as they were not ready to accommodate Muslims. These recommendations were totally against the Muslims. If they were accepted, it was complete dominance of Hindus over Muslims. So Muslims became united against Nehru report. All Parties

Example 51

Punjab Board - *History*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 10

Furthermore, a Grade 8 History textbook contains a passage offering a communal interpretation of the aftermath of the 1857 War of Independence (also known as the Indian Rebellion or Sepoy Mutiny), suggesting that while Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs all participated in the uprising, Hindus were able to portray themselves as loyal to the British, while Muslims were collectively branded as rebels. It then claims that the British deliberately sought to weaken the Muslim community to prevent its revival. This portrayal reflects a perspective that emerged in certain strands of Muslim historiography in colonial and post-colonial South Asia, which sought to explain the political and social decline of Muslims under British rule by framing it as the result of systematic targeting and suppression. It is true that the British, in the immediate aftermath of the 1857 revolt, perceived Muslims – particularly the elite Muslim classes in northern India – as central to the rebellion, and as a result, many faced harsh reprisals, loss of land, and exclusion from administrative positions. However, the narrative that Hindus as a group "succeeded" in convincing the British of their loyalty, while Muslims were uniformly labeled as traitors is factually inaccurate. Participation in the 1857 revolt was regionally and socially varied; both Hindus and Muslims fought for and against the British, depending on local contexts, leadership, and interests.



The Condition of Muslims after War of Independence (1857)

Although Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs participated in the War of Independence but Hindus succeeded in realizing the British that they were their loyal and friends. On the other hand, Muslims were labelled as rebels against the British. Therefore, the British government was struggling to damage Muslims so that they could not revive their status.

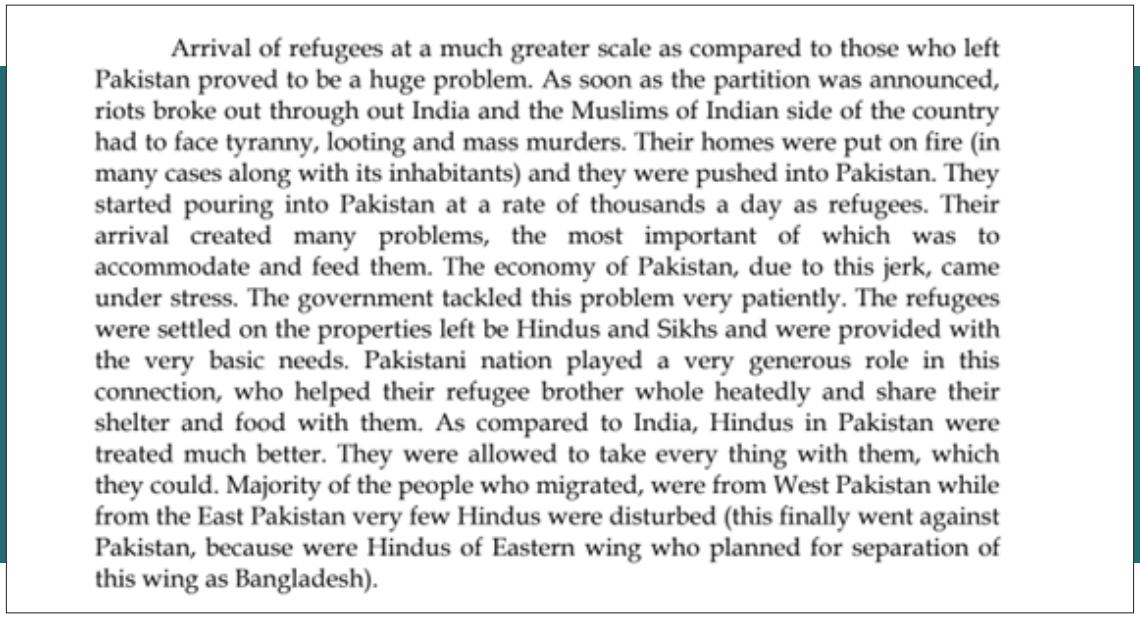
The native people were defeated in the War of Independence due to their disunity, superior technology and modern knowledge of the British. After the war, the British were revengeful against the natives. They declared the last Mughal King as rebel and put him in prison in exile. In this way, Mughal Empire came to an end.

Despite the fact the British had destroyed the Muslims and had brought the major portion of Indian under their control yet they were afraid of the Muslims. They considered Muslims as the permanent threat to their government; therefore, they tried to spoil the Muslims position in the fields of education, social, economic and politics. A brief detail of Muslims condition after the 1857 was is as under:

Example 52

Federal Board - *Civics*, Grades 9-10, 2024, p. 108

In a Civics textbook for Grades 9-10, students are taught that Hindus "pushed" Muslims into Pakistan and subjected them to violence, a passage that simplifies the partition of India by placing the blame solely on Hindus for the violence that occurred. The text further claims that Pakistan treated Hindus better than India treated Muslims, suggesting that Hindus in Pakistan were allowed to "take everything with them" referring to their belongings, and were generally treated more fairly. However, this narrative overlooks the stark reality of the partition, where Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs all faced extreme violence, forced migration, and massacres on both sides of the newly drawn borders. The partition was marked by bloody violence that impacted all communities, not just one, and the trauma of the event was felt deeply by millions, irrespective of their religion.



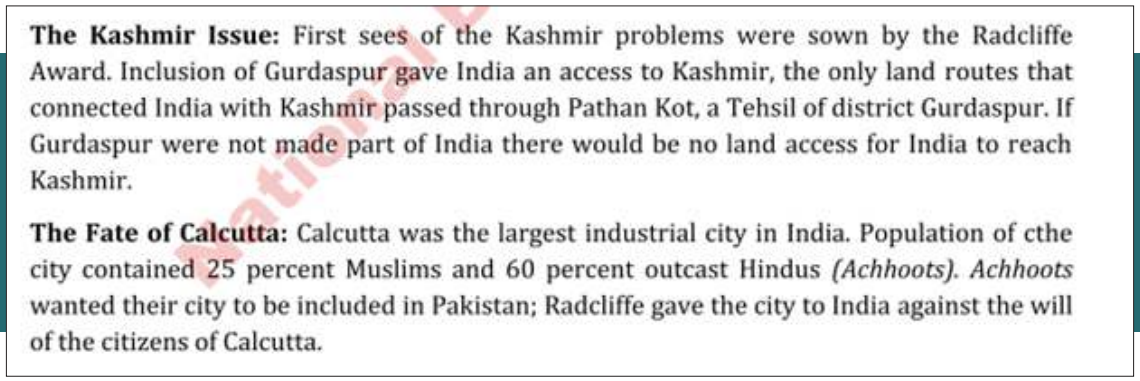
Arrival of refugees at a much greater scale as compared to those who left Pakistan proved to be a huge problem. As soon as the partition was announced, riots broke out through out India and the Muslims of Indian side of the country had to face tyranny, looting and mass murders. Their homes were put on fire (in many cases along with its inhabitants) and they were pushed into Pakistan. They started pouring into Pakistan at a rate of thousands a day as refugees. Their arrival created many problems, the most important of which was to accommodate and feed them. The economy of Pakistan, due to this jerk, came under stress. The government tackled this problem very patiently. The refugees were settled on the properties left be Hindus and Sikhs and were provided with the very basic needs. Pakistani nation played a very generous role in this connection, who helped their refugee brother whole heatedly and share their shelter and food with them. As compared to India, Hindus in Pakistan were treated much better. They were allowed to take every thing with them, which they could. Majority of the people who migrated, were from West Pakistan while from the East Pakistan very few Hindus were disturbed (this finally went against Pakistan, because were Hindus of Eastern wing who planned for separation of this wing as Bangladesh).

Example 53

Federal Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 11-12, 2020, p. 30

In the Pakistan Studies textbook for Grades 11-12, students are taught that "the seeds of the Kashmir problem were sown by the Radcliffe Award," which overlooks the complex history of Kashmir's accession. The Radcliffe Award, named after Sir Cyril Radcliffe, was the boundary demarcation decision made during the partition of British India in 1947. This award divided British India into India and Pakistan along religious lines, which included the contentious partition of Jammu and Kashmir. Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, had the choice to accede to either India or Pakistan following partition. Initially, Hari Singh sought to remain independent, but after the Pakistani-backed tribal invasion of Kashmir in October 1947, he sought military assistance from India. In return for this help, he signed the Instrument of Accession to India, which was the legal basis for India's control over Kashmir.

The mention of "outcast Hindus" (*Achhoots*) in Calcutta wanting to join Pakistan is also historically inaccurate and casteist. This claim assumes that lower-caste Hindus, as a group, supported Pakistan, which lacks historical backing. The political dynamics in Calcutta during partition were shaped by a variety of factors, including religious, regional, and class-based issues, not simply caste identity. Lower-caste Hindus, like other communities, had diverse political views, and it is misleading to present them as a monolithic group with a particular desire to join Pakistan.



The Kashmir Issue: First sees of the Kashmir problems were sown by the Radcliffe Award. Inclusion of Gurdaspur gave India an access to Kashmir, the only land routes that connected India with Kashmir passed through Pathan Kot, a Tehsil of district Gurdaspur. If Gurdaspur were not made part of India there would be no land access for India to reach Kashmir.

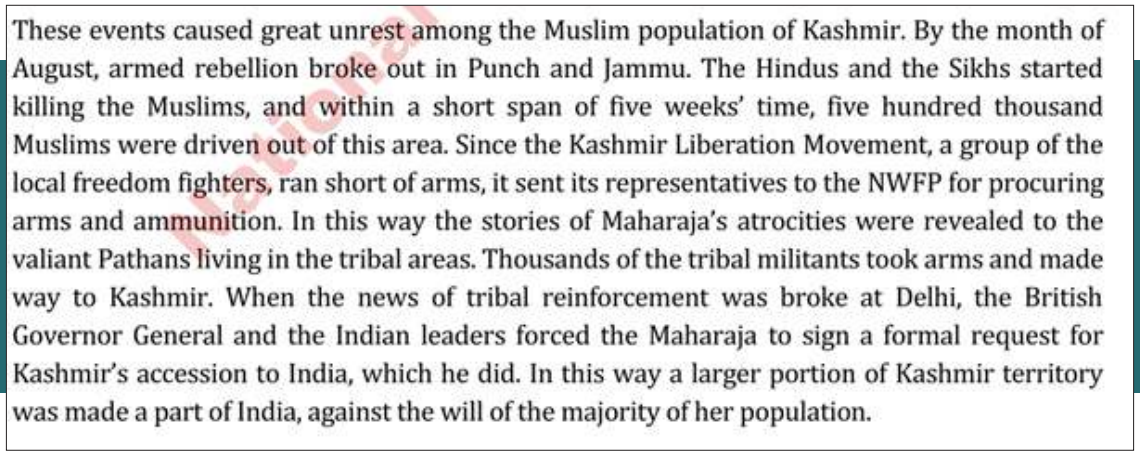
The Fate of Calcutta: Calcutta was the largest industrial city in India. Population of cthe city contained 25 percent Muslims and 60 percent outcast Hindus *(Achhoots). Achhoots* wanted their city to be included in Pakistan; Radcliffe gave the city to India against the will of the citizens of Calcutta.

Example 54

Federal Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 11-12, 2020, p. 33

In a Grades 11-12 Pakistan Studies textbook, the students are taught that during the unrest in Kashmir, "Hindus and Sikhs started killing Muslims" and "five hundred thousand Muslims were driven out of this area." This passage places the blame for the violence exclusively on Hindus and Sikhs, but fails to mention the violence committed by Muslims, nor does it address the broader, complex nature of communal violence during the partition and its aftermath. Studies of the period show that violence was widespread, with all communities involved in large-scale massacres like March 1947 Rawalpindi massacres, in which over 5,000 Hindus and Sikhs were killed.[102] However, the textbook grossly exaggerated this figure, claiming five hundred thousand were displaced. Approximately 250,000-300,000 Hindus and Sikhs were massacred in Jammu province alone between September and November 1947. While this violence was partly spontaneous, responding to the tensions caused by Partition, the textbook omits the significant migration of Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan, particularly from Rawalpindi where by mid-September 1947, around 65,000 Sikh and Hindu refugees had settled in Jammu city.[103]

The passage claims that the Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, was "forced" to sign the formal request for Kashmir's accession to India. This statement, while partially correct, lacks the full context of Maharaja Hari Singh's role in the accession. As the ruler of a princely state, Hari Singh initially wished to remain independent rather than accede to either India or Pakistan, which was a decision that contributed to the prolonged uncertainty and violence in Kashmir. His decision to sign the Instrument of Accession to India was, in fact, made under duress following the invasion by tribal militants backed by Pakistan.[104]



These events caused great unrest among the Muslim population of Kashmir. By the month of August, armed rebellion broke out in Punch and Jammu. The Hindus and the Sikhs started killing the Muslims, and within a short span of five weeks' time, five hundred thousand Muslims were driven out of this area. Since the Kashmir Liberation Movement, a group of the local freedom fighters, ran short of arms, it sent its representatives to the NWFP for procuring arms and ammunition. In this way the stories of Maharaja's atrocities were revealed to the valiant Pathans living in the tribal areas. Thousands of the tribal militants took arms and made way to Kashmir. When the news of tribal reinforcement was broke at Delhi, the British Governor General and the Indian leaders forced the Maharaja to sign a formal request for Kashmir's accession to India, which he did. In this way a larger portion of Kashmir territory was made a part of India, against the will of the majority of her population.

102 Illays Chatta, "Terrible Fate:'Ethnic Cleansing'of Jammu'Muslims in 1947," *Journal of Pakistan Vision* 10, no. 1 (2009): 117-40.

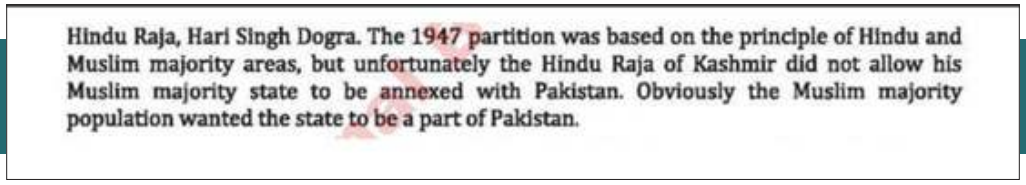
103 Idem, "The Long Shadow of 1947: Partition, Violence, and Displacement in Jammu & Kashmir," in *Revisiting India's Partition: New Essays on Memory, Culture, and Politics*, edited by Nazia Akhtar et al., Lexington Books, 2016: 143-156.

104 Julian Schofield and Reeta Tremblay, "Why Pakistan failed: tribal focoism in Kashmir," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 19, no. 1 (2008): 23-38.

Example 55

Federal Board - *Social Studies*, Grade 5, 2019, p. 29

In a Grade 5 Social Studies textbook, the statement that "the Hindu Raja of Kashmir did not allow his Muslim majority state to be annexed with Pakistan" presents a one-sided view of the Kashmir conflict by focusing primarily on religious demographics. The decision of Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to India was not based solely on the religious composition of the population, as the political situation in Kashmir was far more complex; the Maharaja's choice was influenced by a range of factors, including the region's strategic importance, the desire for sovereignty, and the sudden influx of violence due to the tribal invasion backed by Pakistan.



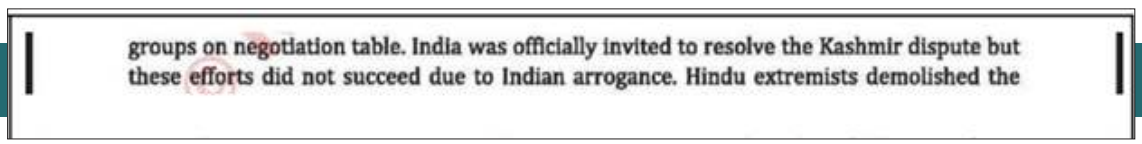
Hindu Raja, Hari Singh Dogra. The 1947 partition was based on the principle of Hindu and Muslim majority areas, but unfortunately the Hindu Raja of Kashmir did not allow his Muslim majority state to be annexed with Pakistan. Obviously the Muslim majority population wanted the state to be a part of Pakistan.

Example 56

Federal Board - *Social Studies*, Grade 5, 2019, pp. 13, 28, 30

In a Social Studies Grade 5 textbook, the students learn a one-sided perspective on the events leading up to the secession of East Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. The negotiation failures of the Kashmir conflict is stated to be linked to "Indian arrogance" and the passage shifts the blame entirely onto India. It also blames "Hindu extremists" for the tensions. By attributing the full-scale rebellion solely to "Indian propaganda" about West Pakistan's exploitation of East Pakistan, the passage simplifies a deeply complex and multi-faceted conflict. While it is true that India played a significant role in supporting the independence movement in East Pakistan, this explanation disregards the internal political, economic, and social grievances that fueled the unrest in East Pakistan. These included the economic disparities between East and West Pakistan, the lack of political representation for East Pakistanis, and the military crackdown by West Pakistan in response to the growing calls for autonomy. The passage also neglects the role of the Pakistani government and military in escalating tensions, and it overlooks the significant internal resistance in East Pakistan that had been building for years before India's involvement. The Kashmir conflict is also presented as a permanent "source of confrontation" between India and Pakistan, with the explicit focus on India denying the Kashmiris their right of self-determination. The lesson thus perpetuates the confrontation for Pakistani students, and does not provide any way of overcoming disparities.

[pg. 13]



groups on negotiation table. India was officially invited to resolve the Kashmir dispute but these efforts did not succeed due to Indian arrogance. Hindu extremists demolished the

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)

[pg. 28]

as well. Indian propaganda about West Pakistan's exploitation of East Pakistan, infused hatred in the people of East Pakistan which resulted in a full scale rebellion in the province and ultimate dismemberment of Pakistan. In 1971 East Pakistan

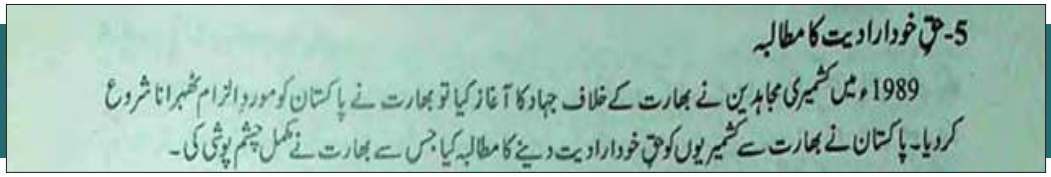
[pg. 30]

as well. Indian propaganda about West Pakistan's exploitation of East Pakistan, infused hatred in the people of East Pakistan which resulted in a full scale rebellion in the province and ultimate dismemberment of Pakistan. In 1971 East Pakistan

Example 57

Punjab Board - *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 78

A passage from a Grades 9-10 Civics textbook oversimplifies the Kashmir conflict by framing the demand for self-determination purely as a one-sided issue, where Pakistan is depicted as advocating for Kashmiri rights while India is portrayed as solely responsible for denying them. Additionally, the passage introduces the notion of “Kashmiri mujahideen” launching "***jihad***" against India in 1989.



5-حق خودارادیت کا مطالبہ

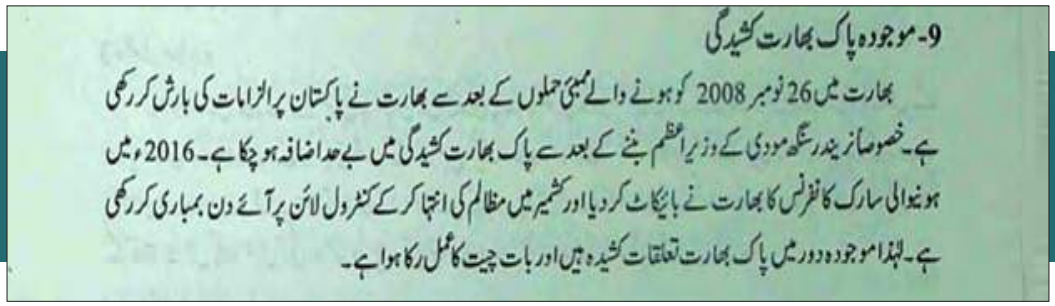
1989ء میں کشمیری مجاہدین نے بھارت کے خلاف جہاد کا آغاز کیا تو بھارت نے پاکستان کو موردِ الزام ٹھہرانا شروع کردیا۔ پاکستان نے بھارت سے کشمیریوں کو حقِ خودارادیت دینے کا مطالبہ کیا جس سے بھارت نے مکمل چشم پوشی کی۔

5. Demand for the Right to Self-Determination
In 1989, when Kashmiri Mujahideen started their Jihad against India, India began blaming Pakistan. Pakistan demanded that India grant the Kashmiris their right to self-determination, which India ignored.

Example 58

Punjab Board - *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 7

The Civics textbook for Grades 9-10 focuses on the strained relations between India and Pakistan, particularly since the 2008 Mumbai attacks, and emphasizes India's accusations against Pakistan. While it correctly mentions the increasing tensions, the passage overlooks critical aspects of the conflict, such as Pakistan's historical role in harboring terrorist groups and its role in the Kashmir conflict. In 2016, India chose to boycott the SAARC summit in response to rising tensions with Pakistan, which were exacerbated by the deadly Uri attack on September 18, 2016. In this attack, 19 Indian soldiers were killed by terrorists from the Pakistan-based militant group Jaish-e-Mohammed,[105] further inflaming the already volatile relationship between the two countries.



9-موجودہ پاک بھارت کشیدگی

بھارت میں 26 نومبر 2008 کو ہونے والے ممبئی حملوں کے بعد سے بھارت نے پاکستان پر الزامات کی بارش کر رکھی ہے۔ خصوصاً نریندر سنگھ مودی کے وزیرِ اعظم بننے کے بعد سے پاک بھارت کشیدگی میں بے حد اضافہ ہو چکا ہے۔ 2016ء میں ہونیوالی سارک کانفرنس کا بھارت نے بائیکاٹ کر دیا اور کشمیر میں مظالم کی انتہا کر کے کنٹرول لائن پر آئے دن بمباری کر رکھی ہے۔ لہٰذا موجودہ دور میں پاک بھارت تعلقات کشیدہ ہیں اور بات چیت کا عمل رکا ہوا ہے۔

9. Current Indo-Pak Tensions
Since the Mumbai attacks on November 26, 2008, India has been accusing Pakistan. Especially since Narendra Modi became Prime Minister, Indo-Pak tensions have increased significantly. India boycotted the SAARC conference in 2016 and has intensified its oppression in Kashmir, frequently shelling the Line of Control. Thus, current Indo-Pak relations are strained, and the dialogue process is stalled.

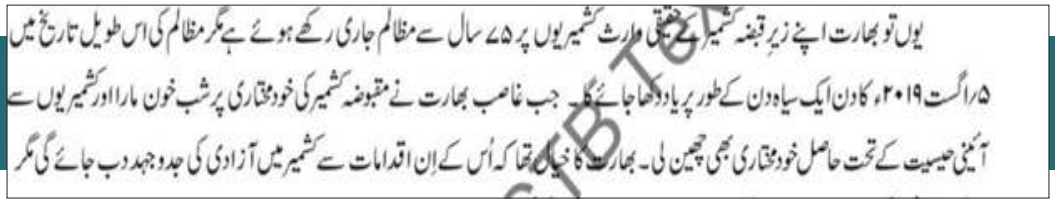
105 Ramanand Garge and C. D. Sahay, *Rise of Jaish-e-Mohammed in Kashmir Valley*. New Delhi: Vivekananda International Foundation, January 2018. https://www.vifindia.org/sites/default/files/rise-of-jaish-e-mohammed-in-kashmir-valley.pdf.

Example 59

Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 110

A passage from a Grade 7 Urdu textbook presents a one-sided narrative on the revocation of Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir by India on August 5, 2019, describing it as "oppression" and labeling the day as a "black day." Article 370 of the Indian Constitution granted Jammu and Kashmir special autonomy and privileges, including the ability to have its own constitution and a separate flag. [106]The text argues that India's revocation of the article was aimed at suppressing the "freedom struggle" in Kashmir.

While the revocation of Article 370 was indeed a highly contentious and significant move, the textbook fails to acknowledge the broader legal and political context in which these actions were taken. Article 370 was initially included to recognize the special circumstances under which Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India in 1947. However, over the years, there were ongoing debates about the relevance and application of Article 370, with critics arguing that it had become a hindrance to the full integration of Jammu and Kashmir into India. The Indian government, led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi's administration, argued that the revocation of Article 370 would help to promote national integration, boost development in the region, and bring about improved governance. The passage in the textbook overlooks these considerations and presents a one-sided narrative, portraying India's actions as a direct attack on the autonomy and sovereignty of Kashmiris.


یوں تو بھارت اپنے زیرِ قبضہ کشمیر کے حقیقی وارث کشمیریوں پر ۷۵ سال سے مظالم جاری رکھے ہوئے ہے مگر مظالم کی اس طویل تاریخ میں
۵/اگست ۲۰۱۹ء کا دن ایک سیاہ دن کے طور پر یاد کیا جائے گا۔ جب غاصب بھارت نے مقبوضہ کشمیر کی خودمختاری پر شب خون مارا اور کشمیریوں سے
آئینی حیثیت کے تحت حاصل خودمختاری بھی چھین لی۔ بھارت کا خیال تھا کہ اُس کے اِن اقدامات سے کشمیر میں آزادی کی جدوجہد دب جائے گی مگر

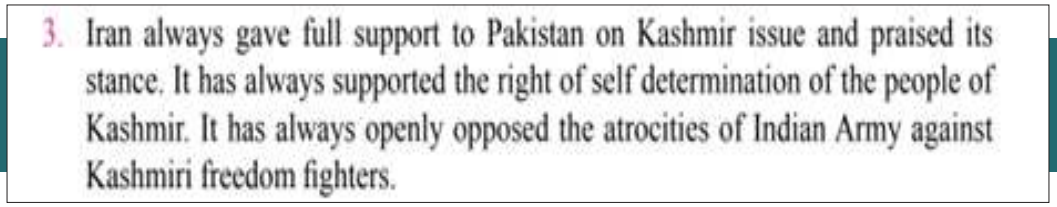
India has continued its oppression against Kashmiris. In this long history of oppression, the usurping India attacked the autonomy of occupied Kashmir and took away the sovereignty granted under the constitutional status from the Kashmiris on August 5, 2019. This day will be remembered as a black day. India thought that these measures would suppress the freedom struggle in Kashmir.

106 "PM Modi Terms Abrogation of Art 370 'Watershed' Moment." *The New Indian Express*, August 5, 2024. https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2024/Aug/05/pm-modi-terms-abrogation-of-art-370-watershed-moment.

Example 60

Punjab Board- *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 33

A Grade 10 Pakistan Studies textbook emphasizes Iran's consistent support for Pakistan's position on Kashmir, portraying the relationship between the two countries as one of ideological and diplomatic solidarity. By highlighting Iran's opposition to India's military actions in Kashmir, the text fosters a sense of unity between Pakistan and Iran on this contentious issue. However, the description of Indian actions as "atrocities...against Kashmiri freedom fighters" presents a biased portrayal of the situation, as it ascribes indiscriminate violence and cruelty solely to India, while overlooking the similar acts of violence perpetrated by the Pakistan-sponsored terrorist groups operating in Kashmir. Additionally, while Pakistan and Iran's relationship on Kashmir is presented as solid, it is important to note that India also shares good diplomatic relations with Iran, particularly in terms of trade and regional security cooperation. This nuance suggests that the portrayal of Pakistan and Iran's unity on the issue of Kashmir may not fully represent the broader and more complex scale of their relationship, as geopolitical alliances often shift and are influenced by various factors beyond a singular issue.



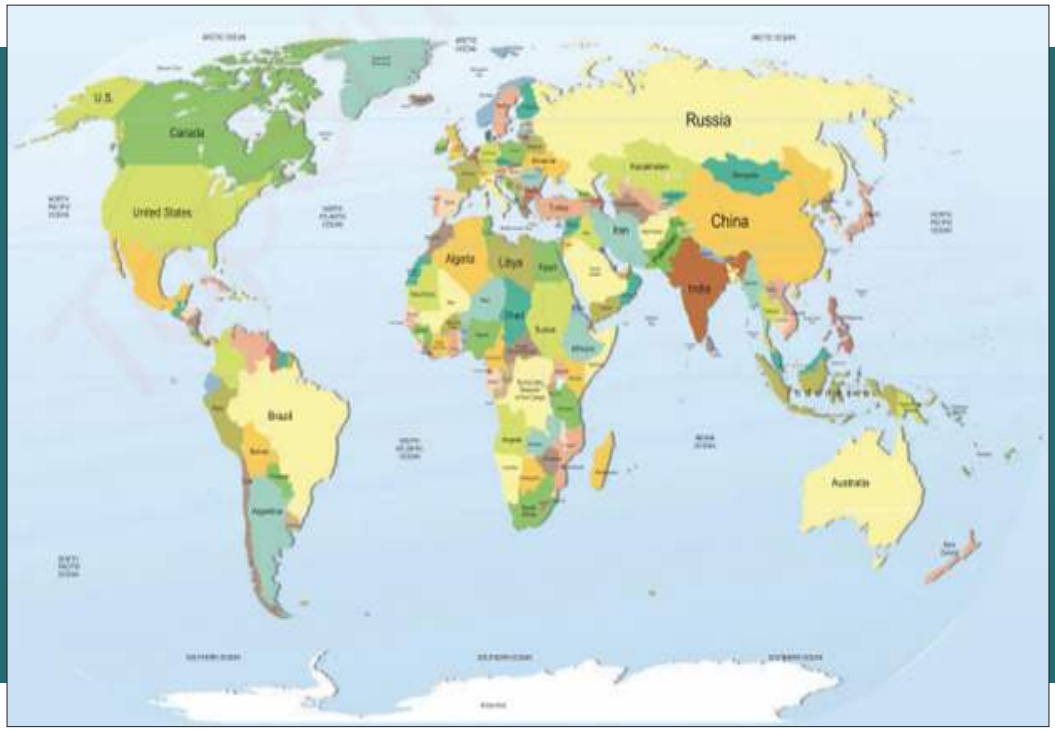
3. Iran always gave full support to Pakistan on Kashmir issue and praised its stance. It has always supported the right of self determination of the people of Kashmir. It has always openly opposed the atrocities of Indian Army against Kashmiri freedom fighters.

Example 61

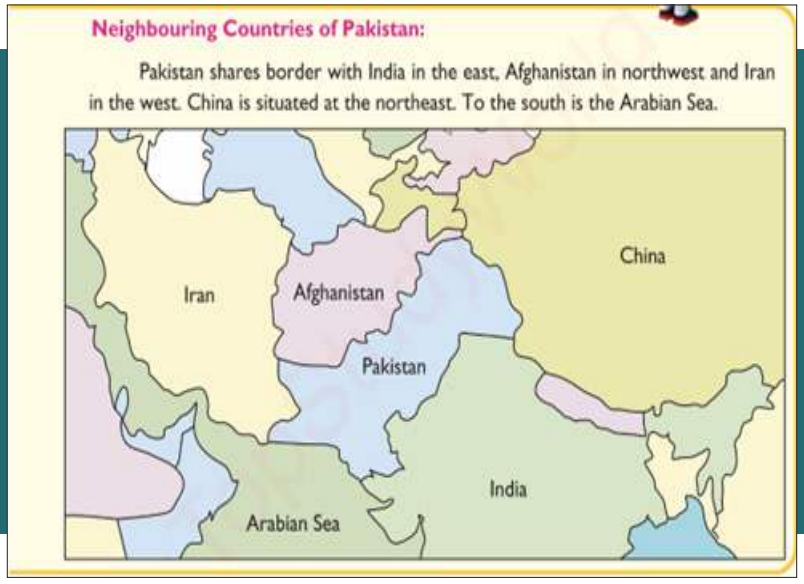
Federal Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 4, 2020, pp. 70, 74

In a Social Studies Grade 4 textbook, a map is presented where Kashmir is shown as an independent country, separated from India. Kashmir is a region claimed by both India and Pakistan, with the territory divided into Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistani-occupied Kashmir Gilgit-Baltistan, and a small part occupied by China. In another map, the entire area of Kashmir is shown as belonging to Pakistan, disregarding the disputed nature of the territory and the existing Line of Control (LoC) that separates Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan.

[pg. 70]



[pg. 74]



Foreign Policy of Pakistan

Pakistan's foreign policy has been shaped by a blend of ideological convictions and pragmatic geopolitical interests. The ideological component stems from Pakistan's founding identity as a Muslim-majority state, with its commitment to supporting Muslim causes and promoting Islamic solidarity within the global Muslim community. On the other hand, its pragmatic interests are driven by Pakistan's security needs, regional power dynamics, and economic concerns, particularly with neighboring countries such as India, Afghanistan, and Iran. From early on, Pakistan framed its identity not solely as a South Asian nation but as a bastion of Islamic solidarity. This has led to strategic alignments with Muslim-majority countries, involvement in pan-Islamic institutions like the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and vocal support for Muslim causes internationally, especially in Palestine and Kashmir. These ideological foundations not only shape foreign relations, but also permeate national narratives, especially in the education sector.

School textbooks serve as key sites for crafting these narratives, where foreign policy is not presented as a set of evolving state strategies but as a reflection of moral duties and religious alignments. This chapter explores how Pakistani textbooks present the country's international alliances, rivalries, and global political role, revealing a curriculum that promotes loyalty and pride, but often at the cost of balance, nuance, and historical complexity.

While they foster a sense of unity with Muslim-majority nations and affirm support for international Islamic causes, they do so at the cost of pedagogical balance. Pakistan's international rivalries are presented in stark, binary terms; complex issues like Kashmir, Afghanistan, and the UN's role are simplified to ideological tropes; and critical engagement with global institutions is replaced by suspicion.

The chapter is divided into the following themes:

1. Portrayal of Pakistan's International Alliances
2. Islam in Foreign Policy

A central theme in the textbooks is the portrayal of Pakistan's alliances with other Muslim-majority nations as organic and morally superior. The textbook describes Pakistan's role in establishing the OIC in 1969 following the Al-Aqsa Mosque fire:[107] "Pakistan suggested the formation of a permanent organization... which was supported by all the Muslim countries." The narrative praises Pakistan's leadership in unifying the Muslim world and emphasizes its commitment to Islamic causes. While this historically reflects Pakistan's active diplomacy in the Muslim bloc, it omits the complexities, disagreements, and divergent interests among Muslim-majority countries, such as Pakistan's tensions with Saudi Arabia over Yemen, or its fluctuating relations with Iran. Further, it commends Iran's unwavering support of Pakistan's stance on Kashmir, portraying bilateral ties through a lens of shared Islamic solidarity.[108] Again, such representations overlook conflicts like those over the Taliban or the fluctuating dynamics of border control, effectively presenting a sanitized version of diplomacy filtered through religious fraternity. Alarmingly, the Grade 8 Geography textbook teaches about Pakistan's role in maintaining Islamic unity through its commitment to support Middle Eastern countries "on every front in their war against

107 Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 36.
108 Ibid., p. 33.

Israel," demonstrating Pakistan's reciprocity to the aid given by those countries.[109] Moreover, the Grade 10 Pakistan Studies textbook describes Pakistan's role in establishing the Organization of Islamic Conference in 1969 following the Al-Aqsa Mosque fire, further demonstrating Pakistan's role in consolidating the Islamic community, albeit around a controversial issue. Notably, in a new Pakistan Studies textbook for Grade 12, students are taught that since October 7, 2023, the humanitarian crisis in Gaza has been severely deteriorating on account of Israeli airstrikes and aid blockades, completely ignoring the fact that Hamas initiated its horrendous attack on Israeli civilians. Moreover, the U.N. is portrayed as ineffective in resolving the Israel–Palestine and Kashmir conflicts due to geopolitical divisions and Western bias – especially U.S. support for Israel – while ignoring cases where the U.N. successfully facilitated peace, such as in Namibia, Sierra Leone, and East Timor.

Meanwhile Pakistan's rivalries, particularly with India, are often presented in an overly simplistic and ideologically charged manner. For instance, Pakistan is described as supporting the right to self-determination for oppressed nations, such as the people of Kashmir and Palestine. This long-standing stance on supporting the self-determination of oppressed peoples is deeply rooted in Pakistan's own historical context, as the country itself was formed through the self-determination of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent.

However, while acknowledging Pakistan's problems in its bilateral relations with India, textbooks deliberately avoid discussion of important treaties like the Simla Agreement, which both India and Pakistan agreed upon,[110] nor is there an exploration of the internal political dynamics within Kashmir itself. Additionally, the portrayal of Pakistan's relationship with Afghanistan in the textbooks often reflects a negative view, labeling Afghanistan as a "problem neighbor" without considering the cultural, historical, and geopolitical ties between the two countries. Furthermore, Pakistan's role in the Soviet-Afghan War is presented as a religious *jihad,* glorifying militancy while omitting the significant negative consequences that followed, such as terrorism, regional instability, and the radicalization of religious discourse. Such portrayals not only obscure political complexity but also elevate religiously infused narratives of international conflict.

One ideologically charged example of bias appears in a passage titled "How effective is the United Nations?" from a Grade 8 Social Studies textbook, where the United Nations is presented as a biased organization against Muslim nations. This narrative reinforces a deep-seated siege mentality and fosters distrust toward global institutions. While critiques of global governance are valid, the textbook offers a conspiratorial and one-sided interpretation that discourages students from understanding international relations through empirical or legal frameworks. Moreover, by reinforcing notions of Muslim victimhood and Western hostility, such narratives neglect Pakistan's own complex relations with global powers like the United States, China, and Russia. The near-total absence of China from critical analysis is striking, especially given its massive economic influence through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Similarly, the omission of the United States' extensive aid and diplomatic engagement reflects an educational approach that selectively curates foreign policy narratives to fit an ideological mold rather than presenting the multifaceted realities of global politics.

109 Punjab Board – *Geography*, Grade 8, 2016, p. 65.

110 The treaties signed between India and Pakistan are few, mostly done after Pakistan, apparently, yielded. This may explain the hesitation to mention them in textbooks.

By focusing on the following themes, this chapter will illustrate how Pakistani textbooks construct a foreign policy worldview that merges religion, nationalism, and moral superiority to justify strategic priorities and adversarial postures.

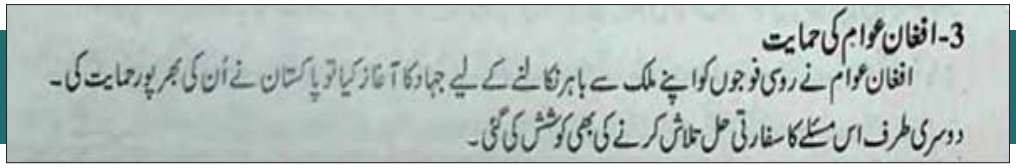
Portrayal of Pakistan's International Alliances

The examples in the next pages illustrate how Pakistani textbooks portray the country's international alliances, particularly with Muslim-majority nations, and its strategic role in global politics. These passages highlight Pakistan's involvement in significant geopolitical events, including its support for Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion, its relationship with China as a rising global power, and its complicated ties with Afghanistan and Iran. While the textbooks emphasize Pakistan's diplomatic and military efforts, they often omit crucial details, presenting an idealized view of these relationships and the complexities involved

Example 62

Punjab Board – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 73

In a Punjab Civics textbook for Grade 9-10, students are taught that Pakistan provided the Afghan people with "strong support" when they started their "*jihad* to expel Russian forces from their country." This passage highlights Pakistan's active involvement in the Afghan resistance against Soviet forces, emphasizing its strong support for the Afghan people. The text presents Pakistan's military and diplomatic efforts as a balanced approach to a significant geopolitical issue. However, the use of the term jihad in the context of the Afghan resistance is not critically examined, which presents several issues. First, there is no distinction made between the violent and non-violent expressions of *jihad* as a religious duty, nor is there any mention of the distinction between offensive and defensive jihad. By using the term without explanation, the textbook risks imparting to students the idea that *jihad* automatically involves violence, potentially encouraging violent behavior. Second, in the context of modern geopolitics, the use of *jihad* can be problematic as it is often associated with concepts of religious war, which may inadvertently promote such ideas among students.

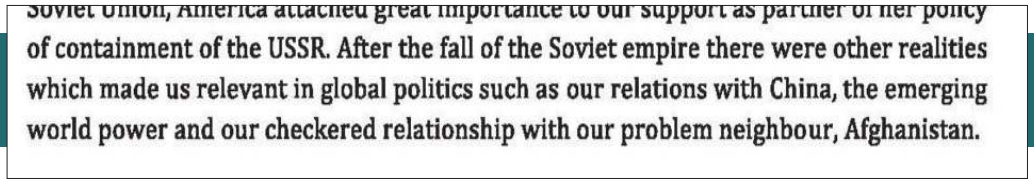

3-افغان عوام کی حمایت
افغان عوام نے روسی فوجوں کو اپنے ملک سے باہر نکالنے کے لیے جہاد کا آغاز کیا تو پاکستان نے اُن کی بھرپور حمایت کی۔
دوسری طرف اس مسئلے کا سفارتی حل تلاش کرنے کی بھی کوشش کی گئی۔

3. Support for the Afghan People
When the Afghan people started jihad to expel Russian forces from their country, Pakistan provided them with strong support. At the same time, efforts were made to find a diplomatic solution to this issue.

Example 63

Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 5- 2019, p. 23

In a Federal Pakistan Studies textbook for Grade 5, students are taught about Pakistan's strategic importance in global politics post-Soviet Union, particularly highlighting its relationship with China as a rising global power. The text also references Pakistan's "checkered relationship" with Afghanistan, which acknowledges the complexities of this bilateral connection.

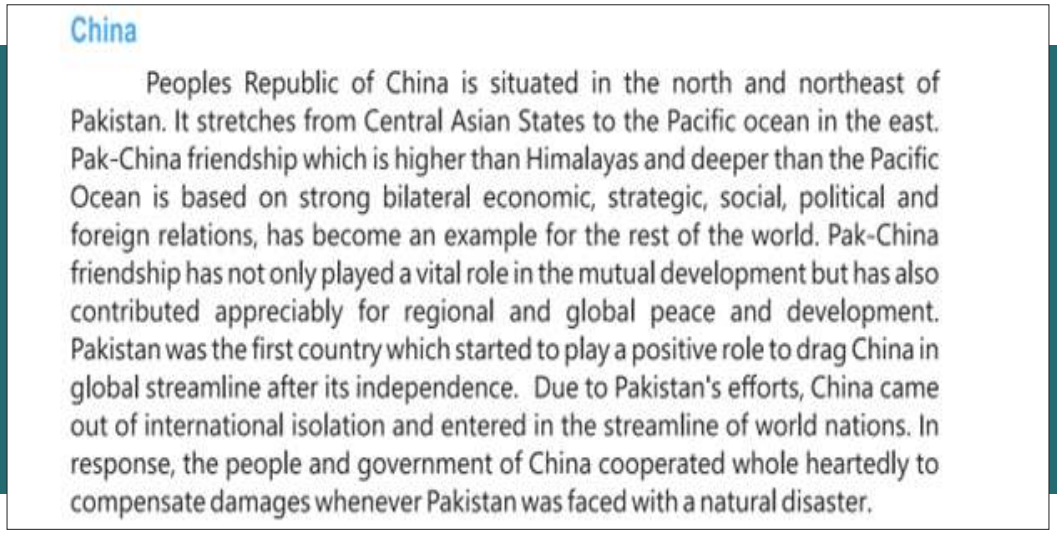


Soviet Union, America attached great importance to our support as partner of her policy of containment of the USSR. After the fall of the Soviet empire there were other realities which made us relevant in global politics such as our relations with China, the emerging world power and our checkered relationship with our problem neighbour, Afghanistan.

Example 64

Punjab Board – *Geography*, Grade 8, 2016, p. 66

A Grade 8 Geography textbook contains a passage underscoring the strategic and long-standing partnership between Pakistan and China, portraying it as a mutually beneficial relationship that extends beyond bilateral development to broader contributions toward regional and global peace. It credits Pakistan with playing a pioneering role in integrating China into the international community, suggesting that Islamabad was instrumental in helping Beijing overcome diplomatic isolation following the establishment of the People's Republic of China. While the passage seeks to highlight Pakistan's diplomatic foresight and historical significance in China's rise on the global stage – particularly in reference to Pakistan's role in facilitating U.S.-China rapprochement in the 1970s – it presents a highly idealized and somewhat overstated view of Pakistan's influence. The claim that "Pakistan was the first country" to pull China into the global mainstream simplifies the complex geopolitical dynamics that shaped China's international reintegration, which involved major powers such as the United States, the Soviet Union, and a broader shift in global politics during the Cold War.



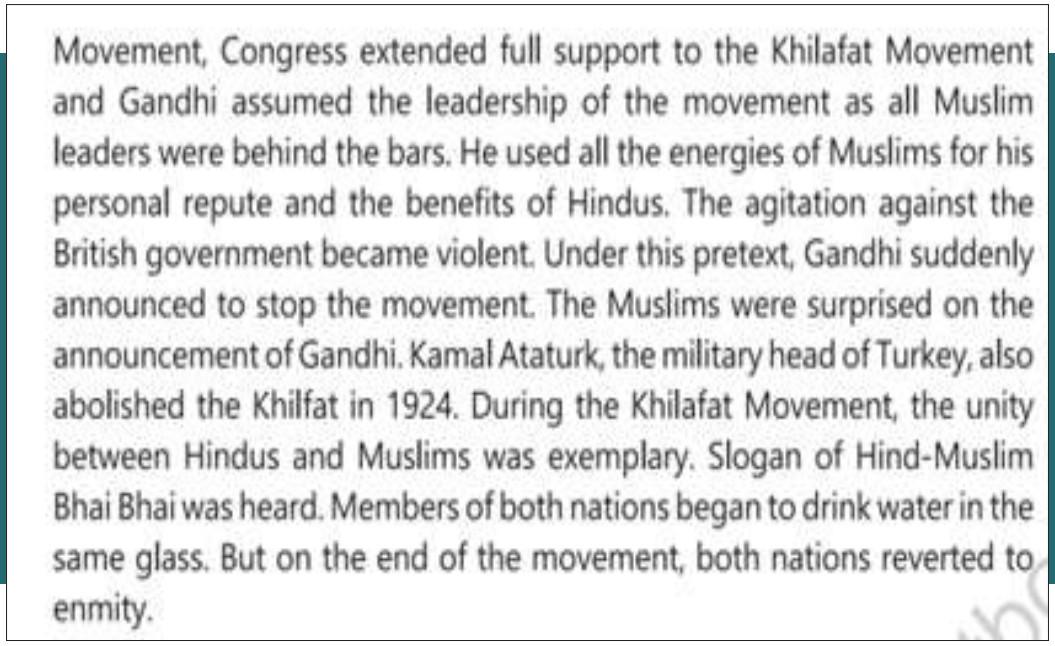
China

Peoples Republic of China is situated in the north and northeast of Pakistan. It stretches from Central Asian States to the Pacific ocean in the east. Pak-China friendship which is higher than Himalayas and deeper than the Pacific Ocean is based on strong bilateral economic, strategic, social, political and foreign relations, has become an example for the rest of the world. Pak-China friendship has not only played a vital role in the mutual development but has also contributed appreciably for regional and global peace and development. Pakistan was the first country which started to play a positive role to drag China in global streamline after its independence. Due to Pakistan's efforts, China came out of international isolation and entered in the streamline of world nations. In response, the people and government of China cooperated whole heartedly to compensate damages whenever Pakistan was faced with a natural disaster.

Example 65

Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 15

A passage from the Pakistan Studies Grade 10 textbook frames the Afghan resistance against the Soviet invasion as a religiously motivated *jihad*, presenting it as a unified, heroic struggle. The text fails to address the broader political, social, and regional factors that shaped the resistance, including the involvement of various international actors, the differing goals of resistance groups, and the complex ethnic and tribal dynamics within Afghanistan. Additionally, the use of the term *jihad* without a clear distinction between its violent and non-violent aspects, as well as the lack of differentiation between offensive and defensive *jihad*, risks presenting the conflict as a purely religious war, which could mislead students.

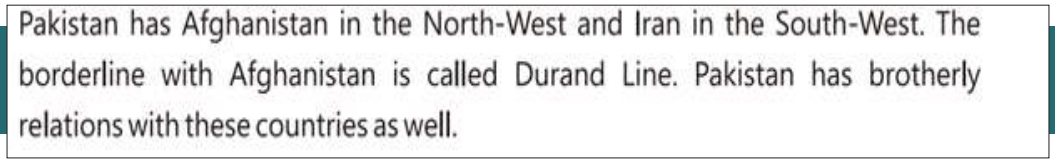


Movement, Congress extended full support to the Khilafat Movement and Gandhi assumed the leadership of the movement as all Muslim leaders were behind the bars. He used all the energies of Muslims for his personal repute and the benefits of Hindus. The agitation against the British government became violent. Under this pretext, Gandhi suddenly announced to stop the movement. The Muslims were surprised on the announcement of Gandhi. Kamal Ataturk, the military head of Turkey, also abolished the Khilfat in 1924. During the Khilafat Movement, the unity between Hindus and Muslims was exemplary. Slogan of Hind-Muslim Bhai Bhai was heard. Members of both nations began to drink water in the same glass. But on the end of the movement, both nations reverted to enmity.

Example 66

Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 61

Students are taught that Pakistan has "brotherly" relations with its neighboring countries, particularly Afghanistan and Iran, promoting peace and suggesting a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect. Seemingly, the textbook deliberately ignores the strained relationship on the Pakistani-Afghan border, and overlooks the ongoing dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan over the Durand Line. This border, established in 1893 by the British colonial government between India and Afghanistan, has been a point of contention since Pakistan's independence in 1947. While Pakistan, as the successor state to British India, recognizes the Durand Line as its official border, Afghanistan has never fully accepted it. Afghanistan argues that the border was imposed under duress during British rule and divides ethnic Pashtun communities that live on both sides. This also appears to be a deliberate attempt to portray Afghanistan in a positive light as an Islamic nation, while intentionally omitting the historical and ongoing hardships in its relationship with Pakistan that merit acknowledgment.


Pakistan has Afghanistan in the North-West and Iran in the South-West. The borderline with Afghanistan is called Durand Line. Pakistan has brotherly relations with these countries as well.

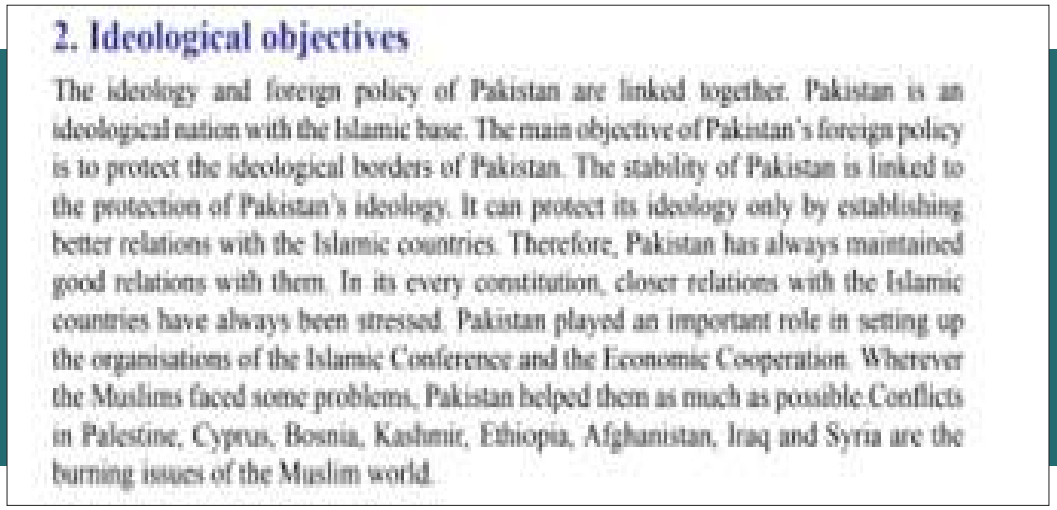
Islam in Foreign Policy

The examples in the next pages illustrate how Pakistani textbooks frame the country's foreign policy through the lens of Islam, highlighting its ideological foundation and its diplomatic efforts in support of Muslim causes. These passages emphasize Pakistan's support for the self-determination of Muslim-majority nations like Kashmir and Palestine, and its alignment with Iran on key issues such as Kashmir. The texts also present Pakistan's foreign policy as ideologically driven, rooted in its Islamic identity, and focused on the promotion and protection of Muslim interests on the global stage.

Example 67

Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 31

A Grade 10 Pakistan Studies textbook emphasizes Pakistan's ideological foundation, which is deeply rooted in Islam, and asserts that the country's foreign policy is closely tied to the protection and promotion of this ideology. By framing Pakistan's foreign policy in this manner, the text encourages students to view diplomatic relations primarily through a religious and ideological lens, with the stability of Pakistan seen as intrinsically linked to the protection of its ideology. The textbook highlights the importance of establishing better relations with other Islamic countries, positioning this as crucial for national and regional stability. It also identifies the "burning issues" of the Muslim world, such as Palestine, Kashmir, and Afghanistan, which are portrayed as central to Pakistan's diplomatic efforts.



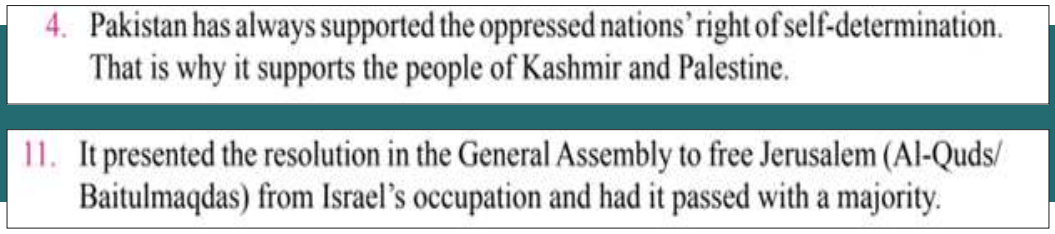
2. Ideological objectives

The ideology and foreign policy of Pakistan are linked together. Pakistan is an ideological nation with the Islamic base. The main objective of Pakistan's foreign policy is to protect the ideological borders of Pakistan. The stability of Pakistan is linked to the protection of Pakistan's ideology. It can protect its ideology only by establishing better relations with the Islamic countries. Therefore, Pakistan has always maintained good relations with them. In its every constitution, closer relations with the Islamic countries have always been stressed. Pakistan played an important role in setting up the organisations of the Islamic Conference and the Economic Cooperation. Wherever the Muslims faced some problems, Pakistan helped them as much as possible. Conflicts in Palestine, Cyprus, Bosnia, Kashmir, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria are the burning issues of the Muslim world.

Example 68

Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 50

In a section describing Pakistan's contribution toward peacekeeping in the world, students are taught that "Pakistan has always supported the oppressed nations' right of self-determination. That is why it supports the people of Kashmir and Palestine." This passage highlights Pakistan's long-standing position on supporting the self-determination of oppressed peoples, specifically citing its support for Kashmir and Palestine's Muslim population. In the same vein, the textbook teaches that Pakistan submitted a proposal in the United Nations General Assembly to "free Jerusalem from Israel's occupation," having it pass with a majority.



4. Pakistan has always supported the oppressed nations' right of self-determination. That is why it supports the people of Kashmir and Palestine.

11. It presented the resolution in the General Assembly to free Jerusalem (Al-Quds/ Baitulmaqdas) from Israel's occupation and had it passed with a majority.

Example 69

Sindh Board- *Social Studies*, Grade 8, 2022, pp. 114-115

In a Sindh Social Studies Grade 8 textbook, students are taught about the United Nations (U.N.) and its role in global affairs. The passage begins by stating that the U.N. was established to "save humanity from war and serve mankind," offering a platform for nations of all sizes, economic statuses, and development levels to discuss international issues. However, the text soon shifts to a critical perspective on the U.N., arguing that its actions are not always impartial or effective. The passage claims that the U.N. is more proactive in addressing the problems of non-Muslim nations, while it merely offers "lip service" to Muslim nations. Examples of U.N. intervention in non-Muslim nations include its swift deployment of peacekeeping forces to resolve the civil war in Rwanda, and its military intervention in the Kuwait-Iraq conflict. The passage contrasts this with the U.N.'s perceived inaction in Muslim-majority regions. It mentions the killings of innocent Muslims in Kashmir, describing them as an instance of U.N. indifference, and highlights the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict, particularly the U.N.'s failure to intervene in the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The text also points out the U.N.'s lack of intervention in the problem of Afghanistan, the Bosnia and Herzegovina conflict, and the situation of Cypriot Turks. Furthermore, the passage argues that Western powers, particularly the U.S. and the U.K., have not accepted the rise of Muslim-majority republics in Central Asia or the growing popularity of Islamic thought in the West, suggesting that these powers are actively hindering the progress of the Muslim world, which they allegedly wish to keep "poor and backward." By framing these cases in a one-sided manner, the passage implicitly critiques the U.N.'s perceived bias and ineffectiveness in addressing issues involving Muslim nations, especially in comparison to its responses to crises in non-Muslim nations.

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)

How effective is the United Nations?

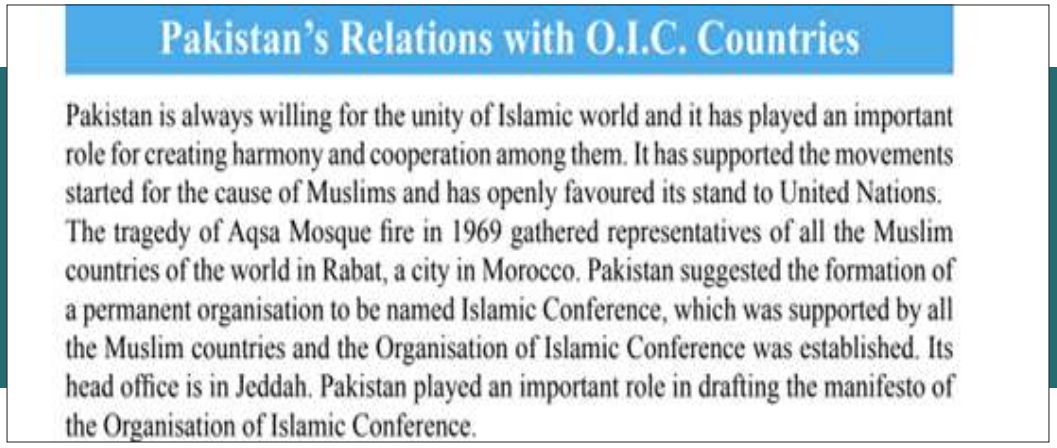
The U.N. was established to save humanity from war and serve mankind. It has provided a platform to all nations, be they big or small, rich or poor, developed or underdeveloped to discuss the international issues in a free atmosphere and express their views. The economic resources and military strength of the U.N. is not being used judiciously and in a effective manner in all cases. However, when we look at the effectiveness and efficacy of the United Nations in the world context, a dualism is evident in its character. On the one hand, the United Nations seems very active in resolving tha problems of non-Muslim nations and strengthening them politically and economically. It provides a mere lip service to the Muslim nations. If it is the problem of civil war in tiny Rwanda in Africa, it at once dispatches its troops but shows indifference to the killings of innocent Muslims in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Similarly, no military strength was used by the United Nations in getting the Arab occupied territories freed from Israel, held by it since June 1967. When Iraq invaded Kuwait, a military intervention was resorted to by the U.N. The Cypriot Turks and the problem of Afghanistan are not being handled by the U.N. in the right earnest. The Bosnia and Herzgovina is the latest example. As this is a European country with about 43 percent Muslim population, the U.N. is doing almost nothing. The Muslims form the largest single community in that country. The Serbs have occupted much of that country, raped women and killed and expelled millions of peoples of their own land.

It appears that the Euorpeans and the Western nations, particularly the U.S.A. and U.K. have not accepted the emergence of Muslim republics in the Central Asia and the popularity of Islamic thought in the U.S.A. and in the West which is gaining greater attention from the people. Probably the progress made by the Muslim world is also not being liked favourably by them who want them to remain poor and backward.

Example 70

Punjab Board- *Pakistan Studies*, Class Grade 10, 2021, p. 36

The students are also taught about Pakistan's long-standing commitment to the unity of the Islamic world, emphasizing its active role in promoting harmony and cooperation among Muslim-majority countries. By showcasing Pakistan's support for various Muslim causes and its advocacy at the United Nations, the text underscores Pakistan's role as a leader in the global Muslim community. The textbook teaches about the establishment of the Organization of Islamic Conference, stating that Pakistan played an important role in its consolidation. While it is true that the organization was established in response to the Aqsa Mosque fire in 1969, the incident has become a widespread libel against Israel, falsely blaming it for instigating it; in reality, the culprit was the Christian Australian citizen Denis Rohan. As such, this is an unnecessarily controversial example used to teach about Islamic unity.



Pakistan's Relations with O.I.C. Countries

Pakistan is always willing for the unity of Islamic world and it has played an important role for creating harmony and cooperation among them. It has supported the movements started for the cause of Muslims and has openly favoured its stand to United Nations. The tragedy of Aqsa Mosque fire in 1969 gathered representatives of all the Muslim countries of the world in Rabat, a city in Morocco. Pakistan suggested the formation of a permanent organisation to be named Islamic Conference, which was supported by all the Muslim countries and the Organisation of Islamic Conference was established. Its head office is in Jeddah. Pakistan played an important role in drafting the manifesto of the Organisation of Islamic Conference.

Example 71

Punjab Board – *Geography*, Grade 8, 2016, p. 65

The passage highlights the notion of Islamic solidarity between Pakistan and Middle Eastern countries, portraying their relationship as one rooted in religious affinity and mutual support. It frames Middle Eastern aid to Pakistan – particularly during natural disasters and regional crises – as a reflection of shared values under the banner of Islam and Muslim brotherhood. In return, it asserts that Pakistan has reciprocated this goodwill by supporting Middle Eastern countries "on every front in their war against Israel," thereby reinforcing a collective Islamic stance against Israel. However, this framing is deeply ideological and one-sided. The invocation of a "war against Israel" generalizes the complex and varied positions of Middle Eastern states, many of which have nuanced or evolving relations with Israel. Countries like the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain, for example, have normalized ties with Israel under the Abraham Accords, illustrating that the Muslim world is not monolithic in its stance toward Israel.

Pakistan's Relations With Middle East Countries

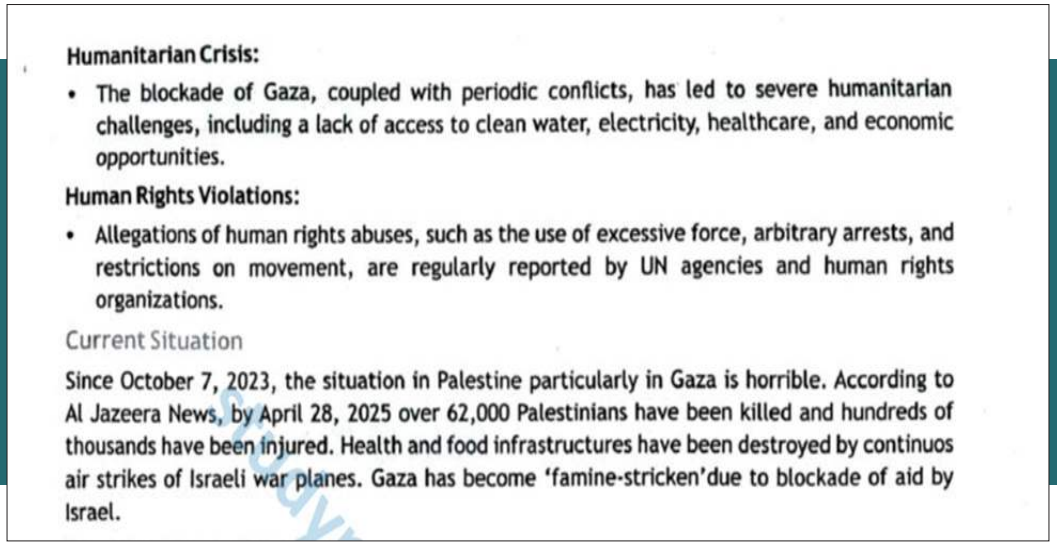
Because of being the centre of Islam and the Muslims, peaceful bilateral relations with this region have always been the basis of foreign policy of Pakistan. When the discovery of petroleum opened the way of economic activities in this region, all countries of Middle East preferred Pakistan for the required manpower for these activities. This resulted in further strengthening of economic ties between Pakistan and Middle East countries which helped Pakistan to overcome the economic problems. Besides this, the Middle East countries with the passion of Islam and Muslim brotherhood, have always helped Pakistan whole heartedly at the time of natural disasters and regional issues. In response, the people and government of Pakistan have never stepped back in helping Middle East countries on every front in their war against Israel.

Example 72

Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 12, 2025, p. 224

The example from the Pakistani curriculum frames the Israel-Palestinian conflict in highly charged humanitarian and accusatory terms, particularly in its reference to the events of October 7, 2023. The text, which deals with the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, emphasizes the suffering in Gaza due to the Israeli blockade, citing a lack of basic necessities like clean water, electricity, healthcare, and economic opportunities. It highlights alleged human rights violations by Israel, including excessive force and movement restrictions, with references to U.N. and human rights reports. Overall, the portrayal frames Israel as the sole aggressor and source of humanitarian catastrophe, with no mention of the broader conflict dynamics, including actions by Palestinian factions or the context of ongoing hostilities.

Crucially, the "Current Situation" section begins by stating that "since October 7, 2023, the situation in Palestine particularly in Gaza is horrible", immediately establishing this date as the beginning of intensified Palestinian suffering. Based on a report by Al Jazeera News, it states that "Gaza has become 'famine-stricken' due to blockade of aid by Israel" and cites casualty figures – "over 62,000 Palestinians have been killed" as of April 28, 2025, according to Al Jazeera. However, it omits any mention of the Hamas-led attacks on Israel that occurred on that day – widely reported as the deadliest attack on Israeli civilians in decades. Instead, the framing treats October 7 solely as the onset of Israeli actions, highlighting "air strikes of Israeli war planes," widespread destruction of infrastructure, and a blockade-induced famine. By presenting October 7 as the starting point of a unilateral Israeli offensive – without acknowledging the broader geopolitical or militant context – the curriculum constructs a narrative that portrays Palestinians exclusively as victims and Israel as the sole aggressor, thereby eliminating the complexity and reciprocal violence characteristic of the conflict.



Humanitarian Crisis:

- The blockade of Gaza, coupled with periodic conflicts, has led to severe humanitarian challenges, including a lack of access to clean water, electricity, healthcare, and economic opportunities.

Human Rights Violations:

- Allegations of human rights abuses, such as the use of excessive force, arbitrary arrests, and restrictions on movement, are regularly reported by UN agencies and human rights organizations.

Current Situation

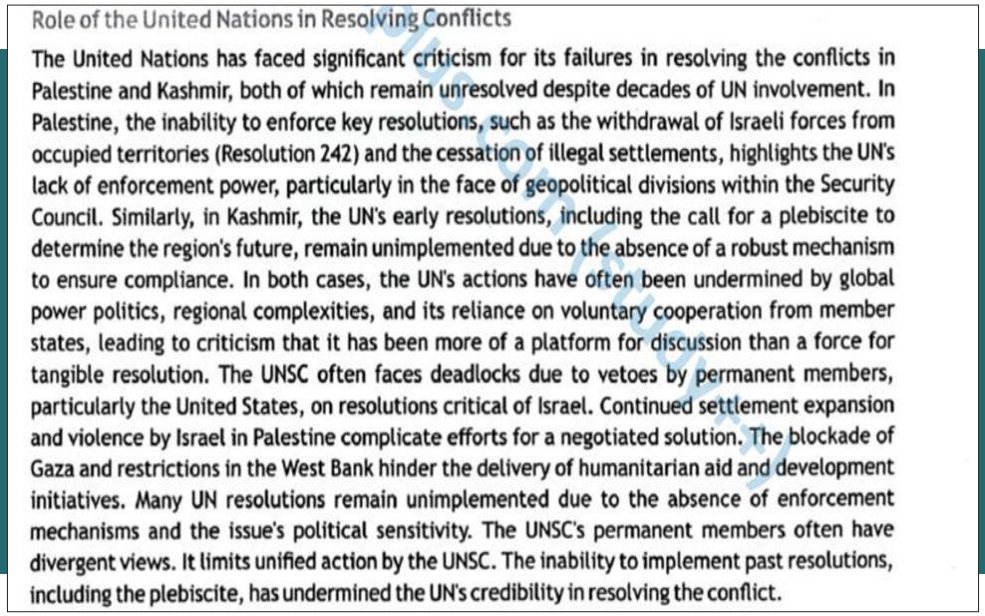
Since October 7, 2023, the situation in Palestine particularly in Gaza is horrible. According to Al Jazeera News, by April 28, 2025 over 62,000 Palestinians have been killed and hundreds of thousands have been injured. Health and food infrastructures have been destroyed by continuos air strikes of Israeli war planes. Gaza has become 'famine-stricken'due to blockade of aid by Israel.

Example 73

Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 12, 2025, p. 224

In this example from the Pakistani curriculum, the Israel-Palestinian conflict is portrayed as a prolonged injustice exacerbated by the United Nations' failure to implement its own resolutions, with a parallel drawn to the Kashmir dispute. The text criticizes the U.N. for its "inability to enforce key resolutions, such as the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories (Resolution 242)" and the "cessation of illegal settlements," framing Israel's actions as violations of international law. It argues that these failures stem from a lack of enforcement power and "geopolitical divisions within the Security Council," especially the use of vetoes by permanent members like the United States. The passage further emphasizes the humanitarian impact of Israel's policies, noting "continued settlement expansion and violence," as well as the "blockade of Gaza and restrictions in the West Bank," which are said to obstruct humanitarian aid and peace efforts. The curriculum presents Kashmir in a similar light, reinforcing a narrative of Muslim victimhood and global neglect. It criticizes the U.N. for not implementing its early resolutions on Kashmir, "including the call for a plebiscite to determine the region's future," which remain unresolved due to "the absence of a robust mechanism to ensure compliance." By grouping the two issues together, the text implies a pattern of international failure to uphold Muslim rights, stating that in both cases the U.N. has become "more of a platform for discussion than a force for tangible resolution." This framing paints a picture of the U.N. as deeply compromised by "global power politics, regional complexities, and reliance on voluntary cooperation," with Western powers – particularly the U.S. – protecting allies like Israel at the expense of justice in both Palestine and Kashmir.

Notably, the curriculum ignores numerous instances where the U.N. successfully helped resolve conflicts. For example, U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) led directly to Namibia's independence through the withdrawal of South African administration and UN-supervised elections. Similarly, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) played a key role in disarming over 75,000 combatants and stabilizing the country after the civil war. In East Timor, UN-administered referenda and peacekeeping helped oversee a transition to independence after widespread conflict. By omitting these success stories, the curriculum constructs a selective narrative of U.N. impotence, glossing over conditions under which the U.N. has been able to facilitate lasting peace.



Role of the United Nations in Resolving Conflicts

The United Nations has faced significant criticism for its failures in resolving the conflicts in Palestine and Kashmir, both of which remain unresolved despite decades of UN involvement. In Palestine, the inability to enforce key resolutions, such as the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories (Resolution 242) and the cessation of illegal settlements, highlights the UN's lack of enforcement power, particularly in the face of geopolitical divisions within the Security Council. Similarly, in Kashmir, the UN's early resolutions, including the call for a plebiscite to determine the region's future, remain unimplemented due to the absence of a robust mechanism to ensure compliance. In both cases, the UN's actions have often been undermined by global power politics, regional complexities, and its reliance on voluntary cooperation from member states, leading to criticism that it has been more of a platform for discussion than a force for tangible resolution. The UNSC often faces deadlocks due to vetoes by permanent members, particularly the United States, on resolutions critical of Israel. Continued settlement expansion and violence by Israel in Palestine complicate efforts for a negotiated solution. The blockade of Gaza and restrictions in the West Bank hinder the delivery of humanitarian aid and development initiatives. Many UN resolutions remain unimplemented due to the absence of enforcement mechanisms and the issue's political sensitivity. The UNSC's permanent members often have divergent views. It limits unified action by the UNSC. The inability to implement past resolutions, including the plebiscite, has undermined the UN's credibility in resolving the conflict.

Example 74

Federal Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 4, 2020, p. 70

In a Social Studies Grade 4 textbook, a world map acknowledges Israel. Though hardly intelligible to the naked eye, a closer look at the territory reveals that Israel is labeled, without visible acknowledgement of the Palestinian Authority territories or the Green Line, etc.

Example 75

Sindh Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, 2014, p. 78

In a discussion about the birthplace of Jesus in a Grade 5 Islamic Education textbook, a modern map (using Google Maps) of Israel is used to pinpoint the location of Bethlehem. The textbook states: "Bethlehem—Palestine, where Hazrat Isa...was born." This is a remarkable case of using a modern map to demarcate Israel, the Green Line, the West Bank and Gaza in textbooks. While it is true that Bethlehem is located in today's Palestinian Authority territories, the lesson implies that Jesus was born in Palestine, which would be an anachronistic claim; the term Palestine derives from the name "Syria Palaestina," which the Romans used to replace the previously used "Judaea" in the early second century AD, almost a century after Jesus was born.

Portrayal of Jews and Other Religions

The portrayal of Jews and other non-Muslim religions in Pakistan's educational textbooks plays a significant role in shaping the understanding of religious diversity among young learners. Through these portrayals, textbooks not only present historical events but also communicate cultural and religious ideologies that reflect Pakistan's national identity. Non-Muslim communities in Pakistan, particularly Hindus and Jews, face significant challenges in terms of religious freedom and social acceptance. Hindus, who make up approximately 2.17% of the population, have been subjected to forced conversions, violence, and discrimination.[111] Notable incidents include the forced conversion of young girls and the 2020 attack on a Hindu temple in Karak. Reports suggest that about 1,000 girls are forcibly converted to Islam each year in Pakistan.[112] Jews in Pakistan, once a thriving community, now number fewer than 200, with only one known synagogue in Karachi.[113] Despite the small number of Jews left in the country, they still face marginalization and are often isolated from the broader society.

A closer examination of how Jews and other religious minorities are depicted in textbooks reveals deep-rooted historical narratives and religious teachings that inform students' views on tolerance, conflict, and interfaith relations. This chapter explores the portrayal of Jews and other religions within the educational system through three major subthemes:

1. Promotion of Religious Tolerance
2. Historical Representation of Jews
3. Portrayal of Non-Muslims and Their Festivals

Despite the instances of religious misrepresentation and selective focus, Pakistan's textbooks also include passages that promote religious tolerance and respect for non-Muslims. For instance, the Grade 7 Urdu textbook highlights that "all religions in the world teach peace, harmony, brotherhood, and tolerance. No religion teaches its followers to hate others."[114] This passage reflects an attempt to foster interfaith respect and presents an inclusive view of global religions, encouraging students to treat others with kindness and understanding. The text stresses the importance of treating others with respect and emphasizes that differences in belief should not lead to hatred or division. Additionally, the importance of maintaining unity for the stability of the country and respecting the laws and practices of all religions is also portrayed in the textbooks. It specifically calls for the respect of other religious communities' places of worship and festivals, indicating that tolerance is a cornerstone of social harmony.

However, while these passages advocate for religious tolerance, they are often juxtaposed with the other narratives that emphasize differences or conflicts between religious groups, including Jews. In fact, one of the books which comprehensively covers major religions such as Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, and even dedicates an entire chapter to Confucianism and Taoism, fails to mention anything about Judaism, which is a significant omission given its once historical and cultural presence in Pakistan. The chapter seeks to examine the impact of

111 Jayaa Jaggi, "Hindus in Pakistan Face Rising Online Hate and Disinformation," *CSOHate*, April 14, 2025. https://www.csohate.org/2025/04/14/weaponizing-social-media-against-hindus-in-pakistan/.

112 Kathy Gannon, "Each Year, 1,000 Pakistani Girls Forcibly Converted to Islam," *AP News*, December 28, 2020. https://apnews.com/article/karachi-pakistan-coronavirus-pandemic-christianity-marriage-2d335f305278348540db41b593a9a2a9.

113 Naila Inayat, "A Pakistani Jew Reached Israel. Pakistan's Having a Heartburn," *ThePrint*, 2025. https://theprint.in/opinion/letter-from-pakistan/a-few-pakistani-american-jews-reached-israel-pakistans-having-a-heartburn/984762/.

114 Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 50.

these portrayals on students' understanding of religious diversity, and how they shape their perceptions of tolerance, interfaith relations, and social cohesion in a multi-religious society.

A recurring theme in Pakistan's textbooks is the portrayal of Jews through a lens shaped by early Islamic history, particularly focusing on the interaction between Prophet Muhammad and the Jewish tribes of Medina. For instance, students are taught that the Jewish tribes in Medina were involved in conspiracies against the Prophet and the nascent Islamic state.[115] Often, texts describe how "the Jews" collectively acted against Muhammad and the Muslims, without proper context or nuance. Thus, a Grade 6 Islamic Education textbook describes that the Jews of Medina "as usual" violated their pact with Muhammad. This sort of portrayal perpetuates a dichotomous approach to Judaism, where Jews are always perceived as the enemy of Islam.

While some Pakistani textbooks include neutral or even positive references to Christianity—particularly in discussions about ethics or shared values—their tone often shifts when addressing the spread of Christianity in the subcontinent. For instance, one textbook claims that "the Christian missionaries took full advantage of the British occupation of Asia and under their patronage started converting people of different religions to Christianity", framing missionary work as exploitative rather than spiritual.[116]

In addition to historical misrepresentations, textbooks also offer insights into how non-Muslim communities and their religious practices are depicted. For example, an Ethics textbook provides an introduction to Hinduism, describing it as an ancient religion that teaches values of love, compassion, peace, and tolerance.[117] Similarly, the same Ethics textbook also emphasizes respect for all religions, urging students to work for the stability and peace of the country while respecting the freedom of other religions.[118] Another Ethics textbook briefly describes Christianity, stating that the teachings of Jesus were "equality, sacrifice, peace, and love." In one Islamic Education textbook, the treaty of Hudaibiyah is presented as having benefitted the Muslims by enabling the "polytheists" to "understand the reality of Islam", whereby the Muslims treated them with "sincerity, good deeds and high morals." Nonetheless, the traditional Islamic outlook is still maintained in textbooks, demonstrated through the story of Abraham's unyielding stance against idolators, which is significant considering the multitude of deities in Hinduism and other non-monotheistic denominations.

Promotion of Religious Tolerance

The examples in the next page illustrate how Pakistani textbooks emphasize the importance of tolerance, peace, and unity among diverse religious and social groups. Particularly in non-religious textbook subjects, such as Urdu and Ethics, these values are presented as inherent in all religions, not just Islam. This is notable, because in many Muslim countries, these values are presented predominantly from the perspective of Islam. That is to say, the Islamic values system uniquely enables tolerance, peace and unity, alongside other values. This sort of framing fosters a greater sense of inclusivity to other religions, where non-Muslims may feel represented.

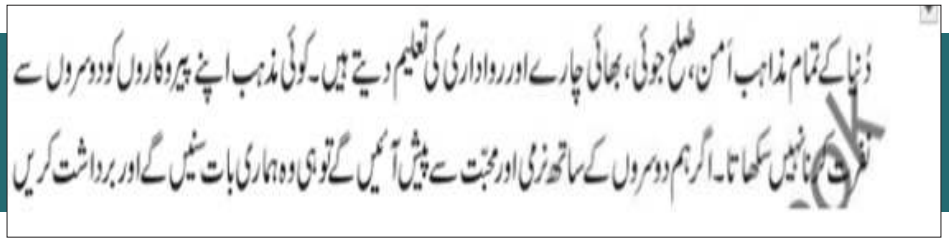
115 Federal Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, 2015, p. 48
116 Sindh Board- *Social Studies*, Grade 8, 2022, pp. 96-97.
117 Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 1.
118 Ibid., p. 31.

While the content encourages students to embrace harmony and understanding, it could be improved further by incorporating practical engagement with the complexities of interfaith relations and the challenges posed by religious and social divisions. Providing sufficient context or strategies to address real-world issues of intolerance and discrimination, particularly those faced by the minorities in Pakistan, could further facilitate the promotion of tolerance and acceptance of others.

Example 76

Punjab Board - *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 50

In this excerpt from an Urdu textbook for Grade 7, the text promotes the idea that all religions advocate for peace, harmony, and tolerance. It encourages students to treat others with kindness and love, fostering an atmosphere of mutual respect.

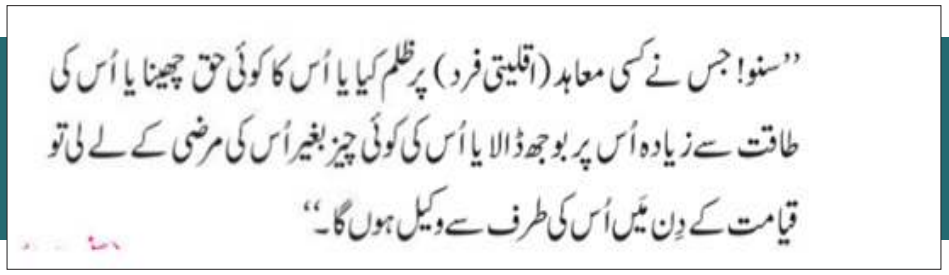

دُنیا کے تمام مذاہب اَمن، صلح جوئی، بھائی چارے اور رواداری کی تعلیم دیتے ہیں۔ کوئی مذہب اپنے پیروکاروں کو دوسروں سے
نفرت کرنا نہیں سکھاتا۔ اگر ہم دوسروں کے ساتھ نرمی اور محبت سے پیش آئیں گے تو ہی وہ ہماری بات سنیں گے اور برداشت کریں

All religions in the world teach peace, harmony, brotherhood, and tolerance. No religion teaches its followers to hate others. If we treat others with kindness and love, they will listen to us and tolerate our views.

Example 77

Punjab - *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2023, p. 51

The same Urdu textbook for Grade 7 emphasizes the importance of protecting the rights of minorities and the oppressed, highlighting the ethical treatment of others. The passage contains a hadith (translated into Urdu) which encourages students to act with justice and compassion, reinforcing the value of protecting individuals' rights.


”سنو! جس نے کسی معاہد (اقلیتی فرد) پر ظلم کیا یا اُس کا کوئی حق چھینا یا اُس کی
طاقت سے زیادہ اُس پر بوجھ ڈالا یا اُس کی کوئی چیز بغیر اُس کی مرضی کے لے لی تو
قیامت کے دِن مَیں اُس کی طرف سے وکیل ہوں گا۔“

Listen! Whoever oppresses a treaty-protected person (a minority individual), or deprives them of their rights, or imposes a burden on them beyond their capacity, or takes something from them without their consent, then on the Day of Judgment, I will be their advocate.

Example 78

Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 31

In an Ethics textbook for Grade 8, students learn about the importance of unity, respect for laws, and the value of higher education for national development. The text promotes civic virtues such as working for peace and stability, respecting others' rights, and contributing to society's well-being. It also highlights the need for religious tolerance, urging respect for the "freedom of other religions," including their places of worship and festivals, with the intention that members of other religions will reciprocate.

3۔ ملک کے استحکام، سالمیت اور امن کے لیے کام کرنا اور قانون کو اپنے ہاتھ میں لینے سے گریز کرنا چاہیے۔

4۔ ملکی سالمیت کے لیے اتحاد کو قائم رکھنا چاہیے۔ ہمیں ملک کے قوانین کی پابندی اور ان کا احترام کرنا ہوگا تاکہ لوگ امن اور ہم آہنگی سے زندگی بسر کر سکیں۔ ہمیں اپنے ملک کی بہتری اور قومی ترقی کے لیے کام کرنا چاہیے۔

5۔ ملکی ترقی کے لیے اعلیٰ تعلیم کا حصول ضروری ہے تاکہ اچھے شہری، ملازمین اور کارکن پیدا ہو سکیں۔

6۔ ہمیں ایک دوسرے کی جان و مال کا احترام کرنا چاہیے۔ ہمیں حکومت کی طرف سے دی گئی سہولتوں اور ذرائع کو احتیاط سے استعمال کرنا چاہیے تاکہ دوسرے بھی اس سے برابر کا فائدہ اٹھا سکیں۔

7۔ دوسرے مذاہب کی آزادی کا احترام کرنا چاہیے تاکہ وہ ہمارے مذہب کا احترام کریں۔ ان کی عبادت گاہوں اور تہواروں کا احترام کرنا چاہیے۔

3. One should work for the stability, integrity and peace of the country and avoid taking the law into one's own hands

4. Unity should be maintained for the integrity of the country. We have to obey and respect the laws of the country so that people can live in peace and harmony. We should work for the betterment of our country and national development.

5. Higher education is essential for the country's development to produce good citizens, employees and workers

6. We should respect each other's life and property. We should use the facilities and resources provided by the government carefully so that others do also benefit equally from it.

7. The freedom of other religions should be respected so that they respect our religion. Their places of worship and festivals should be respected.

Example 79

Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 4

Furthermore, the Grade 8 Ethics textbook advocates for the core principle of charity across all religions, emphasizing that generosity towards the poor, needy, and vulnerable is a shared value. The text stresses that religion has always played a role in teaching compassion and promoting social welfare, focusing on providing financial aid, food, and education to those in need.

سماجی فلاح و بہبود:

تمام مذاہب نے انسانی فلاح و بہبود پر بہت زور دیا ہے۔ ہر مذہب نے سماجی اقدار کو حیات نو بخشی اور دوسروں کا احترام سکھایا ہے۔ مذاہب نے معاشروں کو استحکام بخشا ہے۔ مذاہب انسان کو روحانی بلندیوں تک لے جاتے ہیں۔

سماجی فلاح و بہبود کے سلسلے میں تمام مذاہب مندرجہ ذیل تعلیمات دیتے ہیں:

1۔ مخیر حضرات غریب، محتاج، مسکین، مفلس، یتیم اور معذور افراد کی مالی امداد کریں تا کہ بیمار اپنا علاج کروا سکیں اور محتاجوں کی ضرورت پوری ہو سکے۔ جو بچے غربت کے باعث تعلیم حاصل نہیں کر سکتے ان کے لیے تعلیم کا حصول ممکن ہو سکے۔ تمام مذاہب نے اپنے ماننے والوں کو پابند کیا ہے کہ وہ اپنے مال کا ایک حصہ ان بے کس لوگوں پر خرچ کریں۔

2۔ غریب لوگوں کے ساتھ حسن سلوک روا رکھا جائے تا کہ وہ ذہنی اضطراب میں مبتلا نہ ہوں اور ایک اچھی زندگی گزار سکیں۔

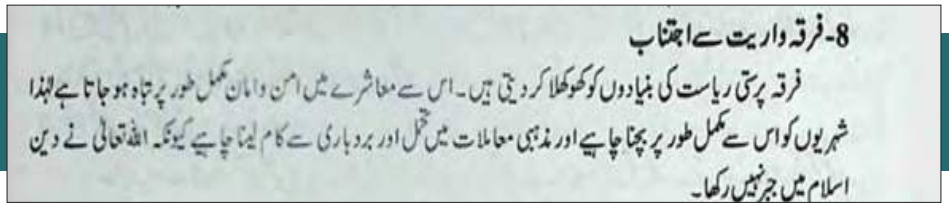
3۔ ہر مذہب نے غریبوں کو کھانا کھلانے کی ترغیب دی ہے تا کہ کوئی شخص بھوک کی وجہ سے بیماری یا ہلاکت کا شکار نہ ہو جائے۔

Social welfare and benefits:
All religions have greatly emphasized human welfare and well-being. Every religion has rejuvenated social values and taught to respect others. Religions have stabilized societies and elevated humans to spiritual heights.
In the context of social welfare, all religions give the following teachings:
1. Generous individuals should provide financial assistance to the poor, needy, destitute, orphans, and disabled so that the sick can get treatment and the needs of the needy can be met. Education should be made accessible to children who cannot afford it due to poverty. All religions have made it obligatory for its followers to spend a portion of their wealth on these helpless people.
2. Kindness should be shown to poor people so that they do not suffer from mental distress and can lead a good life.
3. Every religion has encouraged feeding the poor so that no one falls ill or dies due to hunger.

Example 80

Punjab Board – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 45

A passage from a Grade 9-10 Civics textbook advocates for tolerance and the avoidance of sectarianism, emphasizing the need for peaceful coexistence and mutual respect for differing beliefs. By referencing the famous verse 256 from *Surah Al-Baqara*, stating that "Allah has kept no compulsion in religion," it underscores the importance of allowing individuals to follow their own religious paths without coercion.

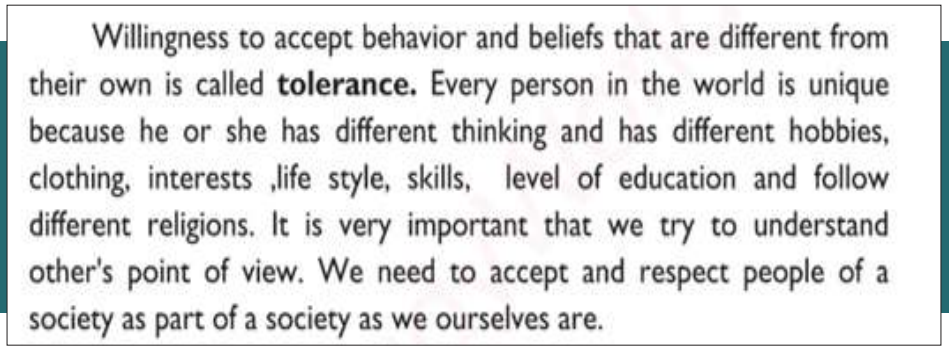

8-فرقہ واریت سے اجتناب
فرقہ پرستی ریاست کی بنیادوں کو کھوکھلا کر دیتی ہیں۔ اس سے معاشرے میں امن و امان مکمل طور پر تباہ ہو جاتا ہے لہٰذا شہریوں کو اس سے مکمل طور پر بچنا چاہیے اور مذہبی معاملات میں تحمل اور بردباری سے کام لینا چاہیے کیونکہ اللہ تعالیٰ نے دین اسلام میں جبر نہیں رکھا۔

8- Avoiding Sectarianism
Sectarianism weakens the foundations of the state It completely destroys peace and order in society: therefore. citizens should avoid it entirely and approach religious matters with tolerance and patience because Allah has kept no compulsion in religion.

Example 81

Punjab Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 4, 2020, p. 10

In a Grade 4 Social Studies textbook, the students learn the definition of tolerance as the acceptance of diverse beliefs and behaviors, reinforcing the idea that people must respect differences in thinking, lifestyle, and religion. However, the text has not applied this teaching in the particular context of Pakistan, where minority groups including Hindus, Christians, and Sikhs, sometimes face discrimination.


Willingness to accept behavior and beliefs that are different from their own is called **tolerance.** Every person in the world is unique because he or she has different thinking and has different hobbies, clothing, interests ,life style, skills, level of education and follow different religions. It is very important that we try to understand other's point of view. We need to accept and respect people of a society as part of a society as we ourselves are.

Historical Representation of Jews

The examples in the next pages illustrate how Pakistani textbooks portray Jews in Islamic history. The textbooks often frame them as adversaries or conspirators against the early Muslim community. These narratives highlight negative depictions of Jewish tribes, particularly in the context of the Constitution of Medina, where the Jewish tribes' actions are described as a betrayal after their initial agreement with Prophet Muhammad. The language used in these texts frequently emphasizes the Jews' hostility, jealousy, and conspiratorial behavior, presenting them as threats to the unity and peace of the Muslim community.

Example 82

Federal Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, 2015, p. 48

In this excerpt from a Federal Islamic Education textbook for Grade 6, students are taught that the Jewish tribes in Medina were conspiratorial and antagonistic towards Prophet Muhammad, with the passage suggesting that the Jews violated peace agreements with the Muslims. The text portrays the Jewish tribes as hostile, emphasizing betrayal and conflict without delving into the broader political, social, and historical context of their actions. Particularly, the Jews are often described collectively as "the Jews" without proper context or nuance, describing that they "as usual" violated their pacts with Muhammad. This portrayal perpetuates the perception of Jews as being untrustworthy, naturally breaching contracts, and have an innate and permanent hostility toward Islam.

اسباب

جب سے حضور ﷺ مکہ مکرمہ سے ہجرت کر کے مدینہ منورہ تشریف لائے تھے اور ایک اسلامی ریاست کی بنیاد رکھی تھی، یہودی قبائل آپؐ اور مدینہ منورہ کی ریاست کے خلاف طرح طرح کی سازشوں میں لگے ہوئے تھے۔ آپؐ نے مدینہ منورہ کے یہود کے ساتھ ابتدائی دنوں میں ہی میثاق مدینہ کے نام سے امن و آشتی کا ایک معاہدہ کر لیا تھا۔ مگر یہودیوں نے ہمیشہ کی طرح اس کی بھی خلاف ورزی کی تھی۔ ان کی عہد شکنی کی وجہ سے حضور ﷺ نے انھیں مدینہ منورہ سے باہر نکال دیا تھا۔ بنو نضیر، بنو قریظہ اور بنو غطفان یہودیوں کے تین بڑے قبائل تھے جن کے پاس مضبوط قلعے بہادر جنگجو اور بہت سا مال و دولت تھا۔ یہ مسلمانوں کے خلاف جنگ میں قریش مکہ کے حلیف اور مددگار رہتے تھے۔ خیبر یہودیوں کا سب سے بڑا مرکز تھا، جہاں زراعت، باغات اور تجارت کی وجہ سے خوشحالی تھی۔ مسلمان ۶ ہجری میں حدیبیہ سے واپس آئے تھے۔ حضور ﷺ کو اطلاع ملی کہ خیبر اور گردونواح میں یہودی مسلمانوں کے ساتھ کسی فیصلہ کن جنگ کی تیاری کر رہے ہیں۔ آپؐ نے حضرت عبداللہ بن رواحہ رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ کو تحقیق کے لیے خیبر روانہ کیا۔ انھوں نے تھوڑے ہی دنوں میں یہودیوں کی تیاریوں اور ارادوں سے حضور ﷺ کو آگاہ کر دیا چنانچہ حضور اکرمؐ نے یہودیوں کی سرکوبی کا فیصلہ کر لیا۔

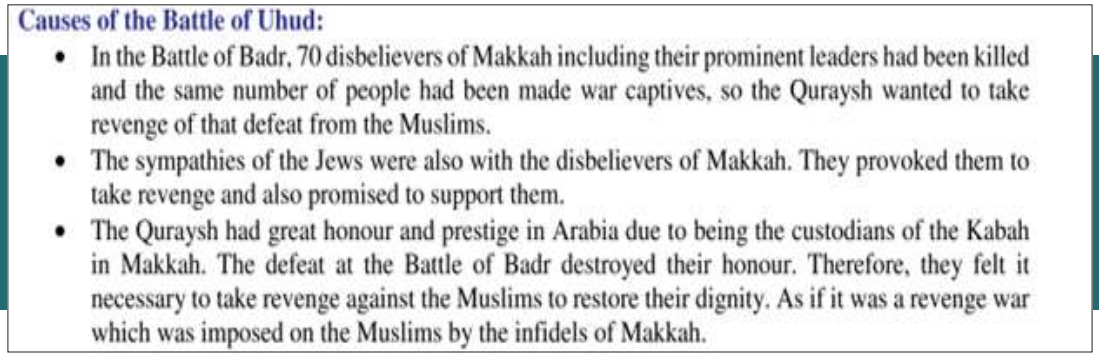
National Book F

Ever since Prophet Mohummad migrated from Mecca to Medina and founded an Islamic state, the Jewish tribes were involved in various conspiracies against him and the Muslims of Medina. He had made a treaty of peace and harmony with the Jews of Medina in the early days called the Treaty of Medina. But the Jews, as usual, violated this too. They were pushed out of Medina due to violation of the treaty. Banu Nadhir, Banu Qurayẓa and Banu Ghatafān were the three major tribes of the Jews who had strong forts, brave warriors and a lot of wealth. They were the secret ally of the Quraysh of Mecca in the war against the Muslims. Khaybar was the largest center of the Jews, where there was prosperity due to agriculture, weaving and trade. Muslims returned from Ḥudaybiyya in the sixth Hijri year. It was informed to Prophet Muhammad that Jews are preparing in Khaybar and its surroundings for a decisive battle with Muslims. He sent Abdullah bin Rawāḥa to Khaybar to investigate the matter. He has sensitized him in a few days about the intentions and preparations of Jews, therefore he decided to behead the Jews.

Example 83

Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, 2014, p. 42

In a Grade 5 Sindh Islamic Education textbook discussing the causes of the Battle of Uḥud, it is claimed that the Jews sympathized with the disbelievers of Mecca and encouraged them to seek revenge against the Muslims. This passage reinforces a view of Jews as disloyal and hostile, suggesting their active role in opposing the Muslim community. Notably, the text makes no attempt to contextualize the references to Jews, or specify how Jews from particular tribes engaged in such activities, and instead accuse the entire Jewish collective of disloyalty.



Causes of the Battle of Uhud:

- In the Battle of Badr, 70 disbelievers of Makkah including their prominent leaders had been killed and the same number of people had been made war captives, so the Quraysh wanted to take revenge of that defeat from the Muslims.
- The sympathies of the Jews were also with the disbelievers of Makkah. They provoked them to take revenge and also promised to support them.
- The Quraysh had great honour and prestige in Arabia due to being the custodians of the Kabah in Makkah. The defeat at the Battle of Badr destroyed their honour. Therefore, they felt it necessary to take revenge against the Muslims to restore their dignity. As if it was a revenge war which was imposed on the Muslims by the infidels of Makkah.

Example 84

Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, 2014, p. 79

In this passage from the Grade 5 Islamic Education textbook, students are taught that the Jews opposed the Prophet Isa (Jesus) because they feared the loss of their religious authority. The text describes them as hostile and actively plotting against him and his mother Mary, which reinforces a negative view of the Jewish community. Notably, the text fails to mention that Jesus himself was a Jew. Furthermore, it argues that the Roman interest in putting a stop to Jesus's proselytization was due to them being idolators. The text further accuses the Jews of causing Jesus "extreme sufferings" and suggests not only their collusion with the Romans in his crucifixion, but as the factor primarily responsible for his suffering from the crucifixion. This portrayal echoes one of the ancient blood libels against the Jews, which historically accused them of conspiring in the death of Christ Jesus. The blood libel is a centuries-old myth used to justify violence and persecution against Jews, particularly during the Middle Ages, by falsely blaming "the Jews" collectively for the death of Jesus. The text thus fails to explore the broader context of religious and political tensions at the time.

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)

The Jews did not like the preaching activities of Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام and his call to the religion of Allah. They feared by the fact that Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام would end their religious leadership and monopoly, so they declared war against Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام. They defamed and accused him. They gave him the title of a 'Sorcerer' and began to abuse him. His mother Hazrat Maryam علیہا السلام was subjected to insults and taunts. Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام remained patient with the sufferings from the Bani Israel and continued to make his nation understand the message of Allah Almighty. When he saw that the strong and influential Jews were opposing him, he became disappointed with these people and turned his efforts towards the poor and needy people. He started preaching the religion among the poor, fishermen, washermen and labourers on the bank of a lake. His preaching had a great effect on these people and thus, his message spread rapidly in the area of Palestine.

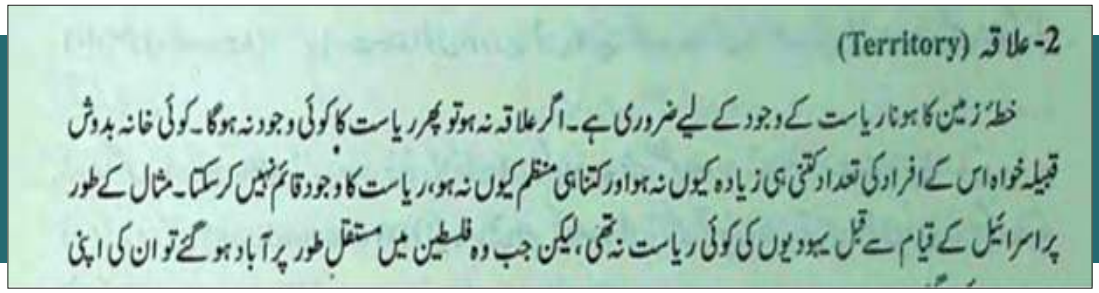
Some of the people of Bani Israel who believed in Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام were those who were very close and sincere to him. They are known as *Hawari* of Isa علیہ السلام (Disciples of Jesus). *Hawari* means very close and helpful people. When the Jews saw the popularity of Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام, they became afraid. They wanted to get rid of him. They went to the Roman governor of Palestine and complained that Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام had started to corrupt their religion and he was misleading their youth. They said that he was a revolutionary person bent on rebellion and a huge threat to the government. If his work was not stopped, then, there would be a great riost in the region.

The Roman governor knew the reason of the enmity of the Jews with Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام, however, the Romans were idolaters and wanted to get rid of Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام along with the Jews. Therefore, the Roman governor decided to crucify Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام. The Romans made the Jews declare this decision and when the appointed time of his crucifixion came, people gathered around his house. Among them were his followers from the Jews and some common people. At that time, the Jews treated Allah's Prophet Hazrat Isa علیہ السلام very badly and caused him extreme sufferings.

Example 85

Punjab – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023, p. 16

In a Grade 9-10 Civics textbook, in a section stating the importance of territory for creating a state, the establishment of Israel as a state of the Jews is acknowledged. However, it is framed as a consequence of the Jewish people's permanent settlement in Palestine after being nomads. The passage presents this as a historical fact, without referencing the existence of ancient Jewish kingdoms, exploring the Jewish people's right to their historical homeland, or the events like the Holocaust which contributed to the establishment of Israel.



2- علاقہ (Territory)

خطۂ زمین کا ہونا ریاست کے وجود کے لیے ضروری ہے۔ اگر علاقہ نہ ہو تو پھر ریاست کا کوئی وجود نہ ہوگا۔ کوئی خانہ بدوش قبیلہ خواہ اس کے افراد کی تعداد کتنی ہی زیادہ کیوں نہ ہو اور کتنا ہی منظم کیوں نہ ہو، ریاست کا وجود قائم نہیں کر سکتا۔ مثال کے طور پر اسرائیل کے قیام سے قبل یہودیوں کی کوئی ریاست نہ تھی، لیکن جب وہ فلسطین میں مستقل طور پر آباد ہو گئے تو ان کی اپنی

2. Territory
A territory is essential for the existence of a state. Without a territory, there can be no state. A nomadic tribe, no matter how large or organized, cannot establish the existence of a state. For example, before the establishment of Israel, the Jews did not have their own state, but once they settled permanently in Palestine, they established their own state.

Example 86

Punjab Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 33

In this passage from a Grade 7 Islamic Education textbook, the three Jewish tribes of Medina (Banu Qaynuqa, Banu Nadir and Banu Qurayza) are described as having "negative attitudes" before Muhammad presented them with Constitution of Medina. The Constitution is depicted as a peace agreement that granted religious freedoms and protections to the Jewish tribes. However, the text later describes that after accepting all the terms of the treaty, the Jews' "hostility and jealousy toward Islam" escalated, following their victory in the Battle of Badr, thus posing a clear threat to Islam. The text uses language that frames their actions as treacherous, such as collaborating with the "hypocrites" and attempting to weaken the unity of the Muslims by joining forces with the polytheists of Mecca. Furthermore, portraying Jews as inherently hostile and jealous toward Islam suggests that these traits are intrinsic to Judaism. This characterization risks leading students to view all Jews today as uniformly antagonistic toward Islam.

منافق شخص زبان سے تو اسلام لانے کا دعویٰ کرتا ہے اور کہتا ہے میں مسلمان ہوں، مگر دل سے اسلام کا دشمن ہوتا ہے۔ ایسے لوگ کافروں سے بھی زیادہ خطرناک ہوتے ہیں۔ قرآنِ مجید میں ایسے منافقین کو سخت عذاب کی خبر دی گئی ہے۔

یہودیوں کے تین قبائل:

مدینہ منورہ میں یہودیوں کے تین بڑے قبائل آباد تھے: بنونضیر، بنوقینقاع اور بنوقریظہ

جب نبی کریم خَاتَمُ النَّبِيِّينَ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلٰى اٰلِهٖ وَاَصْحَابِهٖ وَسَلَّمَ مدینہ منورہ تشریف لائے تو آپ خَاتَمُ النَّبِيِّينَ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلٰى اٰلِهٖ وَاَصْحَابِهٖ وَسَلَّمَ نے یہودیوں کے منفی رویے کو جاننے کے باوجود ان کے ساتھ امن وسلامتی کا ایک معاہدہ "میثاقِ مدینہ" طے فرمایا تھا۔ اس معاہدے میں یہودیوں کو جان و مال کا تحفظ اور مکمل مذہبی آزادی دی گئی تھی۔ اس معاہدے کی اہم ترین شرط یہ تھی کہ مدینہ منورہ میں رہنے والے یہودی قریشِ مکہ اور ان کے مددگاروں کو پناہ نہیں دیں گے، مظلوم کی مدد کی جائے گی اور اگر کسی دشمن سے جنگ ہوگی تو یہودی بھی مسلمانوں کے ساتھ جنگی اخراجات برداشت کریں گے اور ان کا دفاع کریں گے۔ مدینہ منورہ کے یہود نے خوش دلی کے ساتھ اس معاہدے کی تمام شرائط کو قبول کیا اور معاہدے کی دستاویز پر دستخط کر دیے۔

اس معاہدے کے باوجود یہودی کسی نہ کسی طور پر اسلام کو نقصان پہنچانے کی کوشش کرتے رہتے تھے۔ کبھی وہ مشرکینِ مکہ کے ساتھ مل کر اقدام کرتے اور کبھی منافقین کے ساتھ مل کر سازشیں کرتے۔

غزوۂ بدر میں مسلمانوں کی فتح کے بعد یہودیوں کی مسلمانوں کے ساتھ دشمنی اور بغض وحسد میں تیزی آ گئی۔ انھوں نے مسلمانوں کو آپس میں لڑانے کی کئی کوششیں کیں مگر کامیاب نہ ہو سکے۔

PCTB Textbook

The Three Jewish Tribes:
In Medina, there were three major Jewish tribes: Banu Qaynuqa, Banu Nadir, and Banu Qurayza.
When the Noble Prophet Muhammad arrived in Medina, despite knowing the Jews' negative attitudes, he established a peace and security agreement with them, known as the Constitution of Medina (Mithaq-e Medina). This treaty guaranteed protection and complete religious freedom to the Jews. One of the most important clauses of this treaty was that the Jews living in Medina would not aid the enemies of the Muslims. They would support the oppressed and, if war broke out with an enemy, the Jews would fight alongside the Muslims. They were also not to support the Quraysh of Mecca or their allies. The Jews of Medina initially accepted all the terms of the treaty willingly and even signed the document.
However, after the Muslims' victory in the Battle of Badr, the Jews' hostility and jealousy toward Islam increased. Despite the treaty, they tried to harm Islam and collaborated with the hypocrites in hatching conspiracies. Sometimes they would join forces with the polytheists of Mecca, attempting to weaken the unity of the Muslims, but their efforts were ultimately unsuccessful.

Portrayal of Non-Muslims and their Festivals

The examples below illustrate how Pakistani textbooks portray non-Muslims and their festivals, often presenting them with negative bias. While some efforts are made to acknowledge religious diversity, the portrayal remains largely from an Islamic perspective, with limited engagement with the complexities of interfaith relations. For instance, a Grade 2 General Knowledge textbook acknowledges non-Muslim festivals (though without expanding on their meanings or other features) such as Easter, Christmas, Holi, Diwali, Hanukkah and Passover. While there are positive references to good relations between the early Muslims and the polytheists of Mecca, Qur'anic textbooks maintain the traditional negative perception of polytheists as something contrary and therefore condemnable according to Islam.

Example 87

Sindh Board – *General Knowledge*, Grade 2, 2024, p. 6

In a Grade 2 General Knowledge textbook, students learn about the major religious festivals celebrated by Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Hindus, portraying them as universal events that are recognized annually. The inclusion of *Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-ul-Azha (al-Adha)* for Muslims, Christmas and Easter for Christians, Hanukkah and Passover for Jews, and Diwali and Holi for Hindus, provides students with an understanding of religious observances across these major faiths. The lesson features images illustrating these festivals, including members of these religious groups wearing traditional clothing.

Example 88

Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 1

A passage from an Ethics textbook for Grade 8 presents Hinduism as a religion rooted in values of love, tolerance, compassion, sacrifice, and peace, emphasizing its ancient and inclusive nature. The text highlights several key aspects of Hindu practice, including the belief in a single God (*Ishwar*), the importance of worship through idols, and the daily rituals that connect Hindus to their faith. The mention of daily worship and the significance of temples underscores the religious devotion of Hindus, while the reverence for sacred texts such as the Bhagavad Gita, Ramayana, Vedas, and Upanishads adds depth to the religious tradition. Additionally, the passage notes the cultural and spiritual significance of rituals such as bathing in the Ganges and the role of home temples in making spaces sacred.

مذاہب کا تعارف

1۔ ہندو مذہب (سناتن دھرم):

ہندو مذہب ایک قدیم مذہب ہے۔ یہ مذہب محبت، برداشت، ہمدردی، قربانی اور امن کی تعلیم دیتا ہے۔ اس مذہب کے ماننے والے ہندو کہلاتے ہیں۔ ہندو ایشور (ایک خدا) پر یقین رکھتے ہیں۔ ہندوؤں کی عبادت گاہ کو مندر کہا جاتا ہے۔ مندروں میں دیویوں اور دیوتاؤں کی مورتیاں سجائی جاتی ہیں جن میں بھگوان وشنو، بھگوان شری رام چندر، بھگوان شری کرشن، دیوی لکشمی، ماں شیراں والی اور دیگر دیوی اور دیوتا شامل ہیں۔ یہ مورتیاں مٹی، پتھر، چونے، لکڑی، سونے اور

1

چاندی سے بنائی جاتی ہیں۔ ترمی مورتی کے اوتار ایشور تک پہنچنے کا ذریعہ ہیں۔ ہندوؤں میں روزانہ کی پوجا پاٹ کو بہت اہمیت حاصل ہے۔ لوگ گھروں میں بھی عبادت کرتے ہیں جس کے لیے گھروں میں جگہ مخصوص کی جاتی ہے۔ گھروں میں جہاں مندر ہوتا ہے، وہ جگہ پوتر (پاک) ہو جاتی ہے۔ روزانہ صبح اُٹھ کر اشنان (غسل کرنا) کرنا عبادت کا حصہ ہے۔ دریائے گنگا میں اشنان کرنا ایک سعادت ہے۔

ہندو دھرم میں دو اقسام کی مقدس تحریریں ہیں: سروتی اور سمرتی۔ اگرچہ سمرتی ادب میں بہت سی تحریریں ہیں لیکن بھگوت گیتا اور رامائن زیادہ مشہور ہیں۔ سروتی ادب کو دو بڑے حصوں میں تقسیم کیا جاتا ہے: وید اور اپنشد۔ وید کا مطلب ہے "علم" یا "جاننا"، جبکہ اپنشد کا مطلب ہے "نزدیک ہو کر بیٹھنا"۔ وید کی تعداد چار ہے:

ترمی مورتی

Hindu religion (Sanatan Dharm)
Hindu religion is an ancient religion. It teaches love, tolerance, compassion, sacrifice, and peace. Its followers are called Hindus. Hindus believe in Ishwar (one God). The place of worship for Hindus is called a temple. Temples are adorned with idols of deities such as Bhagwan Vishnu, Bhagwan Shri Ram Chandra, Bhagwan Shri Krishna, Devi Lakshmi, Maa Sheranwali, and other deities. These idols are made of clay, stone, lime, wood, gold, and silver. The Trimurti incarnations are means to reach Ishwar. Daily worship holds great importance in Hinduism. People also worship at home, dedicating specific spaces. Where there is a home temple, the place becomes sacred (pure). Daily morning bathing (ashnan) is part of worship. Bathing in the Ganges River is considered fortunate. There are two types of sacred texts in Hinduism: Shruti and Smriti. Though there are many writings in Smriti literature, the Bhagavad Gita and Ramayana are the most famous. Shruti literature is divided into two main parts: the Vedas and Upanishads. Veda means "Knowledge" or "Being aware" whereas Upnishad means "Sitting Close". The Vedas are four in number.

Example 89

Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 8, 2022, p. 2

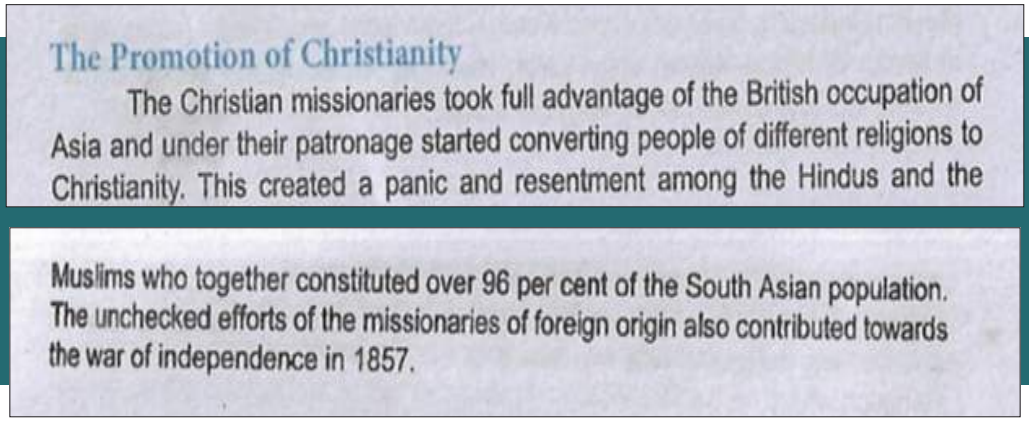
In this passage from a Grade 8 Ethics textbook, the text provides a brief overview of Christianity, emphasizing the teachings of Lord Jesus Christ, such as equality, sacrifice, peace, and love. It also describes Christian places of worship, noting the presence of statues and images, which are common in many Christian denominations.

Christianity:
Christianity is the religion of those who follow Holy Jesus Christ. Its followers are called Christians. The religious book of Christians is the Holy Bible, which contains the teachings of Holy Jesus Christ.
Holy Church: Holy Jesus Christ taught equality, sacrifice, peace, and love. The place of worship for Christians is called Church. In churches, priests perform worship and guide people. Some churches have beautiful statues and wonderfully made pictures.

Example 90

Sindh Board- *Social Studies*, Grade 8, 2022, pp. 96-97

A Social Studies textbook presents a narrative that frames Christian missionary activity during British colonial rule as aggressive and socially destabilizing. It attributes the spread of Christianity not to voluntary religious exchange but to coercive influence under colonial "patronage," implying an abuse of power and intent to undermine indigenous faiths. By emphasizing the reaction of "panic and resentment" among Hindus and Muslims—who are grouped together as the authentic majority—it fosters a sense of collective victimhood and cultural siege.


The Promotion of Christianity

The Christian missionaries took full advantage of the British occupation of Asia and under their patronage started converting people of different religions to Christianity. This created a panic and resentment among the Hindus and the Muslims who together constituted over 96 per cent of the South Asian population. The unchecked efforts of the missionaries of foreign origin also contributed towards the war of independence in 1857.

Example 91

Punjab Board – *Qur'an Translation (Tarjuma Tul Quran)*, Grade 7, 2022, p. 126

This passage from the Qur'an Translation textbook for Grade 7 discusses the story of Prophet Abraham's (Ibrahim) opposition to idol worship and his confrontation with King Nimrod. Alluding to *Surah Al-Baqara* (2:258), the narrative emphasizes Abraham's unwavering faith and bravery. It recounts how he was threatened with death and exile by an idolatrous king, how he destroyed the idols in the temple, and how King Nimrod ordered him to be burned after arguing against him in a debate. The text presents Abraham's stance to the idolatry of his kin, including his parents, as openly unyielding, but does not mention how this story can be interpreted as a sign of compassion and deep respect for "others" despite being idolaters.[119] The text thus invokes an unyielding and uncompromising image of Islam's opposition to polytheism.

حضرت ابراہیم علیہ السلام قریباً چار ہزار سال قبل عراق میں پیدا ہوئے۔ حضرت ابراہیم علیہ السلام نے بچپن سے ہی بتوں کی عبادت کی مخالفت کی۔ حضرت ابراہیم علیہ السلام کی کھل کر بتوں کی مخالفت کرنے پر ان کو قتل کرنے اور گھر سے نکالنے کی دھمکی دی گئی۔ حضرت ابراہیم علیہ السلام نے ایک مرتبہ بت خانے میں جا کر بتوں کو ٹکڑے ٹکڑے کر دیا اور آپ علیہ السلام کا نمرود بادشاہ کے ساتھ مناظرہ ہوا۔ مناظرہ میں حضرت ابراہیم علیہ السلام کے دلائل پر غور کرنے کے بجائے یہ شاہی فرمان جاری کیا گیا کہ ان کو جلا ڈالو اور اپنے معبودوں کی مدد کرو۔

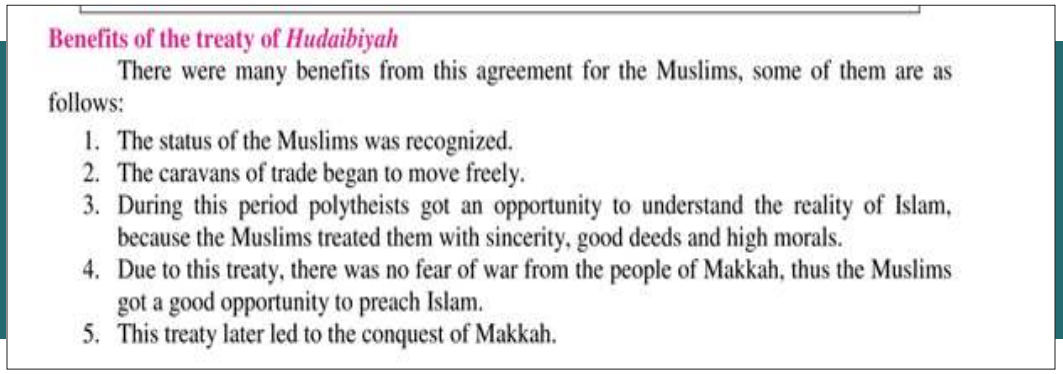
Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham, peace be upon him) was born nearly four thousand years ago in Iraq. From his childhood, he opposed idol worship. Due to his open opposition to idols, he was threatened with death and exile from his home. On one occasion, Prophet Ibrahim (peace be upon him) entered the temple and broke the idols into pieces. He later engaged in a debate with King Nimrod. Instead of reflecting on Prophet Ibrahim's arguments, the royal decree was issued: "Burn him and help your gods."

119 Qur'an 19:44-45 illustrate how Abraham challenged his father with compassion, despite their theological differences. See for instance Saudi Textbook, where this example teaches how one must respect his parents even if they are of different opinions – *Islamic Education – Tawhid, Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh*, Grade 9, Vol. 1, 2023-24, p. 83.

Example 92

Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, 2015, p. 29

In a Grade 6 Islamic Education textbook, students learn about how the Treaty of Hudaibiyah (aimed to decrease tensions between Mecca and Medina) benefited the Muslims because it granted the "polytheists" an opportunity to better understand Islam, as Muslims "treated them with sincerity, good deeds and high morals." The treaty was also beneficial because "Muslims got a good opportunity to preach Islam." This example thus focuses on the good relations that the treaty fostered between the Muslims and the polytheists in Mecca.



Benefits of the treaty of *Hudaibiyah*

There were many benefits from this agreement for the Muslims, some of them are as follows:

1. The status of the Muslims was recognized.
2. The caravans of trade began to move freely.
3. During this period polytheists got an opportunity to understand the reality of Islam, because the Muslims treated them with sincerity, good deeds and high morals.
4. Due to this treaty, there was no fear of war from the people of Makkah, thus the Muslims got a good opportunity to preach Islam.
5. This treaty later led to the conquest of Makkah.

Gender

Pakistan is often regarded as a deeply patriarchal society, where cultural, religious, and political narratives shape the social structure, positioning men at the top of societal hierarchies and relegating women primarily to domestic roles. Despite some advancements in women's rights, such as improved access to education, significant gaps remain. As of 2023, women held only 22% of parliamentary seats, reflecting their underrepresentation in the political sphere.[120] Additionally, recent statistics show that women in Pakistan continue to experience widespread gender-based violence. In 2021, over 3,000 reported cases of domestic violence were documented,[121] with a significant portion involving sexual and physical abuse. Such statistics underscore the continued need for meaningful reforms to achieve gender equality, particularly in politics and leadership.

While Pakistan's education system has made strides in promoting gender equality, textbooks often present contradictory messages that both support and hinder women's empowerment. Despite positive portrayals of women's educational and professional accomplishments, there is an undercurrent of victim-blaming and traditional gender roles. Narratives surrounding the dress and modesty of women further exemplifies this contradiction. These textbooks frequently suggest that women's modest dress is key to preventing sexual violence, an argument that ignores the diversity of veiling practices in Pakistan and the lived experiences of women from different backgrounds.

Islamic Education textbooks also promote the importance of respecting women "who work in various professions", highlighting the value of women's contributions to society. However, while the text encourages respect for women, it does not address the systemic barriers to achieving full gender equality in society. The focus remains on ideal behavior and respect, but the textbook fails to delve into the structural challenges that women face in their daily lives. This omission leaves the reader with an incomplete understanding of the obstacles that women encounter, such as cultural norms, legal limitations, and economic disparities, which continue to hinder their progress toward true equality.

This chapter will explore the nuances of gender representation in Pakistan's educational textbooks. By focusing on the following themes, this chapter will illustrate how the curriculum both promotes and undermines gender equality.

1. Portrayal of Gender Roles
2. Imagery of Women

The portrayal of women in leadership positions and traditionally male-dominated professions highlights a positive shift towards gender equality. For example, the textbooks acknowledge that women play significant roles as pilots, teachers, engineers, and leaders. This portrayal challenges the stereotype that women are confined to the home and encourages respect for their capabilities. The role of women and individuals who have contributed significantly to society is also acknowledged and highlighted, recognizing their impactful leadership and dedication to social change. These include: Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah (a dentist, politician, and the sister of Pakistan's founder, who played a key role in the country's independence movement), Benazir

120 "Women in Parliament," *The Global Economy*, accessed June 10, 2025, https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Pakistan/Women_in_parliament/

121 "Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan," *Dawn*, August 2021, https://www.dawn.com/news/1679315

Bhutto (a politician, and the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan, known for her contributions to the country's development), Arfa Karim (the youngest Microsoft Certified Professional at the age of nine, an inspiring figure in technology), Shamshad Akhtar (an economist, and the former Executive Secretary of UNESCAP, recognized for her work in international economic development), and Mohtarma Bilquis Edhi (a humanitarian, prominent social worker, and philanthropist, known for her tireless efforts in healthcare and social welfare).

The overall depiction of gender roles remains inconsistent, with both positive and negative portrayals evident across the curriculum. While some sections advocate for equality by suggesting that men and women are equally capable of performing household chores like cooking and cleaning, others reinforce outdated stereotypes that restrict women's roles. After facing significant backlash over gender depictions in the Grade 5 English textbook,[122] the publisher revised the cover photo, replacing the image of a mother and daughter sitting on the floor with a more neutral depiction of the daughter and woman sitting on the sofa (see example 100 below). However, the revised image continues to promote the concept of modest dressing, with both women still depicted wearing *hijabs*.

There is also a strong undercurrent of traditional gender roles, where women's responsibilities are often depicted as domestic, perpetuating the belief that women are primarily responsible for household chores. For instance, in one of the textbooks, it assumes that young girls are naturally inclined to enjoy sewing, reinforcing a gendered division of labor.[123]

Stereotyping is deeply embedded in the textbooks, particularly regarding women's roles and attire. For instance, a passage suggests that women prefer traditional clothing like the *dupatta, shalwar,* and *kurta*, presenting this as a universal norm.[124] This stereotype fails to account for the diversity of clothing preferences among women across different regions and cultural backgrounds in Pakistan. It perpetuates a narrow view of women's attire, associating modesty and respectability with specific garments, and disregarding individual autonomy.

Similarly, the curriculum fails to offer a balanced view of gender roles and responsibilities. It presents the mother as the primary caretaker in the household,[125] relegating the father to an external work role. Such representations perpetuate the stereotype that women are inherently suited for domestic tasks while men are outside workers, reinforcing gender inequality from an early age.

Portrayal of Gender Roles

The examples in the next pages illustrate how Pakistani textbooks portray gender roles by highlighting both progressive and traditional narratives. While many texts emphasize women's capabilities and promote equality in professional and public life, these messages are often accompanied by content that reinforces stereotypical roles for women within the home. Women are at times depicted as leaders and contributors to society, yet are also frequently shown in domestic settings or associated with tasks traditionally seen as feminine. This mixed portrayal

122 B. Mari, "Why Pakistan's School Textbooks Are Sparking Backlash," *Human Rights Asia*, September 13, 2021. https://www.dw.com/en/why-pakistans-new-school-textbooks-are-sparking-backlash-over-gender/a-59168721.

123 Punjab Board, *Home Economics*, Grade 7, 2018, p. 37.

124 Punjab Board, *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 104.

125 Sindh Board – *English, Grade* 4, 2020, p. 7.

reflects a broader tension in the curriculum between advocating for gender equality and upholding conventional gender norms.

Example 93

Punjab Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, pp. 100-101

In a Grade 9 Pakistan Studies textbook, students learn that "women are not lagging behind men in any respect" and it highlights the achievements of prominent Pakistani women—Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah (sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and a key political figure) and Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan's and the Muslim world's first female Prime Minister).

In another passage, the textbook presents an encouraging and celebratory overview of prominent Pakistani women who have made significant contributions across diverse sectors—finance, social work, international diplomacy, mountaineering, and governance. Shamshad Akhtar, former governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, Bilquis Edhi lauded for her decades-long humanitarian work, and Samina Baig, who summited Mount Everest. The passage also references Dr. Fahmida Mirza, the first female Speaker of the National Assembly and Dr. Nafis Sadiq—the first woman to serve as Under Secretary General of the United Nations. Discussions of these women contribute to an overt celebration of their roles in Pakistani society.

[pg. 100]

Women are not lagging behind men in any respect. In fact, the role of women in society is of dual importance. In the making of Pakistan, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah's role is not hidden from anyone.

Do you know?

The first presidential elections in the history of Pakistan were held on January 2, 1965. Fatima Jinnah participated in the elections against General Ayub Khan.

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto became Pakistan's Prime Minister twice. Besides that, women are seen working as judges and lawyers in the courts. Arfa Karim, a girl from Faisalabad, received the certificate in computer technology at the age of 9. She is not amongst us today, as she has died.

Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)

[pg. 101]

Chapter 4 Women's Empowerment 101

Arfa Karim

Shamshad Akhtar

Women are also playing their role in banks and other major institutions of the country. For instance Shamshad Akhtar has been the governor of the State Bank of Pakistan. There is a long list of such women.

Mohtarma Bilquis Edhi

In the social sector, Mohtarma Bilquis Edhi has been working for decades to improve the lives of millions of Pakistanis. Bilquis Edhi has spent her entire life serving Pakistan's most backward, distressed and helpless people.

Do you know?

Mohtarma Bilquis Bano Edhi is the widow of Abdul Sattar Edhi the head of Edhi Foundation. She is also the head of Bilquis Edhi Foundation. The government of Pakistan has awarded her the Hilal-i-Imtiaz. Bilquis Edhi Foundation takes care of abandoned children and arranges marriages of abandoned and homeless girls.

Mohtarma Dr. Nafis Sadiq has held the office of Under Secretary General in the United Nations. She was the first woman in the world to hold such a high position in the United Nations.

Samina Baig

Samina Baig, a daughter of Pakistan, is the first woman from Pakistan who has climbed the Mount Everest. In addition, Samina has climbed seven highest summits of the seven continents of the world. She has set an example of determination and courage, not only in Pakistan but all over the world.

Women are playing a significant role in almost all major sectors in Pakistan, such as the military, health, education, sports, showbiz and politics and are proving that they can play a vital role in the development of the country and the nation. These courageous women are outstanding examples of achievements and new dimensions.

Do you know?

Dr. Fahmida Mirza belongs to Sindh province of Pakistan. She is the first woman from Pakistan to be the Speaker of the National Assembly from 2008 to 2013.

Example 94

Punjab Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 123

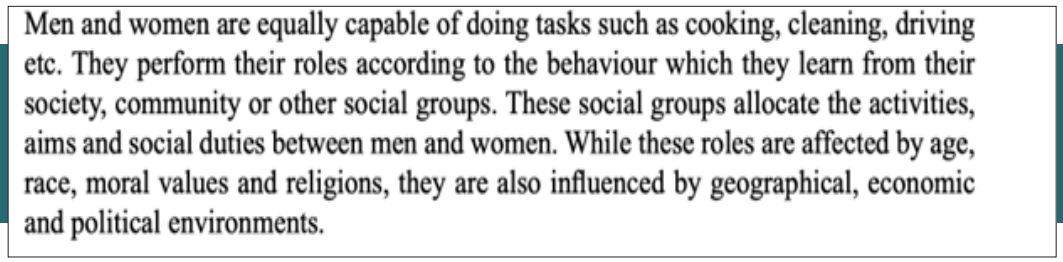
In a Pakistan Studies textbook for Grade 10, students are taught that women play an "important role in every sphere of life," by working as pilots, teachers, nurses, engineers and by being political and social leaders. The passage promotes gender equality by highlighting women's significant contributions across diverse professional fields, including leadership positions traditionally dominated by men. By portraying women as capable of excelling in roles like engineering and political leadership, the text challenges entrenched stereotypes that restrict women's societal roles.

> Women have an extremely pertinent role to play in society. They play an important role in every sphere of life by working as pilots, teachers, nurses, engineers as well as by providing political and social leadership.

Example 95

Punjab Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2021, p. 122

In the Pakistan Studies textbook for Grade 10, students learn that "men and women are equally capable of doing tasks such as cooking, cleaning, driving, etc." This statement promotes gender equality by emphasizing that both men and women can perform household and everyday tasks equally well, challenging traditional gender stereotypes. It encourages a more inclusive and balanced view, fostering mutual respect between genders. However, the passage does not address the deep-rooted societal expectations and biases that still influence how men and women are perceived in these roles, nor does it acknowledge the unequal distribution of domestic labor that persists in many households.

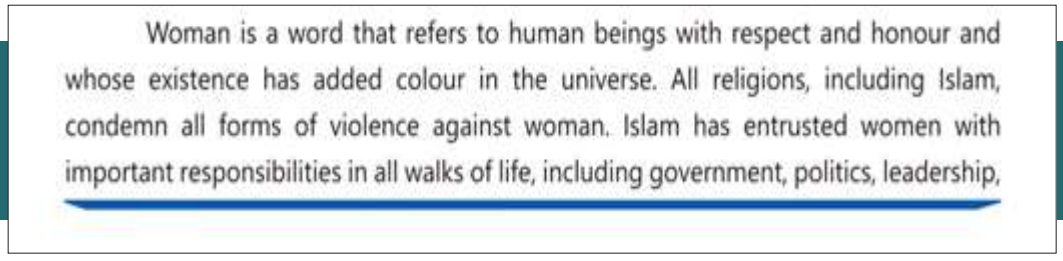


Men and women are equally capable of doing tasks such as cooking, cleaning, driving etc. They perform their roles according to the behaviour which they learn from their society, community or other social groups. These social groups allocate the activities, aims and social duties between men and women. While these roles are affected by age, race, moral values and religions, they are also influenced by geographical, economic and political environments.

Example 96

Punjab Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 96

In the Grade 9 Pakistan Studies textbook, a passage states that "woman is a word that refers to human beings with respect and honor" and that "all religions, including Islam, condemn all forms of violence against women." This passage emphasizes the dignity and respect that women deserve, promoting tolerance and equality across different religions. It acknowledges the significant roles women can play in various fields, such as government, politics, leadership, management, and counseling, thereby challenging traditional stereotypes about women's capabilities.

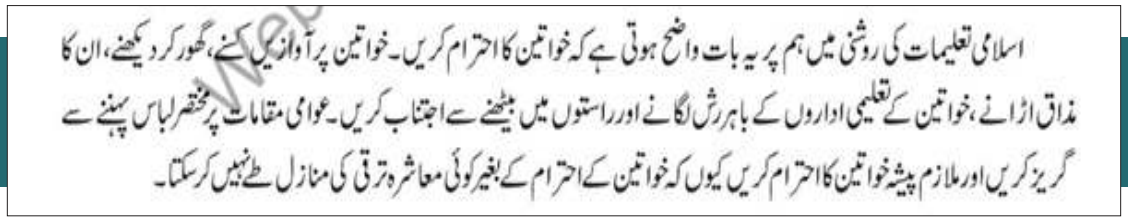


Woman is a word that refers to human beings with respect and honour and whose existence has added colour in the universe. All religions, including Islam, condemn all forms of violence against woman. Islam has entrusted women with important responsibilities in all walks of life, including government, politics, leadership,

Example 97

Punjab Board - *Islamic Education*, Grade 10, 2022, p. 43

A Grade 10 Islamic Education textbook emphasizes the importance of respecting women, advising against actions like staring, mocking, or creating uncomfortable environments in public spaces. It also highlights the necessity of treating women in various professions with respect and stresses that a society that does not respect its women cannot make progress. The text states how this approach aligns with the broader teachings of Islam, which emphasize women's dignity and kindness. Women are considered an essential part of both the family and society, with the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad consistently emphasizing respect and honor for women. However, while the text promotes respect for women, it does not address the systemic barriers to achieving full gender equality in society.



اسلامی تعلیمات کی روشنی میں ہم پر یہ بات واضح ہوتی ہے کہ خواتین کا احترام کریں۔ خواتین پر آوازیں کسنے، گھور کر دیکھنے، ان کا مذاق اڑانے، خواتین کے تعلیمی اداروں کے باہر رش لگانے اور راستوں میں بیٹھنے سے اجتناب کریں۔ عوامی مقامات پر مختصر لباس پہننے سے گریز کریں اور ملازم پیشہ خواتین کا احترام کریں کیوں کہ خواتین کے احترام کے بغیر کوئی معاشرہ ترقی کی منازل طے نہیں کر سکتا۔

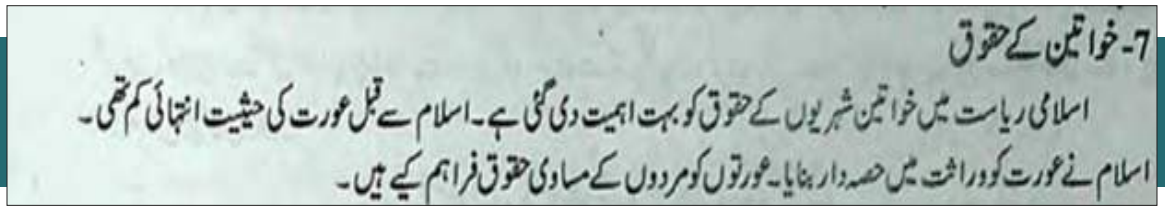
In light of Islamic teachings, we must understand the importance of respecting women. We must avoid actions such as staring at women, mocking them, gathering crowds outside educational institutions, or sitting in public places inappropriately. Public spaces should be treated with respect, and women who work in various professions should also be respected. A society that does not respect its women cannot make progress.

Example 98

Punjab board - *Civics*, Grades 9-10, 2023, p. 42

A Civics textbook for Grades 9-10 highlights the positive historical contributions of Islam to women's rights, particularly in granting inheritance and property rights, which were not present in pre-Islamic Arabia. While Islam historically provided women with rights, the contemporary situation varies widely, with ongoing challenges to gender equality in many parts of the Islamic world. Nonetheless, the assertion that women held uniformly low status prior to Islam can be historically misleading, as some pre-Islamic cultures afforded women notable rights and social roles. For example, some pre-Islamic cultures, such as those in the Persian Achaemenid, Elamite, and Sassanian Empires, had more matriarchal structures and provided women with significant rights and roles in society. In these societies, women were often involved in governance, and some even held considerable power. For instance, in the Achaemenid Empire, women such as Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus the Great, wielded considerable influence. The Sassanian Empire, too, had powerful women, such as Queen Purandokht, who ruled as a monarch.

(See the continuation of the example on the next page.)

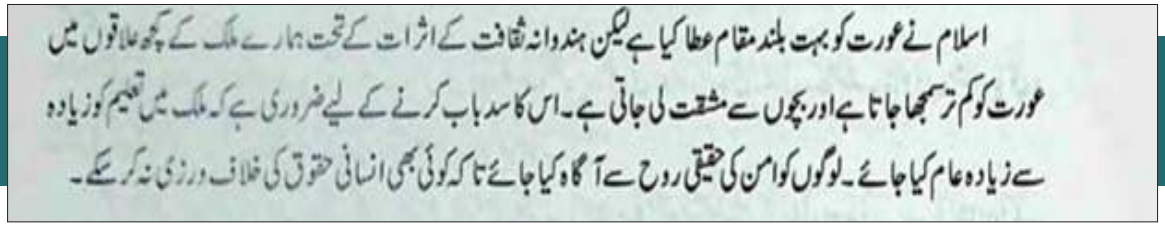

7- خواتین کے حقوق
اسلامی ریاست میں خواتین شہریوں کے حقوق کو بہت اہمیت دی گئی ہے۔ اسلام سے قبل عورت کی حیثیت انتہائی کم تھی۔
اسلام نے عورت کو وراثت میں حصہ دار بنایا۔ عورتوں کو مردوں کے مساوی حقوق فراہم کیے ہیں۔

7- Women's Rights
In an Islamic state, the rights of women citizens are given great importance. Before Islam, the status of women was extremely low. Islam made women inheritors and provided them with equal rights to men.

Example 99

Punjab Board - *Civics*, Grades 9-10, 2023, p. 47

In a Grades 9-10 Civics textbook, another passage claims that "Islam has given women a very high status" but attributes current gender inequalities to the influence of Hindu culture, suggesting that "education is necessary" to address these issues. This argument narrowly attributes gender inequalities solely to Hindu culture, overlooking the broader range of cultural, legal, and socio-economic factors that affect women's rights in various societies, including Islamic ones. For instance, gender roles in both Islamic and Hindu communities have been shaped by diverse historical, geographical, and political contexts, which vary greatly across regions and periods. Many historical Hindu queens and rulers, such as Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, who fought valiantly during the 1857 Indian Rebellion, or Rani Durgavati of Gondwana, who was known for her military leadership, enjoyed powerful positions and actively participated in governance and defense. Similarly, Razia Sultana, an iconic figure in Islamic history, ruled Delhi as a Sultan in the thirteenth century, showing that women in different parts of South Asia, including Hindu societies, had a history of political power and leadership. Furthermore, many contemporary Islamic societies also face challenges in achieving gender equality, with legal and socio-economic factors playing a significant role. In some parts of the Muslim world, gender disparities are not solely influenced by religion, but also by entrenched cultural norms and political systems that perpetuate inequality.


اسلام نے عورت کو بہت بلند مقام عطا کیا ہے لیکن ہندوانہ ثقافت کے اثرات کے تحت ہمارے ملک کے کچھ علاقوں میں
عورت کو کم تر سمجھا جاتا ہے اور بچوں سے مشقت لی جاتی ہے۔ اس کا سدباب کرنے کے لیے ضروری ہے کہ ملک میں تعلیم کو زیادہ
سے زیادہ عام کیا جائے۔ لوگوں کو امن کی حقیقی روح سے آگاہ کیا جائے تاکہ کوئی بھی انسانی حقوق کی خلاف ورزی نہ کر سکے۔

Islam has given women a very high status, but under the influence of Hindu culture, women are considered inferior in some areas of our country, and children are made to work. To prevent this, it is necessary to promote education as widely as possible in the country. People should be made aware of the true spirit of peace so that no one can violate human rights.

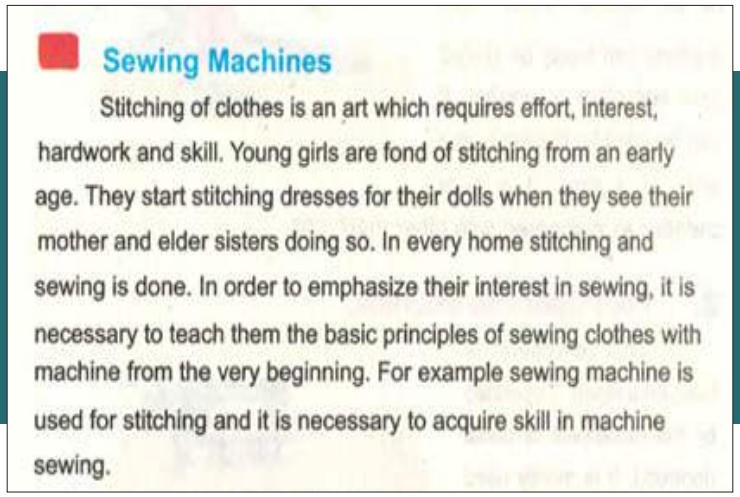
Example 100

Punjab Board - *Home Economics*, Grade 7, 2018, pp. 37, 92

In a Home Economics textbook for Grade 7, students are presented with gender stereotypes, such as the claim that "young girls are fond of stitching from an early age." By associating the activity primarily with young girls, the text in effect implies that girls are naturally inclined towards sewing, thereby perpetuating gender stereotypes. The stereotypical view is multi-generational, as the texts explain that girls observe their mothers and older sisters engaging in stitching. Moreover, they stress the importance of teaching girls the basic principles of machine sewing "from the very beginning," reinforcing the expectation that this is a skill intended primarily for them.

In addition to these domestic expectations, a passage titled "Responsibilities of an Educated Girl" (p. 92) outlines a gendered moral and civic code, suggesting that a girl's value as an "educated member of the family" lies in her ability to improve others- whether by correcting bad habits, teaching the illiterate, or influencing her siblings' education.

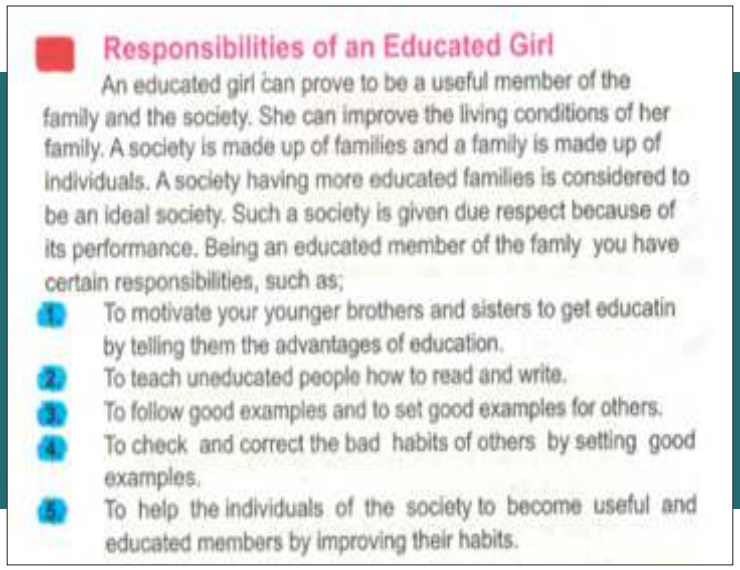
[pg. 37]



Sewing Machines

Stitching of clothes is an art which requires effort, interest, hardwork and skill. Young girls are fond of stitching from an early age. They start stitching dresses for their dolls when they see their mother and elder sisters doing so. In every home stitching and sewing is done. In order to emphasize their interest in sewing, it is necessary to teach them the basic principles of sewing clothes with machine from the very beginning. For example sewing machine is used for stitching and it is necessary to acquire skill in machine sewing.

[pg. 92]



Responsibilities of an Educated Girl

An educated girl can prove to be a useful member of the family and the society. She can improve the living conditions of her family. A society is made up of families and a family is made up of individuals. A society having more educated families is considered to be an ideal society. Such a society is given due respect because of its performance. Being an educated member of the famly you have certain responsibilities, such as;

1. To motivate your younger brothers and sisters to get educatin by telling them the advantages of education.
2. To teach uneducated people how to read and write.
3. To follow good examples and to set good examples for others.
4. To check and correct the bad habits of others by setting good examples.
5. To help the individuals of the society to become useful and educated members by improving their habits.

Example 101

Punjab Board - *Home Economics*, Grade 7, 2018, p. 117

In a Home Economics textbook for Grade 7, there is an image of women cleaning the house, which reinforces traditional gender stereotypes by depicting housework and cleaning as solely the responsibility of women.

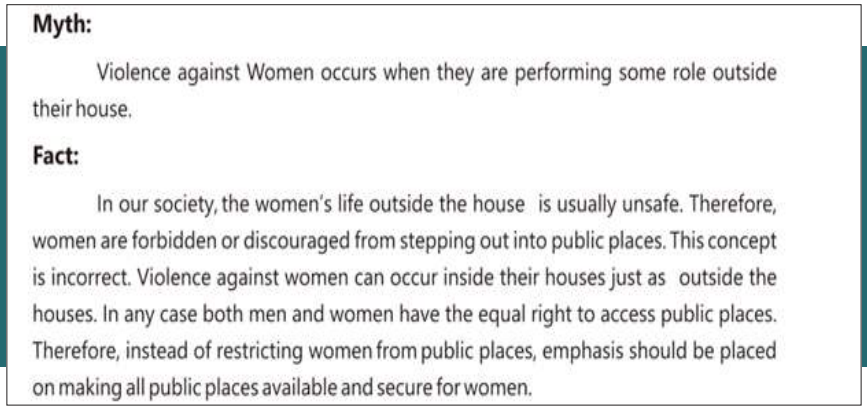
Imagery of Women

In the textbooks, female characters are consistently depicted wearing the *hijab*, while male characters are shown wearing western clothes. This portrayal reflects both traditional and contemporary cultural practices in Pakistan, where the hijab is commonly worn by Muslim women, and men often choose western attire for reasons related to modernity and professionalism. While this representation reflects cultural realities, it also lacks balance. This discrepancy perpetuates the idea that women are expected to adhere to traditional dress codes, while men are free to adopt more varied and modern styles, thus reinforcing gender roles and limiting the perception of women's freedom and agency in expressing themselves. These examples below reflect how women are shown in the textbooks.

Example 102

Punjab Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 103

In a Pakistan Studies textbook, a passage challenges the stereotype that women are vulnerable outside the home and safe inside, disregarding the outdated belief that women should be confined to domestic spaces for their own protection. By asserting that violence against women can occur both inside and outside the home, it shifts the focus from limiting women's freedom to addressing the root cause of violence itself. This promotes empowerment by emphasizing that women have the right to equal access to public spaces, and the solution lies in creating safe, inclusive environments rather than restricting their movements.



Myth:

Violence against Women occurs when they are performing some role outside their house.

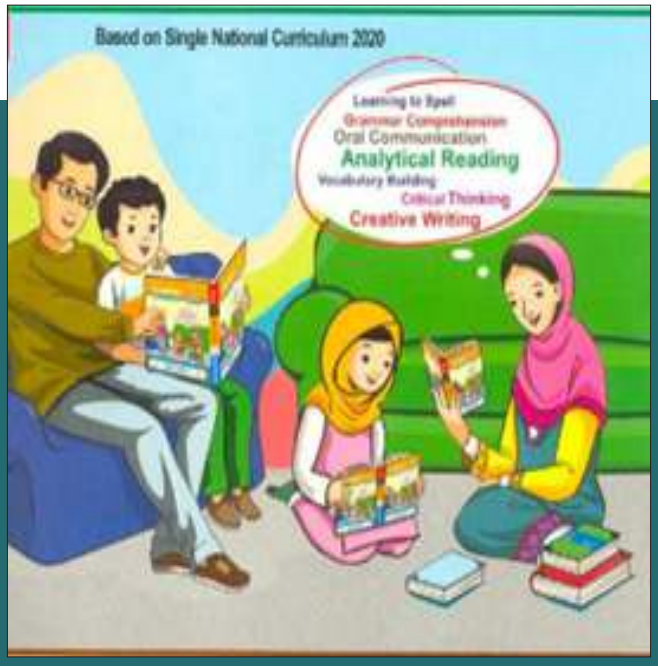
Fact:

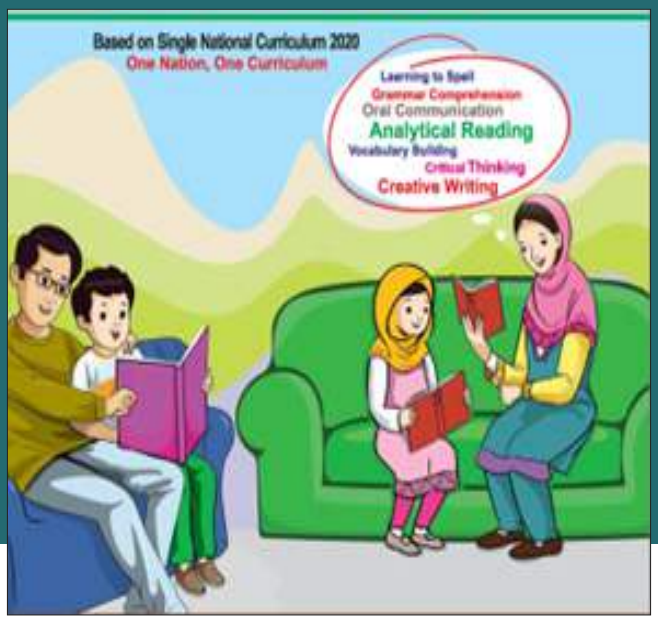
In our society, the women's life outside the house is usually unsafe. Therefore, women are forbidden or discouraged from stepping out into public places. This concept is incorrect. Violence against women can occur inside their houses just as outside the houses. In any case both men and women have the equal right to access public places. Therefore, instead of restricting women from public places, emphasis should be placed on making all public places available and secure for women.

Example 103

Punjab Board, *English*, Grade 5, Cover page

A 2020-21 edition of a Grade 5 English textbook depicted a mother and daughter wearing traditional head coverings, sitting on the floor, while the father and son sat on the sofa (top image). This portrayal sparked controversy, as it reinforced gender and cultural stereotypes. In response, the current edition has revised the image (bottom image), with the mother and daughter now seated on the sofa as well, yet the Islamic dress code standards for men and women remain unchanged. While the update offers more equality in seating, it still perpetuates the notion of women adhering to traditional dress codes, even in textbook subjects like language lessons, which are unrelated to cultural or religious discussions.





Example 104

Punjab Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021, p. 97

Conversely, the Grade 9 Pakistani Studies textbook contains a passage that promotes the religious practice of wearing the veil (*hijab*), which is often viewed as limiting and exclusionary based on traditional gender roles. It suggests that women's dignity and protection are inherently tied to wearing the veil and adhering to specific societal norms.

> Islam is a religion that has not only dignified woman but has also provided her the protection in the form of veil and four walls.

Example 105

Sindh Board - *English*, Grade 4, 2020, p. 73

In a Grade 4 English textbook, there is a reinforcement of traditional gender roles by depicting the mother as responsible for all domestic tasks, while the father's role is limited to work outside the home. This portrayal perpetuates the stereotype that women are inherently suited for domestic responsibilities, while men are positioned as the primary breadwinners.

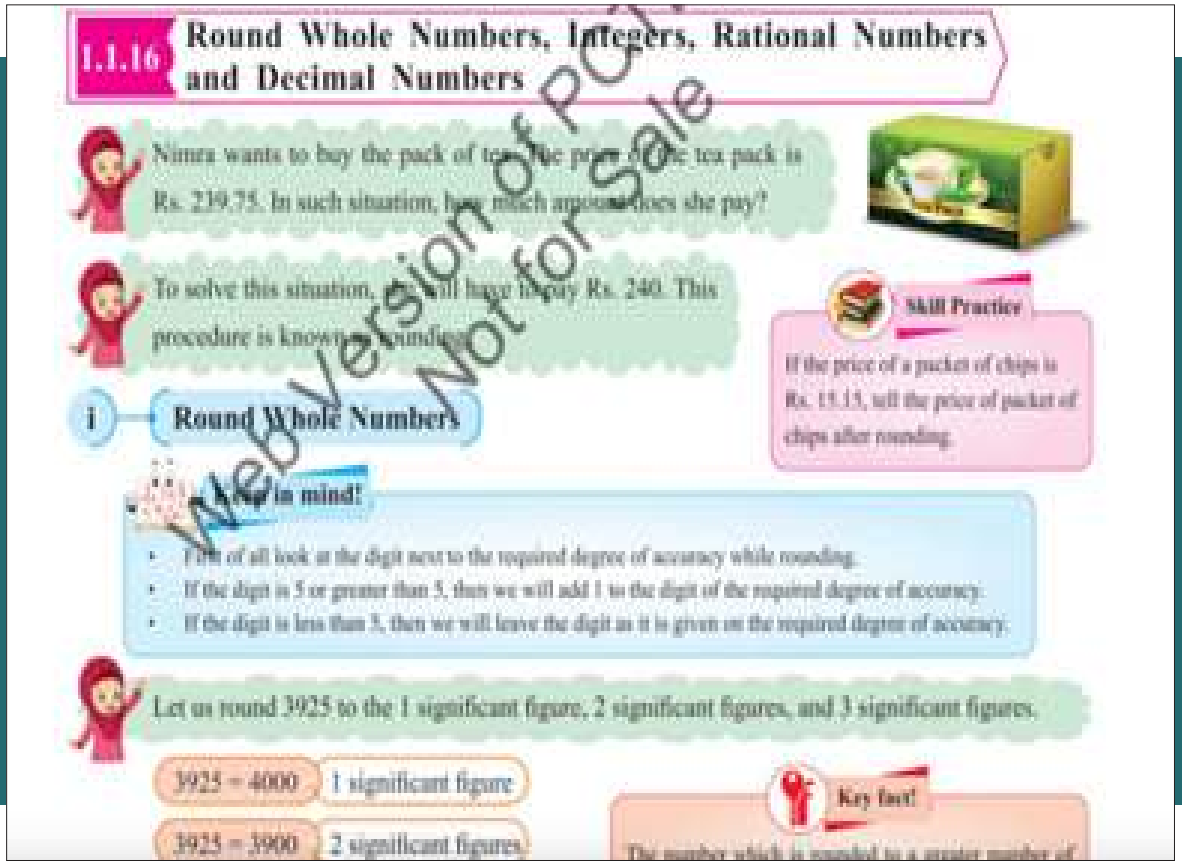
Husna has a small family. Her mother gets up early in the morning. After morning prayers, she prepares breakfast for the family. Then she helps Husna's younger brother Hammad and sister Fatima to get ready for school. Father also gets ready to drop the children to school and then goes to work. Mother says goodbye to all.

Husna's little baby brother, Rafay wakes up early too. Mother cuddles Rafay and gives him mashed bananas with milk. She gives him a bath and changes his clothes.

Example 106

Punjab Board, *Mathematics*, Grade 8, 2021, p. 12

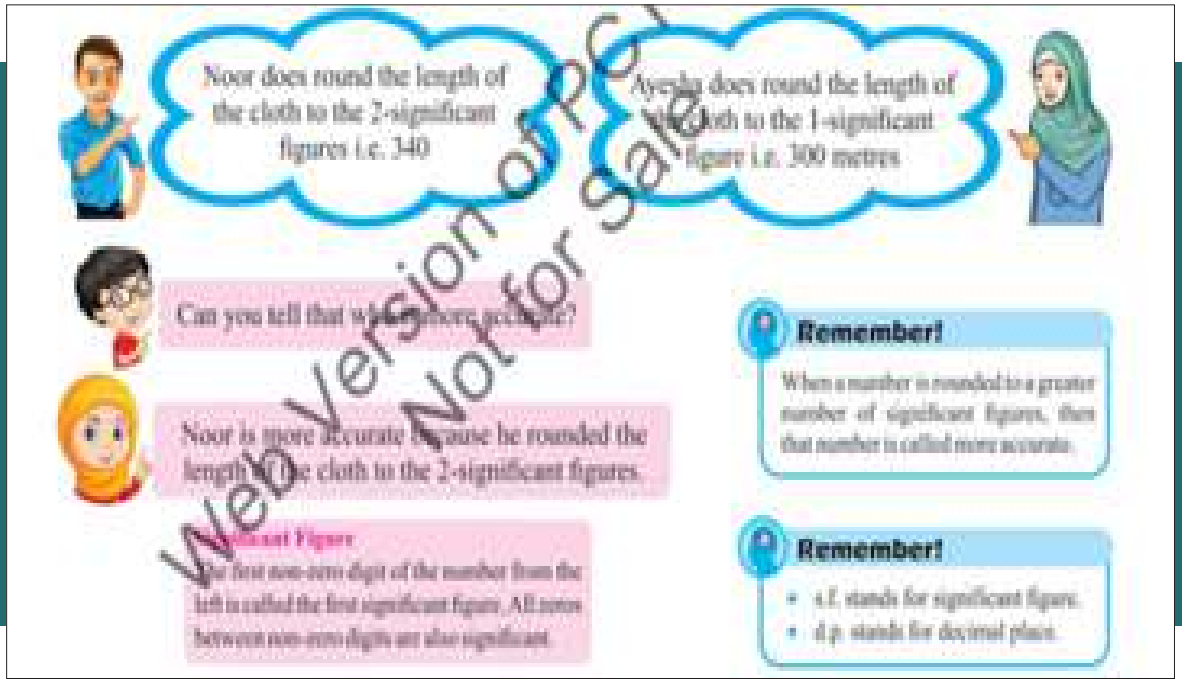
In a Grade 8 mathematics textbook, a woman character called Nimra is depicted wearing the *hijab*. Elsewhere, boys and men are shown in Western attire (see next example). It is important to note that this depiction appears in a Mathematics textbook—a subject that does not inherently require the promotion of a traditional Islamic context.



Example 107

Punjab Board, *Mathematics*, Grade 7, 2021, p. 20

In a Grade 7 Mathematics textbook, two female characters, Noor and Ayesha, are also depicted wearing *hijabs*. The boy and man are seen in western, non-traditional outfits, which perpetuates the stereotype that women should adhere to traditional standards of dress as opposed to more modern standards which are acceptable for men.



Web Version of PCP Not for Sale

Example 108

Punjab Board - *General Science*, Grade 6, p. 147

In a Grade 6 General Science textbook, a scene from the market depicts individuals wearing face masks to raise awareness about the COVID-19 virus. The image shows women wearing head coverings and fully covered, which may reflect cultural practices in Pakistan. While the intent may be to promote health and safety during the pandemic, the representation of women in conservative attire, in the context of a science textbook, unnecessarily emphasizes traditional gender stereotypes regarding clothing.

Methodology

IMPACT-se's research goal is to provide an accurate and comprehensive assessment of a national system's school curriculum, by analyzing a large quantity of textbooks using international standards based on UNESCO and U.N. declarations as well as other international recommendations and documents on education for peace and tolerance. During research, the textbooks are read thoroughly and individual examples are selected on the basis of relevance to research and criteria. The examples are then analyzed as is, without interpretation or paraphrasing, by trained experts and linguists, in terms of both their content and their didactic significance. Finally, the examples are generalized to establish the examples' significance in the overall narrative, determining the curriculum's adherence (or lack thereof) to international standards of peace and tolerance education.

Textbook research is a highly effective means to understand how the "Self" and the "Other" in a given society are conceptualized through educational materials. Two established approaches to qualitative textbook analysis are generally employed: *content* analysis, which examines the text itself, i.e., what it says in plain terms; and *discourse* analysis, which examines the language, narrative and context of the text, while paying close attention to omissions, contradictions and assumptions embedded in the text. This latter method provides insight into coded or implicit messaging. Elements of historical, political and religious background are also considered when they are deemed to provide further context. IMPACT-se research uses both methods simultaneously and in a complementary manner, thus allowing to reliably uncover the significance of the text and how it may be perceived by the intended reader, i.e., the student, and minimize observer bias on the part of the researcher.

The diverse nature of textual analysis necessitates clearly defined scope and parameters. As such, the methods of textual analysis mentioned above are employed with a focus on predefined topics and themes. To assess compliance with international educational standards, textbooks are approached with attention to the conceptualization of the "Self" and the "Other" in environments of conflict, and messages involving violence and incitement to violence; hate and intolerance; and peace and peaceful conflict resolution. These issues may be identified with the help of research questions, which serve as suggested leads and prompts for the researcher in exploring the context, aspects, significance and potential ramifications of a specific content example. Also explored are issues that arise from the source material itself, such as culture- or nation-specific issues. For example, the identity of the "Other" differs from one society to another, and in many cases there are multiple groups of people labeled as such; the "Other" may be ethnic, religious, racial, national, socio-economic, gender, sexual, or any combination of the above. As such, each corpus of textbooks requires a unique set of criteria for identifying and collating content examples.[126]

To ensure accuracy, research is conducted while taking into account known limitations and constraints. Since the contents of school curricula are created by multiple individuals and

126 Arnon Groiss, "Researching Schoolbooks of Societies in Conflict: Suggested Study Questions," 2013. https://www.impact-se.org/research-questions-2/;
also see suggested frameworks for the application of research questions in identifying violence and intolerance in textbook research:
Georg Eckert Institute, "Inception Report for a Study on Palestinian Textbooks," 12 April 2019, pp. 20–21, deposited in UK Parliament Libraries 16 June 2020, ref. no. DEP2020-0322.
https://depositedpapers.parliament.uk/depositedpaper/2282265/files

inconsistencies may occur even within a single textbook, the sample of textbooks to be researched is generally aimed to be as large as possible, encompassing multiple school grades and subjects. Favoring large samples also allows for a more accurate analysis of discourse and narrative that can only be perceived on a macro level, to pinpoint gaps and oversights, reach meaningful conclusions and facilitate actionable recommendations. Textbooks are selected for research after a preliminary study, on the basis of their verified use within the national education system and their assessed potential for relevance to predefined research topics.

In its assessment of educational materials, IMPACT-se employs UNESCO and other U.N. declarations, as well as international recommendations and documents on education for peace and tolerance. The use of internationally-recognized standards allows for an objective, empirical and fair analysis of a wide range of educational materials from diverse societies, mitigating political, national or religious biases on the part of the researcher and preventing prejudice towards any particular group of people. The use of these standards for evaluating educational content has been endorsed by bodies of the European Union, among others.[127]
These standards are as follows:

1 Respect

The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the "Other," his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life.[128]

2 Individual Other

The curriculum should foster personal attachment toward the "Other" as an individual, his or her desire to be familiar, loved and appreciated.[129]

3 No Hate

The curriculum should be free of wording, imagery and ideologies likely to create prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry and national hatred, as well as any other form of hatred or contempt for other groups or peoples.[130]

4 No Incitement

The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that disseminate ideas or theories which justify or promote acts and expressions of violence, incitement to violence, hostility, harm and hatred toward other national, ethnic, racial or religious groups.[131]

127 European Parliament, Resolution with Observations Forming an Integral Part of the Decisions on Discharge in Respect of the Implementation of the General Budget of the European Union for the Financial Year 2022, Section III – Commission and Executive Agencies (2023/2129(DEC)), 11 April 2024, item no. 198. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2024-0228_EN.pdf

128 As defined in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 1, 4.2. See also the U.N. Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples (1965), Principles I, III. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

129 The goal of education for peace is the development of universally recognized values in an individual, regardless of different socio-cultural contexts. See Ibid., Article 6. See also, on exchanges between youth, the U.N. Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principles IV, V.

130 Based on Ibid., Articles III.6, IV.7 and VII.39; and on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 18.2.

131 As defined in Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2106 (XX) on December 21, 1965. See also Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) on December 16, 1966.

5 Peacemaking

The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.[132]

6 Unbiased Information

Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers' guides, maps, illustrations, aids) should be up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and unprejudiced, and use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.[133]

7 Hate Gender Identity and Representation

The curriculum should foster equality, mutual respect, and should aim for equal representation between individuals regardless of their gender identity. It should also refrain from language, content, and imagery that depicts limiting and/or exclusionary gender roles.[134]

8 Sexual Orientation

The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that promulgates violence or discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.[135]

9 Sound Prosperity and Cooperation

The curriculum should educate for sound and sustainable economic conduct and preservation of the environment for future generations. It should encourage regional and local cooperation to that effect.[136]

The abovementioned standards are applied by the researcher in conjunction with specific guidelines for textbook development promoted by UNESCO itself. These include the following:

1. Treating textbooks as a tool for facilitating teaching and learning processes that foster peace, equality and mutual understanding;[137]

132 Based on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9; and on the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 5.

133 Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Article V.14.

134 The preamble to the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, notes the Convention on the Elimination of Any Form of Discrimination against Women and emphasizes respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to gender.

135 Based on Resolutions 32/2 (adopted June 30, 2016) and 17/19 (adopted July 14, 2011) of the U.N. Human Rights Council, and numerous U.N. General Assembly resolutions expressing concern and condemnation of laws and practices around the world which target individuals based on their gender identity and/or sexual orientation for discrimination, violence, and even extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions—all of which contradict the most basic principles of the U.N. and have no place in education.

136 Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Articles III.6, and IV.7. On the imperative for developing "systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance," see the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 4.2. On education for international cooperation, see also the U.N. Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principle II.

137 *Textbooks and Learning Resources: Guidelines for Developers and Users* (Paris: UNESCO, 2014), p. 12. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000226135_eng

2. The integration of human rights principles and pedagogical processes that teach peaceful conflict resolution, non-discrimination and other practices and attitudes for "learning to live together";[138]

3. Incorporation of content that is free from harmful gender, religious and other stereotypes,[139] or generalizations that may oversimplify the representation of other groups or set one group against the other;[140]

4. Adherence to factual information on other groups in a manner that facilitates understanding, providing neutral information about controversies[141] and rejecting denial or distortion of proven historical facts;[142]

5. The promotion of peace, with attention to the emotive level of words, attitudes to different groups of people and nations, identifying and countering hate speech, and managing conflict through dialogue;[143]

6. The promotion of peace-*building*, that is, a broader concept of "positive peace" that is an expression of the fundamental dignity of and respect for life;[144]

7. The use of tools such as literature to foster tolerance and empathy, helping students to see the world from the perspective of other people and to experience how others feel;[145]

8. The incorporation of real-life examples in science and mathematics to promote sustainable development, discarding impertinent political, violent, or conflict-oriented messaging,[146] and employing STEM subjects to build bridges between communities and transcend frontiers;[147]

9. Combating sexism and unequal gender representation in textbooks;[148]

138 *A Comprehensive Strategy for Textbooks and Learning Materials* (Paris: UNESCO, 2005), p. 11. https://inee.org/sites/default/files/resources/UNESCO-Comprehensive_Strategy_for_Textbooks_2005.pdf
139 Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development, Textbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2017), p. 29. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259932
140 *Making Textbook Content Inclusive: A Focus on Religion, Gender, and Culture* (Paris: UNESCO, 2017), p. 13. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000247337
141 *Making Textbook Content Inclusive: A Focus on Religion, Gender, and Culture* (Paris: UNESCO, 2017), pp. 15–16. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000247337
142 *Recommendation on Education for Peace and Human Rights, International Understanding, Cooperation, Fundamental Freedoms, Global Citizenship and Sustainable Development* (UNESCO: Paris, 2023), p. 9. https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/recommendation-education-peace-and-human-rights-international-understanding-cooperation-fundamental?hub=87862
143 Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development, *Textbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding* (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2017), p. 166. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259932
144 *Textbooks and Learning Resources: A Framework for Policy Development* (Paris: UNESCO, 2014), p. 21. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000232222
145 Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development, T*extbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding* (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2017), p. 175. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259932
146 Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development, *Textbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding* (New Delhi: UNESCO, 2017), pp. 37–42, 67–100. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259932
147 *Recommendation on Education for Peace and Human Rights, International Understanding, Cooperation, Fundamental Freedoms, Global Citizenship and Sustainable Development* (UNESCO: Paris, 2023), p. 9. https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/recommendation-education-peace-and-human-rights-international-understanding-cooperation-fundamental?hub=87862
148 Carole Brugeilles and Sylvie Cromer, *Promoting Gender Equality through Textbooks: A Methodological Guide* (Paris: UNESCO, 2009). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000158897_eng

10. Appropriateness to age and the mental well-being of students.[149]

In addition, IMPACT-se takes the following two criteria into consideration when assessing educational materials' compliance with international standards:

1. Educational material should respect international law, relevant resolutions, previous agreements and obligations. This may include, for example, the principle of a negotiated two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

2. Educational material should be void of antisemitic content, which is to be evaluated on the basis of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism.[150]

149 *Recommendation on Education for Peace and Human Rights, International Understanding, Cooperation, Fundamental Freedoms, Global Citizenship and Sustainable Development* (UNESCO: Paris, 2023), pp. 8, 10. https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/recommendation-education-peace-and-human-rights-international-understanding-cooperation-fundamental?hub=87862

150 International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), Non-Legally Binding Working Definition of Antisemitism.
https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism
Endorsed by the European Commission, Council, and Parliament as a "useful tool, in particular for education and training purposes for teachers, NGOs, state authorities and the media" European Commission, "Definition of antisemitism", 2021;
https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/combating-antisemitism/definition-antisemitism_en
European Parliament, Resolution on combating anti-Semitism (2017/2692(RSP)), 1 June 2017;
https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2017-0243_EN.html
Council of the European Union, "Fight against antisemitism: Council declaration," 6 December 2018.
https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2018/12/06/fight-against-antisemitism-council-declaration/

List of Textbooks

1. Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021
2. Punjab Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2018
3. Punjab Board – *Qur'an Translation (Tarjuma Tul Quran)*, Grade 7, 2022
4. Punjab Board – *Qur'an Translation (Tarjuma Tul Quran)*, Grade 8, 2022
5. Punjab Board – *Qur'an Translation (Tarjuma Tul Quran)*, Grade 9, 2022
6. Punjab Board – *Qur'an Translation (Tarjuma Tul Quran)*, Grade 10, 2023
7. Punjab Board – *Mathematics*, Grade 7, 2022
8. Punjab Board – *Mathematics*, Grade 8, 2022
9. Punjab Board – *Mathematics*, Grade 9, 2022
10. Punjab Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 7, 2022
11. Punjab Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 8, 2022
12. Punjab Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2022
13. Punjab Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 10, 2022
14. Punjab Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2022
15. Punjab Board – *English*, Grade 5, 2021
16. Punjab Board – *English*, Grade 5, 2023
17. Punjab Board – *Home Economics*, Grade 7, 2018
18. Punjab Board – *Home Economics*, Grade 8, 2011
19. Punjab Board – *History*, Grade 6, 2022
20. Punjab Board – *History*, Grade 7, 2023
21. Punjab Board – *History*, Grade 8, 2023
22. Punjab Board – *Geography*, Grade 7, 2013
23. Punjab Board – *Geography*, Grade 8, 2016
24. Punjab Board – *General Science*, Grade 6, 2023
25. Punjab Board – *General Science*, Grade 7, 2023
26. Punjab Board – *General Science*, Grade 8, 2023
27. Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 7, 2013
28. Punjab Board – *Ethics*, Grade 8, 2013
29. Punjab Board – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2023
30. Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 1, 2020
31. Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 3, 2014
32. Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 5, 2019
33. Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 6, 2020
34. Sindh Board – *Urdu*, Grade 8, 2020
35. Sindh Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 4, 2014
36. Sindh Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 5, 2014
37. Sindh Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 6, 2016
38. Sindh Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 7, 2017
39. Sindh Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 8, 2022
40. Sindh Board – *Science*, Grade 6, 2015
41. Sindh Board – *Science*, Grade 7, 2016
42. Sindh Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2023
43. Sindh Board – *Mazhabi Taleemat*, Grade 8, 2021
44. Sindh Board – *Mazhabi Taleemat*, Grade 9, 2021
45. Sindh Board – *Mathematics*, Grade 5, 2024
46. Sindh Board – *Mathematics*, Grade 8, 2024

47. Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 3, 2020
48. Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 4, 2014
49. Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 5, 2014
50. Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, 2015
51. Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 8, 2016
52. Sindh Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 9, 2021
53. Sindh Board – *General Knowledge*, Grade 2, 2014
54. Sindh Board – *English*, Grade 4, 2020
55. Sindh Board – *English*, Grade 11, 2022
56. Sindh Board – *Computer Education*, Grade 8, 2025
57. Federal Board – *Urdu*, Grade 2, 2020
58. Federal Board – *Urdu*, Grade 6, 2020
59.Federal Board – *Urdu*, Grade 7, 2020
60. Federal Board – *Urdu*, Grade 8, 2020
61. Federal Board – *Urdu*, Grade 9, 2021
62. Federal Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 4, 2020
63. Federal Board – *Social Studies*, Grade 5, 2020
64. Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 9, 2021
65. Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 10, 2020
66. Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 11-12, 2020
67. Federal Board – *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 12, 2025
68. Federal Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 1, 2024
69. Federal Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 4, 2023
70. Federal Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, 2020
71. Federal Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 7, 2020
72. Federal Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 8, 2020
73. Federal Board – *Islamic Education*, Grade 6, 2020
74. Federal Board – *History*, Grade 6, 2020
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77. Federal Board – *Geography*, Grade 7, 2020
78. Federal Board – *Geography*, Grade 8, 2020
79. Federal Board – *Science*, Grade 4, 2024
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81. Federal Board – *Science*, Grade 8, 2020
82. Federal Board – *English*, Grade 7, 2020
83. Federal Board – *English*, Grade 8, 2020
84. Federal Board – *Computer Studies*, Grade 7, 2020
85. Federal Board – *Civics*, Grade 9-10, 2024
86. Federal Board - *Pakistan Studies*, Grade 12, 2025