GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND TRIBAL EDUCATION

IN WEST PAKISTAN

(AN EVALUATION OF THE POLICY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL SYSTEM AND ITS SOCIAL STUDIES! CURRICULUM WITH REFERENCE TO THE KINSHIP SYSTEM AND SOME CULTURAL VALUES OF PAKHTUN TRIBESMEN)

By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to indicate suggestions for improving the current policy and practices of secondary school control and the social studies curriculum for the tribal area of West Pakistan. This is done after an evaluation of the present secondary educational policy of the revolutionary government of Pakistan. For this purpose, the policy matters as stated in government documents have been analysed with respect to objectives of the educational system, administrative and academic control and the social studies program. The evaluation of the policy has been made by viewing the policy and practices through the tribal socio-cultural perspective. The criterion of effectiveness (under which compatibility and continuity have been subsumed) has been used in the evaluation.

The main source of the problem is the separate, semi-independent and isolated position of the tribal area which has assumed an international significance. Political developments in this area since 1947 have been a main concern to the Pakistan government which has felt that a social integration of the tribesmen with Pakistan is vital to the nation. This necessitated educational and other efforts to change the social conscience, racial concepts and cultural values of the tribesmen. The present government is paying particular attention to the problem. This study is an attempt at beginning of the solution of the problem by first assessing the new educational policy and its effectiveness in integrating the tribesmen with Pakistani nationhood and second indicating suggestions for improving the policy.

The method used has been mainly analytical and exploratory. With the help of literature pertaining to socio-cultural, racial, political and economic situations in the tribal area and relevant literature in the fields of curriculum, education and cultural change the policy matters have been reviewed. A group of conclusions and preliminary hypotheses have been presented in the light of the analysis. The present study is limited to a preliminary attempt at the beginning of the solution of the problem, because its nature requires more elaborate data and further empirical study. However the writer on the basis of his personal experience as a teacher in the area and with the help of some relevant available data has brought out the main deficiencies in the present policy and practices as applied to the tribal area. Every care has been taken to make the conclusions as open ended and subject to further sharpening as possible.

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INTRODUCTION

A. ORIENTATION

On the North Western frontier of West Pakistan, a mountainous area of 20,000 sq. miles stretching over 400 miles from North to South against Afghanistan's border and only 5 to 13 miles away from Russian territory at some places, is inhabited by 2.7 million tribesmen called Pakhtuns. This area is not directly administered by the West Pakistan government and Pakistani laws, taxes and revenue do not operate there, nor do the Pakistani courts have any jurisdiction over this area so far. The tribesmen administer their affairs according to their age old traditional social system based on kinship principles and cultural values. The Pakistan government, without interfering in their 'ways of life' is extending educational and other facilities in order to integrate this area with West Pakistan.

B. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the present study is to first analyse the policy matters regarding secondary school organization, administrative and academic control and social studies curriculum as enforced in this area, and then to evaluate how far the objective of integrating Pakhtuns with Pakistan can be achieved through the present policy and practices.

The policy of administrative and academic control will be analysed with respect to objectives, organizational structure and function of officials. The policy of social studies' curriculum will be analysed with respect to its terms of reference, procedure for laying down sylabusses, contents of subjects and instructional methods.

The analysis will give an over all view of current policy and practices as applied to the tribal area. Evaluation will be made in view of the effectiveness of the policy in achieving the objectives as stated by the government. After viewing the policy matters in the tribal socio-cultural context conclusions will be drawn indicating suggestions for improving the present policy.

C. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The importance of the present study lies in first place, in the strategic position of the tribal area. Politically it is a part of West Pakistan and yet it is socially isolated from the country. The tribesmen's social behavior is governed by kinship principles and a racial concept that all Pakhtuns are descendents of one common ancestor. Their loyalty is determined by blood ties and not by citizenship. Since 1947 there have been several violent attempts by the tribesmen to secede from Pakistan and form an independent state and the U.S.S.R. has been supporting the secession movement.

The problem of tribal integration is imminently felt by the present government:

'In this area tribal tradition and group discipline dominate the outlook and ways of life; transport and communication facilities are inadequate...the inhabitants....are exceptionally shrewd....but they have a great leeway to make up... Hospitals and schools are primary needs and these will be met as soon as possible.

The problem of integrating them through education involves a careful planning of the means most suited to the tribal needs. It also involves

Government of Pakistan, Second Five Year Plan 1960-65, Karachi, Planning Commission, 1960.

the proper adjustment of educational organization in the tribal cultural frame. If people are forcibly made to accept a new set of value and culture they will feel threatened and may react with hostility. The greater the loyalty to an old system of values the worse a reaction to a new one may be. Though the solution of this problem does not depend wholly on education, yet education is one of the vital agencies which can help the tribal people learn wider loyalty, social communication and interdependence with Pakistan. It is with this attitude in mind that the present study is made as a step towards the beginning of solution of the problem.

D. DELIMITATIONS

Giving definite suggestions for remolding the policy with regard to the control of secondary schools and social studies curriculum in the tribal area is a colossal job for one person. As a matter of fact this problem requires cooperative efforts of social scientists, anthropologists and educational researchers who may suggest definite changes. The nature of the problem is such that it requires more elaborate data and empirical study of the distribution of population, inter-tribal relations, climatic factors, geo-political situation of various places in the tribal area and probably several other unknown variables. The present study has certain limitations. These are:

1) This study purports to be a preliminary survey towards a beginning of the solution of the problem. The evaluation and conclusions worked out need to be further tested by empirical study. This study will present a group of preliminary hypotheses which may serve as a threshold for further exploration and lead on towards the solution of the problem.

- 2) This study applies to the tribal area secondary school system. As such it includes the organizational structure, administrative and academic control as these affect the school education from class VI to XII which at present is secondary stage in West Pakistan and the tribal area.
- 3) This study applies to the compulsory social studies program from class VI to X for the tribal area as laid down in the Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education published by Ministry of Education Rawalpindi, 1960.

E. METHODS OF STUDY

Relevant information for the present study will be secured from three sources: 1) Literature pertaining to socio-cultural, political and economic condition in the tribal area, 2) Relevant literature in the fields of curriculum, education and cultural change, 3) Government documents and publications.

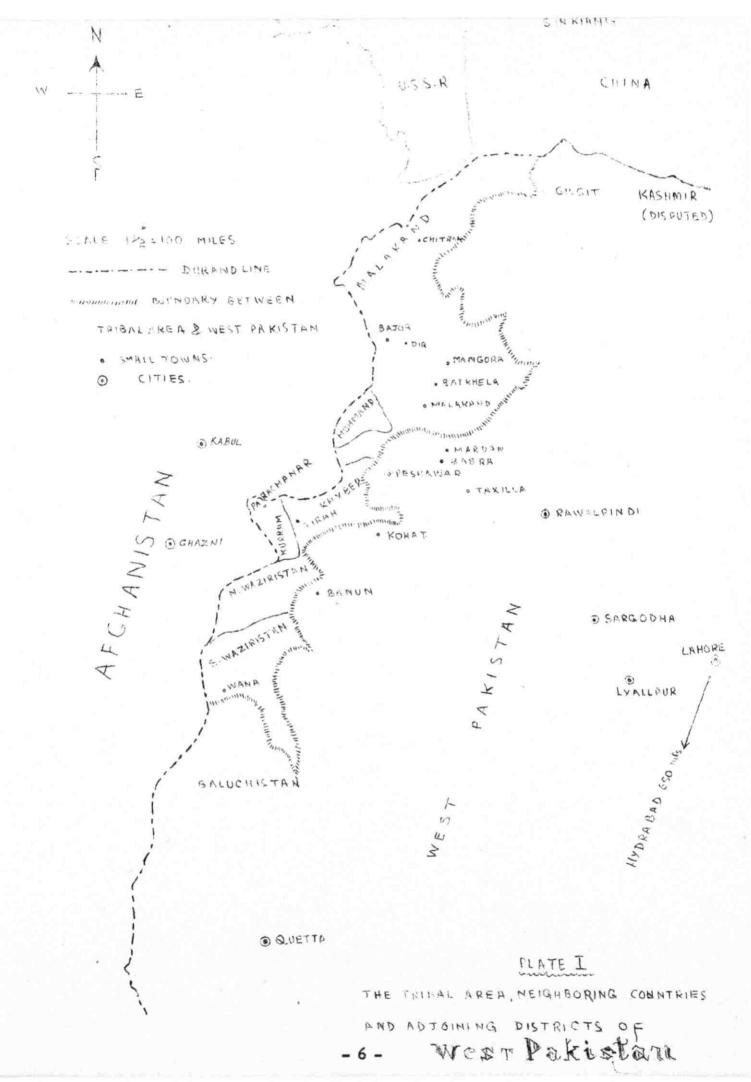
The method used will be mainly analytical and exploratory. An analysis of 1) Pakhtum society in terms of kinship principles and cultural values, 2) Policy matters in terms of objectives and administrative and academic control, 3) The social studies curriculum in terms of objectives, contents, and teaching practices, will be made.

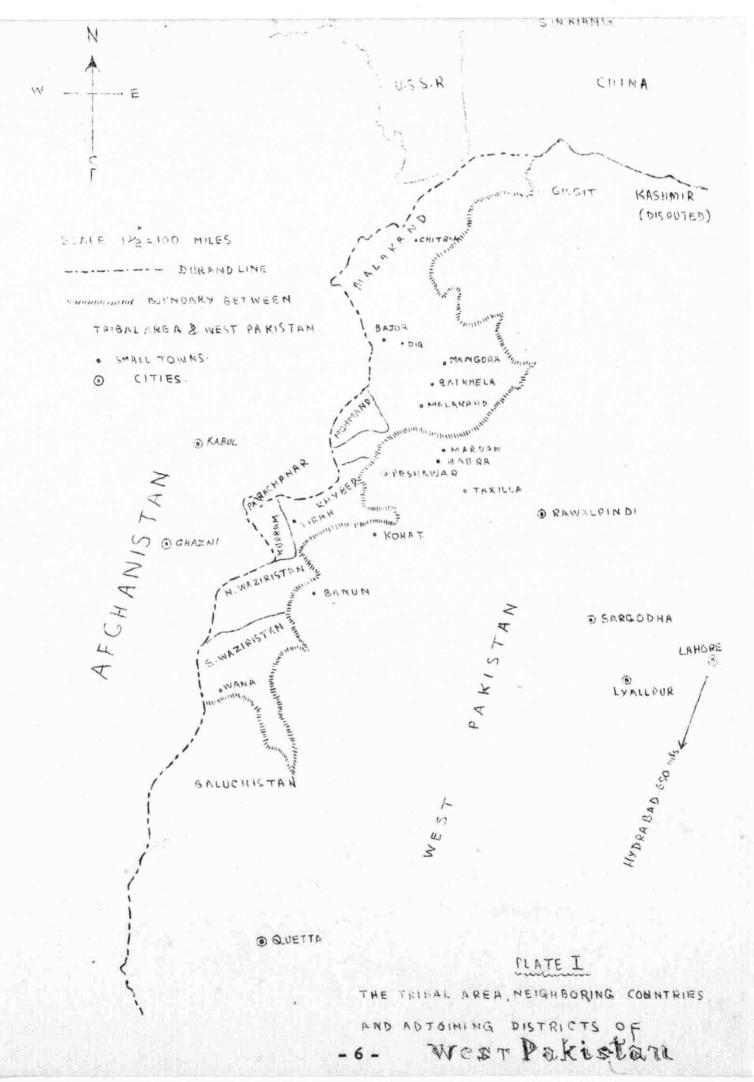
This analysis will lead to an evaluation of the policy matters by viewing them through the tribal socio-cultural perspective. The criterion of effectiveness will be used under which those of compatibility and continuity will be subsumed while making the evaluation.

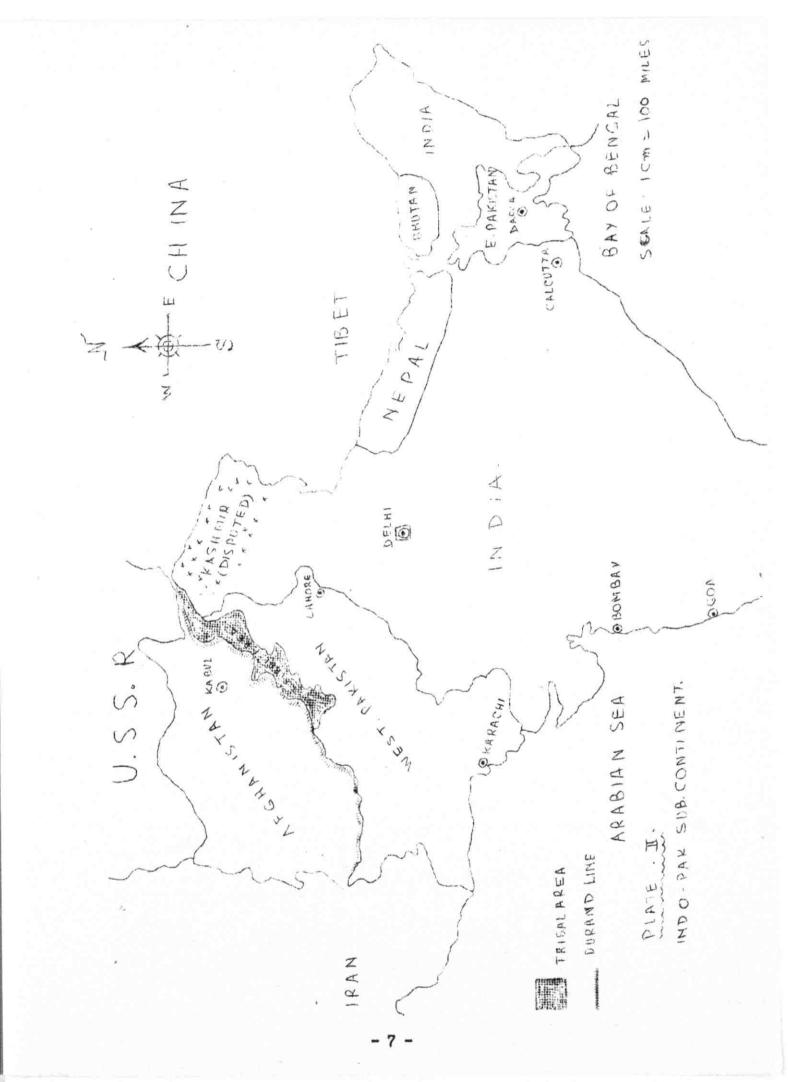
F. PLAN OF STUDY

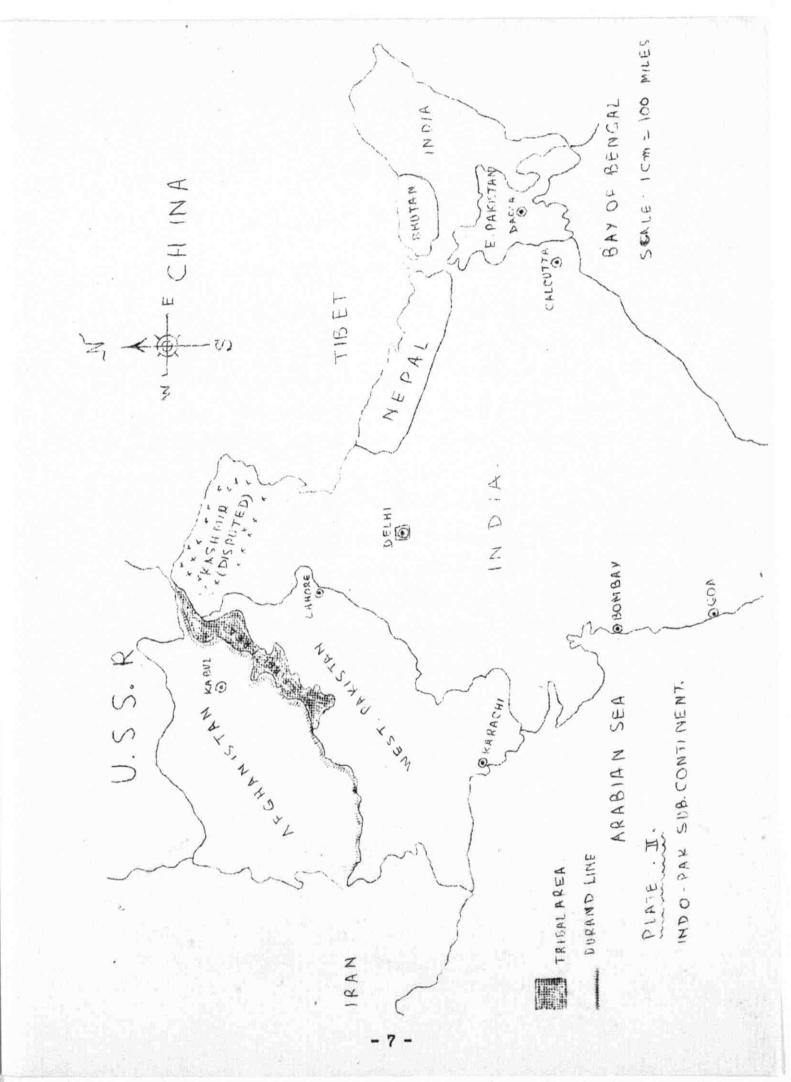
The general plan of the present study is as follows:

Chapter I will be devoted to a survey of the tribal area, its population distribution, political, historical, social and economic conditions. Chapter II will deal with the kinship system and cultural values of the tribesmen. Chapter III will state and analyse the governmental policy regarding control of secondary education and the social studies curriculum in the tribal area. Chapter IV will work out an evaluation of the policy matters and indicate suggestions for improving the policy. This chapter will end with a group of conclusions and preliminary hypotheses for further study.









CHAPTER I

THE TRIBAL AREA OF WEST PAKISTAN

A. POPULATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The tribal territory of West Pakistan extends over an area of 20,000 square miles on the north western mountainous border area. This territory is situated between the regularly administered districts of West Pakistan and Afghanistan. Thus West Pakistan has two boundaries on its northern frontier; one the international border with Afghanistan and the other, a little eastward, the administrative border between West Pakistan and the tribal territory. In between the international border and administrative border lies this partly administered tribal territory inhabited by Pakhtun tribesmen (also called Pashtun). According to the 1961 cemsus the total population of tribesmen is 2,727,724 persons and the literacy percentage of this whole territory varies from 1.6 to 4.9.

These 2.7 million Pakhtuns (the word is derived from the language they speak, Pakhtu or Pashtu) comprise several tribes known as Mahsuds, Wazirs, Khattaks, Afridis, Mohmands, Bangash, Yusufzais and Shinwaris

¹ See plate I, page 6.

Government of Pakistan, Final Tables of Population: Census Bulletin No. 2, Karachi, November 1961, pp. 50-52.

Government of Pakistan, Census of Pakistan 1961: Bulletin No. 1 Preliminary Release, Karachi, February 1961, p. 7.

The population in 1951 was 2,647,158 and average literary percentage was 0.6 only. See James W. Spain, 'Pathans of the Tribal Area', Stanley Maron (ed.) Pakistan: Society and Culture, New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1957, p. 135.

with several other sub-tribes. The territory is not under direct and normal administrative control of West Pakistan but is loosely administered through the indigenous tribal councils (called Jirgas) under the indirect supervision of Pakistani officers known as Political Agents. Pakistan inherited this system of administering the territory in 1947 from the British, who had divided the whole territory for administrative purposes into five contiguous areas called Agencies, each being under the control of a Political Agent. Pakistan has retained the British system with little changes and a sixth agency has since been added. As these five agencies or units of area were marked by English statesmen and not anthropologists, each unit contains different and mixed tribes. The sixth unit has been created by Pakistani officials on ethnic grounds to administer the affairs of Mohmand tribesmen. At present five agencies namely Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan are geographically contiguous units, each containing a mixture of tribes while the sixth namely Mohmand agency exclusively contains Mohmand ethnic tribesmen. The area and population of each agency is shown below:

James W. Spain, 'Pakistan North West Frontier', The Middle East Journal (Winter 1954), p. 28.

TABLE I
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND LITERACY IN THE TRIBAL AREA

Name of Agency	Area:Sq.Miles	Population	Population S. Miles	Literacy Percentage
Malakand	12,344	1,536,766	124	2.6
Chyber	995	301,319	303	3.8
Kurram	1,305	200,512	153	3.6
North Waziristan	1,817	159,470	88	4.9
South Waziristan	2,556	235,442	92	3.4
Mohmand.	887	294,215	332	1.6
Total	19,904	2,727,724	Ave 137*	2.9*

Source: Government of Pakistan, Census Bulletin No. 2, op.cit., pp. 50-52.

These tribesmen have remained isolated and semi-independent for the last three centuries. They were neither under the administrative control of Moghuls in 18th century, nor that of Sikhs in 19th century nor under British control in 20th century. To this day the tribesmen have no written law, no courts, no revenue and no taxes. They administer their affairs themselves in their age-old traditional ways through an archaic and simple but pure democratic institution called Jirga which regulates their affairs. Each tribe has one or many Jirgas and the Pakhtuns carry their inter-tribal blood feuds for generations, undertake peaceful

^{*}Weighted averages constructed from the data quoted above.

Olaf Carce, 'The North West Frontier: Old and New', Royal Central Asian Journal, London, July-October, 1961, pp. 293-294.

⁷Spain, "Pakistan North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 29.

projects, threaten Pakistan, Afghanistan or Russia through announcements and written and signed documents. Generally they undertake all other business of a social and political nature within the framework of tribal Jirgas which interpret their traditional 'ways of life' or Pakhtunwali.

Aware of the group nature of these tribesmen and their strong adherence to their traditional life based on kinship values the Pakistan government, without interfering in their 'ways of life' has been extending many facilities in order to integrate the tribal population with Pakistan. Increased efforts at social change through education and communication are being made. The present government realizes the significance of this part to the nation.

Mobility of capital between them (tribal agencies) and other parts of the province, despite contiguity is small. In these areas tribal traditions and group discipline dominate the outlook and ways of life....educational and social services are still meagre and employment opportunities are limited....Hospitals and schools are primary needs and these will be met as far as possible...to promote education generous scholarships will be granted....Also communication facilities are to be extended to establish better contact with other parts (of West Pakistan) and to increase the mobility of goods, services, labor and capital...

During the period 1947-49 different tribal Jirgas in addition to regulating their tribal affairs, sent various memorandums to many Muslim countries and also to the UN. See Dorthea Seeyle Frank, 'Pakhtunistan: Disputed Disposition of a Tribal Land', The Middle East Journal (Winter 1952), p. 59.

⁹In 1947 various tribal Jirgas decided to suspend their mutual hostilities and 100,000 tribesmen obeying their tribal decisions marched on Kashmir. See James W. Spain, 'Pathan's Ways', <u>Natural History</u> (December 1957), p. 551.

¹⁰ Government of Pakistan, Second Five Year Plan, op.cit., p. 406.

In 1947 the total budget allocation for school education in this territory was only 17000 rupees (about \$3800) and 1500 children were in schools. By 1953 the budget rose to 1.1 million rupees (\$244,000) and 18000 children were in schools. In addition 70 adult education centres were opened during 1953-54. During the year 1954-55 the budget allocation rose to 1.4 million rupees (over \$311,000) and some 4 million rupees (over \$888,000) were earmarked for the construction of school buildings. By 1957 the number of schools rose to 310 (including 275 primary schools). Since the revolutionary government took over in 1958, 700 annual scholarships amounting to 220,000 rupees (\$49,322) are being given to tribal students wishing to study in schools of West Pakistan.

B. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SITUATION

Parts of the Malakand agency are less than five miles from Soviet territory though at no point do the Pakistan and Russian borders actually meet. Lower meet. At one point there is only a thin mountainous ridge of twelve miles separating the tribal territory from the Soviet Union. The territory is less than 300 air miles from Stalinabad. Recent heavy Soviet infiltration in Afghanistan and her increased pressure on West Pakistan has added

¹¹ Protection and Integration of Tribal Population of Pakistan', International Labor Review (January 1957), p. 76.

¹² Spain, "Pakistan North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 34.

¹³ Protection and Integration of Tribal Population of Pakistan, op.cit., p. 76.

Government of West Pakistan, <u>West Pakistan Year Book 1959</u> (Lahore, The Public Relations Department, 1959), p. 86.

¹⁵ Spain, "Pakistan North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 38.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Afghanistan claims this territory saying that these 2.7 million Pakhtuns are kinsmen and blood brothers of 6 million Afghan Pakhtuns, and that they should be allowed to form their own independent state 'Pakhtunistan' to be merged into Afghanistan. The Soviet press and radio support Afghanistan's claim and accuse British 'imperialism' of having torn these tribesmen from their blood brothers living in Afghanistan in the 19th century and afterwards handing this area to Pakistan in 1947. 18 The situation becomes all the more critical for Pakistan since Pakhtuns racial home is central Asia and their dreams of luxuries are Bokhara carpets and Somarkand leathercoats. 19 Their tastes are to a certain extent central Asian. 20 Many Pakhtuns had served in the Guides Cavalry in the Baku intervention after World War I. 21

The entire territory borders on Afghanistan stretching more than 400 miles from North to South against the Durand line. Afghanistan is presently being influenced by the Russians. The Afghan army is supplied with Soviet arms and technicians. Besides this, Afghans are being sovietized by carefully designed plans of the Russian community welfare workers.

¹⁷ Caroe, op. cit., p. 297.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Spain, "Pakistan North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 38.

Here the camel bales give up Turkish carpets and Bokhara silk!. See Maynard O. William 'South of Khyber Pass', National Geographical Magazine (Washington, April 1946), p. 473.

²¹ Spain, "Pakistan North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 38.

Though there have been frequent and violent protests during 1959-60 by the people of Qandhar in Afghanistan against 'Godless' Russia but the process is in full swing. ²²Seen in such an international perspective the tribal territory of West Pakistan assumes a conspicuous position in national policy.

With the decay of the Moghul empire in India in 18th century the Afghan king Ahmed Shah Durrani extended the boundaries of his kingdom to include nearly all the area now comprising West Pakistan. His attention was directed to more fertile and productive parts of his dominion which could yield revenue and taxes. So he allowed the tribal area to retain its independence. After his death the Sikhs of Panjab under Ranjit Singh conquered all the parts of his kingdom except Afghanistan in 1820. The Sikhs also followed the policy of their predecessors and ignored the barren tribal area which could not fill their treasury. So the tribesmen remained independent though nominally they were under the Sikhs. On Ranjit Singh's death the British took over from the Sikhs. In dealing with the tribes the British too followed the policy of Sikhs in the beginning and they did not extend any direct or indirect administrative control over the tribal area till 1879, when they (British) feared Russian intents on their north western frontier. In view of an unstable Afghanistan the British gave serious consideration to the situation. The second Afghan war 1879 was launched primarily to prevent a possible political union between an expanding Russia and a weak Afghanistan. The British wanted to strengthen their control over this crucial area. 23 Article 9 of the concluding Treaty of Gandarmak (1879) read:

Arnold Toynbee, 'Impressions of Afghanistan and Pakistan North West Frontier in Relation to the Communist World', <u>International Affairs</u>, (London, April 1961), p. 166.

²³ Frank, op.cit., pp. 50-51.

The British government will retain in its own hands the control of the Khyber pass and Michini pass....and of all relations with the independent tribes of the territory directly connected with these passes.24

Abdul Rahman made several goodwill advances to win over the tribesmen to his side. In order to counterbalance the advances of the Afghan king the British started giving subsidies to the tribesmen. This tussel to win over the tribesmen continued, till in the interest of both parties it seemed necessary to demarcate a boundary line between their dominions. As a result, on November 12, 1893 the governments of India and Afghanistan decided upon an international boundary known as Durand line, named after Mortimer Durand the them foreign secretary to the government of India. The agreement was signed by the Afghan king and the viceroy of Inida. It said:

The government of India will, at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference with the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India... The frontier line will....be laid down in detail....by joint British and Afghan commissioners whose object will be to arrive by mutual understanding at a boundary which shall adhere with the greatest possible exactness to the line shown in the maps attached to this agreement, having due regard to the existing local rights of villages adjoining the frontier. 25

Practically the Durand line bifurcated some of the Pakhtun tribes and left other tribes aslant the Indo-Afghan border. Since India was ruled by the British the Pakhtun tribesmen remained Afghan oriented against the non-Muslim power in India. The British maintained law and order in the tribal area and kept it under their control proportionate to the extent of Russian danger at any time. 'Gradually they (British) developed a policy

²⁴Quoted in Frank, op.cit., p. 51.

²⁵ Quoted in Frank, op.cit., pp. 51-52.

of supporting Afghanistan as a strong barrier against possible Russian aggression. As a supplement to this program, the British statesmen decided to create a buffer against the buffer, a prickly hedge between Afghanistan and the settled districts of India. 126

From 1894 to 1947 the big power of Russia in the north was counterbalanced by the great power of the British government of India supported by the vast Indian army of good striking abilities. So there remained a balance of powers. Now Pakistan, which is only a part of the greater India and which has to defend her other frontiers also, has to hold this vital frontier against the Soviet Union. Pakistan's frontier is against the U.S.S.R. rather than against Afghanistan. Afghanistan's demand for Pakhtunistan is backed by Russia for two apparent reasons, first that if Pakhtunistan is merged with Afghanistan then the sphere of Russian influence will be extended and second, if Pakhtunistan remains an independent state it will be more or less a satellite of U.S.S.R. and may ultimately be absorbed like many other central Asian smaller states. In either case Russia will be able to press still harder against Pakistan.

There is no doubt the Pakhtunistan propaganda has much filial appeal to Pakhtun tribesmen whose society is based on a kinship system in which the central principle is that of unilinear descent through males and all Pakhtuns in theory have descended from a common male ancestor, Kais, who lived in Afghanistan or central Asia several centuries ago.

Rvery Pakhtun therefore considers himself to be a cousin to every other Pakhtun

²⁶Arnold Fletcher, 'Afghanistan: Highway of Conquest', Current History (London, June 1950), p. 337.

²⁷ Toynbee, op.cit., p. 61.

²⁸ Caros, op.cit., p. 291.

living in Pakistan settled area or in Afghanistan. This Pakhtun concept of affinity by kinship and common descent and not according to citizenship poses a serious problem to Pakistan. 29 Though authentic statistical data is not available but it is not very inconceivable that in case of a plebiscite a majority of tribesmen may vote for an independent Pakhtunistan. 30

C. POLITICAL SITUATION

1. Within the Tribal Area

The Pakhtunistan movement has been active in some parts of the tribal area. In 1948 a tribal leader Malik Wali Mohammad Khan raided Khyber pass with a lashkar (battle party) of thousands of tribesmen to liberate Pakhtunistan. In 1949 seven Afridi Pakhtun leaders of Tirah announced the formation of a Pakhtunistan government and sent memoranda to many Muslim countries and to the UN as well. They elected members for parliament and adopted a flag with a red mountain and rising sum. The Pakhtunistan movement was claimed to be supported by less than 10 per cent of tribesmen in Pakistani area. A treaty was signed and thumb impressioned by the tribal leaders. It read:

²⁹It may be noted that there are 12 million Pakhtuns in all, out of which 2.7 million living in the tribal territory are called real Pakhtuns, another 3.5 million living in settled districts of West Pakistan are called Pathans (a Hindi word for Pakhtun) and 6 million living in Afghanistan are known as Afghans. The tribesmen who are the subject of study here are called Asli or real Pakhtuns because they are neither Afghanicized nor Pakistanized, like Afghans and Pathans. See Spain, "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p. 138.

³⁰ Frank, op.cit., pp. 62-63.

³¹ Spain, "Pakistan North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 36.

³² Fletcher, op.cit., p. 339.

³³ London Times (29 June, 1949), cited in Frank, op.cit., p. 63.

We promise that we are part of Pakistan and we promise that in case of need we will...help Pakistan....The government of Pakistan will continue....the allowances and other benefits which we are now receiving. The internal management of our tribe will remain as before.34

Another report said that the tribesmen around Khyber thought of independence only and nothing else. 35 In November 1950 the U.S. ambassadors in Afghanistan and Pakistan tried to work out a solution between the two countries but Afghanistan expressed her willingness to negotiate only on the basis of her national policy (demand for Pakhtunistan)36 In 1952 the Pakhtunistan liberation fighters with arms from Kabul attempted to cut off the road between Kohat and Peshawar and in 1953 the Khyber pass had to be temporarily closed for one day due to violent attacks on it and hostilities between opposite tribes. 37 In July 1961 serious hostilities between the supporters of Pakhtunistan coming from Afghanistan and other Pakhtuns cost several hundred lives in Bajour and Dir area 38 and the Pak-Afghan border was closed. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were also severed. In January 1962 through the intervention of the UN the border was opened in order to transport American aid goods through Khyber. On 30 March 1962 this border was again closed despite Pakistan's attempt to keep the transit trade open. 39

³⁴ New York Times, 23 May, 1949, cited in Frank, op.cit., p. 63.

³⁵ Douglas Stewart Listner, May 23, 1949, cited in Frank, op.cit., p.63.

³⁶Frank, op.cit., p. 61.

³⁷ New York Herald Tribune (12 Sept. 1953), p. 13.

³⁸ Caroe, op.cit., p. 298.

³⁹ The Daily Star (Beirut, 3 April 1962), p. 8.

Until 1947 the British government of India kept a stern militaristic policy in the tribal area. They stationed 48 battalions in the area
to minimize the Russian or Afghan influence and to combat hostile elements.
Pakistan could neither afford nor did she want to continue the British policies. So in 1947 Pakistan withdrew its entire army from this territory
and raised 5 battalions comprised of tribesmen themselves. Arnold Toynbee
who visited the area in 1960 wrote:

They (Pakistan government) moved the regular army out of these frontier regions and they evacuated the most remote and exposed of the British forts.... I visited....Razmak thirteen years after its evacuation. It was like seeing the Roman Wall thirteen years after the Romans had evacuated it....the Pakistanis evacuated it and they garrisoned the forts which they retained with units of the frontier corps recruited from the tribal people.

Pakistan's policy to withdraw its army and to extend educational, economic and other developmental facilities without interfering in its tribal administration has earned much goodwill but at the same time it has facilitated the activities of agitators and dissentionists. The separatist tendency in this area had its repercussions in other parts of West Pakistan too.

2. Its Effects on West Pakistan

The internal politics of West Pakistan did not remain whaffected by the separatist tendency of Pakhtunistan movement. During the years 1947-50 its influence spread to the settled districts of West Pakistan inhabited by 3.5 million Pathans (Pakistanized Pakhtuns). In May 1948 Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a supporter of Pakhtunistan movement toured the

⁴⁰ Spain, "Pakistan North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 58.

⁴¹Toynbee, op.cit., p. 167.

tricts from West Pakistan to form a bigger Pakhtumistan along with the tribal territory. He, along with his 100 followers, was arrested after some days. Following his arrest the separatists grew furious and broke into violent attacks on government property. At one place, Babra, 15 were killed and 50 wounded during August 1948. On 16th October 1950 the first prime minister of Pakistan Mr. Idaqat Ali Khan was shot dead by a Pakhtun. Nothing final can be said in this respect because his death has remained a mystery inspite of the efforts of the FBI from the United States and Scotland Yard Police from England. Further in other provinces of West Pakistan these germs of separatism manifested themselves in the Panjabis' love for Punjab, Sindhis' love for Sind and Baluchis' love for Baluchistan. These inter-provincial hostilities overtly expressed themselves in Panjabi refugees' reluctance to go to Sind for settlement though Sind offered more opportunities to absorb them.

⁴² This separatist movement gave a different version of Pakhtunistan saying that not only 2.7 million Pakhtuns of the tribal area should have a separate state but also their blood brothers 3.5 million Pathans of the settled area should join in Pakhtunistan. See Frank, op.cit., p. 57.

⁴³ Frank, op.cit., p. 57.

The assiliant was crushed to death by the furious mob on the spot and no clue about his motive could be established.

⁴⁵ It may be noted that West Pakistan was not a single province till 1955. It consisted of different provinces, Sind, Panjab, North West Frontier, in addition to some princely states. In 1955 the Pakistan government amalgamated all provinces and states to form one province, West Pakistan, in order to counteract the forces of separatism and to outweigh Pakhtunistan movement.

⁴⁶ Orville F. Linck, A Passage Through Pakistan (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1959), p. 194.

Soon after the merger of all provinces and states into one unit the forces of separatism rose up again. The idea of one unit became unpopular and several political parties of the old Sind and Frontier provinces demanded that it should be broken up in its constituent parts. 47 Provincialism and mutual distrust spread from the political parties to the civil services and administrative machinery. The whole of West Pakistan was divided and sub-divided into groups and sub-groups. The people were apparently not mature and ready for democracy. 48 The struggle between the supporters of one unit and separatists (including Pakhtunistan supporters) within the assembly had its repercussions on the masses. Mob fights, tension and hostility heightened between One-Uniters and the separatists. On 31 October 1957 the high command of the National Awami Party, Maulana Bhashani, Abdul Ghaffar Khan (leader of Pakhtunistan movement) and the left winger Mian Iftikhar Din were mobbed at a political rally in Rawalpindi and had to be rescued by police under baton charge. 49 Similar tension prevailed in other towns of West Pakistan resulting in acts of hooliganism and violence in Lyallpur and Sargodha. 50 By the end of 1957 there had been several clashes in the country between the supporters of one unit and its opponents. 51 In May 1958 the founder of Republican party (favoring one unit) was murdered in Lahore. 52 Ultimately the army overthrew the democratic government to control the situation. The tribal territory of West

⁴⁷ Khalid Bin Sayeed, 'Collapse of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan', The Middle East Journal (November 1959), p. 393.

⁴⁸ Pakistan, Frontier Democracy', Time (22 August 1955), p. 23.

⁴⁹ The Daily Dawn (Karachi, 1 November 1957), p. 1.

⁵⁰ The Daily Dawn (Karachi, 3 November 1957), p. 1.

⁵¹ The Daily Dawn (Karachi, 30 November 1957), editorial, p. 4.

⁵² The founder of Republican Party was also a Pakhtun and a real brother of the Pakhtunistan movement leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

Pakistan had been the original spark for igniting the whole series of events in this particular direction. Cyril Falls reported that during the last decade parchialism had led to corruption, smuggling and selfish individualism. Sayeed compared Pakistan society to Hobbes' state of nature and remarked that they could not think of any loyalty beyond their immediate kinship groups. Military regime seemed to be the only remedy for the situation.

D. ECONOMY

Until 1947 the British government of India had paid little or no attention to the task of integrating the tribal population of this area with the rest of India. Since their interest in this area had been militaristic 55 and strategic they did relatively little to improve its economy. Practically no scheme of encouraging cottage industry or improving irrigation or providing opportunities for employment in industry outside the tribal territory existed till 1947. The tribesmen were in a semi-wild medieval economy of their own and had practically no chance of mobility out of their area. For economic reasons they frequently raided the settled area looting the adjoining villages. The British pacified them by increasing their subsidy allowance or controlled them by threatening to stop the allowance depending on the situation and the tribe involved. Between the two world wars the tribal territory cost the British government of India over two million pounds sterling per year and uncounted lives. 56

⁵³Cyril Falls, 'Storm Tossed Pakistan', <u>Illustrated London News</u> (18 October 1958), p. 640.

⁵⁴ Sayeed, op.cit., p. 393.

⁵⁵The British policy is reflected in these words 'Pacifying the he man's land is a he man's job....In 1937, 40000 troops fought for the British and no less than 6 million dollars were spent'. See Williams, op.cit., p. 479.

⁵⁶Frank, op.cit., p. 55.

Pakistan with a different policy towards these tribes and due to her limited resources could not pursue the same techniques. Her intention has been
to integrate the tribal population gradually with the rest of Pakistan. 57
Though Pakistan has continued paying the subsidy allowances to the tribesmen yet at the same time several developmental plans have been launched
since 1947 without interfering in the internal administration of tribal
firgas.

The economy of this region is precarious and the lack of productivity has been a major problem. Most of the tribesmen of Malakand agency own some fields and orchards; some tribes of north Waziristan agency are pastoral. Rainfall and irrigation are meagre. Since 1947 the Pakistan government has been trying to provide for job opportunities, mobility and economic enterprise to the tribesmen. The military government has considerably added to these efforts by paying more attention to the educational program. During the years 1947-52 the government extended many grants for cottage industries and also provided facilities for agriculture credit. So By 1957 cottage industry was given more attention and centres for rugmaking at Batkhela, metal work at Wana and sericulture at Parachinar were opened. At each of these centres training is given to 20 persons annually who receive a monthly stipend of hundred rupees each. After they finish their training they are given 250 to 500 rupees each to establish their own business.

⁵⁷ Government of Pakistan, Second Five Year Plan, op.cit., p. 406.

⁵⁸ Frank, op.cit., p. 59.

⁵⁹ Protection and Integration of Tribal Population of Pakistan, op.cit. p. 76.

⁶⁰ Government of West Pakistan, Year Book 1959, op.cit., p. 87.

Though there is little scope for large-scale industry, the government is encouraging private enterprise in moderate sized industry. An artsilk concern with 10 power looms has been established by private enterprise in Malakand. A moderate crude sugar factory and a sale depot have been established as private enterprise also in Malakand. 61 Warsak Dam completed in 1961 under the Colombo Plan is estimated to provide irrigation facilities to 119,326 acres of land in the tribal area and the Kurram Project will irrigate a scattered area of 112,000 acres. 62 Fruit industry is being encouraged and orchard owners in Miranshah, Wana and Dargai have been given 50,000 saplings; some 800 acres of land are being brought under orchards every year in the Kurram agency. Besides this 10,000 fruit plants of pear, apple, apricot, plum and almond are distributed free every year. To encourage mobility of population from the tribal area to the adjoining districts and to other parts of West Pakistan, the present government has given 55,000 acres of agricultural land in the Panjab and Sind areas to over 1000 tribesmen from Waziristan. A yearly program of settling 1000 pastoral tribesmen has been launched since 1959. These settlers are given interest-free loans in addition to free agricultural implements and bullocks. Tribesmen are encouraged to be employed in mills and factories in the adjoining districts. At present three sugar mills, one tobacco factory and one cold storage warehouse are situated just outside the tribal territory. To encourage mobility of the tribal youth and to widen their loyalty 700

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 89.

⁶² Government of West Pakistan, Year Book 1960 (Iahore, The Public Relations Department 1960), p. 63.

⁶³ Government of West Pakistan, Year Book 1959, op.cit., pp. 88-89.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 89.

yearly scholarships amounting to 220,000 rupees (over \$ 46,600) are given to tribal students wishing to study in the schools and colleges of West Pakistan. 65

The purpose of the present study is to evaluate the extent of effectiveness of certain aspects of present educational policy in the context of Pakhtun kinship and cultural values. The present government is apparently much concerned about the process of social and political integration of the tribal area with West Pakistan. The desired results will greatly depend on the suitability of the means adopted to bring about such change. If means are not properly worked out and carefully employed and if the changes seem to be artificially imposed from above a non-literate traditional society may react violently as it has in the past and such reaction may bring negative results in multifarious forms. 66

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 86.

Kenneth L. Little, "Social Change in a non-literate Community", Phillips Ruopp (ed.) Approaches to Community Development (Hague: W. Van Hoeve Ltd., 1953), p. 133.

CHAPTER II

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM AND CULTURAL VALUES OF THE TRIBESMEN

A. KINSHIP SYSTEM

1. Mineage Principle

Pakhtun society is based on a kinship system, the central principle of which is that all Pakhtuns are descendents of a common male ancestor named Kais who lived in Afghanistan or central Asia in the dim past. This mythical racial concept has so developed in Pakhtuns that one individual considers himself to be a cousin of every other Pakhtun and the whole Pakhtun community as a vast circle of his kinsmen extended to Pakistan and Afghanistan. The importance of blood ties to a Pakhtun can be estimated by the fact that he has about seventy kinship terms describing minute details of relationship.

Of the 12 million Pakhtuns, 2.7 million live in the tribal territory of West Pakistan, while 3.5 million live in regularly administered districts of West Pakistan and over 6 million are in Afghanistan. This large society of 12 million kinsmen is divided into four kinds of lineage groupings leading down to basic family unit. Of these four lineage groupings, the largest is called Qaum or tribe and the whole Pakhtun society has over 30 tribes of which about 10 are concentrated mostly in the tribal area but having their

¹ Spain, "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p. 138.

²Vreeland, op.cit., p. 115.

distant kinsmen in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Tach tribe traces its descent from a common male but he is an uncertain and mythical ancestor somewhere below the Pakhtun father Kais. A tribe is further divided into Khels or sub-tribes which are the second largest of these lineage groupings. A khel is composed of people who are descendents of a common male below the tribal ancestor. In time a khel may assume the status of a tribe. Next to khels come Kors which are comparatively much smaller groupings. Each kor has a common and known male ancestor. A kor is further split into Khandans or extended families. The khandan is the smallest lineage group composed of several closely related families living in one village. So a tribe may be composed of as many as two hundred thousand persons while a khandan usually contains less than hundred persons.

2. Tribe or Qaum

Qaum or tribe is an aggregate of several thousand individuals usually concentrated in a compact and contiguous area. Some tribes therefore live aslant the Pak-Afghan border. Their affinity to each other and feeling of one-ness is more marked than those with other Pakhtums belonging to other tribes. Tribal loyalty dominates the wider loyalty to common Pakhtun cause not to speak of loyalty to Pakistan. 'The members of a tribe have some peculiarities of dress, speech and manners which distinguish them from other tribes.' As a distinct unit each tribe regulates its own law and order through its own unwritten codes and traditions. There is no caste system among Pakhtuns and each tribesman considers himself equal to

³Caroe, op.cit., pp. 291 f.

Mahsuds, a well known tribe, were a khel of Waziris only a century ago. Now Mahsuds and Waziris are deadly enemies. See Spain, "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p. 147.

Vreeland, op.cit., p. 116.

every other individual within his own tribe or beyond it. Leadership within a tribe is neither hereditary nor rigid. It is mobile and may be acquired and lost. There may be one, two or several chiefs called Maliks in a tribe. A malik acquires his status and loses it according to his ability to lead his tribe in different situations of social affairs, peaceful projects or battle against a hostile tribe. 'Allegiance is given and withdrawn almost exclusively on the basis of maliks' personality and performance although wealth and family influence have some attraction.'

Mach tribe regulates its affairs, settles personal disputes among members and punishes the offenders through the Jirga or 'gathering'. ''A Jirga very closely resembles Athenian democracy at its simplest and purest form." The size of a Jirga depends on the nature of the issue under consideration because membership in the Jirga and the right to attend it are unrestricted. Every tribesman may attend such gatherings and argue whenever he has something to say. So a Jirga may be composed of five or six elderly tribesmen who discuss the construction of a mosque, or its strength may be two hundred tribesmen who gather to discuss an invasion on a hostile tribe, or it may have thousands of armed men who discuss an issue of international significance. As there is no election the right of any man to be heard depends on his acquired status, the force and contents of his arguments and his reputation as a guman. Jirga and its decisions are taken quite seriously and though most, if not all, participants have rifles and

Frank, op.cit., p. 67.

⁷ Spain, "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p. 139.

Spain, "Pakistan, North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 29.

⁹Spain, "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p. 140.

other firearms with them and there are frequent inter-khel or inter-family tensions, but a Jirga has never been unruly and disorderly in the known history of Pakhtuns. 10 The Jirga decisions are usually carried out by Pakhtuns irrespective of their mutual differences and personal inclinations. If someone refuses to obey its decision his property is confiscated or his house is burned according to the decision taken in the subsequent Jirga. Such punishment (on refusal to obey Jirga decision) is widely practised and is known as 'Nagah'. A legalized Jirga i.e., one which has been approved by the Political Agent, can decide cases of adultery, theft and murder.

3. Sub-tribe or Khel

Next to the tribe the largest lineage group is khel or the sub-tribe which may assume the status of a tribe as time passes. Each tribe has many khels not necessarily at peace with each other. A disagreement and feud over land, women or wealth may embitter two real brothers or cousins. It this estrangement will henceforth split their future offsprings. The sons will hand over these differences to grandsons and so on until two khels belonging to the same tribe may develop strong and violent dislike for each other with the reason unknown to the tribesmen. Hostility and dislike for certain khels travel through generations and a child inherits these obligations of hostility. 12

The tribesmen manufacture 3000 weapons a month, each a copy of a modern piece. One rifle, the 303, costs about twenty dollars. See Jean Shor, 'Pakistan, New Nation in an Old Land', The National Geographic Magazine (November 1952), p. 664.

¹¹Zar, Zan, Zamin (gold, woman and land) are causes of feuds among Pakhtuns. See Spain, "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p.139.

¹²The extent of hostility a Pakhtun may inherit and acquire is reflected in Pakhtun word for good-bye, "Pa mukha de kha" may goodness and safety go before you.

Iderally khel means 'children of' because a khel is named after
the ancestor below the level of the tribal ancestor. Different khels may
unite on matters of tribal importance and may undertake common war projects
under the decision of Jirga, but such occasions are few. A khel is a more
compact group due to the relative nearness of the kinship of its members.
So loyalty to the khel comes first when deciding upon inter-khel issues
which are more frequent than issues of tribal importance. The circle of
loyalty narrows down as it moves from Pakhtunhood to the tribal stage and
then to the level of khel. The big circle of Pakhtun loyalty and affinity
being based on blood ties, breaks up into smaller and still smaller circles.
This divisive nature of their society has split them into mutually warring
tribes, and sub - tribes.

4. A Smaller Lineage Group: The Kor

As a tribe splits into sub-tribes due to some disagreement between brothers or cousins over the distribution of wealth or over women, similarly a khel is further split into kors. The emergence of a kor is identical with that of a khel. The differences due to which kors appear are not remote like ones behind the emergence of khels, so the hostilities between kors are more marked and felt by the members of respective kors. A Pakhtun child inherits another obligation for dislike. Persons living in the same group of villages belonging to different kors may avoid one another regularly. A whole kor may not be even on speaking terms with another kor. They will distinguish a kor with which they are on good terms from another kor with which they are not, saying 'we have 'khebada' (common good and bad) with this kor or we have broken 'khebada' with that kor. 13 A mythical and

¹³ Vreeland, op.cit., p. 123.

vague sense of loyalty may be present at the Pakhtunhood level but a stronger and more intimately felt sense of loyalty exists at the kor level because a kor is more visible than khel or tribe and the obligation to be loyal to the cause of kor has been relatively recently inherited by its members.

5. Extended family or the Khandan

Next to Kor comes the most important kinship or lineage unit: khandan. It is the base line over which the whole tribal and Pakhtun kinship structure stands. In view of the disintegrative nature of Pakhtun society a khandan is the breeding soil for all the factions which eventually encompass the whole of kors, khels and sometime tribes. Since Pakhtun society is patrilineal and patriarcal a khandan therefore usually comprises three or four generations up to grand or great grand father. It may include grand father, father, uncles, cousins and real and half brothers. Sisters and daughters are counted as temporary members of khandan for after marriage they may belong to another khandan.

The whole khandan may live in one big fortified house called gala (castle) as long as the male members are mutually compatible with each other. The gala has several apartments in which different unit families may live. It has no windows or ventilators opening outside. We over the roof is a parapet with holes to fix guns whenever there is danger. The male members of a khandan do not live amicably among themselves for long periods of time and the differences began in the khandan first later are carried on through generations when the split parts of one khandan have themselves become hostile khandans or kors. Thus the same instrument of

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 115.

hostility splits and gives growth and magnitude to this kinship unit. This is the source of nearly all disagreements, feuds and dissentions among brothers.

When such disagreement happens, the estranged member or members take their share of property and build a separate gala if they can afford. The basic unit family, then consisting of father, sons and unmarried daughters have their own separate house with their fields of agricultural land nearby. Such unit families usually live as separate, self sufficient and independent units, with little interdependence with other families. The male members may seasonally go for some occupation to nearby settled area towns otherwise they live in their autonomous poverty, endless disputes and irresistible individualism. A cousin at this stage of multiplied and recurring differences can become an enemy. In the Pakhtun language the word for cousin, Tarbur, is synonymous with enemy. 15

equality, loyalty and self interest, obedience and suspicion, sharing and distrust. On the surface all brothers inherit equal shares of property from their father. But on the death of the father the eldest brother assumes the managerial role of the house. He has the priority of right to the best, though equal in measurement and area, plot of land and also the best apartment in the house. The traditional elderism requires a younger brother to show overt respect to the elder one; the former is not supposed to smoke or laugh in the presence of the latter. If the elder brother

¹⁵ James A. Michener, 'Pakistan: Divided it Stands', Reader's Digest (December 1954), p. 170.

¹⁶ Vreeland, op.cit., pp. 118-19.

¹⁷ Vreeland, op.cit., p. 117.

enters the younger one must stand and offer the best seat if he was occupying it and take a lowly seat for himself. These are overt signs of behavior. The priority of rights enjoyed by the elder brother fosters mutual hostility and distrust. Since the traditional system of inheritance is not equitable the eldest brother becomes 'one who has taken my share' in the eyes of younger brothers. Moreover the eldest brother is usually the first to be married and this adds to his status over his younger unmarried brothers. Henceforth he will handle the family funds, arrange for the marriage of younger brothers and be considered as the head of the family. Either the eldest brother misuses his prior access to wealth, land and status or the younger ones think that he does so. The situation becomes potentially explosive because of the dualism.

adding more fuel to the latent dynamite is the institution of polygamy. The first marriage of a Pakhtun is arranged by the family but subsequent to it he may (and many do) marry a second and third wife without divorcing the first one or the first two. As the wife or wives are considered to be man's property and possession so a Pakhtun cannot think of leaving his possessions and incurring social disapproval and the name of a weakling. 'The word Zantalaq or one who has divorced his wife is the greatest insult to a Pakhtun." The institution of polygamy breeds further strious tensions because the inheritance custom lays down equal distribution, of property among all sons from every wife. So co-wives become jealous of each other to think that the sons of the other will share property with their sons. Half brothers are incited against half brothers by their respective mothers. A state of cold war precedes any act of violence.

¹⁸ Mohammad Ali, Manners and Customs of the Afghans (Iahore, The Panjab Educational Press 1958), p. 11.

Brothers become wary of each other, some distrust their father, others distrust one another. Behind the cover of traditional elder male orientation there lurks a strong and rebelious spirit. Under the surface appearance of equality run the strong currents of suspicion due to inequality. The mask of congeniality covers a distrustful face till the situation explodes. Then the hidden distrust and competition results in open gunbattles between brothers, half brothers or cousins, because various other kinds of deceits by the younger brothers or misuse of authority by the eldest one are either exhuasted or exposed.

6. Wealth and Status

Due to such operation of competetive individualism some brother or brothers acquire more wealth of the family. In the due course of time some families become richer than their neighboring kinsmen. Wealth carries a social power of its own because it is an index of Pakhtun's victorious possessiveness. The same possessive and competetive nature then requires a Pakhtun to defend his acquired status and wealth by all available means. A wealthy tribesman would surround himself with paid tribesmen whom he would feed and clothe and who would accompany him wherever he goes. 19

Thus, though the Pakhtun society is neither apparently stratified nor is there any caste system yet there is an observable scale of social status due to difference in wealth and power acquired with time. The striking difference between Pakhtun society and West Pakistan is that social status is more mobile in the former (inspite of its traditionalism) than in the latter inspite of its relative progressivism. On the Pakhtun scale of social status those having more wealth, retainers and rifles tend to be towards the top. These are however not exclusive indicies because

¹⁹ Vreeland, op.cit. p. 118.

²⁰ Infra., p. 69.

personal qualities and self assertionism exhibited through certain values and ideals are considered equally, if not more, vital indicies of social status and approval. Those who own less land and wealth are usually lower on the social scale, but it does not mean lack of social prestige and recognition. If they have other Pakhtun honored qualities like courage, daring, initiative and tact they may be allowed direct participation in the life of those employing them. 22

7. Position of Women

In the tribal kinship system the woman is neither considered a permanent member of her father's family nor does she inherit any property. As long as she is unmarried she is to be protected by her male kinsmen like other items of property. She is their Namoos (honor) and no one should dare to look upon this item of a Pakhtun's property with greedy eyes; if he would a bullet may decide the matter there. 23 When she becomes of marriagable age she is sold by her parents to the bridegroom's family for cash or for a number of rifles according to the agreement between both the parties and their socio-economic position. The birth of a female child is usually not desired. In an ever warring tribal society girls cannot actively participate in the feuds, rather they are economic liabilities and are constantly to be protected.

The invisibility of womenfolk has become a traditional measure of social status. The women of rich families seldom come out of their house,

These personal qualities are exhibited through ability to entertain guests, protect fugitives and safely conduct anyone who asks for an asylum even at great risks. See <u>Infra</u>, pp. 37-39.

²² Vreeland, op.cit., p. 119.

^{.23}Ali, op.cit., p. 15.

²⁴ Spain. "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p. 144.

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²³Ali, op.cit., p. 15.

²⁴ Spain. "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p. 144.

even the poor ones will remain confined to their house. Usually only the male members will work in the fields or go out for other business. Women are one of the causes of blood fewds in Pakhtun society. A Pakhtun is highly conscious of the honor of his women folk. Youth and adolescent problems sometimes arise. In some tribes a traditional custom tries to balance the situation arising out of such conflicts and to check bloodshed and schadals. A young lover who is unable to announce his devotion to his girl through his elders, goes to the gala of his beloved and standing outside it fires his gun into the air. This means a declaration of his intention to marry the girl. This practice is known as 'Gagkawal'. If the elders of the girl's family do not accede to his wish it may lead to feud between families and khels. Thus apparently devised to check blood, Gagkawal is also a cause of bloodshed and hostilities.

B. SOME CULTURAL VALUES

In such a divisive society where each individual is surrounded by hostile environments and faced by conflicts and where the wider Pakhtunism leads to narrow egoism, certain cultural mechanisms have evolved to bring about an equilibrium in society and to minimize social and psychological tensions by providing outlets for the Pakhtun's aggression and by appealing to his sense of honor. These cultural mechanisms govern Pakhtun's conduct and have become Pakhtun values or 'Pakhtunwali' meaning 'the ways of Pakhtun life'.

²⁵Ali, op.cit., p. 12.

1. Hospitality

The first and most conspicuous value is 'Melmasia' or hospitality.

Overtly it is a test of a Pakhtum's noblemess and he will go out of the way to serve any guest who comes to him. He will kill and roast his best sheep or fowl for the feast of his guest even if he is poor. The latent function is that hospitality is practised as a means to exhibit one's status and wealth as well as one's capacity to defend and possess more guests. 'If some one else invites his guest it will be Pakhtum's great insult.' Obviously the same possessiveness of spirit prevails here for as long as he has a guest no one can dispossess him of that 'thing'.

Hospitality also indicates one's personal power and wealth, for if a Pakhtum is more powerful he can entertain and possess more guests for a longer period of time. No doubt in a warring society like the Pakhtum's, hospitality provides safety to travellers who may be tribesmen or strangers. A Pakhtum will entertain his sworn enemy if he comes to his house. Melmasia also serves the peaceful purpose of mutual discussion of truce between hostile tribes or khels, for as long as the enemy is a guest a Pakhtum's role is that of a host; he will fully guard, protect, respect and honor his enemy. The same dualism of outward show of geniality and inward hatred speaks volumes of Pakhtum's love for his self image, for he measures hospitality with reference to his own aggrandizement and not in terms of his guest. Frequently hospitality becomes a game of lavish show, for each would

²⁶ Michener, op. cit., p. 170.

²⁷Ali, op.cit., pp. 24f.

²⁸ Perhaps to shoot him dead when his role as a host terminates. See Spain. "Pathan's Ways", op.cit., pp. 548-550.

try his best to surpass his neighbors in this competition. The extent of melmasia a Pakhtun practices would indicate his desire for recognition, his personal power and his possessive and competetive nature.

2. Asylum for Fugitives and Safe Conduct of Strangers

Though distinct from melmasia but on a continuum with it are two Pakhtun values. Nanawati (asylum for any fugitive, stranger or enemy) and Badragah (safe conduct of the fugitive beyond one's territory of influence, when he wishes to depart). Nanawati requires that any one who seeks asylum must be given it at any cost. A Pakhtun will undertake any risks involved in giving asylum to a fugitive by embittering some stronger enemy of that fugitive or by making a whole tribe hostile towards his own tribe. 29 Thus Nanawati also becomes a test of power to defend one's property and to defy the others. As a result of this value many outlaws and murderers cross from West Pakistan and seek asylum anywhere in the tribal area. Likewise Pakhtunistan agitators may cross over from Afghanistan and continue their subversive activities against Pakistan without any fear. If they have nanawati with a strong tribe, the whole tribe will defy Pakistan's attempt to arrest these foreigners. Though this cultural mechanism might have been originally designed for peaceful and soothing purposes but when it is established as a value it breeds hostilities between one who protects a fugitive and those who seek him. This hostility may engulf two khels or tribes and endless feuds may be carried on even long after the reason behind differences have been forgotten. Even if one's enemy seeks nanawati, it has to be given.

²⁹ Spain, 'Pathan's Ways', op.cit., p. 548.

Badragah means escorting the same fugitive 30 safely beyond one's territory of influence. It has also become a test and index of Pakhtum's strength and manliness. Anyone who has sought Pakhtum's hospitality and protection must be safely conducted when he wishes to leave. An enemy who has sought nanawati will be safely conducted beyond a certain area. 31 But once he is even a hundred yards beyond that, the obligation of badragah ends and he may be shot dead without incurring social disapproval. Like other Pakhtum values badragah too is a storehouse of contradictory elements and a battleground for tradition versus inclination. On the surface badragah serves good purposes during tribal battles; one is able to carry messages and travel from one place to another as shown below:

FIGURE I CULTURAL TECHNIQUE OF PAKHTUN JOURNEYING

G A B C

Suppose there are many galas (fortified houses) scattered in a particular area. Some one from B wants go to G, but A and B are hostile to each other and direct journey between B and G is risky. He will first go to C which is indifferent to this feud and asks for badragah from C to G.

³⁰ It includes escorting anyone who may ask for an escort though he has neither been a guest, nor has sought asylum.

³¹ many rough barbarians, nominally his (British officials) enemies would give their lives to save his. See Williams, op.cit., p. 474.

Refusal to provide escort may not only lower the status of house C but it may be punished by a Jirga and the punishment may be strongly supported by house A. Similarly travel between any two points is managable in this land of perpetual feuds. War and peace are not diametrically opposite, they are co-extensive and war is peace and peace brings war; they cross-fertilize each other.

3. Vengeance

Iastly Badal or vengeance is on the grimmer side of Pakhtun values. The obligation for badal may travel through generations and multiply many cross-badals. At one time a badal may be due because of some immediate and recent reason like vengeance against the murder of one's uncle; it may be more recent as vengeance on the uncle or cousin himself and sometimes even upon a brother. A Pakhtun may have many obligations of badal piled upon him by tradition, 32 but he will pick up one which is the most recent and most concerns him personally. This Pakhtun value has separated families and tribes, nursing old hatreds and creating new ones. A Pakhtun who is involved in many badals (and many of them are) 33 becomes extremly suspicious, because he may be seeking badal or badals and others may be seeking badal upon him. This mechanism has not only created many divisions in Pakhtun society but is also a permanent source of bloodshed.

A survey of the crime records in 1957 showed that badal is one of the motives for murders in the tribal area. 34 Other motives for murders

³² The usual Pakhtun greeting, Satramoshe 'may you be never tired (in your efforts)' shows the load of his obligations.

³³A slightly exaggerated description is 'Almost every family among the people in this area has a blood feud'. See Shor, op.cit., p. 664.

³⁴ Spain. "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p. 143.

and feuds are violation of badragah, namous of women folk and disputes over property. Apparantly all traditional values have conspired together to infest the tribal area with blood and fire. No wonder there are half a million Fifles in this population of 2.7 million people, which indicates that almost every adult male has one. The tribal territory is a huge garrison. Sometime it may happen that a Pakhtun is faced with a conflict to choose between badal and melmasia, badal and nanawati or any two or more obligations. In such case he will adopt the role according to the most recent situation; he may be the protector of his enemy or killer of his cousin.

C. CONCLUSIONS

The Pakhtun society is simple but enigmatic; peace mechanism breeds battles; loyalty to one common ancestor disintegrates them into self seeking individuals and closer kinship creates distances. A spirit of dualism of, equality and inequality, loyalty to values and self interest, obedience to elders and suspicion, sharing and distrust, congeniality and disagreement runs through their overt behavior and inward feelings. This dualism results in psychological tensions within the family. Due to their kinship pattern the individual must ultimately fall back upon his own strength and ingenuity. Self interest overtopples various cultural mechanisms. But this Pakhtun outlook can be a fertile soil for planting democracy in this arid area. There is no caste system and class differences, the concept of leadership is democratic. But at the same time lack of interdependence is a

³⁴ Spain, "Pathans of the Tribal Area," op.cit., p. 143.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 147.

characteristic of Pakhtun kinship society. The Pakhtun individualism is so strong and agressive that from under the massive superstructure of Pakhtun kinship emerges a wild and fierce individual who stands on the top of it. So loyalty to self interest comes first. Pakhtun society begins and ends with the individual.

A strong possessive and competetive spirit is reflected in the cultural values of melmasia, nanawati, and badal. The competetive spirit has disunited Pakhtun society. This disunited society may need to see common goals and interest as a binding force, because blood ties have obviously failed to coordinate their differences and teach them social interdependence. The right type of education can create an emotional receptivity to social change if the utilitarian Pakhtuns see their needs in a clearer perspective. Generally a Pakhtun has a competetive and active nature. He is self reliant, utilitarian and has an instrumentalistic outlook. He thinks of the most recent benefits concerning him. His strong individuality is neither submerged under tradition, nor is it resigned to fate. His negative qualities are an absolute lack of cooperation, a continued suspicion, greed and envy. His thinking seldom goes beyond family or tribal levels and his loyalties have narrowed down to a big 'self'.

There is relatively little ascribed social stratification as compared to West Pakistan. Social status and leadership are mobile. The indicies of a man's status are his possessions as reflected in wealth, number of rifles, personal power to entertain guests, protect fugitive and defend the namous of women folk. An analysis of the Pakhtun personality is given by E.B. Howell, sometime Secretary to the Government of British India as:

'This man may be swashbuckling braggart, he may be cruel, treacherous, he may have other vices but he bows the knee to none, save to him who can uphold his right to be obeyed. '36

and Williams says:

'To (these) free ranging individualists, whose home is the hills and whose gun is law, such ideas (of subjugation) are odious.'37

Caroe quotes the words of Mountanstart Elphiniston written in 1809, which he thinks are true to this day:

'Their vices are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity and obstinacy. On the other hand they are fond of liberality, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependents, hospitable to a fault, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious and prudent. 138

³⁶ William, op.cit., p. 472.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 476.

³⁸Caroe, op.cit., p. 293.

CHAPTER III

PRESENT POLICY OF ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL OF SECONDARY EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

A. GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

1. Objectives of the Educational System

The present government of Pakistan has outlined the objectives of the educational system which form the premises in guiding the policy matters of the system. Briefly stated these objectives are:

- (a) "The system must give scope for the training of a leadership group and at the same time provide for the development of all the vocational abilities needed for the creation of a progressive and democratic society.
- (b) The system must preserve the ideals that led to the creation of Pakistan and strengthen the concept of a unified nation, because the desire for a separate homeland for Muslims on the sub-continent grew out of their wish to govern themselves according to their own special set of values.
- (c) The moral and spiritual values of Islam combined with the freedom, integrity and strength of Pakistan should be the ideology which inspires our educational system.
- (d) Throughout this system we must strive to create a sense of unity and of nationhood among the people of Pakistan. In this task differences between various sects and communities must be forgotten.

- (e) From our concept of justice and brotherhood there derives the desire to create a social-welfare state by improving our standard of living through economic development. We shall continue to fall short of our developmental goals until full provision has been made for the training of skilled personnel at all levels.
- (f) It is unfortunate that for sometime to come it will not be possible to provide universal education. In the meantime the accent should be on quality, particularly at the higher levels of education."

These objectives indicate that the military government believes in an educational system which should facilitate the training of a leadership group. It is also indicated that since democratic society is as yet non-existent, it will be the task of the leadership group to create such a society. The philosophy involved in this concept of leadership is that of an elite group which, assuming responsibility in educational matters would have powers to enforce the policies and practices as envisaged and laid down by the government. It seems as if the government wishes to introduce democracy through the leadership of an enlightened few.

Moreover the objectives indicate that through its educational system the present government wishes to evolve and achieve a unified Pakistani nationhood, which should be a combination of religious and patriotic people. The process of unification involves a sub-merging of differences in order to achieve a national solidarity. The educational system should reflect such a unity and uniformity in its operative structure.

Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education (Karachi 1959), pp. 11-13. Abbreviated henceforth as Commission Report.

2. Administrative Control and Organization

Prior to 1958 the administrative control of secondary school system was centralized at the provincial level in both Mast and West Pakistan and the provincial Secretary of Education in each province was the chief administrative head. The academic control of shoool education, matters relating to determining curricula, and prescribing text books were mostly decentralized within the province itself and different regions or different schools in the same region had varying text books. The central government of Pakistan through the Ministry of Education had some responsibilities for cultural relationships at international level and these responsibilities included such activities as the exchange of teachers, the procuring of people from other countries to work in Pakistani colleges and universities. 2 The central government allocated only 3% of its revenue to education and the major portion of this was used to support schools in Karachi federal area. 3 In Brazil where a new constitution was adopted in 1946 (only a year before the creation of Pakistan) provision at that time was made for a minimum of 10% of central revenue to be spent on education.

The military government felt that the central Ministry of Education should assume more responsibilities to evolve national system of education. 5

However a redefinition of the educational administrative set up for East or West Pakistan has been deferred till the new pattern of government and the relationship between the central and provincial governments are determined. 6

Therefore the old system has been retained under which the

²<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 316-317.

³Ibid., p. 333.

⁴ Ibid., p. 333.

⁵Ibid., p. 316.

⁶Ibid., pp. 314f.

administrative control and the development of secondary education is centralized at the provincial level though new policy matters within the same administrative system have been introduced. The present hierarchical organisation in West Pakistan is as follows:

Secretary of Education, West Pakistan, Lahore
Director of Public Instruction, West Pakistan, Lahore
Directors of Regions

Inspectrs of Divisions

Headmasters of Schools

Before 1958 there were four administrative regions, namely Peshawar, Lahore, Hyderabad and Quetta, each headed by an officer called a director and each region having two or three divisions headed by inspectors. There were ten divisions in West Pakistan. Before 1958 the tribal area was not considered a division but the director of Peshawar region administered it from his Peshawar office in addition to three other divisions under him. He was assisted by an officer designated as Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Tribal Area. This officer had a staff of two special assistant inspectors and two physical health supervisors all stationed in Peshawar.

In 1959 the military government replaced the office of the Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Tribal Area with that of a full fledged Director of Tribal Area, thus increasing the regional directorates from four to five in number. 10 At present the Director of Public Instruc-

⁷A new constitution announced as beginning of a return to democracy was promulgated on March 1, 1962 and elections were held on April 27, 1962, in which 80000 basic "democrates" (village or town councillers) participated. See <u>The Daily Star</u>, Beirut (28 April 1962).

⁸Government of West Pakistan, Educational Statistics for 1956-57 (Ishore, Bureau of Education, 1959), p. (2).

^{9&#}x27;Protection and Integration of Tribal Population of Pakistan', op.cit., p. 76.

¹⁰ Government of West Pakistan, Year Book 1959, op.cit., p. 86.

tion; West Pakistan, Lahore, in consultation with the director of tribal area carries out all government policy regarding the opening of new schools, recruitment and promotion of teachers and supervision and inspection of schools in the tribal area. The most recent available data shows that there are 36 middle schools with classes VI to VIII (age range 12 to 14 years), 13 high schools (classes IX and X, age range 15-16 years) and one higher secondary school (classes XI and XII) in the tribal area. All these are boys schools; there are only three middle schools for girls. 11 Statistics are not available as to the requirement of number of schools. The total population of this area is over 2.7 million. In Syria and Lebanon, it is estimated that one age group of children between 5 and 15 years is about 2.2 percent of total population and thus five age groups within this range are about 11 percent of the population. 12 If the same ratio is used then three age groups of children between 12 and 18 years in the tribal area will form 6.6 percent of its total population and about 178200 children must be of secondary school age. Males form about 52 percent of the total population in the tribal area. 13 If one school is sufficient for 200 children this area requires over 460 secondary schools for boys only.

While this fifth directorate (for the tribal area) was created in 1959, the West Pakistan Educational Statistics published by provincial government in 1960 and 1962 show only four directorates and give no data for the tribal area schools. This indicates that the new directorate has

¹¹ Ibid., p. 188.

¹²J. Katul, Notes on Educational Administration 213 (Mimeographed)
Beirut, 1961, p. 5.

¹³ Government of Pakistan, Final Tables of Population, op.cit., pp. 138-140.

not so far gathered relevant data about its regional area. There is no private school in the tribal area and all the existing schools are officially described and known as government schools just like their counterparts in West Pakistan.

3. Reorganization of Educational Ladder

Before 1958 school education consisted of the following stages in the tribal area.

Class I to V Primary education.

Class VI to VIII Middle education.

Classes IX and X Secondary education, controlled by Peshawar
University.

Classes XI and XII... Pre-university education controlled by Peshawar University.

According to the present policy secondary education is of seven years duration, from class VI to XII. It has three stages within itself: Class VI to VIII called middle secondary stage, classes IX and X called secondary stage and classes XI and XII called higher secondary stage. The new organization of secondary education is described as a short term policy for 10 years and the ultimate stated objective of the government is to have secondary stage from classes IX to XII.

The academic control of secondary education will be discussed later in this chapter. It may however be noted that the present reorganization has given the central government increased academic control over

¹⁴ Government of Pakistan, Commission Report, op.cit., pp. 116-117.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 117.

secondary education, because classes IX to XII have been transferred from University academic control to a new Board of Secondary Education, and the central Ministry of Education treating classes VI to XII as secondary classes has prescribed syllabi for all the seven classes, while previously classes VI to VIII were under the control of Regional directors. Detailed discussion follows under academic control.

4. Academic Control

Prior to 1958 the regulation, control and development of academic side of middle schools (VI to VIII) was in the hands of Directors of Regions, so the Director of Peshawar Region had the academic control of the tribal area schools. By the same token the Peshawar University controlled the syllabusses, the conduct of examinations and recognition of schools for classes IX to XII. Thus academically classes VI to VIII were controlled by the director and classes IX to XII by the University. The present government has transferred these latter responsibilities from the university to a newly set up Board of Secondary Education at Peshawar which has functioned since 1961 in pursuance of government policy. The academic control for classes VI to VIII is still under the director but under the supervision of a Central Text book Board.

The function of this newly established Board is to recognize schools, lay down courses and syllabi according to specifications of the central Ministry of Education through a Central Text book Board, determine academic policy, conduct examinations for IX to XII classes. The Board has a full

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 132-133.

¹⁷Universities in Pakistan were and are still mainly autonomous bodies.

Pakistan. The members of the Board are either appointed by the Governor or they are ex-officio members from the university and the Teachers Training College. The membership does not exceed twelve for any board in West Pakistan and there is no election for any of its offices or membership. 18

The board does not possess any agency for the inspection of schools presently carried by the provincial department of education through its administrative machinery. 19

5. Text books

Prior to 1958 the appropriate authority i.e., Director of Education for classes VI to VIII and Peshawar University for classes IX to XII laid down syllabi and suggested text books. In some cases there was a single text book for an entire division or region, while in others a number of books were approved and suggested. So the school authorities, headmasters and teachers were free to select books for their schools. The present government has laid down a vital role of the central Ministry of Education in the production of text books. Chapter XXII paragraph 17 of the Report of Commission states.

'We believe that, as part of the recrientation of education towards the objectives envisaged by us, work of prescription and preparation of text books should be undertaken through a Central Text book Board. This Board shall have the following functions:

(a) Prescription of syllabusses for classes I to XII in accordance with the recommendations made (by us) (b) Preparation of text books (c) Arrangement for printing of text books....through publishing houses.'21

¹⁸ Government of Pakistan, Commission Report, op.cit., p. 145.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 133.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 294.

²¹ Ibid., p. 296.

Though the government policy also states that the drawing up of syllabusses and prescription of courses is the responsibility of the educational authority, viz., Director of Education or Board of Secondary Education for classes VI to VIII and IX to XII respectively, but it adds:

'It is necessary....to give a certain responsibility to a special board (Central Text book Board) constituted by the Ministry of Education but comprising members from the provinces also. This board should mainly deal with the question of policy as laid down in paragraph 17 (quoted above) and it should have the powers to enforce those policies. The actual work would be undertaken by a Text book Committee....within each educational authority..... directly under the guidance of the central board and within the policieis laid down by us. 123

Thus at present in pursuance of this stated policy school text books for all regions of West Pakistan are published by Text book Committees under the direct control of the Central Text book Board and in accordance with the specifications of syllabi as laid down in the Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education (Classes VI to XII) by the Ministry of Education in 1960. This is obviously a move towards strong centralization in matters of academic control while the administrative control is already centralized at the provincial level. This trend towards centralization is obviously in agreement with the philosophy of unification of different sects and communities of Pakistan. The present government thinks that the educational system must be implemented as a totality and its various parts must integrate into an all-inclusive whole. With the same unified approach the curriculum policy for social studies has been laid down to develop a spirit of unified Pakistani nationhood.

²²Ibid., p. 132.

²³ Ibid., pp. 296-297.

B. CURRICULUM FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

1. General Objectives of Curriculum

The new government has laid down that the teaching practices, the contents of curricula and time-tables for secondary schools must be such as to develop the child as (a) an individual (b) citizen (c) worker (d) patriot.

has been based on two principles. First it provides a compulsory core of subjects to give every pupil the knowledge he needs to live a useful, happy and patriotic life. Secondly it includes additional subjects to prepare him for a career. Social studies has been prescribed as a compulsory subject from class VI to X and it is within this phase of secondary education that the present study is concerned. Details are discussed in chapter IV.

2. Task of the Curriculum Committee

In pursuance of the government policy as stated in the <u>Commission</u>

Report 1959, a Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education was appointed by a decree of the Ministry of Education dated 24th June 1960 for implementing the objectives of secondary education. The anxiety of the government to introduce new syllabi on national basis from the academic year 1961 left extremely limited time at the disposal of the Committee. So:

The Committee undertook the assignment at top speed and members worked till late at night...and prepared the curriculum and syllabusses in about three months time. 126

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 116-117.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 118-119.

²⁶ Government of Pakistan Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education (Rawalpindi, Implementation Unit 1960), p. 6. Referred to henceforth as Curriculum Committee.

It may be noted that similar mention of emergency and shortage of time was made by the Commission on National Education in 1959. ²⁷ This hurry indicates that though the government has defined the objectives and goals of secondary education in general and the social studies program in particular but the means to reach these goals may be undeveloped.

3. Terms of Reference for Social Studies Curriculum

Syllabi for all three stages of secondary education were laid down to achieve the objectives of secondary education as defined by the government earlier. 'The importance of developing a spirit of patriotism and Pakistani nationhood has been emphasized.' In formulating the syllabi the Curriculum Committee kept in mind the following two main objectives given in its terms of reference (i) Realization of national objectives, (ii) Maintenance of uniform academic standard throughout Pakistan. 19 The syllabusses for social studies have been specially designed to develop national unity, a spirit of patriotism and respect for Pakistani ideology and culture. 30 The report states:

'This applies in particular to social studies where the syllabus has been specially designed to create a sense of pride in Pakistan....it will....bring about a substantial change in the social conscience of students and enable them to maintain a high standard of integrity and patriotic behavior. '31

The implications involved in the present approach towards social studies curriculum are discussed further in this chapter. It is obvious, however that the social studies program is constructed on a wider national

²⁷ Government of Pakistan, Commission Report, op.cit., p. 3.

²⁸ Government of Pakistan, Curriculum Committee, op.cit., p. 14.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

³¹ Ibid.

level and its uniformity tends to ignore the specific demands of different localities. Moreover as the government wishes to maintain uniform standards throughout Pakistan, the curriculum is same for rural and urban, the tribal and settled area of West Pakistan.

4. Status and Scope of Social Studies

Social studies has been made a compulsory subject from class VI to X and its three dimensions, time, space and institutions comprising history, geography and civics are aimed by the government to be integrated into one whole and taught as one subject instead of three separate subjects. 32 As such an integrated social studies program can be made after analysis and research, but for the present this integration has not been worked. However the Curriculum Committee has tried to reformulate the syllabi in history, geography and civis in such a way that 'these subjects are sufficiently correlated' and 'contents of syllabusses and various activities suggested for social studies...are all directed towards the development of a spirit of civic responsibility, self sacrifice and patriotism. 34 Details are discussed further in this chapter which indicate that history, geography and civics all begin with a Pakistani perspective for which children in the tribal area may not be socially and politically mature.

5. Practices and Aims

The present state of affairs in West Pakistan's secondary schools indicates that scientific teaching methods, group discussion and classroom activities as aimed at by the Curriculum Committee, 35 may not be introduced

³² Ibid., p. 41.

³³Ibid., p. 42.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Tbid., p. 118.

for some years to come. Similarly the syllabi for history, geography and civics may not be integrated into one whole as envisaged by the Committee. At present there is an acute shortage of qualified teachers in West Pakistan. It has been estimated that over 25,000 teachers in the secondary schools lack necessary qualifications for their job. In a survey in the Lahore region which is educationally more advanced than other regions 36 it was found that out of 629 schools 19 had no graduate teacher (holding a B.A. with additional training in teaching), 177 had only one graduate teacher and 129 had two graduate teachers each on their staff. 37 In addition to improving the qualifications of teachers the present program requires over 6000 graduate and 3600 undergraduate secondary school teachers. 38 Diversified courses in secondary schools will require over 425 graduate and 275 undergraduate teachers with specialized knowledge. 39 At present there are only five teacher training colleges in West Pakistan with an average output of 1200 graduates. 40 This West Pakistan-wide scarcity of teachers may indicate how necessary it is for far hetter and modern teaching methods to replace the prevalent ones in the tribal area as well as West Pakistan. This lag between practices and aims may hit the tribal area harder because new qualified teachers may not wish to take assignment in this far flung place if they can find employment elsewhere.

³⁶ Literacy percentage in Lahore 16.0, Hyderabad 13.0, Peshawar 11.7, Quetta 10.6. See Government of Pakistan, Census Bulletin No 1, op.cit., pp. 7-9.

^{37&}quot;Teaching", The Pakistan Times: Carreer Supplement (Ishore, August 1961), p. 10.

^{38&}quot; Employment Situation", The Pakistan Times, op.cit., p. 3.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁰ Teaching", op.cit., p. 10.

6. Syllabi

The social studies program has its special position in school education in Pakistan. Its curriculum is set on uniform pattern throughout

Bast and West Pakistan and the tribal area. The government has regarded

'this subject as a keynote in the attainment of national objective of fostering the spirit of nationhood, of service to the community and of pride
in our cultural heritage. A view of the social studies program shows
that at present it comprises three different subjects: geography, history
and civics. It is compulsory from VI to X grade. Economics and elementary sociology are not included in the program.

Ah analysis of the syllabus in geography for grades VI to VIII shows that tribal children will learn the shape of the earth, latitude and longitude, volcanoes, sea-currents, natural regions of the world, political and economic geography of East and West Pakistan, India, Turkey, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Burma, China and Japan. There is a heavy emphasis on physical geography and on environments remote from the tribal area. In grades IX and X nearly the same details are to be repeated and the students are to learn lithosphere, rocks, atmosphere, distribution of temperature, types of rainfall, oceans and currents, major regions of the world, Pakistan cereals, animals, fish, clothing, wool, jute, skins, power resources, mineral resources and its main imports and exports. The syllabus here is centred round Pakistan and contains details of physical geography. Its implications are discussed in chapter IV and details are given in Appendix A.

⁴¹ Government of Pakistan, Curriculum Committee, op.cit., p. 285.

⁴²For details see Appendicies A, B and C.

The place assigned to history as an instrument to foster a spirit of nationhood and pride in Pakistani cultural heritage is reflected in the syllabus right from grade VI to X. The students are required to learn ancient Indus-Valley Civilization, 43 ancient history of India, Muslim conquests, Mughal Empire, British period, Pakistan movement, History of Islamic Arabia, Buropean Renaissance, French Revolution, American War of Independence, the two world wars, UN and biography of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. As the syllabus is prescribed on a uniform pattern for the whole nation, it ignores local ancient history. Ghandara Civilization with its centre in northern part of West Pakistan is not mentioned. He Recent excavations carried by an Italian team show that this civilization flourished in the tribal area. Likewise the history of Mughal empire is prescribed on the same pattern though Mughals were the traditional enemies of Pakhtuns and tried to curb their independence. One of the popular Pakhtun warrior-poets Khushkal Khan Khattak fought against the Mughals in 18th century and wrote epic poetry. The biography of any Pakhtun hero is also missing in the present syllabus.

The curriculum Committee has defined civics as the understanding of the environments in relation to society. 46 As the syllabus is drawn on a national basis the word 'society' means Pakistani society. Students of grades VI to VIII study their relationship to home, school, mosque, village, community and country. They are also to learn democratic attitudes and study the constitution of Pakistan, and the rights and responsibilities of

⁴³The two seats of this civilization namely Mohenjo daro and Harappa are over 900 and 400 miles away respectively from the tribal area.

The centre of Ghandara civilization (Taxila) is hardly 100 miles from the tribal area.

⁴⁵ Guiseppe Tucci, 'Excavations in Swat' Pakistan Quarterly (Karachi, Winter 1957), pp. 19ff.

⁴⁶ Government of Pakistan Curriculum Committee, op.cit., p. 120.

citizens. In grades IX and X they are required to study the relationship of the individual to the State, Pakistan's basic democracies, population distribution, social problems and economy. Though the syllabus starts from the child and home it does not include tribal social institutions' Jirga, the tribal democratic processes and their kinship and tribal principles. The focus is on the West Pakistan society in particular and wider Pakistani nation in general.

7. Practical Work

In addition to theoretical knowledge some practical work is also included in the curriculum for social studies. This comprises field trips, group discussions, social service, experience, leadership training, carrying out the school projects and petty repairs from grade VI to X. However much of the real introduction of this practical work will depend on the availability of properly qualified teachers for the tribal area in particular and West Pakistan in general.

8. Medium of Instruction

Urdu has been prescribed as the only medium of instruction in all subjects for the secondary schools in the tribal area, 47 where it has hardly as yet become a second language since the general ability to read and write is reflected in literacy figures and 1951 census showed that only twenty Urdu speaking refugees from India had settled in this area. 49 However the present policy has treated the comparatively advanced area of Hyderabad region in Sind differently where Sindi has been prescribed as the medium

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 85.

⁴⁸ Literacy percentage: Hyderabad 13.0, Tribal area 1.6 to 4.9. See Government of Pakistan, Census Bulletin No. 1, op.cit., pp. 7-8.

⁴⁹ Spain. "Pathans of the Tribal Area", op.cit., p. 135.

of instruction as well as a compulsory subject up to grade VIII. 50 The status assigned to the language of Pakhtuns is the same as that to the ancient dead languages, Sanskrit and Pali, or foreign languages like Arabic and Persian at any stage of secondary education. 51 Prior to 1958 Pashtu (the language of Pakhtuns) was used as medium of instruction along with Urdu. It is spoken by over 12 million people and in 1957 there were nine periodicals and newspapers published in this language. 52 It differs from Urdu in vocabulary and syntax but is written in the same script with nearly the same alphabets.

C. CONCLUSIONS

The trend of the present policy with respect to administrative and academic control of secondary education is towards centralization. The government has assumed more responsibilities; it believes that a democratic society which is as yet non-existent can be created by a leadership group the task of which should be to enforce the policies and practices as envisaged by the government. Through a national system of education the government wishes to inculcate a spirit of a unified nation. The process of unification involves the submerging of differences among various sects and communities.

Text books for all regions of West Pakistan are published under the direct control of the Central Text book Board in accordance with the

⁵⁰ Government of Pakistan, Curriculum Committee, op.cit., p. 85.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 66, 249.

⁵²Government of Pakistan, Statistical Year Book 1957 (Karachi, Ministry of Finance, 1959), p. 261.

specifications of syllabusses laid down by the Ministry of Education. Social studies is compulsory for grades VI to X and the syllabi have been designed in three months time to develop national unity and spirit of patriotism.

The government believes that the new social studies program will bring about a substantial change in the social conscience of students. The syllabi in geography, history and civics are apparently worked out from the standpoint of wider Pakistani society; the emphasis is on things and events which are relatively remoter to the tribal children's experience. Urdu has been prescribed as the language of class room for the tribal area schools from grade VI onward.

It may be noted that it is the first attempt in India and Pakistan to evolve a national system of education. The first time text books are published under the direct control of the Ministry of Education. The government wishes to introduce 'drastic' changes in teaching methods. This is however thwarted by meagreness of resources and scarcity of qualified teachers. The lag between practices and stated aim may affect the tribal area more adversely. The emergency and haste with which the curriculum policy has been constructed indicates that the means to achieve the desired goals may be undeveloped.

⁵³ Government of Pakistan, Curriculum Committee, op.cit., p. 17.

⁵⁴Government of Pakistan, Commission Report, op.cit., p. 114.

CHAPTER IV

EVALUATION OF THE POLICY IN THE PAKHTUN CONTEXT

A. PROCEDURE AND SCOPE

1. Method

The methods used for the beginning of solutions of a problem depend on the nature of problem, the availability of data and the actual distance between the research worker and the place under study. Due to non-availability of data and remoteness of the writer from the tribal area, facts relating to the ethnic distribution of population, inter-tribal relations, climatic factors and geographo-political situation of various places within the tribal area are not known. As such, several variables which will affect the educational program in the tribal context cannot be taken into consideration in the present study.

The present study aims at evaluating policy matters by using the criterion of effectiveness (as defined hereafter) under which the criteria of compatibility and continuity are subsumed. The criterion of compatibility will be used in evaluating the policy with regard to organizational structure in the tribal context, while that of continuity will be used in evaluating social studies program from class VI to X in tribal schools. The evaluation will lead to certain hypothetical conclusions indicating the basis on which a new policy may be formulated. However, specific proposals for new concrete policy matters and practices will require further empirical research in the field.

2. Definitions

a) Effectiveness

In any complex system or process it is necessary to think of consequences other than immediate efficiency; specially it is necessary to compute the net balance of results. If the net balance is favorable to the ends of the system, the means are said to be effective whatever may be the amount of the immediate efficiency of the actions taken. 1 The effectiveness of a system may be judged in proportion to its accomplishment of the totality of the ultimate objectives. Efficiency is different from effectiveness and it involves the adoption of means suited to securing an immediate and particular end without reference to ultimate objectives. A way in which an extended system of efficient actions may be ineffective is through what Merton refers to as an 'imperious immediacy of interest' and a concentration on immediate goals so that further consequences are neglected. 2 Thus an organizational system may be very efficient and its employees may dutifully carry on their assignments but a non-correspondence between their immediate activity and ultimate goals may render it ineffective. The extent of effectiveness can be measured in proportion to the accomplishment of objectives.

b) Compatibility

If a particular system of organization has different modes of thought, actions and sense of values than those of people living in that area have, it will create an easis of its own and would almost appear an

Wilbert E. Moore, <u>Industrial Relations and the Social Order</u> (New York, Macmillan Company 1951), p. 196.

²Ibid., p. 193.

^{3&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 193.

alien cultural system. If within such organization these modes are foreign to those of the local families there will be no compatibility between school system and local culture. This incompatibility will render the system ineffective in producing the desired result of change of behavior. Modern anthropologists, among them Smith and Malinowski argue that school system should not be divorced from the cultural background. Thus compatibility means the extent of mutual agreement and capacity of mutual coordination between the tribal established cultural frame and the organizational structure of schools. The more compatible these two are the more effective will be the educational program.

c) Continuity

Pries, in extensive research, has found that much effort is expended in teaching the pupils to express themselves in ways which are not generic to the culture in which they live with their families. The result of such teaching is that, being discontinuous with the pupils' own life, a good percentage of the educational effort, the curricula, and instructional methods are ineffective and there is no change in the learner's behavior.

The point made is that curriculum which is divorced from the actual past experience and cultural background of the students will be ineffective.

The more isolated and discontinuous the contents of new learning the less it will change the behavior though facts may be learned. Continuity therefore means the quality of social studies curriculum to enable the tribal students to grow out from their own original position without any suspension or interruption.

Margaret Read, Mucation and Social Change in Tropical Areas (London, Thomas Nelson & Co. 1955), pp. 99-100.

⁵ Ibid., p. 102.

⁶William C. Morse and Max G. Wingo, <u>Psychology and Teaching</u> (Chicago, Scott Forseman Company 1955), p. 227.

⁷ Ibid.

B. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

1. Administrative Set-up and the Tribesmen

The present policy regarding the administrative control of schools in the tribal area is based on the assumption that the government thinks itself to be the authorized voice of the people of the tribal area and that the hierarchical administrative machinery is an instrument for the inculcation of particular beliefs and values determined by the government. When any government assumes a role of authoritarian responsibility the schools are probably not grounded in any local community though they are designed for that community.8 The government through its educational machinery has adopted the role of benefactor while the tribesmen are to be beneficiaries. The government and the tribesmen stand on two different levels, the one is an active giver while the other is supposed to behave like a passive recepient and accept whatever is given as good no matter in which manner it is given. This concept indicates a difference in stature between the giver and the receiver, between the government and the tribesmen. The latter have been left no share in deciding the planning or opening of schools and in their administration. The organization with its line of command gives maximum responsibility to the Director of Public Instruction, Lahore and no responsibility to the tribesmen.

The secondary schools being introduced in the tribal area are innovations because in the whole area there is only one higher secondary school and 13 secondary schools all of which, with the exception of one,

⁸B. Othanel Smith et al, "The Sources of Educational Authority",
W.O. Stanley (ed) Social Foundation of Education (New York, The Dryden
Press, 1957), p. 502.

have been introduced since 1948.9 The present policy leaves no scope for the tribesmen to take an active part in decisions regarding the opening of new schools. The Pakhtun's level of social responsibility is distinctly marked at the Jirga level, because in Jirga meetings they carry on projects jointly or separately as per decision of this tribal assembly. The Pakhtuns are thus capable of active participation in matters affecting them. decisions of the Jirga become the collective responsibility of Pakhtuns and they undertake these quite willingly. On the other hand whatever happens outside their sphere of social intimacy which may be the kinship group, tribe or inter-tribal Jirga does not carry much significance to them and they do not easily associate themselves with these outside processes. As Pakhtuns are not only possessive but suspicious people, they may not look upon new schools as their own unless they have participated in their creation. Contrarily it is not inconceivable that these ethnocentric people may regard schools as some sort of forcible encroachment upon their sociocultural life which is one of their prized possessions. Lewin observes that if individuals are forcibly made to accept a new set of values, if they do not experience a freedom of choice in accepting new things they will feel threatened and as such they may become hostile. 10

Testimony of the Pakhtun's dislike of being forced to accept any facility and of his desire to remain aloof and decide matters for himself is found in Spain:

Government of West Pakistan, Year Book 1959, op.cit., p. 188.

¹⁰ Kurt Lewin and Paul Grable. "Conduct, Knowledge and Acceptance of New Values", K.D. Benne (ed.) <u>Human Relations in Curriculum Change</u> (New York, Dryden Press 1951), pp. 29-30. Referred to as <u>Human Relations</u> heretoforth.

'In view of this evident interest in welfare facilities the author asked one of the Maliks (in a Jirga) why his tribe did not join the province where they would be automatically entitled to schools and hospitals. He replied: No, we will stay as we are. Then we will be forced forever to have them (schools and hospitals). Now it is we who decide whether or not they are good for us.'ll

This testimony indicates the Pakhtun's desire to take up and decide all matters himself and his reluctance to accept what others think is good for him. By ignoring any involvement of Pakhtuns (through the Jirga system or other measures) in the administration of schools the present policy minimizes the chances of making schools their own things. This is obviously an incompatibility between the policy and tribal value system.

No doubt the intention of the Pakistan government may be noble but the visible and immediate policy matters in the present organizational structure will not be effective in speedily bringing about the desired result of integrating the tribesmen into Pakistani nationhood by enabling them to outgrow their concepts of narrow kinship groups or Pakhtunism. The tribesmen may not extend their feelings of oneness to the school nor consider it their own possession to be guarded and supported (as they do with their collective and individual possessions). They might look upon the growing progeny of schools as possessions of a distant power which succeeded the British and which resides in Iahore or Peshawar and makes encroachments on their land and life. The policy does not indicate any attempt to establish and run schools as most acceptable to Pakhtuns; it also ignores any possibility of sowing the seeds of schools in Pakhtun's own cultural soil. The organizational structure may be quite efficient in

¹¹ Spain. "Pakistan North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 35.

carrying on its projects like construction of school buildings and enforcing particular rituals of duty for employees, but it may be ineffective in achieving the objectives as envisaged by the government.

2. Function of Officials and Leadership in the Tribal Context

The concept of leadership obviously reflected in the policy does not fit into the tribal concept. The whole task of setting up schools and their management is assumed by the elite leadership within the administration in order to bring about a social change in the tribal area. Benne gives an analysis of some leadership functions in terms of services to the growth of and efficient involvment of the led. This indicates that elite leadership which at the same time dissociates itself from the led cannot be effective in changing the behavior of the people. The strongest indicates that exercise to a particular group, it may still fail to bring about the desired change in the led.

A policy which gives all powers to an elite leadership may be compatible with the way of life of those people who either enjoy or accept playing the role of followers irrespective of their own capacities. Sufficient testimony is available that Pakhtuns neither enjoy nor accept such roles. Testimony about Pakistan and India however shows that people there would accept such a leadership role of the government administrative machinery quite willingly. This difference between the tribal people's attitude and that of Pakistan's in general is due to the effect of caste system and

¹² K.D. Benne et al, Stages in Process of Group Thinking and Discussion's Human Relations, op.cit., pp. 75ff.

Appleton Century Company, 1946), p. 156.

domination of foreign rule over the latter. Talking of his experiences in Educational Workshops in India and Pakistan (1957-58) Rice mentions the similarity of attitudes in the two countries and the passivity of the people in general and teachers class in particular in looking up to an authority to solve their problems. Robertson writes:

'A land newly liberated from political servitude....where past authoritarianism grips and holds the educational institutions and stifles the spirit....the participants could not really accept the idea that they should work on their own problems. They said the headmasters, or inspectors or directors of education had to solve these problems. We struggled against passivity for weeks....They regarded us as authorities whose main function was to solve their problems....with them the inactive role of a receptacle....whose function was to receive.

So the Pakhtun society would appear different from Pakistani society in its social thinking and attitude, towards authority. What may be compatible with Pakistan may not be so with the tribal area. Based on a kinship principle the Pakhtun society has no caste system, no class differences and consequently their concepts of society and leadership are different from those of Pakistani people in general. Moreover the Pakhtuns have known no political domination for the last two centuries and they are not conditioned to accept the role of passive and unsharing followers. They have solved their own problems actively in their own cultural context. They do not accept a rigid and authoritarian leadership. They choose and change their leaders from among them according to their felt needs and varying situations. ¹⁶ The official recognition of the Jirga system by the Pakistan government supports the view that Pakhtun social thinking is different from Pakistanis.

¹⁴ Theodore D. Rice and Chandos Reid, 'Educational Leadership through Workshop Procedures', Community Education (Chicago, National Society for the Study of Education, 1959), pp. 367, 368.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 371.

¹⁶ Supra, p. 28.

The present policy treats the tribal area just as any other part of West Pakistan. The hierarchical machinery, the officers at Peshawar and the headmasters may well form a group of their own but certainly this group has remained aloof from the stream of Pakhtun life due to divergence of philosophy of authority and leadership. The administrative set up reflects a system of line and staff command which has no parallel in Pakhtun society. As such the officials may work in isolation quite efficiently for the betterment of Pakhtuns but unless a reorientation of the very philosophy is made the compatibility of the present system with Pakhtun society will not be achieved. Thus to be effective the policy must be based on a new assumption and treat the tribal area differently from West Pakistan.

3. Location of Headquarter Office and the Tribesmen Cultural Characteristics

In the present centralized set up the director of the tribal area has to carry out orders and policy matters as they come from Lahore office of the Director of Public Instruction, West Pakistan. He (Director of Tribal Area) is a part within the whole and does not operate as a separate independent entity but as a constituent part of the West Pakistan administrative system. His office is located outside the tribal area in Peshawar from where he carries out supervisory work through his assistants. Due to his geographical separation and the nature of line and staff command system he and his subordinates remain more oriented to Lahore and higher officials in the provincial capital. This official conditioning and remoteness from the tribal area leave comparatively less scope for the director and other officials to come closer to the tribesmen than a different outlook and

location of office could do. In the present set up the director is not able to closely analyse and appreciate the educational problems of the tribesmen viewed in their own socio-cultural context. No one is qualified to exert leadership nor can he be an educational expert unless he understands the culture of that very area in its fullest sense. The official function, professional behavior and geographical distance of the director and other officers create a psychic distance between them and the tribesmen. This approach is not compatible with the suspicious nature of Pakhtuns and it may lessen if not defeat the social process of widening Pakhtun loyalty from racism to Pakistani nationhood.

4. Employment of Teachers and the Tribal Social Outlook

The policy regarding the recruitment and selection of teachers for the tribal area is on the same pattern as that for West Pakistan. No special qualifications or orientation is required of the teachers to be employed in this area. The possibility of attracting better qualified teachers from several parts of West Pakistan is not yet tapped. The tribal value of hospitality (melmasia) may well match with such a policy of attracting teachers from other parts. In this area which is torn by mutual feuds and bloodshed any injury to an outsider is nearly unheard of. As the Director of Tribal Area recruits teachers under the instructions of Director of Public Instruction, West Pakistan only teachers of inferior qualifications from the adjoining settled districts (which are mostly inhabited by Pakistani Pakhtuns or Pathans) are attracted to serve in this far flung area.

To be properly adjusted in the tribal society outside teachers should fully know the tribal culture and values and if possible speak

¹⁷ Miel, op.cit., p. 172.

Pashtu fluently. According to Miel school leadership necessitates a full knowledge of the cultural background of the area. 18 It would be better to have teachers from West Pakistan's remoter areas because they will be honored as guests and may assume the role of leaders in their schools if they are sufficiently equipped with knowledge of Pakhtum culture and of modern instructional methods. Teachers from Peshawar and other adjoining areas may belong at least nominally to a hostile tribe in some localities and they will have a dual appearance as guests and as descendants of a particular lineage group, while those from farther parts of West Pakistan will be simply guests. A slight change in the policy may bring better results and also enable the Pakhtum children and tribesmen to share experiences with people from outside their family or racial group.

5. School Nomenclature

All schools run by the government are named government schools throughout West Pakistan including the tribal area. Words as symbols suggest different meanings to people of different backgrounds. It is quite right to name schools as government schools in Pakistan where the people know that good or bad, the government is their own and they do not attach any unpleasant meaning to this word. In the tribal area however the story is different. The word 'government' may result in the tribesmen associating schools with the government of Pakistan towards which they might not have developed a positive attitude as is evidenced by outbursts in demanding a separate state. Still further the word 'government' may bring to Pakhtuns the reminiscences of the past, the British government of India, its troops, guns and bullets. This would be all the more an unhappy association. As Pakhtun society is ridden by inter-kinship conflicts and

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 172.

tribal feuds, the tribesmen have an xenophobia which makes them defensive and suspicious of every outside power. It is not inconceivable that they may look upon government schools as foreign agencies and not as 'our schools' or at least they may not accept them favorably.

When in early 20th century the British government of India was opening schools and colleges in the sub-continent they named nearly all institutions government schools or colleges. But when they opened a high school-cum-intermediate college in the area inhabited by Indianized Pakhtuns in the settled area they named it Islamia College, Peshawar. The British did it from purely administrative and political point of view and the institution carried a non-government title though it was opened and run by the government. The Pakistan government could see the position from administrative as well as anthropological point of view by discarding the present names of schools. In view of the Pakhtun dislike of the word 'government', the present policy is not compatible with their climate of thought and memories.

6. Unified Nationalistic Approach and Pakhtun Separatism

The strong nationalistic attitude of the present government in determining policy matters is reflected in the uniformity of the control system designed to achieve the national objective of unity. All areas of West Pakistan including the tribal territory are bound up in one administrative set up. One premise for policy matters is stated thus:

Our educational system must play a fundamental role in the preservation of ideals which led to the creation of Pakistan and strengthen the concept of a unified nation. The desire for a separate homeland for Muslims on the sub-continent grew out of their wish to...govern themselves according to their own special set of values. 19

¹⁹ Government of Pakistan, Commission Report, op.cit., p. 10.

Now the present policy treating the tribal area just like any other area of West Pakistan confuses Pakhtunism and Pakistani nationhood. Whereas the people of Pakistan expressed their wish through votes to have a homeland and the Pathans (Pakhtuns living in British India's regularly administered districts adjoining the tribal area) also expressed their desire through a referendum in 1947 to join Pakistan, the tribesmen's wishes were neither ascertained in 1947 nor until now. On the tribesmen did not vote to join Pakistan; the whole tribal area was handed over by the British to Pakistan in 1947. The political transference does not necessarily indicate that the Pakhtuns consider Pakistan as their homeland. Their racial and kinship concept knows no loyalty to a country and it has already been expressed on several occasions by the Pakhtuns' demand for a separate racial homeland.

The present policy regarding the extension of the same administrative control over the tribal area is based on the assumption that the government thinks that the tribesmen consider themselves to be citizens of Pakistan in every meaning and that the tribal area is already integrated into West Pakistan socially and politically. This assumption and hence the policy is not compatible with Pakhtun ethnocentrism and racism. The policy of treating this special area like the other areas of West Pakistanmay be politically sound or unsound but in educational matters a new approach would be more desirable. The policy of extending the same administrative control to the tribal area may not be looked upon as a benevolent step of the government of 'our homeland' it may well be looked upon as an attempt of the successors of the British to stamp their influence on 'our homeland'.

²⁰ Frank, op.cit., pp. 57-58.

²¹ Caroe, op.cit., p. 291.

C. SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

1. Procedure for Laying Specifications

In pursuance of the nationalistic policy of the present government the social studies program in secondary schools is uniform all over West Pakistan. The Regional Text book Committees publish school text books under the control of Central Text book Board. This central board adheres to the details of specifications laid down by the Implementation Unit of Ministry of Education in Report of the Curriculum Committee for Secondary Education 1960 published by the Central Ministry of Education. Thus school children in the tribal area have to study the same details of subject matter as do their counterparts in Peshawar region and broadly in West Pakistan.

The present approach towards the social studies curriculum may not be discontinuous with students' own life and sub-culture in some parts of West Pakistan, but its homogenuity tends to disregard the separate cultural entity of the tribal people who have a strong sense of self. A critical analysis of the subject content will show how far the syllabi in geography, history and civics and the prevailing instructional methods are continuous with tribal indigenous culture and how far these syllabusses may be effective in widening the sphere of loyalty of tribal children to enable them to integrate with Pakistani nationhood.

2. Geography and the Pakhtun World

The syllabus indicates a heavy emphasis on physical geography and on remoter environments. This tends to minimize the human aspect of geography. Recent researches indicate that the practical value of geography lies in merging human and physical geography in the regional or area study approach. This has not been attempted in the present syllabus though such

²²Jonathan C. McLendon, <u>Teaching the Social Studies</u> (Washington, American Educational Research Association, 1960), p. 11.

an approach could have given a better insight to the students in their ways of life and would have also indicated the possible fruits of widening the circle of communication, through the tribal area to Pakistan. The effectiveness of the present syllabus in enabling the Pakhtuns to grow out of their narrow racism to Pakistani nationhood is doubtful.

Neither the children themselves nor the tribal area form the central point of the present syllabus. The nearest see is over a thousand miles and they have to study sea-currents and ports and trade routes of Pakistan in grades VI to VIII. The minerals of Asia, cities of Turkey and Japan are all there but there is no apparent attention to relationship between tribesmen and their natural surroundings, the tribal ways of earning livelihood and increasing social status and the new possibilities of changing these with the impact of social and economic interdependence with West Pakistan. The details of political geography of Pakistan do not begin with a focus on the tribal area but on East and West Pakistan directly. This may not show the children a common interest with Pakistan as long as their locality is not the starting point. Nearly the same syllabus is repeated in IX and X grades.

Keeping in view the prevailing instructional methods and scarcity of teachers with proper qualifications it may be inferred that the children would learn much about others—and a geography in which they themselves, their Pakhtun kinsmen, their native kills and valleys are either non-existing or precipitatedly viewed through Pakistan's distant binoculars. The present syllabus does not enable the children to see the world while they stand on their own little ground. On the other hand the present syllabus tells the children a number of facts about an alien world, shows picture

after picture of Pakistan cities and towns, but through all these the child and his locality are nearly absent. Such an approach cannot make children anything but onlookers. They will learn facts perhaps efficiently and become more well informed people. But this addition of facts to their knowledge will bring about little change in their ethnic and kinship outlook, social behavior and attitude towards Pakistan as long as much more about themselves is not included and they do not remain onlookers but are involved as central part of the syllabus. Due to inadequate teaching methods and traditional class room atmosphere the bare contents will not enable the tribal children to do quantitative and critical thinking about their cultural economy. If a process of information indicates a shift in ideas by enabling the tribesmen to measure the social status of any one of their kinsmen not in the number of rifles he possesses but in the number of his goods, trucks operating on routes of West Pakistan, a change in social outlook will speed up. 23 The present syllabus in geography ignores these trade and social routes of linking tribal area with Pakistan.

As tribesmen are in general utilitarian people they would sieze upon any benefit significant to them. When they come to know that trade, industry and virtue can pay more than tribal revolt and bloodshed they will change their social behavior. Economics is not included as a subject in the social studies program and geography does not exercise that correlated responsibility well. The present course in geography does not include the role of free enterprise in advancing the individual's own interest while

²³ Toynbee, op. ci t., p. 167.

²⁴ Supra , p. 42.

²⁵ William, op. cit., p. 472.

cooperating with others. This could have appealed to the utilitarian individualism of the Pakhtun and also widen his outlook.

3. Pakistan History and the Pakhtuns

With its obvious emphasis on a wider Pakistani national heritage in order to create a spirit of Pakistani nationhood, the syllabus in history indicates a visible non-involvment of Pakhtuns. The seats of Indus Valley Civilization namely Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa are about 900 and 400 miles away from the tribal area. Another ancient civilization known as Ghandhara Civilization which had its centre at Taxila about 100 miles from the tribal area and which flourished in the tribal area area not been mentioned in the syllabus. The Pakhtun concept of a common mythical ancestor who had obviously no historical relation with the Indus Valley Civilization but was closer to the descendents of Ghandara Civilization may weaken the effectiveness of the present contents of syllabus.

The history of Mughal Impire is prescribed on the same pattern for the tribal schools as for other regions of Pakistan. Traditionally the Mughals were enemies of Pakhtuns and tried to curb their independence. One of the popular Pakhtun warrior-poets Khusbal Khan Khattak fought against the Mughals in 18th century and wrote epic poetry. The anti-Mughal prejudice is still not absent. Including the details of the Mughal Empire with the same accent is not insightful. Again the biography of Mohammad Ali Jinnah is included in the syllabus, while that of any regional hero or leader is missing. A society based on kinship principle has some elements of ancestor worship. The well known Pakhtun hero Jamal Din Afghani worked

²⁶ Tucci, op.cit., pp. 19ff.

on a similar mission of founding a homeland for Muslims one century before Jinnah. 27 His biography could have been fruitfully included to indicate the similarity of purposes of the two heroes to elucidate the common interests of Pakhtuns and Pakistanis.

Prescribed on a uniform and broad national pattern the present syllabus in history indicates little place and contribution of the Pakhtuns to ancient and modern history of Pakistan. The whole syllabus is so nationalistic that it does not include Pakhtuns recent and ancient past. It begins with Pakistan and encompasses elements still remoter in time and place such as the history of Islamic Arabia and parts of European and American history. These contents sound like stories of other peoples and places. Being discontinuous with the Pakhtun historical past the present syllabus may not be effective in bringing about a widening of loyalty in the race and culture conscious Pakhtuns.

Talking about the significance of including native history and local culture Edwards says that the pupils must learn what they are and what is the wider society of which they are a part. Rooted in their own life and continuous with it their education must enable them to grow to full stature and see a valid relationship to a wider community.

'To retain the sense of self, the age old family or tribal customs....the native way of looking at the world is just as important. 129

The present syllabus in history may not be effective in widening Pakhtun's historical perspective and social empathy due to his personal

²⁷Rafiq M. Khan and Herbert S. Stark, <u>Young Pakistan</u> (London, Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 221.

²⁸ Esther P. Edwards, "The Children of Migratory Agricultural Workers in the Public Elementary Schools of the United States", Harvard Educational Review (Winter 1960), pp. 45-46.

^{29&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 47.

and tribal non-involvment in the historical events which he learns in the school. The children may become better informed but they may continue considering themselves to be descendents of one Kais, and different from the Pakistani nation.

4. Civics and Democratic Socialization

Being defined as the understanding of the environments in relation to society by the Curriculum Committee 1960³⁰ the syllabus for classes VI to VIII includes relation to home, school, mosque, village, community and country and the students are to learn democratic attitudes and to study the constitution of Pakistan, the rights and responsibilities of its citizens. In classes IX and X the students are to study the relationship of the individual to the state, Pakistan's basic democracies, population distribution, social problems and economy.

Obviously the beginning is the home and the child himself. But in view of the fact that tribal children will have the same text books as they counterparts in settled districts of West Pakistan, the syllabus does not proportionately discuss the tribal family structure, their indigenous institutions, their concept of democracy as reflected in Jirga and their reciprocal dependence on Pakistan. Prescribed at top speed and in an emergency the policy matters regarding curriculum necessarily fall short of these local considerations and the emphasis is on Pakistan's society and citizenship.

In addition to theorectical knowledge, practical work comprising field trips, group discussion, social service experience and democratic

³⁰ Government of Pakistan, Curriculum Committee, op.cit., p. 120.

leadership training is also included. These activities require new responsibilities of the teaching staff. Democracy and citizenship is learned by doing and active participation in democratic processes and not by listening and memorizing. It is obvious that without adequate means such activities may remain a part of paper policy without being actually introduced in schools. Lewin supports the view that the aim of democratic education cannot be achieved by authoritarian methods. The prevailing teaching methods throughout Pakistan are generally authoritarian, the teacher assumes the role of a knower and the students of passive listners. In view of the scarcity of qualified teachers the gap between the stated policy and actual practices is apparent and active group discussion may not be introduced soon.

According to Benne group thinking is a focus upon the definition and solution of a problem by a group.³² The group moves towards clarification of goals, the definition of barriers and defining means to overcome these barriers. The purpose of discussion therefore includes the remolding of habits, attitudes and understandings of the group members. In West Pakistani schools as well as in the tribal area the students generally work individually and little or no group thinking and discussion takes place. Consequently little change in social attitudes may be expected. The activity program, such as carrying out school projects and petty repairs, is intended by the government to bring about a social change in students by democratic socialization and experience in leadership training. Experience has proved that it is easier to change individuals when in an active group

³¹ Kurt Lewin, "Techniques of Changing Culture", Human Relations, op.cit., p. 57.

³² K.D. Benne et al, "Stages in the Process of Group Thinking and Discussion", Human Relations, op.cit., p. 69.

than to change any one separately. 33

It is obvious therefore that much of the effectiveness of the syllabus in civics will depend on the nature of the class atmosphere. If the teacher is qualified he may be able to channelize the strong individualism of Pakhtun children by arranging competition between groups working on some projects like room decoration or cleanliness and by so rearranging these groups time and again that each student comes to identify himself with the school and not with a small and rigid group. The initiation of such social communication within the class may enable the students to shake hands over the barriers of kinship hostilities and voids of Khebada. Researches also support the view that teaching methods in civics should emphasize active participation by pupils at different stages in smaller groups and in class.

Viewed in the cultural context of the tribal area the role of a traditional teacher has certain implications. At home most of Pakhtun children find a hostility and mental tension between elder and younger brothers due to the latter's incapacity to submit to the superior authority of the elder brother. The cultural demand of elder male orientation results in an outward show of respect and an inward suspicion and dislike by the younger. The same attitude and climate of thought may be carried over from home to school if the teacher, an elder male, enjoys a privileged authoritarian role. Such carry-over will lessen the happy teacher-pupil

³³Kurt Lewin, "Quasi-stationary Social Equilibria and the Problem of Permanent Change", Human Relations, op.cit., p. 43.

³⁴ Supra, p. 30.

³⁵McLendon, op.cit., p. 13.

³⁶Supra , p. 32.

than to change any one separately. 33

It is obvious therefore that much of the effectiveness of the syllabus in civics will depend on the nature of the class atmosphere. If the teacher is qualified he may be able to channelize the strong individualism of Pakhtun children by arranging competition between groups working on some projects like room decoration or cleanliness and by so rearranging these groups time and again that each student comes to identify himself with the school and not with a small and rigid group. The initiation of such social communication within the class may enable the students to shake hands over the barriers of kinship hostilities and voids of Khebada. Researches also support the view that teaching methods in civics should emphasize active participation by pupils at different stages in smaller groups and in class.

Viewed in the cultural context of the tribal area the role of a traditional teacher has certain implications. At home most of Pakhtun children find a hostility and mental tension between elder and younger brothers due to the latter's incapacity to submit to the superior authority of the elder brother. The cultural demand of elder male orientation results in an outward show of respect and an inward suspicion and dislike by the younger. The same attitude and climate of thought may be carried over from home to school if the teacher, an elder male, enjoys a privileged authoritarian role. Such carry-over will lessen the happy teacher-pupil

³³Kurt Lewin, "Quasi-stationary Social Equilibria and the Problem of Permanent Change", Human Relations, op.cit., p. 43.

³⁴ Supra, p. 30.

³⁵McLendon, op.cit., p. 13.

³⁶Supra , p. 32.

relationship. Though the teacher may be respected and honored as a guest if he is from outside the pupils will not look upon him as their leader unless he shares the planning and the execution of projects with them. An authoritarian class room atmosphere is discontinuous with Pakhtuns habit of thought. Thus the need of eliminating authoritarian role of teachers is more intense in the tribal area.

The contents of the subject matter reveal that from class VI to X less direct attention is paid to the study of Pakhtun culture, family principles, social institutions and their comparison with those in other parts of the country. If detailed analysis of Pakhtun ways of life are included for classes IX and X and proper teaching techniques are introduced, it is not inconceivable that the students may be able to see some maladjustive factors in their culture. The present curriculum policy lays more stress on Pakistani life and society in general and little or no attention is given to the particular culture of tribesmen. Read remarks that the study of foreign cultures developed a growing respect and interest in their own culture among Africans. The more they widened their knowledge in other cultures, the more sympathetic they became with their own cultural heritage. On the other hand a detailed study of one's own culture makes an individual critical. Linton says that if people study their own culture in detail they are enabled to view elements in it that they would not otherwise think of questioning. 38 A comparative study between their own culture and that of Pakistan will make the students aware that there are other and perhaps better ways of doing things. As such they could have become more

³⁷Read, op.cit., p. 44.

^{38&}lt;sub>Miel, op.cit.</sub>, p. 105.

ready for change if the syllabus includes details of their culture first. Even kinship principles and family patterns are changed in the long run if a thoughtful study of one's native culture indicates some social and psychological problems affecting the individuals. The present syllabus tends to ignore the significance of including Pakhtun tribal ways in the civics study program for the tribal area school. Not only would this have been continuous with their life, but also would have enabled them to grow out socially.

5. Medium of Instruction

The present policy has made Urdu the medium of instruction from grade VI onward in the tribal area. Urdu differs from Pashtu more than it does from Panjabi, the language of Lahore region. An illiterate Panjabi person can normally follow Urdu fairly well due to lingual similarities, but a partly literate Pakhtun may find it comparatively much more difficult to follow it. In Hyderabad region the government has adopted a different policy and Sindi is the medium of instruction in class VI to VIII. 40 Due to the difference in vocabulary and syntax between Pashtu and Urdu and due to the fact that Urdu—speaking refugees have not settled in the tribal area, 41 the present status of Urdu as medium of instruction from grade VI is not well in continuity with Pakhtun life and language of thought. The policy is so nationalistic that it tends to ignore that the use of Urdu as medium in early classes may only indicate how artificially and painfully tribal people are being integrated with Pakistan. It is doubtful that

³⁹ Mabel A. Elliot and Francis E. Merril, "Impact of Social Change on the Family", Social Foundation of Education, op.cit., p. 107.

⁴⁰ Government of Pakistan, Curriculum Committee, op.cit., p. 85.

No refugee family is shown to be rehabilitated in the tribal area. See Government of Pakistan, Pakistan 1953-1954 (Karachi, Pakistan Publications 1954), pp. 196-204.

simply the use of Urdu will enable the ethnocentric Pakhtuns to come closer to Pakistan and start measuring their life beyond the narrow family and kinship limits. 42

The students own pattern of speech and thought will differ widely from the language of the class room. They may neither identify school with home, nor Urdu with family nor Pakistan with their own homeland. On the other hand they may see that three things, Urdu, school and Pakistan are mutually linked but all three are outside their sphere of intimacy. Not only will this make education comparatively less interesting due to some lack of understanding and discussion of the subject contents but the Pakhtun children who see a 'me versus the world' attitude manifested in the social behavior of their kinsmen may also wrap themselves in narrow racism and Pakhtunism. The imposing of Urdu from above smacks of an indoctrinational attitude as though the Pakistan's policy were saying to the Pakhtun children 'Learn about Pakistan in Pakistan's language'. Learning about Pakistan through Pashtu could make it a more interesting place and comparatively near to them. The policy needs to be reframed on new lines. In a race conscious people like Pakhtuns the social process of their integration with Pakistan cannot be speeded up by popularizing Urdu in this manner. This amounts to blowing up a part of the socio-cultural bridge between West Pakistan and the tribal area and expecting the young learners to jump over the stream.

An authoritarian status of Urdu with all its remoteness from their home and tribal life may sound like this: 'We (West Pakistanis) are not

⁴² Pashtu and Urdu were both used as mediums of instruction in middle and secondary schools till 1958. The secondary school public examinations of class X was conducted in Urdu.

you but we are superior and in authority. So we know what is good for you, accept it and question not! Pakhtuns want to decide what is good for them even if it is a school or hospital. So the present policy will be ineffective in widening the sphere of their loyalty as it disregards their separate identity of which they are very conscious. An effective policy would have recognized the separate entity of Pakhtuns and started from where they are.

D. CONCLUSION

1. Range of the Present Work

On the basis of the forgoing discussion certain conclusions are drawn and suggestions are indicated for further work. The scope of the present work is limited to only a preliminary survey towards the beginning of the solution to this problem. The nature of the problem is such that it requires more elaborate data and empirical study about the tribal distribution of population, inter-tribal relations, climatic factors and geopolitical situation of various places in the tribal area, history of Pakhtum society and probably several other unknown factors. Therefore the validity of the conclusions and preliminary hypotheses needs to be tested by further empirical and field study. The present section presents a group of preliminary hypotheses of exploratory nature which serving as a threshold will lead to a more sound beginning of the solution of the problem.

2. A Group of Conclusions and Preliminary Hypotheses

a) The present policy ignores the possibility and usefulness of involving the tribesmen in the administration of schools, though as we have

⁴³ Spain, "Pakistan North West Frontier", op.cit., p. 35.

seen they are capable of actively participating and carrying out affairs affecting them. The social responsibility of tribesmen is distinctly marked in the Jirga (tribal assembly) meetings. It is at the Jirga level that most of the interpersonal and inter-tribal relationships exist. The seriousness with which Jirga meetings are held and its decision honored may be capitalized upon.

Hypothesis I is that if the tribal schools are to be brought closer to tribal social responsibility, the administrative machinery must be geared to the groovelines of an inter-tribal Jirga or several Jirgas. The more the control of school system is entrusted to native Jirgas the more effective it would be in bringing about desired change.

b) The present policy in which the administration is centralized at the provincial level and the director of the tribal area works under the directions and control of the Director of Public Instruction, West Pakistan, leaves little scope for the director of tribal area and other administrative officers to study the specific problems and educational needs of the tribal people in their socio-cultural context. Their dependence on instructions from above to implement policy matters shifts the attention of these officers from the tribal locality towards the whole administrative set up. This consequently minimizes their insight into and capacity to solve the specific tribal problems which they can do as independent responsible unit.

Hypothesis II is that if a separate Tribal Education Office dissociated from the West Pakistan Educational set up is established to work in coordination with the Political Agents (local Pakistani officers) and Tribal Jirgas and the officers are fully oriented to Pakhtun culture and language, it will become a more effective system. c) The present location of the office of the director for tribal area outside the area itself tends to produce a corresponding psychic and social remoteness between the tribesmen and the educational officers and experts.

Hypothesis III is that if the Headquarter office is shifted to a suitable place in the tribal area and if a number of mobile offices is also set up, this will increase the effectiveness of the system.

d) The present policy of naming the schools as government schools is not in consonance with tribal thought-life, because due to their hostility against the British government of India and comparative isolation from Pakistan, they have not yet developed a habit of associating the word 'government' with the people's government.

Hypothesis IV is that if the schools are named after the locality or Pakhtun heroes or simply called Jirga schools, the title will be effective in winning Pakhtun's loyalty to schools.

e) The present social studies curriculum policy is so obviously nationalistic that it tends to ignore the fact that the tribal people are still to be socially and politically integrated with Pakistan. The courses of study in geography, history and civics emphasize Pakistan as a whole focussing on details of environments, matters and events comparatively more remote from tribal children experiences and habits of thought.

Hypothesis V is that if social studies curriculum is changed to incorporate more of tribesmen relations to Pakistan in spatial, historical and societal spheres and if the curriculum is constructed around the Pakhtuns indegenous culture, it will enable them to grow to full stature and see their interdependence with Pakistan.

f) The status of Urdu as medium of instruction from Vi grade is not effective to bring about the desired result of integrating Pakhtuns with Pakistan speedily. Using Urdu at early stages may not only lessen students' interest in class work but in the school itself.

Hypothesis VI is that if both Pashtu and Urdu are used as mediums (and other means of popularizing Urdu are devised) the Pakhtun children will be enabled to develop more interest and affinity to Pakistan.

E. AUTHOR'S BIAS

The young state of Pakistan is facing many problems today. One of these is the social and cultural amalgamation of Pakhtun tribesmen with West Pakistan. Though education alone cannot take the sole responsibility in this respect the present government is of the opinion that it can play a vital role in the process of national unification. With this aim the government has extended various educational facilities to the tribal area in addition to other measures.

The present study has been undertaken with a view to indicate certain suggestions for improving the policy of the government with regard to administrative and academic control and social studies curriculum of the tribal secondary schools. An analysis of the policy of administrative and academic control has been made with respect to objectives of system, organizational structure and function of officials. This analysis gave an over all view of the current policy and practices as applied to the tribal area. Evaluation of this phase of policy has been made in view of its effectiveness in achieving the objectives as stated by the government. Idkewise an analysis of the policy of the social studies curriculum has

been made in respect of its terms of reference, procedure for laying down syllabusses, contents of subject matter and instructional methods. Evaluation of this phase of the policy has been made in view of its effectiveness in bringing about the desired results.

A shift in the policy is desirable because of the isolated position and a different cultural system of the Pakhtuns. The educational program must not only fit well into the tribal cultural frame but also synchronize with the process of widening their loyalty and social communication. requires a concentration on local problems allowing later integration of Pakhtuns into Pakistani nation. They must be treated as Pakhtuns first and their identity need to be respected, so that while retaining their Pakhtunhood, they identify themselves with Pakistani nation. People concerned in the tribal education especially those who are in senior positions have a heavy responsibility in planning proper means for a process of deliberate social change. The educational administrative set up with the system of values reflected in it and the flow of new ideas must be reassessed and geared to the tribal socio-cultural context and their specific needs. The nature of the problem requires much more elaborate data and empirical study. The present study has been an attempt at a beginning of the solution of the problem. A group of preliminary conclusions and hypotheses have been drawn indicating scope for further work in this field. As such both conclusions and hypotheses are open ended to be further tested and sharpened by further empirical study.

APPENDIX A

SYLIABUS OF GEOGRAPHY

Excerpt from The Report of the Curriculum Committee for the Secondary Education, Rawalpindi, Implementation Unit, 1961.

Class VI 1. Elementary Physical Geography

Shape of earth; rotation and revolution of the earth, rocks, latitude and longitude; day and night, seasons; agents of change.

2. Pakistan

Location; shape; size; main physical features; climate; natural resources, vegetation, animals; people, occupations; industries, trade, means of communications.

3. Asia

Location; shape; size; main physical features, climate, vegetation, minerals; animals; people, occupations, industries, trade, means of communications.

Class VII 1. Physical Geography

Atmosphere, distribution of temperature, distribution of pressure, circulation of wind, rainfall, distribution of land and water, currents, factors which determine the climate of a place, volcano, earthquake, major natural regions of the world.

2. Asia

Brief study of India, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabi, Turkey, Burma, China and Japan.

Class VIII 1. Pakistan

Pakistan and our natural resources, industrialization, main development projects and their effects on our national economy, main land, sea and air routes which connect Pakistan with the world; important cities and industrial and commercial centres, exports and imports and its relations with other countries.

2. The World (excluding Asia)

The continents, agricultural and mineral products, peoples, industries, trade, main cities and industrial centres, means of communications. Brief study of Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Greece, Italy, Russia, U.S.A.; Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Egypt, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

Classes IX and X

1. Physical Geography

Lithosphere crust of the earth, classification of rocks, agents of change.

Atmosphere, planetary distribution of temperature, pressure, wind, rainfall, types of rainfall.

Hydrosphere: oceans, currents, causes and effects.

Weather: season; climate.

Major natural regions of the world.

2. The World and Pakistan

Food, cereals, animals, fish, clothing, wool, jute, silk, hides and skins, coal, petroleum, gas, hydro-electric power, iron, aluminium, copper, tin, manganese, nickle, gold and silver.

Principal commodities of world trade, imports and exports of Pakistan: trade routes.

APPENDIX B

SYLLABUS OF HISTORY

Excerpt from The Report of Curriculum Committee for the Secondary

Education, Rawalpindi, Implementation Unit, 1961.

- Class VI Prehistoric Age; Indus Valley Civilization (Mohenjodoro and Harappa), the Aryans, Buddhism, Alexander's invasion and its effects, coming of the Muslims, conquest of Sind and Multan by Muhammad bin Qasim and invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad Ghauri, the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire.
- Class VII Coming of the Europeans, expansion of the British Empire in India; Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, the War of Independence 1857, Freedom Movement, the Congress and the Muslim League, the Khilafat Movement and the Pakistan movement, Quaid-i-Azan Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the establishment of Pakistan (details of governors-general and viceroys to be avoided).
- Class VIII Arabs before Islam, the Prophet, Knulfa-i-Rashadin, the tragedy of Kerbala and its significance, spread of Islam during the Umayyed period, virtuous administration of Umar bin Abdul Aziz, contribution of the Abbasides to sciences, literature and culture (Harun ur Rashid and Al Mamun), influence on Europe of the Moors of Spain and the Ottomans of Turkey, impact of Islam on Asia and Europe, Renaissance and Reformation, Arab traders, travellers and geographers, Age of discovery (Vasco da Gama, Columbus and Drake).

Classes IX and X

Birth of Remaissance and its effects on society with reference to the contribution of the Muslims.

Age of discovery and colonization.

The French Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution and its effects.

Colonialism and nationalism.

The American War of Independence.

Evolution of democratic forms of government.

Capital and Labor.

World War I.

Socialism and Russian Revolution.

Decline of Colonial powers.

Emergence of the independent Muslim and other states.

World War II

The role of the UN

Emergence of Pakistan and the October Revolution of 1958.

APPENDIX C

SYLLABUS FOR CIVICS

Excerpt from the Report of Curriculum Committee for the Secondary Education, Rawalpindi, Implementation Unit, 1961.

Class VI 1. Courses

Child's relation to his home, school, place of worship, community, village or town and country, cleanliness, sanitation of house, surroundings, school, village or town and public places, relations with parents, elders, members of family, neighbours, class fellows, playmates and teachers, love for animals, sportsmanship and fairplay, social service squads, school committees; scouting and blue birds, taking one's turn—queue system, respect for property—personnel, school and public, developing attitude, use of vote in class and school activities, respect for majority vote, general idea of Basic Democracies.

2. Practical work

Practical experience of above civic activities through cubbing, souting, chaud tara clubs, school committees, teams, Junior Red Cross societies and social service squads, field trips to the office of the union council and other places.

Class VII 1. Courses

Personal cleanliness, sanitation, social responsibilities, civil organizations in villages and towns, Basic Democracies

and their function, places of worship, schools and other educational institutions, libraries, reading-rooms, child welfare centres, health and recreation centres, parks, play fields, telephone, post and telegraph offices, water works, street lighting, public sanitation, rights and responsibilities of a citizen.

2. Practical work

Study of current events through newspapers and magazines, group discussions, organization of self-governing groups, prefects, class guides and house leaders; youth organization and social service groups, cubbing, scouting, blue birds, Red Cross (Junior) societies and Chand tara clubs, preparation of the National Flag, field trips to towns and public offices.

Class VIII 1. Courses

Salient features of the constitution of Pakistan; Central and Provincial governments, various government departments and their functions, World Organizations, U.N. and its agencies, common-wealth of Nations.

2. Practical Work

Study of current events through newspapers, radio and group discussion; carrying out the school projects and petty school repairs; civil defence; safety education including the highway code; preparation of charts and graphs for administrative patters and various government departments; visit to public offices.

Classes IX and X

1. The individual and the state

Necessity for laws, police, judiciary, defence, taxes. Local district, divisional, provincial and central bodies.

2. Democracy

Democracy adapted to Pakistan's needs and developments; duties of the citizen in a democracy; democratic attitude; willingness to serve, and to cooperate, rights and duties of the citizens in basic democracies.

3. Constitution of Pakistan

4. Population of Pakistan

Total population of Pakistan, men and women, their distribution in the two provinces and in urban and rural areas; civilian labor force; migration from rural areas to urban areas, immigration; emigration; social problems created for Pakistan in 1947, refugees, their settlement.

5. The Economy of Pakistan

Production and factors of production, land, labor, capital and organization, division of labor, cooperation; National income, foreign trade, imports and exports, distribution of income, wages and social security, taxes, banks and insurance; demand and supply; agriculture, water and power, industry.

6. Practical work

Visit municipal agencies and offices, invite important persons to the school to discuss civic problems and developments, plan group discussions, identify the essential ideas of the basic democracies program, encourage special student reports and projects, use newspapers, magazine articles and radio broadcasts to discuss current events.

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