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SPECIAL REPORT

2301 Constitution Ave., NW • Washington, DC 20037 • 202.457.1700 • fax 202.429.6063

About the Author
Zahid Shahab Ahmed is a postdoctoral fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalization, Deakin University, Australia. He received his PhD from the University of New England in Australia and his MA in peace education from the University for Peace in Costa Rica. Since 2003, he has worked with numerous local and international development organizations on peacebuilding projects with a special focus on peace education. Additional research assistance for this report was provided by Musharaf Zahoor, Khan Zeb, and Rizwan Ali of the Centre for International Peace and Stability at the National University of Sciences and Technology in Islamabad. Maheen Piracha provided important and appreciated editorial support.

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Zahid Shahab Ahmed

Peace Education in Pakistan

Summary

- One of the constraints of peace education in Pakistan is the presence of three parallel education systems that have limited or no interaction, which renders any one-size-fits-all peace education model unlikely to succeed.
- Across the board, teachers appreciated exposure to peace education training and felt that such programs help in reducing stereotyping of the Other.
- Many students, in both public and private schools, reported direct exposure to violence in communities, homes, and schools. In some cases, students said peace education has reduced violence, such as bullying, at schools.
- Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with a larger canvas and stronger roots at community levels have a better chance of success.
- Contextual relevance and conflict sensitivity should be central to implementation of peace education programs.
- Peace education organizations hesitate to focus on intra- and interfaith conflicts and violence. More specifically, madrassas consider the issue of sectarian violence off limits.
- Other than the quality of contents, peace education depends on the quality of teachers, which varied from project to project. Students respond more readily to trained teachers.
- Participatory pedagogies are significant for achieving the desired outcomes of peace education.
- Peace education programs need to strengthen their outreach by bringing parents on board.
- NGOs and their international partners should keep trying to integrate peace education in curricula at provincial levels.

Introduction

In the aftermath of 9/11, the international community began to advocate greater financial aid for education, especially in countries associated with rising militancies. It did so because radicalization is increasingly seen as a function of social and political marginalization rather than of economic poverty.[1]

Peace education is a sustainable long-term solution in conflict resolution and prevention efforts because it addresses the root causes of conflict.[2] It does so by building critical skills and inspiring behavioral changes needed to understand the challenges of violence and conflict, and by developing counternarratives based on tolerance and respect for all people regardless of race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, or religion.[3]

The United Nations is one of the most important forums for this purpose because it provides external legitimacy to the concept. Peace education is part of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO's) constitutional mandate. The Associated Schools Project Network (ASPnet), established in 1953, operates under the aegis of UNESCO to globalize peace education and intercultural learning. Peace education is also an integral part of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) agenda: Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) emphasizes the importance of teaching children to uphold the values of tolerance, peace, equality, and friendship.

This report examines a cross-section of peace education initiatives in Pakistan to gauge the extent to which they have succeeded. It is guided by several key questions:

- What types of interventions were most effective in a particular context?
- Were the implemented programs and curricula contextually relevant and conflict- or culture-sensitive?
- How was the quality of delivery ensured? Did the projects focus on pedagogies of peace education literature?
- What kind of content and teaching methodologies worked best and where?
- What differences and similarities are there between various peace education programs and curricula implemented in mainstream schools and madrassas?
- What lessons can be drawn from the selected case studies?

The sample covered in this report includes projects funded by a variety of U.S. and other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), from peace education in schools and projects in the public and private sectors, including privately run madrassas.

The criteria for selecting an organization included its local profile and rapport with its beneficiaries, the content of its curriculum, the relevance of the project to program or peace education objectives and to the context of the project location, the organization's experience of peace education, and its target audience in terms of age, gender, and economic background.

The projects selected are located in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Punjab, and Sindh provinces and include the Paiman Alumni Trust (KP chapter), the Peace Education and Development (PEAD) Foundation, the Swat Youth Front, the Grammar School Rawalpindi, the Paiman Alumni Trust (Punjab chapter), the Jamia Naeemia madrassa in Lahore, the Charter for Compassion, and the Pakistan Institute of Labor Education and Research (PILER). Together they are a reasonably representative sample in terms of funding source, type of education system, and location.

Peace Education in South Asia

Virtually every country in South Asia faces militancy and conflict to some extent. Pakistan has been especially prone to armed conflict, whether religious militancy, ethnic separatism, or border dispute. A major reason for this conflict—especially ethnic, religious, and sectarian—is the nature of fragmented societies in the region.[4] South Asia is becoming

more complex as space for moderate voices shrinks in countries such as Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan.[5] Divided societies are fertile grounds for the spread of prejudice and hatred against perceived Others.[6] In such contexts, education is a critical tool for ending prejudice, hatred, and discrimination by promoting tolerance and respect.[7] The overall goal of peace education should thus be to address the root causes of social conflicts—divisions based on ethnicity, religion, caste, class, and sect—through a change in mindset, especially of future generations.

Peace education programs follow a variety of strategies from country to country, of course. Integrating peace education with mainstream schooling is perhaps the most effective. The education sector not only is a central agent of socialization, but also has substantial outreach, especially among children and young people. Nepal, for instance, has developed a four-year program that mainstreams civic education and human rights in formal and informal curricula as well as preservice teacher training. Sri Lanka has also introduced conflict resolution programs at the primary level and developed teachers' guides to peace education.[8] This is mainly the outcome of national policy on social cohesion and peace education introduced in 2008 with the support of the German Technical Cooperation Agency, now known as the German Corporation for International Cooperation GmbH.[9] The backing of state for peace education in Sri Lanka should be seen as a significant achievement.

One of the constraints to effective peace education in Pakistan is that the country has three parallel education systems: government institutions, private institutions, and private madrassas. All three have different goals, follow different syllabi, and use different pedagogies. Moreover, their interaction with each other is limited, which means that a one-size-fits-all peace education model is unlikely to succeed.

Although the 2009 National Education Policy mentions certain aspects of peace education, such as promoting human rights and interfaith harmony, these have not been assimilated into the provincial curriculum. Regardless, the reach of national policies is only to the public education system, which excludes private schools and madrassas. An important aspect of methodology in peace education programming is to overcome traditional teaching styles of rote learning, memorization, and authoritarian lecture by encouraging participation.[10] Such a classroom environment stands in the way of promoting critical thinking; peace education policy has therefore formulated actions to promote an interactive environment in classrooms. It aims to oversee the framework of education—specifically, the guidelines for teaching and curricula—at federal and provincial levels. It also limits the scope of peace to Islamic studies:

> Apart from infusing Islamic and religious teachings in the curriculum, wherever appropriate, Islamiyat is being taught as a compulsory core subject from Early Childhood Education to Higher Secondary School levels extending up to graduation in all general and professional institutions so as to create a tolerant and peace loving society with vision of finding solutions to the real life problems through the teachings of Holy Qur'an and Sunnah.[11]

At most, the social studies curriculum broadly addresses civic education.[12] A number of NGOs operate sporadic and informal peace education projects. Emphasis on critical thinking and problem solving, however, is scant. Islamic studies is a compulsory subject at the school and college level, but is taught in a way that often glorifies violent jihad and promotes crippling gender stereotypes.[13] In this sense, education in Pakistan has become a medium for, at best, internalizing prejudices and, at worst, radicalization. Although madrassas are commonly associated with radicalization, mainstream institutions often function with curricula

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or textbooks that inherently promote a jingoistic nationalism as well as ethnic and sectarian biases through revisionist accounts of Pakistan's history.[14]

A brief look at the sociopolitical context of the case studies is constructive. The KP-based projects operate in Peshawar, Swat, and Kohat, all of which have endured widespread sectarian violence by militants who often target public spaces, including schools and government buildings. Swat was a Taliban stronghold between 2007 and 2009 until a Pakistani military operation finally dislodged militants from the area. Both Rawalpindi and Lahore in Punjab have also been subject to intermittent sectarian violence. Lahore's Christian and Ahmadi communities in particular have been targeted in brutal sectarian attacks. Karachi in Sindh has been subject to political and ethnic violence since the 1980s, and more recently has seen a rise in sectarian conflict. Tando Allahyar, a primarily feudal area in the interior of the province, has a large Hindu peasant minority that is often subjected to religious violence in the form of forced conversions and marriages.

Theory and Practice

The theory of peace education encompasses a range of themes, including the challenges in confronting conflict and violence and the idea of building a culture of peace based on concepts such as coexistence and equality, interfaith harmony, negotiation, reconciliation, international solidarity, social justice, disarmament, intercultural learning, sustainable development, and environmental security. In Pakistan's case, this extends to the Islamic concept of peace, which virtually all the organizations and schools tend to emphasize. The PEAD Foundation, which provides advocacy and training in peace, human rights, and democracy among madrassas and schools in Punjab, for example, found that many madrassa heads felt strongly that Islam did not support militancy and terrorism. They argued that, by extension, peace education based on religious scripture was a viable solution to countering radicalism and militancy. The head of the Jamia Naeemia madrassa, who organized a lecture series on contemporary issues in Islam, echoed this, pointing out that peace and conflict resolution should be presented as inherently Islamic values. This approach is also to counter the perception that peace education is Western propaganda.[15] However, madrassas like the Jamia Naeemia did not address inter-sect harmony—an issue that is central to widespread sectarian violence in Pakistan.

Among the secular organizations that have trained teachers or students in peace education, most offer a fairly broad overview of certain aspects of the subject. One project, which works with government schools in marginalized villages in Sindh, developed a comprehensive manual for teaching thirty modules on social and ethical issues given in the accompanying student textbook. The manual explains, among other topics, the roots of conflict, determinants of power, ways of peaceful conflict resolution, international human rights, and gender and child psychology. Concepts such as intra- and interfaith harmony, which are particularly relevant to contemporary Pakistan, were conspicuously absent from the syllabus, however.

Peace education in practice entails training people to think critically, equipping them with the tools to understand and resolve conflicts fairly and rationally using effective counterstrategies and action plans for peace. One successful intervention run by the Swat Youth Front in KP held a series of youth journalism workshops at partner schools. The workshops introduced students to the concept of human rights as defined by the Constitution of Pakistan as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, women's rights in Islam, postconflict reconstruction, and current affairs. Students were encouraged to write for *Naveed-e-Sahar*, a magazine published as part of the project until it was discontinued for lack of funds, that helped develop students' writing and information-sharing skills and

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showcased their analysis of sociopolitical issues ranging from terrorism in Swat to underage marriage, child labor, and women's social roles.

Similarly, at the Grammar School Rawalpindi in Punjab, which is the only private school to offer formal, structured peace education classes, teachers encouraged students to examine issues such as identity and culture critically and rationally. The school's peace education syllabus follows UNESCO's guidelines for teaching students local contexts of history, most notably by emphasizing the progressive phase of Muslim history rather than merely glorifying conquest and war. However, these classes have lost something of their novelty over time and teachers have become less innovative. The gap between peace education in theory and practice becomes evident when the positive impact of what children learn at school is countered by the negative impact of the values they learn at home.[16] This is compounded by the impact of social media in radicalizing young people—an important aspect that these classes do not address.

Successful Interventions

The case studies reflect different characteristics that earmark their success. Because the ultimate objective of peace education in schools is to influence the thinking and behavior of children, program success was measured by interviewing students.

The KP chapter of Paiman Alumni Trust, an NGO, runs peace education projects in Peshawar and has trained teachers at two private schools to integrate peace education with their primary and secondary curricula. Teachers' ability to communicate the meaning and purpose of peace education to the students was evident in the range of projects carried out at one of the schools, which included International Peace Day celebrations, community street theater, and art and writing projects expressing a vision of peace. Teachers felt that such activities helped discourage students from seeing their non-Muslim peers and staff as religious stereotypes—a frequent rationale for religious and sectarian violence in Pakistan.

In addition, twenty students were interviewed from one of the targeted schools to assess the impact of this particular education model. Students reflected a clear understanding of the concepts of peace and conflict by linking key elements of the model to the notions of justice, development, and security. Almost half of the students reported conflict in their communities, making it clear that this intervention was highly relevant to the target group. Students also reported that the level of violence, such as bullying, had dropped significantly since the start of the peace education classes.

Given that clerics and theologians wield considerable influence in local communities through their sermons, the Jamia Naeemia madrassa in Lahore organized a series of lectures to introduce issues related to peace education among prayer leaders and Muslim clerics. The madrassa received largely positive feedback from members of the congregations led by clerics who had attended these lectures. One trainer who lectured on the damaging impact of sectarianism said that the classes helped increase participants' theological knowledge of contemporary challenges to peace in society. Another, who lectured on peace in the presence of differences, said that such themes did not deter participants from asking questions and responding to seemingly controversial issues. Following these successes, a refined, more structured version of the Jamia Naeemia model may be expanded to other parts of the country. That, however, will depend on the network of Jamia Naeemia, which is limited to Punjab.

The Pakistan Institute of Labor Education and Research, an NGO that ran a peace education program for primary and middle schools in Karachi (Sindh), had success with a broader alternative learning program that targeted about three thousand students between ten and eighteen years old across twenty schools, most of whom belonged to the Pashtun, Sindhi, and Brahvi ethnic communities. The program's aim was to train teachers in alternative

methods of learning that accommodated flexible class hours and context-specific needs. For instance, girls whose parents were unwilling to send them to school were tutored at home but still followed a formal curriculum and teaching methods. Boys who were unwilling to go to school were given counseling and offered capacity-based training. This approach worked well among the communities targeted by giving students from conservative households the chance to learn at their own pace and then replicate what they had learned in their communities.[17] In addition, PILER used its experienced team to train lead team members in the theory and practice of peace education. Its well-established reputation and high profile among the communities in which it worked were also critical to its success.

Contextual Relevance and Conflict Sensitivity

Both conflict sensitivity and contextual relevance were key to the success of many programs. A particular strength of the Swat Youth Front's program was its direct community focus on local communities still recovering from the brutal effects of Taliban control and violence. The organization had a sound reputation in Swat and pragmatically postponed its workshops until the Taliban had been ousted from the area following military operations. It did not publicize that its work was funded by the UK-based Institute of War and Peace Reporting because this might have had repercussions for project beneficiaries and staff security.

In Punjab, the Jamia Naeemia madrassa's lecture series addressed contemporary and contextually relevant themes ranging from blasphemy laws, sectarianism, Islam's concepts of peace, and the role of religious leaders to polio drives and family planning.[18] Many of these themes were often featured in clerics' weekly Friday sermons, which have greater outreach than ordinary sermons. The ripple effect of encouraging madrassas to incorporate aspects of peace education into their discourse should therefore not be underestimated. However, the effect of peace-oriented Friday sermons on the participants was not assessed in this study.

Many projects, however, were not contextually relevant, and others could have augmented their content. In KP, for instance, where all three projects generally took into account religious and political contexts, the case is strong for presenting culture-sensitive institutions such as the jirga or the Pashtun code of *malmastia* (hospitality) as acceptable mechanisms of alternative dispute resolution that have the capacity for making just decisions while protecting human rights. Other programs, such as those run by the Grammar School Rawalpindi, followed UNESCO's guidelines for taking local contexts into account when teaching peace education classes.

The Charter for Compassion, which conducted teacher-training workshops in peace education in Karachi, encountered a similar problem. The teacher's manual prepared by the organization did not take into account the context of ethnic and sectarian conflict in a city such as Karachi, and therefore the workshops had a relatively limited impact in terms of the scope of the education. In the case of PILER, the implementing team faced difficulty because the material was not targeted to Karachi. Donors should ensure that implementers develop context-specific material regardless of whether they rely on external sources. This can involve case studies, which students can roleplay and engage in critical thinking and problem solving in an effective way, to introduce contextually relevant material and engage the students.

Traditional teaching approaches in Pakistan, especially at madrassas and government schools, tend to be heavily teacher-oriented and include little room for students' personal and social development, much less for critical thinking and problem solving.

Pedagogy

Traditional teaching approaches in Pakistan, especially at madrassas and government schools, tend to be heavily teacher-oriented and include little room for students' personal and social development, much less for critical thinking and problem solving. Even at private

schools, which are more likely to focus on such skills, the availability of competent teachers is a key constraint. For example, the Grammar School Rawalpindi, which offers peace education classes, supplied no mechanism for teacher training in this subject, much less funds to implement it.

The Charter for Compassion, which focused on training teachers primarily from lower-middle income schools in Karachi, addressed the challenge by introducing them to modern teaching methods such as interactive classes and discouraging the traditional approach of learning by punishment. Teachers felt that applying these concepts had a positive impact on student behavior and learning outcomes. The Jamia Naeemia madrassa in Lahore illustrates the other end of the spectrum. The psychology of learning is an important part of peace education, yet a program participant was observed meting out physical punishment to his students, justifying it on the grounds that it was "necessary for learning." Students internalize this approach—associating violence with better learning outcomes—damaging their self-esteem and making them more likely to use the same practice on others.

Program Design and Delivery

Factors that determined the effectiveness of these projects included the type of teaching or training model used, the extent to which parents and teachers or trainers were directly involved in program design, and the medium of instruction.

The projects in question used both direct and indirect teaching and training models: the first entailed interaction between student and teacher; the second involved teacher training and parental involvement but no direct contact with students. The extent to which either model was effective depended on the context. One project, which trained teachers in Tando Allahyar, had a relatively limited impact, for example, because it was operating in a low-income, marginalized area where most teachers were poorly educated and tended to take a traditional, authoritarian approach to teaching. Had the organization interacted with students directly in addition to training teachers, it might have helped build the student's self-confidence and encouraged them to respond to their teachers critically. On the other hand, when the same model was applied to schools in Peshawar by the Paiman Alumni Trust's KP chapter, it yielded better learning outcomes among students because teachers were likely better educated. At this juncture, it is important to compare the outcome of the project in Peshawar, which is run at a private school, with public schools of Tando Allahyar. As in most government-run schools, the quality of teachers was below average in Tando Allahyar, which is also a lower-income area than Peshawar.[19]

One of the problems associated with several programs was the lack of parental involvement. In some cases, such as the Swat Youth Front, the organization and its partner schools did not engage directly with parents. Given that entire communities in Swat had been closely affected by terrorism-related violence, the lack explains in part why the project's impact was limited in the medium term. One teacher said that parents were more concerned with their children's grades than with their social development as young people with peaceful values. Efforts to involve parents elicited a lukewarm response at best. Teachers at one of the partner schools working with the Paiman Alumni Trust in Peshawar reported that most parents did not attend school meetings and were ambivalent about the peace education program itself. Seemingly, then, parents have less incentive to encourage peace education when it is not integrated with the school's syllabus or activities. Including parents in the program was not a built-in component of the project.

In nearly all cases, teachers contributed immensely to the development of peace education programs. The original curriculum for the Swat Youth Front was developed by the organization but supplemented by input from teachers as they became increasingly involved.

Many suggestions proved valuable and indicated which themes remained culturally sensitive, such as gender education, that participants were unwilling to introduce. In the case of the Jamia Naeemia madrassa, although the syllabus included important contemporary themes relevant to peace education in Pakistan, facilitators found that it could have been improved by incorporating feedback from trainers and organizers after each lecture.

Most programs used whichever language, English or Urdu, was the more suitable to the circumstances. The Grammar School Rawalpindi, for example, conducts all its classes, including peace education, in English. Other organizations catering to government schools or to low-income areas, such as one in Tando Allahyar and the Charter for Compassion in Karachi, developed materials in Urdu, which almost all participants read and spoke reasonably fluently. The Paiman Alumni Trust's Punjab chapter, which held a series of faith-building workshops for women teaching at and attending madrassas in Lahore, conducted all its sessions in Urdu, with the materials for donors in English. Although workshop trainers felt that the sessions had increased levels of tolerance, many participants said they would have been far more comfortable had the workshop trainers used proper Urdu explanations for English terminologies. Clearly, curricula designed and training conducted in Urdu as well as the regional languages would give participants a better chance of interacting with trainers and assimilating the concepts taught.

Schools Versus Madrassas

Many madrassas are keen to participate in peace education programs, albeit within a framework based on their interpretation of Islamic scriptures. Madrassa students working with the PEAD Foundation in KP, for instance, were more aware of the context of peace education than might be expected, given the common assumption that all madrassas necessarily advocate violence in the name of religion. Based on the themes its lectures addressed, the Jamia Naeemia madrassa in Lahore, too, clearly understood the importance of supporting a religious discourse that negates violence. Moreover, as mentioned, the theology students and clerics who attended these workshops and lectures have spheres of influence in their communities and congregations, which makes them (potentially) effective purveyors of the broader values upheld by peace education.

Understanding the schism between madrassas and secular schools is not as simple as assuming that the latter are necessarily more open to peace education interventions. Although traditional madrassa curriculum does not emphasize personal growth or social development, teaching at both madrassas and schools was invariably limited to the syllabus. This can leave students unaware of key socioeconomic issues and therefore more vulnerable to exploitation by radical or militant elements. Programs such as the Swat Youth Front program in KP that worked with students to document contemporary social problems prove to be central to peace education interventions.

Even though national education policy acknowledges peace education, it has not been integrated into the formal education curriculum at either schools or madrassas, making it more difficult to persuade teachers and administrators in both cases that it is an essential part of students' education, secular or otherwise. The main reason for its omission from the curriculum is the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan, following which education, among others, is a provincial concern rather than a federal one.[20] Organizations such as the PEAD Foundation have approached provincial authorities in KP for revisions of curricula in line with peace education.[21] Notably, outdated teaching methods and biased curricula are common to both schools and madrassas—a key constraint to promoting the values of peace education. That said, the degree to which these constraints apply differs radically across the three streams of education in Pakistan. Private schools such as

Grammar School Rawalpindi are generally more willing and able to teach their students to think independently when interpreting history and current affairs. Poorer government schools have a lower baseline quality of teaching: those that worked with a project in Tando Allahyar, for example, were simply less familiar with the idea of participatory classes and why these were important to teaching peace education. Madrassas are still bound by a far narrower interpretation of scripture that allows little if any room for critical thinking.

At madrassas, the extent to which peace education permeates the discourse will depend on, among other things, their associated sect. One of the weaknesses of the Jamia Naeemia madrassa's program was that the lectures targeted young clerics (age twenty-two to thirty) who had graduated from the madrassa. From the madrassa's perspective, this was partly to avoid creating any controversy by inviting people from other schools of thought and partly because its own graduates were more accessible. This selection bias, however, is likely to have limited the program's impact. One solution would be to use a peer group teaching model that allows interventions initially across groups, though the ultimate objective is to bring groups together over the course of workshops.

The marked lack of interaction between schools and madrassas is important to empha-size, however. One of the strengths of the PEAD Foundation's program was that it enabled students from both systems to take part in collective sports, declamation and recitation contests, and calligraphy classes to strengthen their social bonds and remove their miscon-ceptions of each other. Several madrassa teachers who took part in this program reported feeling deprived of the facilities available to mainstream schools and colleges. Madrassa teachers also reported having limited financial resources and lower salaries, an undercur-rent of resentment that needs to be taken into account when designing peace education interventions for madrassas.

Role of Women

A strong case is made for targeting women in this area, given the evidence of growing radi-calization among women—especially those teaching at madrassas—and the argument that they have direct influence over what their children learn at home.[22] Barring organizations that work with schools, and therefore come into contact with both male and female teachers and students, only the program run by the Paiman Alumni Trust's Punjab chapter focused on women teaching at madrassas. Paiman has also formed a group called Women Moderat-ing Extremism that worked in conjunction with Inclusive Security, an organization based in Washington, DC. The madrassa training program could be improved and replicated in other parts of the country, though a comprehensive impact analysis revealed shortcomings in the program's content and delivery. Such programs could start by targeting only a few madrassas and then expanding into a larger cross-section.

Role of the State

Despite the growing number of private schools, education remains primarily the state's responsibility. Unless the government is more closely involved in this sector, peace educa-tion will have limited outreach and a narrow impact. Building public-private partnerships with institutions such as Grammar School Rawalpindi and Jamia Naeemia would magnify the impact of ongoing work in this area. In marginalized areas such as Tando Allahyar, where the state's role in education is limited to the provision of school buildings (most of which are in poor condition) and teachers (most of whom are ill trained), the government should work in conjunction with NGOs to fill important gaps in service delivery.

Peace education needs to be integrated with the existing syllabus as a discipline in its own right. At present, the national curriculum—to which government schools are bound—

Peace education needs to be integrated with the existing syllabus as a discipline in its own right. At present, the national curriculum—to which government schools are bound—merely touches on aspects of peace education.

merely touches on aspects of peace education. In social studies, for instance, the syllabus tends to eulogize war heroes rather than underscoring the achievements of people who have contributed to peace, human rights, and social development. State narratives concerning jihad, religion, and politics have not remained constant over the years. These have, in turn, fed damaging social narratives. The canvas of constraints to effective peace education, therefore, extends well beyond reforming curricula and making more (and better) source material available to teachers and project managers.

Sustainability and Development

International donor interest in peace education projects in Pakistan has grown substantially since 2002, along with the number of such programs on the ground. This shift is encouraging, but some implementing organizations have merely benefited from the availability of funds without committing to a long-term plan for peace education.

The Swat Youth Front, for example, implemented a successful youth journalism project but lacked the capacity to generate local funds to sustain its work. Ultimately, it could not even continue publishing its student magazine, *Naveed-e-Sahar*. As a result, it lost contact with project participants and did not have a long-term impact on the area. Similarly, Oxfam Novib did not support the Jamia Naeemia madrassa's lecture series on contemporary issues in Islam beyond the pilot phase: even the lecture material produced was eventually published in house. The program depended entirely on donor funding and closed down when these funds ran out. Such programs need continuity, given clerics' ongoing influence over social behavior among their congregations.

The Charter for Compassion, however, has a long-term sustainability plan that will enable it to continue peace education programs even when its external funds dry up. The organization plans to create an endowment fund that will allow it to remain financially sustainable at the end of its funding cycle. Similarly, Grammar School Rawalpindi has been able to run its peace education classes for twenty years without depending on donor funds. In this sense, both institutions provide a model that other schools and NGOs would do well to emulate.

Organizational capacity is decisive in determining whether a program is sustainable in the long term and can be replicated in other areas. The Charter for Compassion, for example, has a relatively high turnover because most of its team are fresh graduates for whom the work may be a stepping stone to other jobs or postgraduate study, which makes the in-house transfer of knowledge and skills more difficult. PILER's team members tended to see peace education as a short-term project, primarily because the organization's broader focus is on labor rights and education. PILER has not engaged extensively with UNICEF to use its field experience to help localize the latter's peace education material, though this could prove to be an immensely valuable exercise. Although PILER's staff are not necessarily trained in peace education, the organization does have the capacity to provide useful related input to UNICEF.

Monitoring and Documentation

Most programs were poorly monitored and documented, if at all. As a pilot project, the Jamia Naeemia's lecture series would have benefited enormously from an independent impact analysis to improve the quality of similar programs. A key constraint was the donor's lack of interest in monitoring the project. Similarly, the teacher-training workshops held by the Charter for Compassion were not monitored or evaluated, making it difficult to assess the project's overall impact, the relevance of compassionate skills, and its replicability in higher-income areas of Karachi. The Grammar School Rawalpindi, too, did not document the

number of students who attended its peace education classes, making it difficult to gauge the program's quantitative impact.

The Paiman Alumni Trust's workshops for women theologians in Lahore were not systematically documented, nor was the number of participants. Nor were these workshops result oriented, which made it difficult to gauge the project's strengths and weaknesses to improve its content and delivery. Moreover, access to most participants was limited, and many simply did not respond to attempts to contact them. The key lesson is that donors should not allocate funds to programs that cannot support their work with detailed before and after surveys and reports based on accurate documentation and rigorous impact analyses.

Assessment

Broadly speaking, the organizations in KP were most adept, when developing training material, at translating donor guidelines into local contexts. Feedback from participants indicate that this approach contributed significantly to the success of projects there. That said, most course material was not especially innovative and would have benefited from greater emphasis on the theory and pedagogy. In this context, UNICEF's publication (in Urdu) on *Social Harmony: Guidelines for Teachers* is a useful resource on narrative approaches to peace education.

Two of the three organizations in Sindh had the advantage of well-trained, experienced teams. However, Charter for Compassion staff members were younger and may have benefited from additional training in the objectives of peace education. The other two organizations used material that provided comprehensive teaching guidelines. This could have been taken a step further by developing follow-up activities to monitor teachers' progress and provide continual encouragement.

Punjab presents an interesting contrast. Grammar School Rawalpindi is unique in that it is a member of ASPnet, has seasoned teachers running its peace education classes, and has a syllabus based heavily on extensively researched UNESCO source material. On the other hand, the two madrassa projects lacked sound syllabi and guidelines for trainers and teachers. The Jamia Naeemia project, for instance, relied entirely on material the madrassa head had collated, implying a lack of other constructive input. Moreover, trainers had no teaching toolkits and were apt to deliver material in the same way they would have ordinarily taught at a madrassa—without encouraging students to respond critically.

Conclusion

This report is not intended to be an exhaustive analysis of peace education interventions in Pakistan. Instead, it assesses a representative cross-section of such programs, highlighting the importance of their work in a context heavily nuanced by geography, ethnicity, religion, sect, international and internal politics, and the role of the state. The study's aim was to assess which interventions have worked best in a given context and where they need to be strengthened.

Although many projects have been engaged with peace education for more than ten years, their curriculum remains restricted to issues such as interfaith harmony, a basic understanding of conflict resolution, and the concept of peace in Islam. None of these projects focused on conflict analysis and mapping, negotiation, mediation, reconciliation, disarmament, environmental security, or human security in general—all of which are germane to any discussion of peace and conflict resolution, in Pakistan as elsewhere.

Madrassas rely heavily on traditional interpretations of the scripture and have made little, if any, attempt to move forward. No critical analysis is undertaken of the concept and importance of human rights in Islam to stand in comparison with globally established documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Issues such as conflict resolution, tolerance, religious harmony, and human rights are typically, and pejoratively, viewed as Western values to the extent that the concept of peace education itself may also carry negative connotations.

Traditional clerics tend to criticize modern technology as a Western instrument responsible for weakening Muslim culture and values. What they do not teach is how modern science and technology has benefited humankind, or that the Muslim tradition of science and learning is ancient and substantial and has had a strong influence on modern science. Students need to know that Islam is not incompatible with science and research, and peace and conflict resolution should be presented as part of inherently Islamic values supported by scripture.

Quality teachers and trainers are essential in ensuring that programs impart both the practical skills and theory of peace education. A key feature missing in most programs, especially those implemented at madrassas, is any emphasis on critical thinking—a skill most trainers are ill equipped to teach. The transfer of knowledge and skills in this area is therefore limited. Teachers and trainers must be more proficient in the praxis of peace education.

Moreover, that traditional teaching models have the advantage of face-to-face interaction should not undermine the effectiveness of online or distance learning models. Given the rapidly growing number of internet users, organizations need to develop peace education models that can be delivered online but that also use social media to reinforce what they teach regularly. Virtual peace education has become increasingly popular around the world and many of the tools it uses could be put to effective use in Pakistan.[23] This includes not only wider use of audiovisual material but also more interactive material that enables students and teachers to engage critically with the theory and practice of peace education. Donors could play an important role in pilot-testing this idea.

Organizations working in conflict-affected areas, particularly in KP, did not publicize that their work was funded by overseas organizations because the knowledge could have had severe security repercussions. Those working with larger donors in other areas, however, could share such information openly because they had a healthy rapport with their beneficiaries; much of their work focused on areas beyond peace education, such as livelihoods and health; and donors such as UN agencies and European Union are well established in Pakistan. The implication is that NGOs with a larger canvas and stronger roots at local levels have a better chance of success, especially through acceptability and support for peace education initiatives at local levels. A key weakness of several projects, however, was the lack of relevance to local context. Regardless of how well researched peace education material produced by an international organization might be, external actors must encourage local implementers to refine this knowledge to meet local needs.

Several promising interventions petered out for lack of funds, capacity, and donor interest. Given the vicissitudes of external funding, organizations need to have a long-term sustainability plan that will enable them to continue peace education programs even when they no longer have recourse to external funds. Additionally, most organizations tend not to publicize their work in peace education, in some cases because of the potential risk of being associated with a perceived Western agenda. In other instances, many organizations simply lack the capacity to monitor and document their work systematically. Building these skills would create a valuable body of knowledge for implementing peace education in Pakistan, helping other organizations learn from their peers and creating more public awareness of the concept.

Peace education is not limited to interventions in schools and madrassas. A growing number of universities in Pakistan, including the National Defense University, the National University of Sciences and Technology, and the National University of Modern Languages, have begun offering courses that relate directly or indirectly to the theory and practice of peace education. Examining these could yield useful lessons for programs by NGOs, schools, and madrassas.

Recommendations

The government, both federal and provincial, needs to recognize the significance of ongoing work in peace education by helping donors and local partners implement such projects. It can do so in various ways. One would be to establish a consortium of international and local NGOs engaged in peace education interventions across the country under the federal and provincial education ministries. Relatedly, NGOs should be encouraged and facilitated in their plans to initiate projects in areas (such as KP) where the prevailing security situation means that they are often seen with suspicion by school and madrassa administrations. Curricular reforms can be developed and implemented to ensure core goals. One such aim is that peace education becomes an integral part of the existing syllabus. Another is that people (regardless of religion) who have worked for democracy and human rights are presented as role models rather than war heroes. Third is that cultural institutions such as the *jirga, panchayat, hujra*, and *malmastia* are presented as acceptable mechanisms of alternative dispute resolution. Mechanisms such as *jirgas*, however, need to preserve the constitutional rights of women and of religious minorities. Last, translating and disseminating literature on peace and human rights is critical. Institutions that produce such material, such as the National Commission for Human Development, could be important ongoing sources of teaching material.

Donors need to be more closely involved with the projects they fund. Involvement entails certain core approaches. One is to ensure that their work remains sensitive to cultural and conflict-related contexts, part of which effort means developing peace education material that corresponds to local needs (including the medium of instruction) in conjunction with the implementing organization. Choosing partners is especially consequential. Donors need to work with credible organizations that are capable of delivering effective peace education programs, and to help transfer knowledge from international consultants to local specialists. Peace education projects need to be monitored and evaluated at every stage, including content development, and collaborating with the implementing organization to ensure that the syllabus design takes local needs and contexts into account. Resources should be channeled to conflict hotspots outside KP, such as Karachi and southern Punjab. Once the funding cycle is over, local organizations should be encouraged to find ways of generating funds to sustain their work in the long term and should be able to demonstrate this commitment to support their eligibility for funds.

Implementing organizations need to demonstrate their ability to generate funds to sustain peace education programs in the long term. Creating an endowment fund would be one way to do so. They should also collaborate with other local NGOs on developing content to reduce program costs. Outsourcing the development of peace education material to a third party or consultant should be avoided. The practice does not guarantee better quality, especially if the implementing organization already has experience in this area, and could open the door to inferior quality. Organizations should apply their expertise in a particular area or with a particular target audience to the project design and training inputs. In so doing, they should ensure that training materials focus on conflict analysis and resolution,

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mediation skills, and peace education pedagogies such as critical thinking. Last, and relatedly, they should prepare comprehensive training guidelines for teachers, ideally in Urdu, to help them effectively instruct students in the theory and practice of peace education.

Donors and implementing organizations need to take particular care in working with madrassas. Among the priorities is taking ownership of their involvement in madrassa projects. Understanding the limitations of the framework within which the madrassa is likely to take part in a peace education program is critical; for instance, organizations report that indirect peace education models (teacher training) may be slower to yield results but are more effective. Outsourcing programs should be avoided, given that madrassas have strong networks among their own graduates. Program guidelines should be developed to ensure that the madrassa administration integrates peace education concepts and pedagogies with its training material. Relatedly, focus on the role of women who teach or study at madrassas is critical to countering radicalization in this demographic. Last, donors and implementing organizations should organize group discussions among madrassa students and teachers on different aspects of conflict resolution in order to encourage debate and critical thinking as well as tolerance for other perspectives.

In working with public and private schools, donors and implementing organizations need to target a cross-section of private and public schools to strengthen the program's outreach as far as possible. Peace education programs should be extended to higher-income private schools, which are more likely to have seed funding for such interventions and better-trained teachers capable of developing and delivering courses that encourage critical thinking. Content outlines and key pedagogies should be shared with teachers, enabling them to build on this material based on their experience and their knowledge of the students they teach. Collaboration is essential: with experienced teachers to develop peace education materials and teaching guidelines for schools, and with established organizations such as UNESCO and UNICEF, which have worked with Pakistani schools for several decades.

To complement and support such government, donor, and implementing organization efforts, USIP could create an online repository of peace education training materials. Such a resource would help partner organizations and other agencies—such as UNICEF, UNESCO, and the Paiman Alumni Trust—share content they have already developed and applied across locations in Pakistan and elsewhere. Closely monitoring peace education projects to ensure that the content is contextually relevant and meets international standards of peace education is critical. A review committee of specialists could be set up to evaluate program content before delivery, focusing equally on quality of content (training materials) and delivery (teacher-training methods).

Notes

1. For example, Mullah Fazlullah, a former militant leader, was discovered broadcasting his extremist ideology on an illegal radio channel in Swat in 2006. This is likely to have helped radicalize large numbers of young people, especially women, in the area.

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5. "Religious Extremism and Governance in South Asia: Internal and External Pressures," Current Issues Briefing (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2003).

6. Iseult Honohan and Nathalie Rougier, eds., *Tolerance and Diversity in Ireland, North and South* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

7. Tony Gallagher, *Education in Divided Societies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

8. Manish Thapa, Raj Kumar Dhungana, Bhuvaneswari Mahalingam, and Jerome Conilleau, *Peace by Piece: Mainstreaming Peace Education in South Asia* (Stockholm: Save the Children Sweden, 2010).

9. Ministry of Education, "National Policy and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions on Education for Social Cohesion and Peace" (Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 2008).

10. S. M. Aijaz, "Learning Achievement in Primary Schools of Pakistan: A Quest for Quality Education" (Islamabad: UNESCO and Government of Pakistan, 2001).

11. Ministry of Education, "National Education Policy 2009" (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 2009), 32.

12. Bernadette L. Dean, "The State of Civic Education in Pakistan" (Karachi: Aga Khan University, 2007).

13. "Findings Say Contents of KP Textbooks Can Undermine Social Peace," *The News*, April 19, 2012.

14. Ahsan Butt, "National Narrative in Pakistani Textbooks," PeaceBrief no. 210 (Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2016).

15. Amineh Hoti and Zahid Shahab Ahmed, "Peace Education in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Centre for Dialogue and Action, Fc College University, Pakistan," in *Handbook of Research on Promoting Global Peace and Civic Engagement Through Education*, edited by Kshama Pandey, Pratibha Upadhyay, and Amit Jaiswal (Hershey: IGI Global, 2016).

16. One teacher reported hearing a student refer to one of his peers as a "non-Muslim Shia."

17. One of the program's women graduates now teaches English, Urdu, and general knowledge to poor students in her community as a volunteer teacher, for example.

18. Inclusion of blasphemy laws is notable given the backdrop of violence associated with such laws. In 2011, the Punjab governor, Salmaan Taseer, was assassinated by an extremist, Mumtaz Qadri, who accused him of having committed blasphemy (the governor had staunchly defended a Christian woman imprisoned for alleged blasphemy). The madrassa head said that he had deliberately criticized Qadri's actions by asking workshop participants who supported Qadri how this made them any different from the Taliban.

19. Ministry of Education, "Pakistan: Education for All Review Report 2015" (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 2014).

20. Shahid Siddiqui, "18th Amendment and Education," *Dawn*, October 11, 2011, www.dawn.com/news/570524/18th -amendment-and-education-by-dr-shahid-siddiqui.

21. PEAD Foundation, "Curriculum Review KPK," Press Release, April 19, 2012, www.pead.org.pk/wp-content /uploads/2015/06/Press_170412.pdf.

22. Two notable institutions that have targeted women, radicalizing large numbers of lower-middle and upper-middle class women in particular, are the Jamia Hafza and Al Huda madrassas.

23. Ruth Firer, "Virtual Peace Education," *Journal of Peace Education* 5, no. 2 (2008): 193–207.

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- *Women, Peace, and Security in Pakistan* by Zeenia Faraz (Peace Brief, February 2017)
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