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Beyond binary discourses? Pakistan studies textbooks and representations of cultural, national, and global identity

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Abstract

Pakistan studies textbooks occupy a central role in translating curriculum imperatives into the foundational stories identified by the authorities as core knowledge for classroom transmission, and consequently in constructing Pakistani young people's identities. The purpose of this article is to explore the content of recently-crafted Pakistan studies textbooks in the Punjab in relation to identity-related issues at a point in time when domestic circumstances, critical diagnoses of flawed textbook approaches in the late twentieth century and a dynamic international context all pushed the previously dominant theocratic/ Islamic discourse of curriculum policy towards more democratic and pluralistic pathways and the possibility of 'enlightened moderation'. The specific focus of the study is upon how textbook writers' interpreted and enacted policy objectives and guidelines regarding Pakistani national identity, internal ethnic and cultural diversity, and global perspectives in their writing of textbooks within the rubric of the revised 2006 secondary school Pakistan studies national curriculum.

Keywords: Pakistan studies, textbooks, history, identity.

Introduction

Early twenty-first century Pakistan offers an important laboratory in which to explore the content and themes of history/social studies textbooks and their role in mediating the curriculum. Textbooks reflect the ideas which scholarly, political and – in the case of Pakistan – religious authorities have decided are important to write into the nation's cultural memory and can be key instruments of political influence and social control (Apple & Christian-Smith 1991, Schissler & Soysal 2005). In a country like Pakistan which had to re-imagine and re-invent itself after 1947 and a long period of colonial rule, teaching a nationalist, Islamic and, in the main, ethnically mono-cultural form of history can be seen as a form of curricular and social cement which binds people together. The construction of Pakistani national identity is explicitly imparted through school programmes of social studies and civics, and Pakistan studies (Lall 2012, Zia 2003a, 2003b). Pakistan studies textbooks accordingly occupy a central role in translating curriculum imperatives into the foundational stories identified by the authorities as core knowledge for classroom transmission, and consequently in constructing Pakistani young people's identities.

Pakistan studies [PS] is a disciplinary subject area that introduces secondary school students to the history, geography, and culture of Pakistan. Its aim is to inculcate patriotism and good citizenship within students. It has largely promoted a singular and homogenous vision of culture, history, and religion in Pakistan – with Islam and a proud nationalism at the heart of the curriculum. A theocratic discourse to PS considers Pakistani national identity predominantly as orthodox Muslims working towards the traditional agenda of an Islamic state. From this perspective, Quranic and Hadith knowledge are recommended as PS curriculum content in order to develop the Islamic moral values of future citizens. Moreover, a theocratic discourse around the PS curriculum has also often deployed anti-India nationalism. Contrary to this, a liberal-democratic vision of Pakistani national identity adopts a pluralistic agenda, which emphasises the equality of all citizens regardless of their religious or ethnic orientations. From this perspective, curriculum content based on liberal-democratic values, human rights and global perspectives is recommended. The main differences are highlighted in Table 1.

Table 1. Binary discourses on Pakistan studies in Pakistan

Category	Theocratic Discourse	Liberal-democratic Discourse
Pakistani national identity	Nation statist/Islamist national identity	Plural conceptions of national identity
Ethnic diversity	More emphasis on nation statist/Islamist national identity than ethnic diversity	Equality of all citizens
Religious diversity	Denies full national rights and privileges	Equality of all citizens
Global identity	Emphasis on relations with Muslim <i>Ummah</i> Emphasis on Jihad (holy war) against the infidels	Emphasis upon relations with the Non-Muslim as well as the Muslim world
Pedagogies	Transmission pedagogy	Progressive pedagogy
Conception of Knowledge	Quran and Sunnah—fixed	Constructivist knowledge

Note: This table is a distillation from various sources (e.g, I. Ahmad 2004, 2007, I. Ahmad 2008, Dean 2005, 2008, Hoodbhoy 1998, Lall 2012, Shafqat 2009)

It is also important to add that for many teachers their everyday practice is more nuanced than this – with efforts to balance or synthesise the two visions. There is a continuum of practice. This study represents an exploration of how contemporary PS textbook treatment of events and issues in the Punjab region of Pakistan seeks to reconcile the markedly different worldviews outlined across these two discourses.

Textbook writers play a key role in bridging the gap between the intended and enacted curriculum in all countries but this role is especially marked in Pakistan where textbooks are ‘the primary vehicles for delivering content knowledge, for determining in large measure what goes on in a class, and for assessing what students do and do not learn’ (Mahmood & Saeed 2011, p. 503). Since the use of government-prescribed textbooks is statutory in Punjab schools, and since official curriculum documentation is not widely circulated, most teachers consider the textbooks as the ‘de facto’ curriculum (Dean 2005). Moreover, limited library facilities and sometimes patchy content knowledge of the subject matter on the part of teachers, increases the degree of reliance upon prescribed textbooks.

The purpose of this article is to explore the content of PS textbooks in relation to identity-related issues at a point in time when previously dominant theocratic approaches to education were shaken by several factors. Domestic circumstances, critical official diagnoses of seriously flawed textbook approaches in the late twentieth century (e.g, Aziz 1998, Nayyar 2003, Nayyar & Salim 2003, Rosser 2003, Saigol, 1995), and a dynamic and unstable international context and pressures – all pushed the previous theocratic agenda of curriculum policy towards more democratic and pluralistic pathways (Chughtai 2011, 2015, Jamil 2009). These studies highlighted the construction of militaristic identities (Naseem 2009) and ‘religious indoctrination, narrow definitions of citizenship, the exclusion of religious minorities, hostile images of India and Hinduism, and gender bias’ (Leirvik, 2008, p. 143) embedded in curricula and textbooks.

This article addresses a specific research question: How have recent Pakistan Studies textbook writers’ interpreted and enacted policy objectives and recommendations regarding Pakistani national identity, internal ethnic and cultural diversity, and global perspectives in their writing of textbooks under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)? Analysis of recent textbooks would throw light upon the extent to which they promoted a richer image of the cultural complexity of Pakistan’s history, more inclusive notions of national identity and citizenship, and a deeper sense of global perspectives.

All successive governments since the foundation of Pakistan in 1947 – whether civilian or military, Islamic or socialist, elected or otherwise – have had the common objective of using the educational system to promote the inculcation of Islamic values into future generations (Khalid & Khan 2006). Consequently, curricula, textbooks, and other teaching materials of federal as well as provincial government schools generally paid scant attention to the voices of minorities – considering them a threat to the fabric of national oneness. The PS curriculum thus served to promote exclusionary conceptions of Pakistani nation identity by teaching students to become good Sunni Muslims and by emphasising the ritualistic and pietistic Islam of the dominant Sunni Punjabi group (Ali 2008, 2010). The content relating to other cultural groups in the Pakistani textbooks was usually presented only from a mainstream perspective. The textbooks constructed enemies and religious others – notably Hindus/Indians - in opposition to whom Pakistani identity was defined. And other religious denominations such as Christians, Jews, and Sikhs were ‘othered’ through exclusion. There is long list of non-Muslims who played a significant role in the formation and development of Pakistan. However, these individuals were generally omitted from official narratives and this omission tended to reinforce the prejudices against non-

Muslims (Nayyar & Salim 2003). Moreover, the curriculum and textbooks also tended to promote identification and allegiance to *Ummah* – a global Muslim community – by dividing the world into Muslims and antagonistic non-Muslims in order to construct a sense of ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ (Saigol 2003).

The watershed 9/11 terrorist act in America became a catalyst for significant changes in Pakistan. After the military coup of 12 October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf became the Chief Executive of Pakistan by suspending the constitution and declaring a state of emergency. He proposed the idea of enlightened moderation – interpreting Islam moderately and shunning extremism and militancy (Boquérat & Hussain 2011, Musharraf 2004). He sought to make Pakistan a just, tolerant, and lawful society by developing human resources through the eradication of poverty and through social justice, healthcare, and education (Kleiner 2007, Musharraf 2004). After 9/11, when it was alleged that the Pakistani education system had contributed to producing terrorists, the Musharraf regime came under pressure from the western world to revise its educational policy and curricula (Lall 2009, Leirvik 2008). As a consequence, education reforms were commenced with huge investment from The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Hathaway 2008).

A new curriculum for secondary Pakistan studies was introduced in 2006. This curriculum attempted to more explicitly recognise the ethnic and religious diversity of Pakistan and aimed to prepare young people as citizens of a democratic society and for global citizenship. For example, the new curriculum sought to ‘inculcate awareness about the multi-cultural heritage of Pakistan so as to enable the students to better appreciate the socio-cultural diversity of Pakistani society and get used to the idea of unity in diversity in [their] national context’ (p. 1) and ‘define enlightened moderation’ (p. 9). There was an explicit commitment to exploring the role of minorities in Pakistan through for example identifying ‘the major features of Pakistan’s culture and commonality in regional cultures leading to National Integration and cohesion’ (p. 13). Teachers were advised that the point of their teaching was not only to prepare students to do well in examinations but also ‘to successfully face the challenges of a global society, and develop their social consciousness to the extent that they become the agents of social change’ (p. 14). Explicit guidance on teaching strategies for Pakistan studies in the upper secondary school was also markedly progressive. Teachers were exhorted to engage students of varying interests and abilities, involve them in co-operative learning and discussion, stimulate their active participation, and avoid ‘the spoon-feeding style of traditional classroom teaching’ (p.15). However, Islamic nationalists rejected the new national curriculum and related progressive policies as they believed they embodied a secular and westernised vision of Pakistani

national identity by declaring it *ladiniyyat* or paganism and sometimes went so far as to depict the new curriculum policy as an American and Zionist conspiracy (Boquérat & Hussain 2011). Since the proponents of Islamic nationalism and liberal-democracy rejected each other's foundational assumptions and visions of national identity and citizenship, the Pakistan studies curriculum became a specific arena where the two visions clashed (I.Ahmad 2008).

Other national policy documents produced in 2009 which focussed respectively upon teacher education and over-arching national educational objectives reinforced these liberalising messages. For example, the *National Professional Standards for Teachers in Pakistan* (Government of Pakistan 2009b), supported by UNESCO, underlined the importance of teacher dispositions being committed to 'respect for individual and cultural/religious differences, and the basic worth of each individual and cultural/religious group' and 'toleration and celebration of diversity' (p. 12). Standard 3 – devoted to 'Knowledge of Islamic Ethical Values/Social Life Skills' identified equality, justice, brotherhood, balance, tolerance and peace as key components of the Islamic code of conduct and underlined the importance of teachers understanding 'the negative impact of prejudice, discrimination, social class, gender, race, and language on the moral development of students and society' (pp. 12-13).

The *National Education Policy 2009* acknowledged 'unresolved' debates as to 'how to accommodate non-Muslim minorities' (Government of Pakistan 2009a, p. 9). There was also a recognition that 'globalisation' had made little impact upon the education system ('a desired response has been missing' (p. 5)). A key objective of the education system was articulated as, 'To raise individuals committed to democratic and moral values, aware of fundamental human rights, open to new ideas, having a sense of personal responsibility and participation in the productive activities in society for the common good' (p. 11). An idealised Pakistani young person was characterised as 'a self-reliant individual, capable of analytical and original thinking, a responsible member of society and a global citizen' (p. 11). The Ministry of Education further announced that school curricula were being extensively reviewed 'keeping in view Islamic teachings and ideology of Pakistan' so that education could be helpful in the creation of 'a just civil society that respects diversity of views, beliefs and faiths' (p. 23). However, the new policy rhetoric conflicted with the ideological orientations of policy-makers, textbook writers and teachers committed to the more overtly theocratic/Islamic PS curriculum.

The policy situation became further complicated by legislated decentralisation of the Pakistani education system in 2010 and by the associated alleged

Islamisation of textbooks in the Punjab region. An historic constitutional amendment (Eighteenth) to grant more autonomy to the Pakistani provinces (P. Tahir 2012) had the effect of creating significant policy diversity across different Pakistani jurisdictions (I-SAPS n.d). Since the promulgation of the Constitution of Pakistan in 1973, education had been a joint function of two levels of governments, federal as well as provincial. After this amendment, provincial governments became solely responsible for the education of their population. The Federal Education Ministry was dissolved. As a consequence, education policy and curriculum provision and implementation were brought under the jurisdiction of provincial governments.

The eighteenth constitutional amendment was welcomed by most segments of civil society in Pakistan and characterised as a triumph of democracy (Centre for Civic Education Pakistan 2010). Nevertheless, there was also apprehension that different provinces might introduce curriculum content which could potentially damage Pakistani national identity and integrity. In the post-decentralised educational landscape, the 2006 National Curriculum was no longer binding for the provinces who were now free to formulate their own education policy and reflect the socio-cultural diversity of their citizens (Malik 2011; P. Tahir 2012). The provincial education ministry was now authorised to review and approve manuscripts of textbooks produced by other agencies before they were prescribed for various classes of an institution. Moreover, they could 'direct any person or agency in writing to delete, amend or withdraw any portion, or the whole of the curricula, textbook or reference material prescribed for any class of an institution within a period specified under such directives' (A. Tahir & Ullah 2010, p. 216). The ideological bent of the ruling Pakistan Muslim league-Nawaz Group in Punjab was believed to want to 'push back the moderate pluralist agenda in education' (Jamil 2009, p. 11). There were newspaper reports alleging Islamisation of textbooks introduced in 2012 by the Punjab textbook board, Lahore (Afzal 2013 & 2014). The formation of new provincial governments in the four Pakistan provinces in 2013 (with different political parties having different ideologies and manifestos) saw a possibility that each government would formulate its own education/curriculum policy and textbooks, perhaps representative, in each case, of majority and populist concerns and as un-nuanced as predecessors in the representation of minority groups.

Methodology

Two Pakistan studies textbooks from the Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore and the Punjab Curriculum Authority, Lahore, which were published respectively in 2014 (Year 9) and 2013 (Year 10) were analysed. Textbooks translating national

curriculum policy are approved and quality-assured by the provincial textbook boards through a process of competition. It is the Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore which oversees the textbooks for schools in Punjab. However, both of the textbooks had also met the National Curriculum 2006 requirements under the National Textbook and Learning Material Policy 2007. The focus was specifically upon the textbooks' treatment of Pakistani national identity, internal ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives. Since English versions were directly translated from the Urdu language version of these textbooks only English medium textbooks were selected for analysis.

Qualitative content analysis of the PS textbooks was undertaken using *Nvivo 10* software. This windows-based program has the ability to facilitate the process of accessing and analysing large amount of qualitative data. Moreover, this software also provides a set of tools – to record, sort, match and link – that can be harnessed by the researcher 'to assist in answering the research questions from the data, without losing access to the source data or contexts from which the data have come' (Bazeley & Jackson 2013, p. 2). The overall aim was to deconstruct the textbooks' content to identify what information, groups and events the authors value, take for granted, praise, or treat as less important. There were very few images deployed in Pakistani studies texts so this was not a major area of focus.

Firstly, the broad brush coding of the textbook data into thematic content areas was undertaken. This was undertaken in various steps. Both textbooks were scanned and converted into readable PDF documents. Later, these documents were imported into *Nvivo 10*. Four nodes comprising four areas of investigation, that is, Pakistani national identity, ethnic and cultural diversity, global perspectives, and pedagogical strategies were created. Nodes and sub-categories are provided in Figure 1. They were created without undertaking any coding of the text (Richards 1999). Then all the textbook data were sorted under the four main thematic nodes and their subsidiary nodes (Graneheim & Lundman 2004). These nodes constituted a provisional starting point for the categorisation process arising out of the research question (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana 2014) and a first step to identify the passages that were relevant to the focus of investigation.

National Identity	Cultural Diversity	Global Perspectives	Pedagogical strategies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Portrayal of Ancestors •Portrayal of Heroes •Portrayal of Enemies •Portrayal of Islam •Use of emotive or non-emotive language in the description of the above items 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Portrayal of ethnic groups •Portrayal of indigenous groups •Portrayal of religious groups •Portrayal of minorites •Use of emotive or non-emotive language in the description of these groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Portrayal of neighbouring countries •Portrayal of Muslim world •Portrayal of Western world •Portrayal of South Asian countries •Portayal of supranational organisations •Description of human rights •Use of emotive or non-emotive language in the description of the above items 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •End of the chapter assessment questions •End of the chapter suggested activites

Figure 1: Categories used for the textbook analysis.

This initial broad brush or thematic coding was followed by a more detailed process of inductive coding. Coding of the textbook data was an iterative process and categorisation processes were not perfected in the first iteration: the process demanded close attention to language and reflection on emergent patterns and meanings and there was some subsequent rearrangement of coded data into different categories (Saldaña 2009, p. 10). The whole sequence of segregating, grouping, and re-grouping helped in consolidating the meanings of the textbook data. The coding of the textbook data followed by analytic reflection on the emergent sub-categories resulted in the identification of several themes.

Findings

1.1. Representation of internal ethnic and cultural diversity

Pakistani textbooks have generally represented dominant groups and ignored the history and culture of other ethnic groups (Hashmi, 2011). Analysing PS textbooks produced by the Punjab Textbooks Board in 1997, Zaidi (2011) noted that PS textbooks had mainly represented the dominant groups, that is, Muhajirs and Punjabis and hardly ever included substantial and even-handed information about the history and culture of different indigenous groups such as the Sindhis or Pathans or Balochis, which for him provided an explanation for resentment of

these groups within the Pakistani polity. The qualitative content analysis of the most recent Year 9 (Choudhary, Kawish, & Azam 2014) and 10 (Dar 2013) PS textbooks from Punjab identified several key themes and discourses around the representation of internal ethnic and religious diversity.

The textbooks represent Muslims as theologically and geographically homogeneous and focus overwhelmingly upon Sunni Muslims. The textbooks nowhere highlight sectarian differences between Muslims. The general message of the PS 9 and 10 textbooks is that there existed 'at the present time...religious uniformity in Pakistan. Pakistan's most important recognition is Islam even while there are regional, provincial, lingual, racial and other bases' (Dar 2013, p. 103). However, the Islamic beliefs and practices presented in Chapter 1 of the PS 9 textbook are Sunni. The Shia Muslim community often reject the Sunni worldview and their conception of Pakistan national identity through the curriculum. The high stakes nature of this issue was exemplified in the Shia Muslim protests in Gilgit-Baltistan in 2004 against the presentations of religious practices in school textbooks which resulted in student boycotts of classes, long-term school closures, riots and deaths (Stober, 2007). During early twenty-first century textbook debates (2000-2005), the Shia Muslim community claimed that in the writing of textbooks the Sunni interpretation of Islamic history and Islamic rituals were bluntly asserted whereas Shia interpretations were deliberately ignored (Ali 2008). The current Punjab textbooks continue to exemplify this exclusion.

The textbooks' depiction of Pakistani provincial cultures is mainly restricted to the description of language. There are four provinces – Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa – in Pakistan. Gilgit Baltistan has recently (2009) also been granted a de-facto province-like status. Azad Jammu and Kashmir are self-governing states under the federation of Pakistan. And there are additionally the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, semi-autonomous tribal territories in the northwest of Pakistan. These areas all have their own distinct cultures – every region is made up of people who are ethnically and linguistically different to the people in the next province. However, the textbook treatment does not encourage students to develop their own confident and informed provincial identities as the descriptions of regional cultures are mainly confined to language and do not extend to history and contemporary beliefs. The PS 10 textbook provides 'a study of the beginning and development of a few famous regional languages of Pakistan' (Dar 2013, p. 110) and lists discussion of Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Balochi, Kashmiri, Seraiki, Brahi and Hindko in eight sub-sections. The textbook introduces students to the origins of these languages and their dialects; areas where they are spoken; the major literary figures and the literary works in these languages; and the positive developments in these languages after the creation

of Pakistan. This enhanced treatment of diversity in the PS 10 textbook is valuable but not sufficient to fully appreciate the different cultures of Pakistan. Instead of giving attention to various cultural groups' history and achievements, the text gives emphasis only to a few major groups' languages. Moreover, like the previous PS textbooks, the PS 10 textbook does not present different local cultures in a comprehensive way. And the PS 10 textbook particularly underlines the important role of the Urdu language in creating unity in Pakistan:

'[Urdu] is not associated with a specific region or racial group of Pakistan. It is spoken and understood all over Pakistan... After the creation of Pakistan, Urdu was given the status of the national language'. (p. 107)

The textbook acknowledges that 'all four provinces of Pakistan have their provincial cultures' and attributes the differences to 'civilisation to some extent, present in their customs and traditions and lifestyles' (p. 106). However, the text also notes that 'in spite of regional and linguistic differences, with the passage of time regional cultural similarities are thriving' and 'despite living in different regions these people have a sense of being linked to each other' (p. 106). The textbook explains that in an era of Muslim rulers, fine arts flourished which was '*our* cultural heritage' and the '*means of our* recognition' (p. 106) [emphasis added]. It reiterates that 'in spite of different regional affiliations (Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathan, Baloch) Pakistani people have feelings of brotherhood. Common religious beliefs foster unity' (p. 106). The educational system and means of information are identified as playing a significant part in promoting harmony, national integrity, and cohesion. In other words, the message about national unity is didactically imparted in a way which tends to flatten regional distinctiveness and diversity. The central intention might be 'unity in diversity' but the dominant 'unity' driver has the effect of diminishing, denying, or at best only modestly recognising practices and cultures which differ from the Punjabi and predominantly metropolitan, Sunni-Muslim majority view.

Less space is allocated for content identifying cultural and ethnic diversity compared to the foregrounding of the pillars of the national narrative. For example, the PS 9 textbook devotes Chapter 1 (Ideological Basis of Pakistan), Chapter 2 (Making of Pakistan) and Chapter 3 (History of Pakistan-I) to providing an unproblematic and condensed national story which omits conflicting memories, contested readings of the national past, and the existence of national/ethnic prejudices. There are only occasional mentions of internal diversity and dissent spread through these chapters. Similarly, The PS 10 textbook treats recent Pakistani political history from 1970 to 2006 through a lens

smoothing out the civil/military discord of these years. The text retails a cautious political narrative demonstrating internal harmony as far as possible.

The PS 10 textbook emphasises that minorities were provided 'equal political, economic and social rights' (p. 116) under the 1973 Constitution and dating back to foundational principles established by Quaid-e-Azam. In a famous 1947 speech articulating a positive attitude towards religious diversity in Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam stated:

Every one of you whether the first, second or last citizen of this state has equal rights... In this state of Pakistan you are free. Go to your temples, mosques or other places of worship. The running of the state has nothing to do with the religion, caste, creed or faith you belong to. (Dar 2013, p. 117)

However, the textbook then immediately underlines the reciprocal obligations expected from minorities: 'It is their responsibility to be faithful to their country. Rising above all kinds of prejudices, they must elect a people's representative who should work for the country's stability' (pp. 116-117). There is powerful coded language here around the actions of future voters; to vote for a candidate who supports regional autonomy or the rights of minority groups is to support instability and engage in unpatriotic behaviour as voting citizens. Whilst there is evidence of small steps forward in the textbook representation of minority Pakistani cultures, the discourse of national unity tends to overwhelm the gestures towards inclusion. An earlier critique argued that equating being a Pakistani with being a Muslim alienates religious minorities such as Christians as it conveys the message to non-Muslims residing in Pakistan 'that only Muslims are true Pakistani citizens. Patriotism has been equated with Islamic zeal' (Nayyar, 2003, p. 77). This argument still has currency from the evidence of the recent texts.

1.2. Representation of international and global perspectives

The qualitative content analysis of PS textbooks 9 and 10 reveals the following themes: first, the depiction of the world beyond Pakistan's relations with neighbouring countries and western world is mostly filtered through the lenses of "us and them" and not simply as "we" the human beings. Second, PS textbooks construct a sense of the "global" in two ways: One is *Ummah*, a supra-national religious community of all Muslims using the vocabulary of Islam. The second is international, using the vocabulary of political internationalism. Textbooks construct *Ummah* identity by emphasising the relations between Muslim countries and the Organisation of Islamic Countries [OIC]. The textbook emphasises the role of the United Nations organisations in world politics and peace and also highlights regional (South Asian) organisations, perhaps to

contribute to the construction of a supra-regional sense of identity by students. The prescribed content for the cultivation of a global sense of identity is factual. Affective elements of the content, that is, global attitudes, beliefs, perspectives and values, remain weak.

The description of Pakistan's foreign policy is underpinned by friend and enemy images. The content for representing the world beyond Pakistan is mostly dealt with in Chapter 6 of the PS 10 textbook: 'Pakistan in World Affairs'. China is portrayed as 'a great neighbour of Pakistan' (p. 31) who has always 'proved herself to be a dependable friend in war and peace' (p. 31); the relationship had always been 'friendly' (p. 31). The two nations are depicted as developing 'sincere harmony' (p. 31). It is stated that 'Pakistan provided every possible political, diplomatic and moral support to China on her war with India' and 'after the atomic blast by India in 1974, China and Pakistan adopted a similar nuclear policy' of declaring the Indian Ocean a nuclear-free zone (p. 31). It is also underscored that China and Pakistan had signed many defence agreements. And Iran is portrayed as a friendly Islamic neighbour that is 'deeply linked' to Pakistan 'with historical, religious and cultural relations' (p. 32). Trade, cultural agreements, and defence pacts, which continued even after Iran's Islamic revolution in 1979, are emphasised. Iran stood with Pakistan in the 1965 and 1971 wars. Its political, moral economic and military aid was 'very encouraging for Pakistan' (p. 32).

India, however, is depicted as a country that does not respect the sovereignty of other countries: 'India conducted atomic blasts, not keeping in view the national safety of Pakistan. It was a show of strength which gave an evidence of being an atomic power' (p. 30). In the development of the Kashmir problem India is depicted as insincere, stubborn, and regularly prone to use force. The textbook narrates the genesis of Kashmir by identifying it as Muslim majority area and underscores that the Muslims of Kashmir 'desired to annex Kashmir with Pakistan' (p. 34). The PS 10 text concludes, 'When India grabbed Kashmir, she backed out on a promise for a plebiscite. The two countries have fought three wars (1948, 1965 and 1971) but so far the right of self-determination of the people is being ignored'. (p. 102). In the Year 9 text vilification of India is stronger, especially in the description of the events of the 1948, 1965 and 1971 wars. The textbook asserts that in September 1965 India committed 'open aggression against Pakistan to materialise its expansionist intentions' (p. 114) and was 'intoxicated with power' (p. 115). India 'never accepted Pakistan from the bottom of their hearts. [The] wonderful progress and stability of Pakistan constituted a major concern for them' (p. 115). The events of the 1965 war are triumphantly narrated over two pages. The texts generally contain few images but an exception is made for this topic with photographs of the Pakistani army, navy, and air force

in operation and images of military leaders and a heroic pilot. There was a palpable pride in the 'humiliating defeat' (p. 116) inflicted upon India.

The separation of East Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh is treated as a sub-branch of continuing Indian enmity ('India had a constant wish to weaken the integrity of Pakistan for one reason or the other' (p. 128)). Sheikh Mujeebur Rahman and the Awami League won an overwhelming 167 out of 169 seats from the East Pakistan electorates in the 1970 general election so had a very clear mandate to establish an autonomous government, however, the narrative focuses upon the role of India. She offered 'unlawful help' (p. 124) and sent 'miscreants to East Pakistan' to kill Pakistani soldiers and ordinary citizens (p. 125). Eventually 'India succeeded in achieving her objectives and East Pakistan appeared on the map of the world with the name of Bangladesh in December 1971' (p. 125). Bit-player forces of negativity in East Pakistan also included, according to the textbook, 'Hindu industrialists and landlords' (p. 125) who dominated the economy, and a majority of Hindu teachers in schools and colleges 'who tarnished the minds of a new generation with the idea of Bengali nationalism' (p. 126). The Bengali language is criticised for 'disintegrating the national unity' (p. 126). There is much blame in this account and little sense of complexity or that Pakistani policies, or actions committed by the Pakistani military, might have had something to do with East Pakistan's desire to secede.

In contextualising Pakistan's Cold War policies America emerges more on the friend side of the equation and the Soviet Union is seen as generally unfriendly, although there is a slight balancing of the scales in the coverage of more recent events. Frequent visits of presidents and prime ministers to Washington, and the American delegations to Pakistan, are highlighted to demonstrate cordial relationships. For example, Pakistani Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan's visit to America in 1950 was hailed as a success as 'America extended military and financial help to Pakistan' (p. 40). Pakistan's alliance with America in the war against the 'Russian occupation' of Afghanistan is underscored. Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan is foregrounded and celebrated uncritically: 'The moral support of the Government of Pakistan raised the morale of Afghan Mujahedeen. The Mujahedeen inflicted heavy defeats on Russian forces in every field. Russia was completely demoralised and became helpless in 1986, but the jihad was continued' (p. 14). Students are informed that 'due to the Pak-American joint efforts, Russia could not become successful in this war and it had to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan' (p. 41). The India and Russia agreement of 1983 and Russia's provision of 'the most modern weapons, tanks and anti-tank aircraft to India' was labelled as 'retaliation for the Pak-American friendship' (p. 41). More recent relations with Russia are described more positively. The text

highlights economic support and agreements, which 'helped to lessen the tension created previously' (p. 43) and hastens to conclude that 'Now, cooperation between both countries is ongoing in different fields' (p. 43). There is even some mild criticism of the United States in a discussion of post 9/11 relationships:

America, for its own aims often repeated talk of maintaining long-lasting and cordial relations with Pakistan. In these ten years, America has given loan of billions of dollars to Pakistan. However, it has never given aid for any big project of long lasting economic and defence benefits to Pakistan. (Dar 2013, p. 42).

The PS 10 text emphasises that 'the stability of Pakistan is linked to the protection of Pakistan's ideology. It can protect its ideology only by establishing better relations with fellow Islamic countries. Therefore, Pakistan has always maintained good relations with them' (p. 30). The 'cordial relations' with the western world and America are justified through the economic development objective of foreign policy. The PS 10 textbook elaborates this point as: 'Pakistan is a developing country and it wants to progress economically. Pakistan is wishing to have cordial relations with all those countries which can help Pakistan financially' (p. 30). In the discussion of the cultural enrichment objective of foreign policy, the PS 10 textbook notes that the culture of 'the Pakistani nation...reflects the Islamic values like tolerance, respect of humanity, modesty, self-respect and courage. Pakistan wants to develop strong relations with those countries which have the same culture' (p. 30). Pakistan's involvement with the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) is justified on the grounds that Pakistan is always a willing participant in endeavours which seek to promote the unity of Islamic world (p. 34). The textbook then moves to briefly describe Pakistan's relations with generally more moderate Islamic countries. Among the OIC countries only Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Libya, Malaysia, Indonesia, Jordan, Iraq and Sudan are selected to bring briefly to the attention of students. Students are informed that 'all... Islamic countries are our brothers and friends' (p. 34).

Pakistan is portrayed as a country that has always respected the territorial sovereignty of other countries and expects the same from them. In addition, it is depicted as following the United Nations Charter and taking an active part in the 'world's struggle against the use of strength' (p. 30). Pakistan is described as supporting the United Nations in its efforts towards arms reduction and international control on nuclear energy, working with the United Nations to combat racism, and supporting oppressed nations' rights to self-determination (p. 48). Pakistan is also highlighted as sending soldiers to establish peace in the world at the request of the United Nations, helping countries to secure membership of the United Nations, and 'playing a very effective role against

terrorism and extremism in the world' (p. 48), a self-congratulatory verdict which would bear informed critical exploration and scrutiny.

The textbooks treat Pakistan's international relations and foreign policy relationships in relatively narrow terms – official diplomacy, legal accords, treaties and agreements, and conflicts where Pakistani involvement is seen as justified and appropriately calibrated. There is no sense that the curriculum serves a deeper purpose of promoting global citizenship, or a sense of Pakistani young people as twenty-first century cosmopolitan citizens. There is little or no engagement with social and cultural rights, freedoms, living conditions, or the characteristics of western secular democracies. Moreover, the textbooks do not incorporate human rights in a systematic way. In his analysis of pre-reform textbooks, S. J. Ahmad (2003) reported that earlier textbooks only addressed human rights implicitly: content was mostly generalised sermons regarding appropriate behaviour – without commenting on the human rights violations prevalent in Pakistani society or elsewhere in the world. This also holds true for the current Pakistan studies textbooks – a significant omission in a contemporary world of Islamic State human rights violations in countries neighbouring Pakistan.

1.3. Treatment of national identity

In Pakistan, various symbols have been invoked from time to time to construct national identity. For example, common ethnic origin, common residence in the same region, historical experience, cultural heritage, language, and religion have been utilised for this purpose (Ahmed 2008). The investigation into the national identity content of the Pakistan studies textbooks, therefore, led to the analysis of narratives regarding these symbols in the textbooks. These symbols were examined using analytical questions borrowed from Yaqian's (2011) work on the analysis of the representation of national identity in pre-reform textbooks. To be more specific the analysis tried to answer the following questions: Who were the heroes? How is Islam dealt with in the textbooks? Who were the enemies?

The official historical narrative provided in the most recent PS textbooks continues to deny space to alternative perspectives. This was particularly evident in the chapters explicating the ideological basis of Pakistan and telling the story of the making of Pakistan. In order to demonstrate the Islamic roots of Pakistani identity, ancestors of the Pakistani nation were identified in the local people who embraced Islam.

In the Sub-continent, every individual who embraced Islam associated himself, socially and politically, to the Muslim society and State. Thus he would break all the previous relationships and link himself to a social system. On these bases, with the passage of time, a separate

and unique temperament of the Muslims of India formed. It was entirely different from that of the other Indian nations. This identity formed the basis of Two-Nation Theory. (Choudhary et al., 2014, p. 9)

Ideas are not presented for exploration, interpretation, elaboration, exemplification, or critical reflection but as baseline information, and foundational pillars and, uncontested 'truths'. These findings are in agreement with Rosser's (2003) analysis of pre-reform textbooks: 'There is little room in the official historical narrative for questions or alternative points of view... The Ideology of Pakistan is devoted to a mono-perspectival religious orientation. There is no other correct way to read the historical record' (p. 110).

Who were the heroes?

Like the previous Pakistan studies textbooks, these textbooks also portray many heroic images selected from the historical figures who were believed to have made significant contributions to the Pakistani nation. Although there is no separate chapter assigned to these heroes, they were mentioned within the story of the nation as well as being brought into the students' consciousness while discussing the ideological basis of Pakistan and the political history of the nation. Since the history portion of the textbook now starts with the history of the Pakistan Movement (1940-1947), no room was left for in-depth portrayal of the Mughal Emperors (1526-1857), Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) – a traditional part of the Pakistan studies narrative of the Pakistani nation.

However, the textbooks certainly represent a 'great men' approach to Pakistan studies, of whom Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah – founder of Pakistan is seen as pre-eminent. The PS 9 textbook is notably hagiographical. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Al Jinnah's wisdom was quoted on twelve occasions in Chapter 1 (The Ideological Basis of Pakistan). In Chapter 2 (The Making of Pakistan) he is the central figure throughout – 'intelligent and far-sighted' (p. 27) 'sincere and selfless' (p. 44), his personality 'changed the fate of the Muslims in South Asia' (p. 46), he 'made all of the conspiracies of the Hindus and the British unsuccessful' (p. 48); and he went on to solve 'the problems created after the birth of Pakistan in an excellent way' (p. 97). Fourteen bullet points of achievements are listed culminating in the epitaph that 'it would not be an exaggeration to say that Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Jinnah served Pakistan at the cost of his life' (p. 98).

Another hero within the PS 9 textbook was Liaqat Ali Khan, the first prime minister of Pakistan. He merited ten bullet points of achievements. He was credited, for example, with 'setting up an effective administrative system, restoration of

economic life, preparation of the budget, [managing the] Kashmir issue, controlling internal disruption and defence against Indian conspiracies' (p. 99). The talking up of these early leaders of Pakistan opened the way to identifying poor leadership as one of the factors behind later instability and the imposition of martial law when 'such people got the control of the country as could neither build national unity among people nor solve the problems of the people' (p. 107).

The PS 10 textbook discusses recent Pakistani political history from 1970 to 2006. It is more careful and even-handed than the PS 9 textbook with fewer heroes and value judgments. However, there is sympathetic treatment of the the period Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was in the presidential office from 1971 to 1977. He is quoted in his first presidential speech as being committed 'to build a new and progressive Pakistan [of] which Quaid-e-Azam dreamed' (p.4). The author takes a positive view of the economic reforms and nationalisation policies of the 1970s as being directed against 'the policies of capitalists, the wealthy and the industrialists' and underpinned by social justice goals. The details of worker-friendly labour and agricultural reforms are laid out with enthusiasm (p. 6-7) although there is a nod towards a range of negative impacts. There is balanced treatment of education and trade reforms with positive and negative impacts detailed in equal measure. There is meticulous detail shared on the content of the 1973 constitution. There is a factual outline of the second extended period of martial law under General Zia-ul-Haq from 1977-1988. The islamisation process is outlined including the setting up of Sharia courts and the implementing of Shariat ordinances. The lack of judgments on the very different regimes of Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, and General Pervez Musharraf within the PS 10 textbook is notable – as far as possible, the author sticks to indisputable and safe facts, which has the effect of making the text rather dry and bland.

How is Islam treated in the Pakistan studies textbooks?

The centrality of Islam to the Pakistani identity as one of the most frequent themes in the textbooks clear. Chapter 1 of the PS 9 textbook establishes the central role of Islam in defining the ideological basis of Pakistan. Students read that 'the Muslims of the Sub-Continent got a separate homeland so that they might give practical shape to the final and absolute authority of Almighty Allah' (p. 4)

The PS textbook equates Pakistan's ideology with Islamic ideology. For example:

Pakistan is an ideological state. It is based on a specific philosophy of life. Its basis is the religion of Islam. This religion has been in practice for centuries. This is the basis that caused the movement of Pakistan. The ideology of Pakistan means ideology of Islam. No doubt, the Islamic ideology is the foundation of the ideology of Pakistan.

(Choudhary et al. 2014, p. 3)

In reality the 'ideology of Pakistan' or Islam as the ideology of Pakistan has a relatively recent origin and no textbook written prior to 1977 mentioned the 'ideology of Pakistan' (Hoodbhoy & Nayyar 1985). Recent Pakistan studies textbook elucidation of the 'ideology of Pakistan' in terms of Islam in practice means a continuation of the Zia era's education policy. This accentuated the 'highest priority... to the revision of curricula with a view to reorganising the entire content around Islamic thought and giving education an ideological orientation so that Islamic Ideology permeates the thinking of the younger generation' (Government of Pakistan 1979, p. 3). The most recent PS 10 textbook continues to tell a simplified and condensed story of the formation of Pakistan weaved around an Islamic framework:

The Muslims ruled the Sub-continent for centuries. They continued living freely according to the teachings of their religion. The establishment of British rule caused harm to the free status of Muslims and Islam. During their reign they were oppressed. When the British rule was near its end, it was evident that the Hindu majority government would be formed in the Sub-continent. It was feared that after getting rid of the temporary slavery of the British, the Muslims would become permanent slaves of the Hindus. (Choudhary et al. 2014, pp. 3-4)

Here the absence of specific details and nuances of the national story make this discourse in the PS 9 textbook an attempt to ideologically manipulate students. Moreover, this is in stark contrast with earlier independence histories where the formation of Pakistan was articulated through arguments highlighting the narrow-mindedness of the All India Congress and its leadership instead of this alternative emphasis on Hindu conspiracies (Nayyar 2003).

An explicit student-learning outcome in exploring the 'ideological basis of Pakistan' is to 'describe the economic deprivation of Muslims in India after the war of freedom 1857' (Government of Pakistan, 2006, p. 2). When the Pakistan studies curriculum 2006 was announced, this learning outcome was lauded by previous analysts of curriculum documents as a move away from anti-Hindu and anti-India sentiments. The 'two-nation theory' was to be explained 'with specific reference to the economic and social deprivation of Muslims in India' (Government of Pakistan, 2006, p. 2). Nevertheless, the Pakistan studies textbooks again elaborate the 'two-nation theory' deploying anti-Indian/anti-Hindu discourses – another textbook writing practice prevalent from the Zia era. For example, the PS 9 textbook links the economic backwardness of the Muslims after the War of Freedom (1857) with the Hindus acquitting themselves of

responsibility for their involvement in the war and putting all the blame on the Muslims, thus inviting the 'prejudice enmity' of the British (p. 8).

Who were the enemies?

As national identity formation involves providing messages regarding sameness, it is also about setting boundaries by supplying knowledge of differences. The Pakistan studies textbooks clearly identified differences whilst telling a distinctive version of the national story. For this purpose, textbooks emphatically underline 'the Hindu-British collusion' and vigorously spell out the economic and social oppression of (undifferentiated) Muslims. A clear and simple causation chain runs from 1857 to 1947. The PS 9 textbook account of the aftermath of the war of 1857 runs:

When the War of Freedom (1857) was over, the Muslims were oppressed very badly. Although the Hindus supported the Muslims in this war, they declared that only the Muslims were responsible for all their actions in the war. Thus they acquitted themselves of any responsibility. The Muslims were the target of the wrath of the British. So they suffered a lot and faced serious consequences. (p. 8)

The exercises and suggested tasks following this account signpost no opportunities to explore this narrative or submit it to any kind of critical review. A sense of inevitability of the emergence of a separate Pakistani nation is communicated. The PS 9 textbook fleshed out the 'Two-Nation theory' as the ideological and explanatory driver of this process. The two Muslim and Hindu nations were described as being 'entirely different from each other in their religious ideas, the way of living and collective thinking. Their basic principles and the way of living are so different that despite living together for centuries, they could not intermingle with each other' (pp. 9-10).

The 1940s history is viewed in such a way as to tell a story of how the Muslim League and principled and skilful leaders, notably Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Al Jinnah, held out for an autonomy and independence which would provide the 'peaceful, secured, and honoured environment' that 'the whole Muslim nation' 'demanded' (p.19-20). The blackening of Hinduism continues as a central theme:

Hinduism was constantly trying to merge Islam into it like other issues. If the united sub-continent had got freedom, it would have been a permanent form of Hindu Authority because modern democratic systems believe in majority government. It was a must to get rid of the dominance of the Hindus and it was possible only if the Sub-continent was divided. (p20-21)

Lord Mountbatten is a predictable additional villain of the piece: 'A conspiracy was planned by the Congress in collaboration with Lord Mountbatten to complete the process of partition in such a manner as a truncated, imbalanced and weak Pakistan was made that would be compelled to be part of India soon' (p.40). And other Britons make unwelcome guest appearances; for example, Sir Radcliffe, an English legal expert heading up a Boundary Commission 'unjustly deprived Pakistan' of key districts and territories – he 'not only deprived the Muslims of their area and rights but also created the problem of the Kashmir issue [and] planted a seed of enmity' (p.93) between Pakistan and India.

There is a constitutional flavour to Pakistan's history as recounted from 1947 to 1973 in Chapter 4 of the PS 9 textbook. Key legislative landmarks are itemised in detail including the Pakistan Objectives Resolution (1949), the 1956 Constitution; the Basic Democracies System (1959); the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (1961); and the 1962 constitution. Here enemies are less central to the story but there are plenty of challenges nevertheless for Pakistan's apparently universally wise and clear-sighted leaders to respond to. However, in general the national story which is presented shifts the focus of 'othering' from Hindus to India, depicting it as a stereotypical villain. This was particularly evident in the descriptions regarding early problems of Pakistan such as: refugees from India; an unjust distribution of economic and military assets following partition; conflict over rights to river water; the administrative balance between Eastern and Western Pakistan; relationships with princely states/tribal areas; and establishing the principles of a democratic Islamic republic (pp. 93-97).

Conclusion

This study set out to examine the translation and integration of policy goals and liberalising recommendations regarding Pakistani national identity, internal ethnic and cultural diversity, and global perspectives in recent textbook writers' responses to the revised 2006 PS curriculum in Punjab. The findings indicate significant continuity with previous scholars critiques of PS textbooks. The most recent texts continue to pay limited attention to the representation of internal ethnic and religious diversity. A Sunni Muslim view of Pakistani national identity permeates the texts. There is limited treatment of provincial cultures beyond discussion of differences of language. The texts also contain limited global identity content. They mainly cultivate students' affinity with the Muslim world and present a narrow and formalised view of international relations. And the new PS textbooks continue to incorporate hagiographic text as well as anti-Hindu/anti-Indian discourses in order to construct the national identities of Pakistani students. They promote a nation-statist and Islamist national identity with only

minor concessions to democratic pluralism. Thus, the evidence points towards the continued influence of a modified but still strong theocratic discourse within Pakistan studies around identity-related issues and a resistance to the moderate pluralist educational agenda launched by President Musharraf in 2006.

This resistance is likely to constitute the subject of future research. Jamil (2009) has suggested that two initiatives – the extra-ordinary state support for the ideology of Pakistan by the current Chief Minister of Punjab and the insertion of Chapter IV (Islamic Education) in the National Education Policy 2009 by the democratic government which came into power after Musharraf – reintroduced ideology and religion into curriculum reforms. Textbook writers in Punjab would have been aware of the shifting policy and political context as they created texts for scrutiny by textbook policy committees likely to be supportive of these changes of policy settings. A further suggestion is that the forces of conservatism are too deeply entrenched to shift policy. Behuria and Shehzad (2013) claim that the Musharraf era curriculum reform was unsuccessful in developing an objective and rational approach to history ‘because the decades-long hate campaign has created a mindset so immune to reason that it is almost impossible to redeem the process of history writing in Pakistan’ (p. 362). Another recent researcher offers a combination of political and commercial explanations. In her extensive research on Punjab Textbook Board internal mechanisms, Chughtai (2015) identified that since textbook change jeopardised the profits of the private publishers they resisted any changes in the textbook. She further argued – more controversially – that these groups in order to pursue their own political or profit interest indirectly lent support to the Islamic political extremists. A further area of research may be to explore the use made of textbooks by teachers – and this was an aspect of curriculum implementation which was opened up as part of a larger research project of which this textbook study involved one component. At the point of classroom enactment, the binary discourses may be more subtly mediated.

Textbooks are one of the means through which education can contribute to the construction of identities of students (Crawford 2000). An over reliance on one official historical narrative denies students an opportunity to develop an authentic, nuanced and clarified national identity as well as their own cultural identities (Banks, 2011). It has been elegantly articulated that textbooks incorporating a pluralistic approach to education can function for students as mirrors, windows, and doors to cultures: they can provide an authentic mirror for the students to reflect upon their own culture and identity; a window through which they can view the world of others; and a door through which they can pass in order to interact with others and work collectively for social justice (Botelho & Rudman 2009, p. xiii). To continue this metaphor, Pakistani young people currently experience their

history and culture through a distorted mirror. Many fail to see themselves reflected so as to affirm who they and their communities are and also tend to view Pakistan and its relations with the rest of the world through opaque windows offering a constrained view. If the Pakistani curriculum and textbooks are to open doors for Pakistani students there is a need for them to engage with national history and culture in a critical manner so that they can acquire the skills of enquiry, problem-solving, and higher order thinking which Pakistani education policy has rightly identified as a crucial imperative.

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