

**Pakistani National Identity, Cultural Diversity, and Global
Perspectives: A Policy Trajectory Study of the National
Curriculum for Secondary School Pakistan Studies in Punjab**

By

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Abstract

Domestic political circumstances, textbook controversies, and international pressure to revise education policy constituted the context of influence for the curriculum policy's ideological shift in 2006 towards greater democratic pluralism. However, the extent of this ideological shift in the journey from policy to enacted practice—via the mediation of textbook content and teaching—has not been previously explored. This study investigated the trajectory of curriculum policy associated with secondary school Pakistan Studies, focusing specifically on the themes of Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives—and the instructional strategies deployed in addressing these themes.

The policy trajectory model (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992) was used as an analytical framework. This model facilitated the examination of three policy contexts macro policy text production (curriculum documents), meso policy text production (textbooks) and teachers' practice.

Qualitative content analysis of the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy documents was conducted to understand the policy objectives and recommendations for the teaching of Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives. Similarly, qualitative content analysis of the official Pakistan Studies textbooks was undertaken to understand policy text production and treatment of the identified identity themes. Lastly, cross-case analysis of the purposeful sample of 27 teachers was conducted to understand the perceptions, practices, and suggestions of teachers related to the same themes.

The findings of this study revealed differences between curriculum policy documents (macro level), textbooks (meso level), and teachers (micro level) as to the discourses they privilege around national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives in Pakistan Studies. Furthermore, the analysis revealed the gradual permeation of the theocratic discourse in Pakistan Studies from the macro to micro levels of curriculum policy enactment. At the macro level, the dominant conception of Pakistani national identity was held in an uneasy tension—with attempts to face in two directions at once but edging towards the promotion of more pluralistic practices.

However, at the meso level, the Pakistan Studies textbooks mainly incorporated the nation-statist/Islamist conception of Pakistani national identity. At the micro level, most of the teachers subscribed to Islamist and nation-statist national identity. With respect to ethnic and religious diversity, the objectives and learning outcomes at the macro level were progressive in intent. However, the textbooks generally paid limited attention to the representation of ethnic and religious diversity. Most of the teachers' reported practices indicated that they confined themselves to the teaching of limited content on representation of ethnic and religious diversity because of time constraints, large classes, and an examination system that overwhelmingly only assesses students' knowledge of the textbook content. At the macro level, the objectives and learning outcomes of the Pakistan Studies curriculum aimed to cultivate affinity with the non-Muslim world as well as the Muslim world. However, the textbooks focused largely upon cultivating students' affinity with the Muslim world and used non-emotive language in the description of non-Muslim organisations. Most of the teachers had a greater inclination towards nationalism than Muslim *Ummah* or humanity in general. Finally, most of the curriculum policy's recommended instructional strategies were not identified in the reported practices of the teachers.

The liberal-democratic discourse of Pakistan Studies promulgated at the macro level seemed to disperse at the micro level. Therefore, it is argued that there would be merit in more tightly linking the various curriculum policy contexts. This could be implemented by ensuring awareness of roles and responsibilities at each level and by introducing the various policy enactors to the complexities of teaching about Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives through various policy dissemination strategies. For policy makers, redressing the state exam policy appears to be the most urgent and effective measure to adopt in order for any future curriculum reform to flourish because this study's data showed that state exams were the key determinant of the relatively narrow classroom practice.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

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Authority of Access

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Statement of Ethical Conduct

The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human and animal experimentation, the guidelines by the Australian Government's Office of the Gene Technology Regulator and the rulings of the Safety, Ethics, and Institutional Biosafety Committees of the University.

Yaar Muhammad

Dedication

To my lovely Mother

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Key Terms

Citizenship Education

Education aimed at providing knowledge, skills, and understanding to students so that they can become responsible, informed, and effective citizens of a plural society (Banks, 2014).

Cultural Diversity

In this study, cultural diversity refers to Pakistan's communal diversity—"self-conscious and more or less well-organised communities entertaining and living by their own different systems of beliefs and practices" (Parekh, 2000, p. 3). These communities include Pakistan's long established four provincial communities—such as Punjabi, Sindhis, Pakhtoon, and Balochis; indigenous peoples such as Kalash; and various religious communities of Pakistan such as Muslims, Christians, Hindus, and Parsis.

Curriculum Policy

This study envisions curriculum policy in two ways: policy as text and policy as discourse (Ball, 1993). Policy as text refers to the representation of "the formal body of law and regulation that pertains to what should be taught in schools" (Elmore & Sykes, 1992, p. 186). Policy as discourse emphasises framing of policy problems and their prescriptions in the policy texts.

Pakistani National Identity

Pakistani national identity is a subjective sense of belonging to the Pakistani society. In Pakistan, various symbols have been invoked from time to time to construct Pakistani national identity. For example, common ethnic origin, common residence in the same region, historical experience, cultural heritage or civilisation, language, religion, etc. (Ahmed, 2008). However, there are three conceptions of Pakistani national identity that are currently prevalent, that is, the Islamist, the pluralist and the nation-statist (Adeney, 2007; I. Ahmad, 2004, 2008; Lall, 2012a; Shafqat, 2009).

Pluralism

Pluralism is “toleration of diversity within a society or state” (Filali-Ansary, 2009, p. 1).

Policy Trajectory Study

A policy trajectory study deals with the analysis of a particular policy across the various stages of the policy cycle—from context of influence to the content of actual policy production and then to its reception in the context of practice (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

Punjab

Punjab is one of the four provinces of Pakistan. It is the most developed and comparatively populous part of the country; and comprises of approximately 54% of the country's total population.

Social Studies and Pakistan Studies

The subject of Social Studies is taught in schools from lower to the middle level whereas Pakistan Studies is a compulsory subject, taught in lieu of Social Studies, from secondary to Bachelor level. The curriculum of Pakistan Studies and Social Studies has been an amalgamation of the geography, history, and economy of Pakistan (M. Ali, 1992). Constructed within the theoretical framework of Islam, Social Studies and Pakistan Studies have been traditionally deployed to inculcate patriotism, good citizenship, and affinity with *Ummah* in students (I. Ahmad, 2008).

Teaching with Global Perspectives

In this study, this refer to the teaching aimed at providing the knowledge, skills, and understanding to students regarding globalisation, interdependence, human rights, peace building, conflict resolution, and sustainability (Rae, Baker, & McNicol, 2011).

Chapter 1: Introduction

Pakistan Studies—a school subject that introduces secondary school students to the history, geography, and culture of Pakistan—is an emblem of the ideological shifts, which have occurred concurrently with Pakistan’s oscillating political history. Since the introduction of this school subject following the secession of East Pakistan as Bangladesh in 1971, its aim has been to inculcate patriotism and good citizenship within students. However, during the General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq regime’s Islamisation (5 July 1977-17 August 1988), it was used to promote a relatively singular and homogenous vision of culture, history, and religion in Pakistan—with Islam and a proud nationalism at the heart of the curriculum. Conversely, the General Pervez Musharraf government (12 October 1999-18 August 2008), which was more inclined toward liberal democratic ideals, introduced a new curriculum policy for secondary Pakistan Studies in 2006, which was generally perceived as more democratic and pluralistic in its intention. Compared to the previous curriculum policy that had a theocratic/Islamic emphasis, the new curriculum policy attempted to recognise more explicitly the ethnic and religious diversity of Pakistan and aimed to prepare young people as citizens of a democratic society and for global citizenship. It also sought to inculcate an awareness of human rights in future generations. However, the new policy rhetoric was sharply in conflict with the ideological orientations of many policy-makers, textbook writers, and teachers who remained committed to the traditional Pakistan Studies curriculum. Using the policy trajectory framework (Ball et al., 2012; Bowe et al., 1992) and focusing on themes of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives—and the instructional strategies for these themes—this research study aimed to develop an understanding of the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy trajectory in different policy contexts within the context of the Punjab region of Pakistan. After examining the discourses which led to the new curriculum policy (context of influence), this study analysed the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006* and other relevant policy texts to understand the context of text production at a macro level. A sample of key secondary school Pakistan Studies textbooks were analysed to understand

the context of text production at meso level. Moreover, teachers' perceptions and practices were also analysed to illuminate the context of practice.

This introductory chapter provides a brief overview of this study. It provides the background and introduction, a statement of the issue to be investigated, the purpose of the study, the guiding research questions, a brief introduction to the theoretical framework, and a discussion of the research design and the significance of the study.

Historical Background

The history of curriculum reform in Pakistan is the history of the ideological shifts associated with the political changes oscillating between ten years of democracy shadowed by ten years of military rule when new national curriculum policies were introduced at the beginning of each of these periods. However, with respect to the role of Islam in the educational sphere, these periods can be clustered into three clearly demarcated eras: Islamisation (1948-2006), secularisation/enlightened moderation (2006-2010), and decentralisation with a resurgence of Islamisation (2010 onwards). The key political, philosophical, educational debates and the related curriculum policy shifts during these eras are discussed below.

At the time of its foundation, Pakistan was set up as a relatively egalitarian and democratic state. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, wanted to make Pakistan a modern, secular democratic country (Munir, 1980; Ziring, 2005) but since his death (11 September 1948) the trend has been for successive governments to create a more theocratic/Islamic, less inclusive, and less democratic state especially during the Zia regime. This led to the dominance of a relatively narrow and exclusionary conception of Pakistani national identity that became consolidated and entrenched. The Sunni Punjabi group, which makes up the largest group of Pakistani citizens, is the main proponent of Islamic nationalism (Talbot, 1998). As a result, it is difficult for the remaining cultural and religious groups, whose cultural and religious diversity is less clearly recognised either politically, socially, or educationally, to assert their distinctive identities—and indeed it has been argued that there is a distinct prejudice practised against them (Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Zia, 2003a, 2003b). The Musharraf regime tried to make changes to this approach through policies based on enlightened moderation—“a variant of liberal democracy” (I. Ahmad, 2004, p. 46)—but

these policy reforms resulted in further conflict in society (Boquérat & Hussain, 2011; Nelson, 2009).

Similarly, successive education policies in Pakistan have adopted a political agenda to Islamise the curricula—promoting exclusionary conceptions of Pakistani national identity. Almost all successive governments since the creation of Pakistan—whether Islamic or socialist, civilian or military, elected or otherwise—had the common objective of using the educational system to promote Islamic values and to inculcate Islamic values into future generations (Dean, 2005; 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. Most curricula, textbooks, and teaching materials focused on the Sunni Muslim majority. The content relating to other cultural groups in the Pakistani textbooks was usually presented only from a mainstream perspective. In addition, Wooding and Khan (2009) asserted that a form of “Islamic chauvinism” had infiltrated almost all subjects in an effort to shape the curricula in accordance with Islamic ideological, moral and cultural values. Nevertheless, this effort to construct a monolithic national identity based on an abstract, simplified and idealised model of Islam had been badly alienating the non-Muslim minorities within Pakistan. Mainstream education in Pakistan had arguably become “parochial, exclusionary, hate mongering, and devoid of imparting any values of universalism, humanism, tolerance, objectivity and critical learning” (Nayyar, 2003, p. 84). It was also suggested that the curricula and textbooks had been promoting identification and allegiance to *Ummah*—the global Muslim community—by dividing the world into Muslims and antagonistic non-Muslims—especially Hindus, Christians, Jews, and Sikhs—in order to construct Us versus Them mentality (Saigol, 2003b).

However, 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 (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, health care 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 (Khokhar, 2007). As a result, education reforms were commenced with huge investment from The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Hathaway, 2005).

Consequently, the Federal Ministry of Education significantly amended the language of the country's educational goals, for example, acknowledging diversity, and adopting the aims and objectives of encouraging democratic and pluralistic ideals. It aimed to preserve and strengthen the underpinning ideals of Pakistani ideology, to create a sense of nationhood, social and cultural harmony, and national cohesion by respecting all religious, cultural and ethnic groups and to provide ample facilities for religious and cultural development of minority groups (Government of Pakistan, 2007b, 2009). It also aimed to raise and develop responsible national and global citizens who were dynamic, creative, self-reliant, analytical and original thinkers, aware of fundamental human rights, committed to democratic and moral values, and able to participate in the national civic culture for the common good (Government of Pakistan, 2007b, 2009). The Federal Ministry of Education further announced that school curricula were being extensively reviewed, updated and reformed in the light of Islamic principles, Pakistani ideology, religious and cultural diversity, and modern trends so that education could be helpful in the creation of "a just civil society that respects diversity of views, beliefs and faiths" (Government of Pakistan, 2009, p. 23). Clearly, this shift would have significant potential implications for schools, textbook writers, teachers, and ultimately the students' learning experience.

It has been suggested that there are always differences between the intended and the enacted (or implemented) curriculum since the context influences the interpretation of policy messages (Kelly, 2009; Trowler, 2003). It was assumed that this difference would be greater in this case as the new policy rhetoric reflected a significant shift of language and discourse. Though hailed by liberal Pakistanis, who constitute only a handful of the Pakistani population, these kinds of values were seen more widely as western, secular and alien to Pakistan's culture and traditions by Islamic nationalists who promised a re-organisation of curriculum content around Islamic thought in order to

give it a more ideological orientation (Government of Pakistan, 1979). Islamic nationalists rejected the new national curriculum as they believed it 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 national curriculum policy as an American and Zionist conspiracy (I. Ahmad, 2008; 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.

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 provinces (Islam, 2013; 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 formally integrated in concurrent lists. In other words, 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 populations. The Federal Education Ministry was dissolved. As a result, education policy and planning were brought under the jurisdiction of provincial governments. Similarly, the provision and implementation of the national curriculum as well as standards formerly designed and monitored by the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education were brought under the jurisdiction of the respective provinces (I-SAPS, n.d; P. Tahir, 2012).

The Eighteenth constitutional amendment was welcomed by most segments of society and characterised as a triumph of democracy in Pakistan by civil society (Centre for Civic Education Pakistan, 2010). Nevertheless, there was also apprehension that different provinces might introduce curricula content which could potentially damage the Pakistani national identity and integration process (I-SAPS, n.d). This could also serve to fragment and atomise the ways in which issues around personal, national, and global identity were explored in Pakistani classrooms. An inconsistency of approaches was inevitable.

In the post-decentralised educational landscape, there existed no national curriculum policy and the National Curriculum 2006 was no longer binding for the provinces (Chughtai, 2011). Provinces were now free to formulate their own education policy and reflect the socio-cultural diversity of their citizens (A. B. Malik, 2011; P. Tahir, 2012). Similarly, the provincial education ministry was now “authorised to review and approve manuscripts of textbooks produced by other agencies before they are prescribed for various classes of an institution” (A. Tahir & Ullah, 2010, p. 216). The formation of new provincial governments in the four provinces (with different political parties having different ideologies and visions for the future of Pakistan) in 2013 saw a possibility that each government would formulate its own education/curriculum policy, perhaps representative, in each case, of majority and populist concerns and as un-nuanced as curriculum predecessors in the representation of minority groups.

However, Punjab, the most populous federating unit of Pakistan and consisting of 54 percent of the total population, is currently adhering to *National Education Policy 2009* and the National Curriculum 2006 (Government of the Punjab, 2014a). These policy documents were produced with the consensus of all of the federating units of Pakistan before the legislated decentralisation of the Pakistani education system in 2010. Nevertheless, the ideological bent of the ruling Pakistan Muslim league-Nawaz Group (PML-N) in Punjab was believed to want to “push back the moderate pluralist agenda in education” (Jamil, 2009a, p. 11). There were newspaper reports alleging Islamisation of textbooks introduced in 2012 by the Punjab textbook board, Lahore.

Rationale and Purpose of the Study

Using the Pakistan Studies curriculum as a signifier of ideological changes in the curriculum policy brought in during the Musharraf era, this study was intended to generate knowledge regarding the effects of the National Curriculum 2006 on textbook production and teachers’ practices. No study has explored the Pakistan Studies national curriculum policy-to-practice contexts at the secondary school level before. Since there was little or no literature on the implementation of the National Curriculum 2006 within secondary education in Punjab, this study aimed to develop an understanding of the trajectory of the Pakistan Studies component of the National Curriculum 2006 through

an investigation of the policy-to-practice contexts by examining curriculum policy documents, textbooks and teachers' perspectives.

A preliminary literature review indicated the absence of an in-depth empirical analysis of the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006* and the related policy documents functional in Punjab with respect to their conceptualisations of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives—and the instructional strategies for the teaching of these themes in secondary schools in Punjab.

It was also identified that there had been a relative dearth of studies of Pakistan Studies textbooks with a specific focus upon identity themes (although there had been a number of over-arching analyses of textbooks deployed in Pakistani classrooms). Since textbooks are intended to mirror national education policy and national curriculum, many researchers, drawing upon the intentions and rhetoric of the partially announced new national curriculum policy in 2006, speculated about the new direction of the future Pakistan Studies textbooks and foresaw the incorporation of a more balanced treatment of identity-related issues and questions (Jamil, 2009a; Lall, 2008, 2009; Leirvik, 2008). For example, Leirvik (2008) asserted that “future analyses of textbooks [would] reveal whether revised versions [did] in fact reflect a richer image of the cultural complexity of Pakistan’s history, more inclusive notions of citizenship, international norms of religious tolerance...” (p. 152). This study undertook just such an analysis.

It was important to analyse these textbooks because in Pakistan, “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” (K. Mahmood & Saeed, 2011, p. 503). Since the government-prescribed textbooks are bound to be used in schools of Punjab and since official curriculum documentations are not widely circulated, most teachers consider these textbooks as being synonymous with the curriculum (Dean, 2005). Moreover, because of scant library facilities and sometimes-patchy content knowledge of the subject, teachers rely heavily on these prescribed textbooks (K. Mahmood, 2011; K. Mahmood, Iqbal, & Saeed, 2009). This centrality of the textbooks in teaching demanded an in-depth examination of their contents.

A review of the literature suggested that knowledge about teachers' views and treatment of religious and ethnic diversity was a largely neglected area in the Pakistani

context. In addition, newspaper reports suggested that most teachers were unaware of the fact that a curriculum reform had taken place (Afzal, 2014, Jan 15) and that more nuanced and inclusive philosophies had been legislated at a national level as part of curriculum policy. There was no in-depth empirical analysis of how teachers sought to interpret the identity elements of the current curriculum documents relayed within the most recent Pakistan studies textbooks used in secondary schools. This was a significant omission given that “teachers interpret policy messages in the context of their own culture, ideology, history and resources” (Trowler, 2003, p. 131). There was a need for a study that explored the perspectives of Pakistan Studies’ teachers in public and private schools on the teaching and promotion of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives.

Therefore, this thesis aimed to develop an understanding of the curriculum policy processes and practices related to the enactment of the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006* in Punjab (Pakistan). More specifically, the research aim was to develop an understanding of the convergence or divergence between the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy objectives, textbooks’ content and teachers’ perspectives regarding Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives after the introduction of the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum policy in Punjab.

Theoretical Framework Summary

The policy trajectory model (Ball et al., 2012; Bowe et al., 1992) was adopted and adapted for this study since it provided an appropriate framework to explore curriculum policy within individual macro, meso, and micro contexts and the relationship between these contexts. This framework facilitated the examination of various policy contexts, extending from the federal government’s curriculum policy through Punjab textbook board’s policy enactment in the form of production of textbooks to individual secondary school teachers’ perceptions and practices in response to this policy.

Curriculum policy—according to this framework—“is not treated as an object, a product or an outcome but rather as a process, something ongoing, interactional and unstable” (Ball, 2008, p. 7). Additionally, curriculum policy is not believed to be enacted at a single site. Rather, construction and reconstruction of it takes place at

specific yet interrelated sites: the context of influence, the context of text production and the context of practice (see Figure 1.1) (Ball, 1993; Bowe et al., 1992).

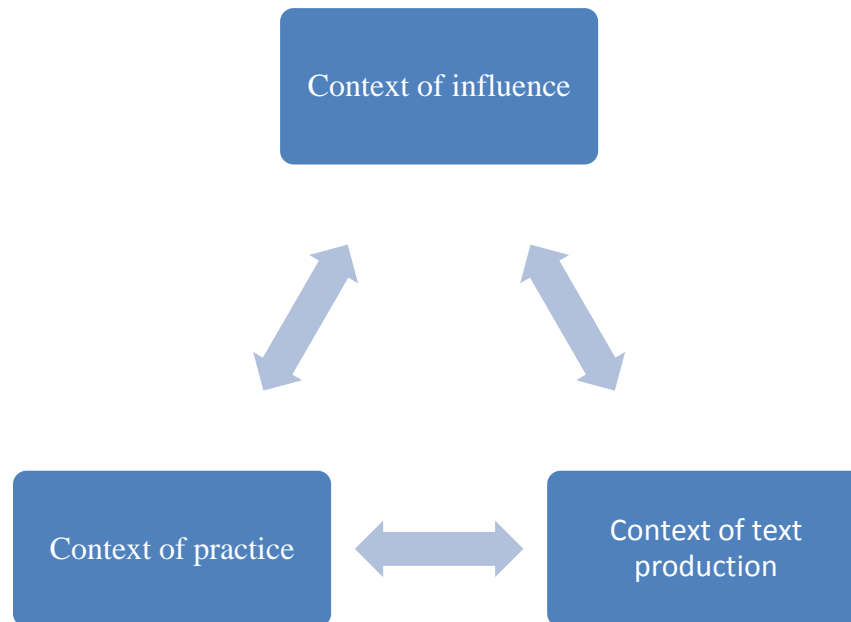


Figure 1.1: Contexts of policymaking (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992, p.20).

As illustrated by the bi-directional arrows in the figure above, this framework indicates that there exists a non-linear relationship between the three contexts. Below in the description of these contexts, they are separated into “context of influence,” “policy production” and “policy practices” for analytic convenience and it is not intended to imply that there was a linear progression from policy production to policy practice. This framework emphasises messiness and contested, non-linear, but constant interaction between different contexts. Moreover, it emphasises that the expressions and interpretations of policy constantly vary in different policy contexts because the policy enactors interpret the policy texts within their own contexts.

The selection of the policy trajectory model as an analytical framework for this study was informed by this study’s research problem and assumptions—and the review of curriculum policy and textbook production literature. The research problem required

an analytical framework that could bring together macro-level analysis of the education system of Pakistan, curriculum policy, meso level analysis of textbook production and micro level investigation of teachers' perceptions and practices. To explain, predict and understand this policy to practice phenomenon and to benefit from the existing body of theoretical literature, there was need to situate this research in relation to the existing literature on curriculum policy and textbook production. Moreover, adopting this framework helped in deciding the epistemological, and methodological perspectives, and the research design along with the structuring and limiting of the scope of the relevant data to curriculum policy documents, Pakistan Studies textbooks and teachers' perspectives. The policy trajectory model was also valuable for this study because this model's demonstrated usefulness to curriculum policy study in developing countries had already been acknowledged. For example, Jammeh (2012) used this framework to study curriculum policy making in the Gambian context and reported its usefulness in exploring the various policy contexts and the relationship between them. Similarly, Ledger, Vidovich, and O'Donoghue (2014) used this framework in the Indonesian context "to gain a better understanding of the educational policies informing curriculum policy in both 'international schools' and 'remote schools,' and the interconnectivity that might exist between them" (p. 1). They also emphasised the importance of this framework in exploring the multi-level aspects of the policy processes. In addition, Crawford (2000) suggested that the policy trajectory model can be used as a possible empirical framework for investigating and revealing the political and ideological forces at work in textbook production.

What follows is the outline of these policy contexts as envisioned in this study.

Context of Influence

According to Bowe et al. (1992), curriculum policy is normally initiated and the discourses for the production of curriculum policy text are constructed in the context of influence. The making of curriculum policy has become a state (or government) activity (Taylor, 1997a, 1997b) but "the state is not a single entity and policies often have to run the gauntlet of the differing agendas, interests and expectations" (Taylor, 1997b, p. 16). The key curriculum policy concepts constructed in this arena provide discourses for the gestation of the policy (Bowe et al., 1992).

A preliminary review of the research literature on the Pakistan Studies curriculum identified that there existed at least two discourses regarding the content of the Pakistan Studies textbooks and teachers' practices: a theocratic approach and liberal-democratic vision (I. Ahmad, 2004, 2007, 2008). A theocratic approach to Pakistan Studies considers Pakistan national identity as orthodox Muslims working towards the traditional agenda of an Islamic state. From this perspective, Quranic and Hadith knowledge are recommended as Pakistan Studies curriculum content in order to develop Islamic moral values of the future citizens. From this perspective, all demands of pluralism are rejected and a homogeneous vision of Islam is promoted. The world beyond Pakistan is perceived in binary terms: Muslims vs. Non-Muslims. Moreover, a theocratic approach to Pakistan Studies has also often marshalled and deployed anti-India nationalism. Contrary to this, a liberal-democratic vision of Pakistan national identity adopts a pluralistic agenda, which emphasises the equality of all the citizens regardless of their religious or ethnic orientations. From this perspective, curriculum content based on liberal-democratic values, human rights and global perspectives are recommended. An in-depth analysis of these discourses is reported in Chapter 2. The main differences are highlighted in the following table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Two Discourses on Pakistan Studies in Pakistan

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

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

For many teachers, their everyday practice is more nuanced and “grey” than this— with efforts to balance and even synergise the two visions. In part, this study provides an exploration of how the textbook treatment of events and issues and teachers’ practice seek to reconcile the markedly different worldviews outlined across these two discourses.

Context of Text Production at Macro level

Before the decentralisation of the Pakistan’s education system in 2010, the Federal Ministry of Education was responsible for producing the national curriculum policy.

Since Punjab was using the same curriculum documents which were produced by the Federal Ministry of Education, these documents constituted the context of text production at a macro level for this study.

In Pakistan, curriculum policy had traditionally been made to serve the best interest of the most powerful ethnic or religious group in the nation state—that is, the Sunni Punjabis. This hegemonic control associated with the majoritarianism of Punjabis makes the state an ethnic and non-neutral entity. In the realm of education, the Pakistan Studies curriculum has been used to promote exclusionary conceptions of Pakistani nation identity by teaching students to become “good” Sunni Muslims by emphasising the ritualistic and pietistic Islam of the dominant Sunni Punjabi group. There has been an inherent bias directed against other religious and ethnic groups (N. Ali, 2008, 2010; Dean, 2005).

However, this hegemonic control has not proved to be very stable in a multi-religious and multi-ethnic nation-state where different ethnic and religious groups see curriculum policy as a means to shape the ideological orientations of the next generation (Halstead, 2005; Ravitch, 1990). Apple (2000) asserted that “the politics of official knowledge are the politics of *accords* or *compromises*” (Apple, 2000, p. 10 emphasis in original). However, since these compromises are not between or among equals, and dominant groups “always have more power to define what counts as a need or a problem and what an appropriate response to it should be...these compromises are never stable” (Apple, 2000, p. 10). The hegemony of theocratic approaches to education was shaken by several factors—domestic circumstances, some specific textbook controversies, and international pressures—all pushed the previous theocratic agenda of curriculum policy towards a more democratic and pluralistic agenda (Chughtai, 2011, 2015; Jamil, 2009a). The *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies* 2006 was produced as an attempt to accommodate all these influences. Nevertheless, Ball (1993) has asserted that the final text of most curriculum policy is “typically the cannibalised product of multiple (but circumscribed) influences and agendas” (Ball, 1993, p. 12) with regard to the social purposes of education. Therefore, the curriculum policy analysis of the policy texts at this level was concerned with ascertaining which values/discourses were validated in the curriculum policy and which were not.

Context of Text Production at Meso level

In Pakistan, textbooks translating national curriculum policy are constructed by the provincial textbook boards. It is the Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore which oversees the textbooks for schools in Punjab. This governmental institution was established after the recommendations of the National Education Commission (Government of Pakistan, 1959) to tackle “the problem of the provision of adequate textbooks both in quality and quantity” and “to maintain governmental control on printing, publication and distribution of the textbooks” (Government of Punjab, 2014, par. 2).

Since the curriculum policy is open to interpretation, textbook writers de-code the curriculum “policy texts within their own contexts—their own histories and values” (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 17). Moreover, textbook writers respond to the curriculum policy differently as the “curriculum documents contain divergent meanings, contradictions and structured omissions, so that different effects are produced on different readers” (Brett, 2013, p. 7). Textbook writers may “present narrow and ethnocentric views of the world” or “provide children with empowering, multicultural portrayals of the world that sensitise them to issues of power, culture, and social identity” (Weninger & Williams, 2005, p. 159). They can either endorse or reject a mainstream curriculum—which “ignores the experiences, cultures, and histories of other ethnic, racial, cultural, language, and religious groups” (Banks, 2010, p. 234) and mainly incorporates the experiences of the majority group (in this case Sunni Muslims). Textbooks endorsing a mainstream curriculum can negatively influence majority students as well as minority students. It affects the minority students by marginalising their cultures and by not providing them social equality (Banks, 2010; McCarthy, 1990). In addition, such textbook treatment can negatively affect majority students by denying them the opportunity to benefit from the knowledge, and perspectives of other cultures and groups, by reinforcing a false sense of superiority, and by not letting them view their culture from the perspectives of minority cultures in order to fully comprehend their own culture (Banks, 2010). Moreover, such a textbook does not enhance the competencies of students in “acquiring the internationally marketable cultural skills that globalisation rewards” (Kymlicka, 2004, p. xvii).

Textbooks are one of the means through which Pakistan Studies can contribute to the construction of students’ identities because identities are learned and internalised

through socialisation particularly through education (De Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999; Mathews, Ma, & Lui, 2008; Wodak, 2009). For students, textbooks incorporating an inclusive and pluralistic approach are mirrors, windows, and doors to cultures (Botelho & Rudman, 2009): They provide an authentic mirror for the students to see themselves; a window through which they view someone else's world; and a door through which they can interact with others. Botelho and Rudman (2009) asserted the importance of these metaphors: "Children need to see themselves reflected so as to affirm who they and their communities are. They also require windows through which they may view a variety of differences. Books are one way they learn about the world" (Botelho & Rudman, 2009, p. 1). However, "once these foundations of story and society are internalised, [textbooks] can become a conduit—a door—to engage children in social practices that function for social justice" (Botelho & Rudman, 2009, p. 1).

Context of Practice at Micro level

This context comprised several different schools—"the professional sites within which policy and policy texts are interpreted by teachers" (Crawford, 2000, p. 4). Since the focus of this research was upon understanding teacher perspectives on the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006*—especially in the content areas regarding the teaching and promotion of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives—only secondary school teachers were selected.

Teachers were especially focused upon because the international literature highlights the centrality of teachers' work in the success of any curriculum reform. Thornton (2005) pointed out that "if educational-change efforts fail to alter how teachers view the purposes of their teaching, those efforts will flounder" (p. 1). The curriculum policy or the textbooks are never simply received and implemented by the teachers. They interpret textbooks' "messages in the context of their own culture, ideology, history and resources" (Trowler, 2003, p. 131). Therefore, it is likely that "parts of texts will be rejected, selected out, ignored, deliberately misunderstood, responses may be frivolous etc." (Bowe et al., 1992, p. 22). There will usually be "a multiplicity of interpretations" (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 17). Ginsburg and Kamat (2009) argued that although teachers play a relatively small or inactive role in the power struggles around official curriculum construction, "the formal curriculum is what each teacher

decides it will be” (Marker & Mehlinger, 1996, p. 841). They mediate the content of the textbooks, allowing certain ideas to enter the classroom and slamming the door on those which do not resonate with their own ideologies (Marker & Mehlinger, 1996). Similarly, teachers may develop and/or transmit knowledge that may undermine or support unequal relations between the ethnic groups of a polity (Ginsburg & Kamat, 2009). Besides, they may encourage support or critique of the governing elites and their actions (Ginsburg & Kamat, 2009) which may be contrary to the intent of curriculum content. Therefore, they “are far more than mere conduits of information or of curriculum developed by ‘experts’”(Adler, 2008, p. 329).

It was certainly possible that the notion of a Pakistan Studies curriculum aimed at cultivating multiple identities might fall on rocky or less than fertile soil in many sections of the Pakistani teacher community, that had been traditionally committed to the dominant theocratic discourse of Pakistan Studies. Upholding these ideals faces obvious challenges in Pakistan since teachers have no obvious incentive for a liberalised curriculum in a distinct traditional nation state (Kennedy & Lee, 2008). Moreover, such ideals also frame a particular notion of the role of the teacher as a social agent of change that is in conflict with previously institutionalised conceptions of the role of teachers in Pakistan.

Research Questions and Methodology

The broad research question for this study was as follows: What are the curriculum policy processes and practices related to the enactment of the secondary school *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006* in Punjab (Pakistan)? Three specific sub-questions were derived from this broad question to generate data—each aligning with the analytical framework of policy trajectory, which envisions at least three curriculum policy contexts: the context of influence, the context of text production (macro and meso) and the context of practice (micro) (Bowe et al., 1992).

A multiple-embedded case study research design (Yin, 2014) was used to understand the policy to practice contexts. The context of influence was understood by identifying the discourses regarding the content of Pakistan Studies that existed when the new Pakistan Studies curriculum policy (2006) was initiated in the Musharraf era. This was undertaken through a review of the previously published research on

curriculum policy documents and textbooks of Pakistan Studies. The aim was to determine the ways of thinking about the content of Pakistan Studies evident in these reports which may have influenced the policy texts' conceptualisation of new curriculum policy especially in the thematic area of national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives—and the instructional strategies for these themes.

Then two research questions were aligned with the context of text production. There were two distinct contexts of text production: macro and meso. The overarching macro context of text production was understood through the curriculum policy documents, which were produced during the Musharraf regime and the subsequent government that in turn influenced the Pakistan Studies textbook writers' enactment of curriculum policy in the form of textbook production.

1. What objectives and recommendations do curriculum policy documents offer on the teaching of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies?
2. How do Pakistan Studies textbook writers' interpret and enact policy objectives and recommendations regarding Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives in their writing of textbooks under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?

These two research questions were addressed through qualitative content analysis (Gibbs, 2009; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Schreier, 2014; White & Marsh, 2006). The Pakistan Studies curriculum policy documents and textbooks formed the textual data for this. Only the Punjab government's prescribed Pakistan Studies textbooks for use in schools were analysed.

The third research question was related to the perspectives of Pakistan Studies teachers. This research question was aligned with the context of practice.

3. What are the perceptions, practices and suggestions of Pakistan Studies teachers within public and private schools regarding the teaching and

promotion of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?

This research question was addressed primarily through case study strategy (Bassey, 1999; Merriam, 2002, 2009; Stake, 1978, 1995; Yin, 2003, 2014) combined with cross-case analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014) under interpretative assumptions (Kohlbacher, 2006; Merriam, 2009). Findings in relation to this research question were important in understanding the perspectives of Pakistan Studies teachers of public and private schools. The teachers' responses were compared and contrasted in order to arrive at a holistic understanding of the perspectives of Pakistan Studies teachers with regard to the teaching of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum. In sum, by analysing teachers' perspectives on the teaching and promotion of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives the study sought to demonstrate how these schools, catering for different communities, were responding to the curriculum reform, through different approaches to Pakistan Studies. Moreover, it sought to explore the relationship between curriculum policy, textbooks, and teachers' perspectives in secondary schools in Punjab after the curriculum reform and decentralisation of education. Furthermore, it sought to illuminate the variety of teachers' responses to policy directives in their day-to-day teaching: Apart from the difference in English and Urdu language medium, there existed obvious differences in their perspectives on national identity, cultural diversity and global identity.

The findings of the research questions (1-3) were crucial in addressing the overall aim and the broad question of this study. Analysis of data collected through teachers' interviews were to be used to determine how teachers' perspectives on the teaching of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum corresponded to official discourse in the curricula/textbooks of Pakistan Studies. It was assumed that the research evidence generated would serve to illuminate the points of convergence or divergence

between the official curriculum policy rhetoric, textbook content, and teachers' perspectives.

Delimitations of the Study

This study aimed to develop a detailed understanding of the nature of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives in the government prescribed Pakistan Studies textbooks produced after the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum. Therefore, it was out of the scope of this study to investigate guidebooks produced by private publishers and books not endorsed by Punjab Textbooks Board, Lahore or Punjab Curriculum Authority, Lahore. Only Pakistan Studies textbooks for grades 9 and 10 were examined to maintain a focus on secondary school level study. Social Studies as a pre-cursor of Pakistan Studies being taught at lower grades and the Pakistan Studies being taught at higher secondary level or Bachelor/Masters level were not examined in the present study. Moreover, Zia (2003a) suggested that all subject areas implicitly tackle the task of Pakistani national identity and citizenship by placing education in the context of the Islamic perspective. However, the construction of Pakistani national identity in Pakistan is explicitly imparted through the school subjects of Social Studies, Civics, and Pakistan Studies (I. Ahmad, 2008; Lall, 2012a; Zia, 2003a). Only Pakistan Studies textbooks were examined to keep the project manageable—leaving related questions and other levels of study to be addressed by the future research.

Only teachers involved in the teaching of Pakistan Studies in secondary schools in one city of Punjab were invited to participate in this study to examine their perspectives of Pakistan Studies curriculum content. Nevertheless, a purposive sample of teachers was ensured by recruiting teachers from various types of the secondary schools in Punjab. The choice of diverse sites and participants was deliberately pursued because qualitative research is concerned with presenting multiple perspectives of participants so that the complexity of the issue can be represented (Creswell, 2012).

Significance of Study

Zia's Islamisation turned into "Sunnification" and it led Pakistani society to intolerance, hatred and violence (Kleiner, 2007). As a result, one of the most important

conflicts in Pakistan today is the clash between competing versions of Pakistani national identity in relation to Islam, and curriculum policy has become a special arena where different visions clash (I. Ahmad, 2008). This struggle and conflict over control of the curriculum policy by different social groups escalated over the issue of ideological and religious contents of the textbooks after curriculum reform. Having analysed the content of the Pakistan Studies curriculum, textbooks and teachers' perspectives related to cultural diversity, this study would offer suggestions to include the voices of different communities in curriculum policy formulation, which has been largely insensitive to cultural and religious diversity of Pakistan for the last three decades.

Pakistan Studies research relies mainly upon document analysis (Dattoo, 2009). However, the perspectives of teachers form a significant part of the backdrop of the social interactions occurring in educational settings (Scott & Usher, 2011). In Pakistan, however, the perspectives of Pakistan Studies teachers from public and private schools on infusing pluralistic content into revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum have been a largely neglected area. International research underscores that teachers play a significant role in Pakistan Studies because they are responsible for the organisation of constructive and meaningful experiences for their students (Adalbjarnardottir, 2002). Therefore, it was important to investigate how the discourses of Pakistan Studies were represented in the articulations of Pakistan Studies teachers of various schools in Punjab after the curricular reform and to explore the journey of policy into practice.

Outline of Thesis

Chapter 1 of this thesis traces the evolution of the curriculum policy and provides the problem statement, the purpose of the study, research questions, the significance of the study, theoretical framework in brief, and delimitations.

Chapter 2 reports findings of a literature review conducted to understand the nature of Pakistan Studies in Pakistan and to develop a conceptual framework for the study. Findings were arranged around the themes which emerged: links between Islamisation national identity and curriculum, misrepresenting ethnic nationalities and religious minorities of Pakistan, and neglecting global perspectives.

Chapter 3 explains in some detail the logic as well as the logistics of the research. This chapter begins with an explanation of study's ontological and epistemological

stance and of the methodological choices made pertaining to multiple case study research design and qualitative content analysis. Later, methods of data collection, mainly through interviewing and documents, are discussed. Description of the procedures for qualitative content analysis of textbooks and mediation of the interview transcripts is followed by ethical considerations in the study. Lastly, the chapter describes the measures taken to enhance the trustworthiness of the study.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the qualitative content analysis of curriculum policy documents. Findings are arranged around the key issues of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives—and the instructional strategies suggested by the curriculum policy documents.

Chapter 5 reports the findings of the qualitative content analysis of textbooks. Findings are arranged around the key themes.

Chapter 6 shares the findings of the cross-case analysis of interview transcripts. Findings are arranged around the themes of teachers' perceptions, practices, and suggestions with respect to the key themes.

Chapter 7 draws together the key findings from the qualitative content analysis of curriculum documents and textbooks and findings from cross case analysis of interview transcripts. Ball's analytic framework and published research in the area of Pakistan Studies are used to interpret and situate the findings in the relevant theoretical and research literature.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Introduction

This chapter presents the conceptual framework of this study. The conceptual framework was constructed by integrating a number of elements from an expansive and rich literature on curriculum and education policy studies and Pakistan Studies. The review of emergent themes of the findings of research studies on the Pakistan Studies curricula and textbooks is organised conceptually and discussed within the analytical framework of the policy trajectory model. This conceptual framework not only describes and categorises the relevant concepts, but then goes on to map relationships between these concepts (Rocco & Plakhotnik, 2009).

The aims of constructing this conceptual framework were to demonstrate how the study was situated in the relevant theoretical and empirical literature and to prepare the ground for developing analytical possibilities to guide this research. Constructing this conceptual framework through a review of extant literature based on—“not simply abstract categories, but concrete and specific concepts as well” (Maxwell, 2012, p. 48)—was important in understanding the nature of the discourses in the current controversial debates in relation to Pakistan Studies in Pakistan. It was also useful in identifying points of departure (Charmaz, 2006) for determining the criteria for the analysis of Pakistan Studies curriculum policy documents and textbooks; for constructing the teacher interview guide, and for analysing the interview data.

Framed within the policy trajectory model, this chapter tackles the major areas of discussion in three sections. The policy trajectory model envisions at least three contexts of policy making—the context of influence, the context of text production and the context of practice (Ball, 1993; Bowe et al., 1992). The first section elaborates the context of influence. It underscores the ideological context related to curriculum policy-making as well as macro-level factors influencing the context of text production (textbook content) and the context of practice (teacher’s perceptions, practices and suggestions regarding the content of the textbooks). It specifically underscores the changing

conceptions of Pakistan national identity and their linkages with cultural diversity in Pakistan. The second section is concerned with the context of text production—mainly discussing the findings of research studies on the Pakistan Studies curricula and textbooks in Pakistan. The third section discusses context of practice and the current theoretical debates on the nature of teachers’ responses to national curriculum policy.

Context of Influence

This section provides a brief introduction to the relevant features in the history of curriculum reform in Pakistan along with the description of the current ethnic and religious composition of Pakistan. It then introduces the ideological shifts relating to curriculum policy in Pakistan since independence in 1947 and the changing administrative context of curriculum policy planning in Pakistan. During the discussion of these parts of this section, an attempt is made to highlight the changing conceptions of the ethnic and religious diversity with the changing ideological basis of education in Pakistan.

Changing Ideologies within National Curriculum Policy

Pakistan, a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and predominantly Muslim country, came into being on 14th August 1947 after the partition of the Indian sub-continent comprising of two regions: West Pakistan and East Pakistan, which after breaking away from West Pakistan in 1971 is now form a separate country, Bangladesh. According to July 2011 estimates, 95 % of the 190 million people in Pakistan are Muslims (Sunni 75%, Shia 20%) and others (includes Hindu and Christian) are 5% (CIA, 2012). Generally speaking, the ethnic groups are concentrated in particular provinces—Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (see Figure 2.1). For example, the dominant Punjabi 45% and Saraiki 8% are concentrated mainly in Punjab, Pashtun 15% mainly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindhi 14% and Muhajirs 8% mainly in Sindh and Karachi (city) respectively, Balochi 4% mainly in Balochistan and other 6% mainly in Gilgit-Baltistan and northern parts of Pakistan (CIA, 2012). Although group identity in Pakistan is not usually determined by race, centuries old ethno-lingual processes have resulted in the development of these ethno-lingual groups (PTDC, 2011) attached to distinct areas in Pakistan.

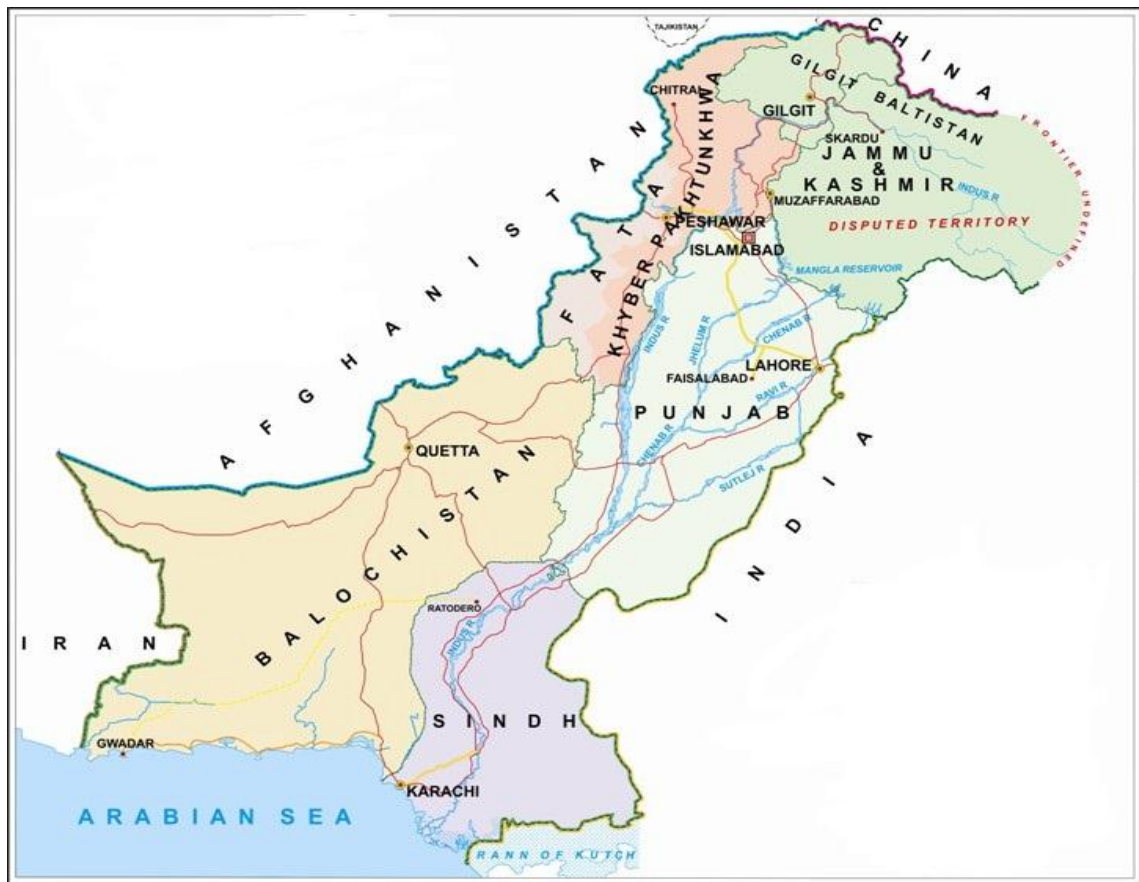


Figure 2.1: Administrative Map of Pakistan (Government of Pakistan, 2015).

Since its creation, Pakistan’s response to this diversity—ethnic as well as religious—has been mixed: The state’s policy towards internal diversity has ranged from attempted or actual elimination of minority groups to management of this diversity (O’Leary, 2014). In addition, Adeney (2007) suggested that state or macro-level strategies to manage internal diversity can be categorised into four ideal types: “assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, and segregation” (p. 86). It has been argued that Pakistan has been applying “partitions, transfer of population, genocide, secession, assimilation, federalism and hegemonic control” to eliminate and regulate diversity (Samad, 2013, p. 2). More commonly, however, it has been mainly hegemonic control which has been applied to manage ethnic and religious difference (Samad, 2013, p. 5). This hegemonic control is associated with the majoritarianism of Punjabis—the dominant linguistic group in Pakistan—which tends to make the state a non-neutral and ethnic entity.

This hegemonic control of Punjabis is also evident in the history of national curriculum policy in Pakistan, which shows that schools have been used to serve a social control and homogenising purpose. Green (1997) argued that the major motivation for the establishment of a national education system is “to spread the dominant culture and inculcate popular ideology of nationhood; to forge the political and cultural unity of the burgeoning nation-state; and to cement the ideological hegemony of the dominant group” (p. 35). Though he was researching in a different political and a western context, this argument is equally applicable to Pakistan’s evolving national curriculum policy where Islam was the main political tool in the hands of Pakistani elites.

The history of national curriculum policy in Pakistan is the story of defining the role of Islam viz-a-viz Pakistani national identity and internal diversity. What follows is a detailed description of the Islamisation period and how the ruling elites in Pakistan—mainly from Punjab (Ayres, 2003, 2009; Rahman, 1997)—have worked towards seeking to forge a Pakistani national identity through education using Islam as a political tool (Lall, 2009) in order to resist the demands of ethnic and religious groups (Rahman, 2011). This is followed by an analysis of why Pakistan’s efforts to manufacture a common national identity based on Islamic nationalism has been adapted, resisted, ignored, or rejected by some minority ethnic and religious groups in Pakistan.

Islamisation (1948-2006)

The first period, which started with Jinnah’s death in 1948, covered most years of Pakistan’s history. The key feature of this period was a gradual trend of increasingly Islamising the content of curricula and promoting an exclusionary conception of national identity to solidify the hegemonic control of Punjabis. It is argued that a nation-state uses two institutions for the political socialisation of its citizens and manufacturing of citizenship: the mass media and the school (Bloom, 1990; Guibernau, 1996; Mathews et al., 2008; Smith, 1991). However, since citizenship and national identity are learned and internalised through socialisation, school is the most important institution of socialisation after the family, its significance to the construction of citizenship and identity is widely acknowledged (De Cillia et al., 1999; Mathews et al., 2008; Wodak, 2009). It is the school, through which the state exerts an immediate direct influence “because schooling is designed not to entertain, as are most mass media, but to educate

in carefully planned ways, schooling may serve as the single most powerful force in creating a common sense of national identity in young people” (Mathews et al., 2008, p. 79). It seems that Pakistan’s ruling elites have been effectively using this lever of socio-cultural influence since independence.

Since Pakistan was carved out of multi-religious and multi-ethnic groups, political elites in Pakistan have constantly and consciously been working towards “manufacturing citizenship” (Bénéï, 2005) and a common national identity to promote social cohesion in a society of diverse ethnic, religious, and language groups (Khalid & Khan, 2006). This was also because any modern nation states face the dilemma of trying to ensure the ongoing support of citizens and loyalty to the state to ensure their political survival. A sought for “new citizenship [is] based on the assumption of the masses endowed with democratic rights and owing loyalty to the nation-state” rather than “the assumption of an elite, small in numbers and virtuous in civic conduct” (Heater, 2004, p. 65). This dilemma is intense in the case of a state comprising distinct ethnic, religious, cultural and language groups. However, elites in Pakistan tried to resolve this dilemma by declaring Islam as the ideological and unifying basis of citizenship and national identity in Pakistan.

Beginning in 1947 with a foundational National Education Conference, Pakistan has had eight national education policies during the nearly seventy years of its existence. Moreover, during the period of different governments of Pakistan, eight five-year-plans, about half a dozen commissions and committees and a dozen or more workshops, seminars and conferences were established devoted to the theme of educational reform (Bengali, 1999; Khalid & Khan, 2006). Various governments, whether civilian or military, Islamic or socialist, elected or otherwise, all “aimed to prepare ‘good citizens’ but instead, tended to reproduce the government’s current ideology and its conception of citizenship” (Dean, 2005, p. 36). In addition, Islamic ideology was given a pivotal position in all education policies: all governments aimed to use the educational system deliberately to promote and inculcate Islamic ideology and values into future generations in order to create social cohesion in a plural society (Khalid & Khan, 2006).

It was during the Zia era (1977-88) that the curriculum content was given a significant shift from a conservative version of Islam towards a more fundamentalist and militant version (Chughtai, 2011). The Zia regime’s education policy radically changed

the educational landscape: Curricula and textbooks were developed with an emphasis on Islamisation, having generally an anti-minority stance with heightened sectarian divisions between Sunni and Shia (Ashraf, 2009; Chughtai, 2011; Lall, 2009; Zaidi, 2011). Lall (2008) commented on this era that “by legislating what was Islamic and what was not, Islam itself could no longer provide unity because it was being defined to exclude previously included groups” (p. 111). She further argued that the adoption of a “Sunni world view through the education system led to deep divisions between the Sunni majority and the Shia minority. The primacy of the Sunni perspective led not only to disputes between Sunnis and Shias but also ethnic disturbances” (p. 111). The reason for the adoption of this Sunni world-view was attributed to General Zia’s quest for political legitimacy which made him rely heavily on his religious constituency (Ashraf, 2009; Lall, 2009), that is, Islamic political parties, especially *Jamaat-e-Islami* and its particular conception of Islam. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, General Zia was further aided by the United States economic largesse, as Pakistan had become a frontline state in support of the anti-communist guerrilla efforts directed against the Soviet Union.

The fundamentalist and militant Islamisation process started by General Zia could not subsequently be reversed by the post-1988 civilian governments (Nayyar & Salim, 2003). Rather, successive governments progressively Islamised the national educational system and Islamic faith became “a sole determinant of nationhood” (S. S. Ali & Rehman, 2001). Saigol (1995) succinctly summed up the reason for Islamisation in Pakistan:

The more the project of national integration and nation building failed, the more ardently was religion invoked as a unifying force. The State's main imperatives of control and domination through centralisation did not change, despite changes in governments and regimes (As cited in Jamil, 2009a, p. 9)

Nevertheless, Pakistan’s efforts to achieve complete success in manufacturing a common national identity using Islamic nationalism has proved hard to attain because of competing visions of national identity (I. Ahmad, 2008). These visions are outlined in the next sub section.

Identity-Related Issues and Preparation for Citizenship

The literature reviewed on the various conceptions of Pakistani national identity suggested that there existed at least three main conceptions of Pakistani national identity currently prevalent in scholarly and journalistic work in Pakistan, that is, the Islamist, the nation–statist and the pluralist conceptions (Adeney, 2007; I. Ahmad, 2004, 2008; Lall, 2012a; Shafqat, 2009).

Smith (1991) defines a nation “as a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (p. 14). However, in Pakistan, various symbols have been invoked to construct Pakistani national identity. For example, common ethnic origin, common residence in the same region, historical experience, cultural heritage or civilisation, language, religion, etc. (Ahmed, 2008). Invoking certain symbols for national identity can have authoritarian and repressive implications and can mould the whole society in a specific image by silencing dissident voices.

The Islamist conception of Pakistani national identity encompasses a belief that Islam has been the only binding force in multicultural Pakistan since the nation was created in the name of Islam (Shafqat, 2009). The proponents of this conception argue “that the sole reason for the creation of Pakistan was preserving ‘Islam’ and not simply ‘Muslims of un-divided India’ as opposed to Hindus; they prefer Islamic belief over group as the primary source of identity” (p. 2). They also argue that “following and accepting the centralising role of Islam could harmonise the country’s ethnic and linguistic diversity” (p. 2).

The nation–statist conception of Pakistani national identity incorporates a view that rather than addressing the national integration issues, Pakistani national identity can be constructed by concentrating mainly on Pakistan’s antagonism towards India (Jaffrelot, 2002). Though this conception relies on emphasising enmity towards India in defining Pakistani national identity, different regimes in Pakistan have extensively used it to produce “enemy images” and to promote exclusion. Compared to the pluralist conception of Pakistani national identity, the Islamist and the nation–statist have been dominant in shaping the Pakistani national identity discourse.

The proponents of a pluralist conception of Pakistani national identity argue that there is no single culture in Pakistan and stress the plural nature of the content and character of Pakistani society and culture. Moreover, they argue that “Pakistan is a multilingual and multicultural state; therefore, its languages and cultures should be allowed to grow and develop in the broader context of national history and cultural experiences” (Shafqat, 2009, p. 2). They further argue that “the regional cultures and Islam have been in existence prior to the creation of Pakistan and both can flourish together” (p. 2). Additionally, they contend that “it is not Islamisation but greater decentralisation and enhanced provincial autonomy that would promote national integration and give substance to Pakistani national identity (p. 3). They propose an education system underpinned by enlightened and humane ideals so that human rights and diversity in society can be protected (Shakir, 2005). These views tend to be held by only a relatively small minority of better-educated, predominantly urban, and progressive intellectuals. Political parties representing these views have rarely achieved strong election results.

It has been argued that every definition of national identity is essentially selective when it stresses one vision of national identity and marginalises others (Parekh, 2000) because the self-identification is not only made through a distinct set of statements but also through negative comparison with sub-cultures, other cultures and other nations (Crawford, 2011; N. Durrani, 2008a, 2008b; N. Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Hogg, 2006). Indeed, the process of identity construction comprises the setting of boundaries (Woodward, 2003). Additionally, Pickering (2001) asserted that “national identity is both unifying and divisive” (p. 89): It provides a compulsive substitute for the cultural need to belong while at the same time differentiating a nationally defined ‘us’ from conflicting forms of national identity. Othering is powerful in the construction of national identity, as it “promotes a profound psychological awareness of a common identity, group membership and belonging where the other becomes a valuable evaluative concept because its use can lead to the systematic comparison and degradation of others” (Crawford, 2011, p. 86). However, this could be particularly dangerous in a multicultural society, which has diverse interpretations of its history, and which holds to a multitude of values and visions for the good life (Parekh, 2000).

Because of competing visions of Islam, various Islamic groups resist “official Islam.” Since adherence to Islam was a shared characteristic between Pakistan’s diverse ethnic, and language groups, Islamic ideology was deliberately used to enhance the common cultural traits and to reduce the differences among the diverse population. Consequently, Islamic values were given an important place in the school curriculum from the early years—in an attempt to create a national identity based on an abstract Islamic model. However, critics argue that this model has had limited success. Commenting on this situation, S. Cohen (2002) stated that “the most important conflict in Pakistan is not a civilisational clash between Muslims and non-Muslims but a clash between different concepts of Islam, particularly how the Pakistani state should implement its Islamic identity” (p. 113). Thus the idea of the Pakistani nation had become a contested concept (S. Cohen, 2002, 2011).

The dominance of Punjabi visions of national identity alienates other ethnic groups in Pakistan (Talbot, 1998). Many Punjabis perceive that “there is no conflict between a Punjabi and a Pakistani identity” (Lall, 2012a). However, other ethnic groups see this dominance as “Punjabisation of Pakistan” (Talbot, 1998, p. 14)—which has further eroded the collective affective dimension of Pakistani citizenship, that is, the shared subjective sense of membership in the unified Pakistani community. Successive martial law regimes led by the Punjabi dominated army—the firmly entrenched upholder of Islamist national identity—“tried to forcibly impose a national identity rather than achieve it by consensus” (Talbot, 1998, p. 19). It further alienated minority ethnic and religious groups.

The Pakistani education system has not been highly successful in cultivating the rights and duties dimensions of citizenship. Lall (2012a) argued that “citizenship as identity has been fostered whereas the legal aspects relating in particular to rights, duties and political participation of citizenship were neglected” (p. 71). This is because, the state education system remained exclusively focused on the national identity dimension of citizenship: “The relationship between individuals and the state was not fostered, the issues between ethnic and national identities were not addressed. What mattered if one was to be a Pakistani was to be a Muslim” (Lall, 2012a, p. 75). Consequently, in the present day Pakistan, “the three concepts citizenship, national identity, and religion are

often muddled by ordinary citizens. This has made the concept of citizenship hazy since majority of the Pakistanis feel alienated by the state” (Lall, 2012b, p. 270).

Similarly, the Pakistani education system has not been highly successful in cultivating participative dimensions of citizenship due to its preoccupation with the construction of an Islamic national identity. Citizenship as participation (Bellamy, 2008; Heater, 2004; Isin & Turner, 2002; Isin & Wood, 1999) “refers to having a voice and exerting influence over public policy in one’s political community” (Molina Giron, 2012, p. 16). All democratic theories agree that citizens should be informed about politics and have an active part to play in politics so that better political decisions can be made in a polity (Theiss-Morse, 1993). However, the extent of participation in Pakistan is debateable. Lall (2012a) argued that “in Pakistan, elite politics separated itself from the masses as the masses had less and less of a stake in what became the state, resulting in reduced political participation and a rift between state and citizen” (Lall, 2012a, p. 73). The Pakistani education system has strongly emphasised the acquisition of knowledge and the inculcation of some important values and not civic skills such as decision-making and problem solving necessary for effective democratic participation in political life (Dean, 2005).

The Pakistani education system has also been unsuccessful in cultivating civic virtues—“the qualities, dispositions, and behaviours of the citizens deemed desirable and necessary for a flourishing democracy” (Molina Giron, 2012, p. 16). Bénéï (2005) argued that “citizenship is always manufactured locally, and the main material that is drawn on in the process is national history and memory, which feature largely in educational programmes” (p. 19). From the inception of Pakistan, Islamic knowledge, values and practices were given a prominent place in the official curriculum in order to seek to mould the dispositions and behaviours of the next generation. The mythmaking for national identity by rewriting histories and memories—“either from whole cloth or by imposing new meaning into old stories” (Mansbach & Rhodes, 2007, p. 436) was undertaken by heavily relying on selective traditions of Islam. The culmination of this emphasis was evident in policy in the General Zia era (Muhammad-Arif, 2005) when national education policy aimed at giving highest priority to the revision of the curricula so that entire content was re-organised around Islamic thought (Government of Pakistan, 1979). Civic virtues and values such as civic mindedness and critical consciousness were

given very little space in the education system that emerged from this period of government. Subsequent Pakistan Studies textbooks mainly focused on Islamisation (Ashraf, 2009) and “pietistic and ritualistic Islam” (Dean, 2005, p. 42) Islam’s values—“its stress on equality of all human beings, its commands to act justly, its preferential option for the poor, its practice of tolerance, its emphasis on making informed judgments and its insistence that one resists to tyranny”—have been left out (Dean, 2005, p. 42). Thus, Islam’s values and virtues, which have transformationist potential and are highly valuable for progressive citizenship, were given little or no space.

The next part of this section deals with the second phase of the history of curriculum reform in Pakistan when the ideological underpinning of the national curriculum policy attempted to shift from Islamic nationalism to democratic pluralism. The idea of democratic pluralism is the “antithesis of the nation state concept” and “appreciates heterogeneity in all respects, ranging from race, ethnicity, language, culture, to religion and sect. Furthermore, democratic pluralism rejects the idea that the state should represent a distinct racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious or sectarian community” (Rashid, 2014, par. 1). The liberal-democratic segments of Pakistani society hailed this change. However, Islamic nationalists rejected it.

Secularisation/Enlightened Moderation (2006-2010): From Islamic nationalism to Democratic Pluralism

General Pervez Musharraf became the Chief Executive of Pakistan after the military coup of 12 October 1999. Despite this background, he was inclined towards liberal democratic ideals as it was evident from his regime’s policies and his views related to enlightened moderation, moderate Islam, and vision of just, tolerant and lawful Pakistan society. However, after the 9/11 incident in America, General Pervez Musharraf came under pressure from the western world to revise its educational policies and curricula. With huge investment from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), education reforms were commenced. The main thrust of education reforms was the regulation of Islamic schools, de-Islamisation of the state approved textbooks, and promotion of teaching methods to instil democratic attitudes (Lall, 2009).

This international pressure to revise the educational policy and curricula was further augmented by the domestic circumstances and textbook controversies (Barwell et al., 2007). On 16 June 2003, an important draft research report entitled *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks* was released in Pakistan. It was a result of a study conducted by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), a secular non-governmental organisation (S. H. Ali, 2009). The objective of the study was to identify problematic content within textbooks and to ascertain if the curriculum formulation was the source of such content. The subjects chosen were those, which could offer a greater space for manipulation namely Urdu, English, Pakistan Studies, Social Studies, and Civics. The most recent curriculum documents (published in 1985 and 2002) were analysed and it was found that the problematic material identified in earlier studies were again part of the new curricula revised in March 2002 by the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education. The SDPI's analysis found that the most significant problem in the current curricula and textbooks was the insensitivity to the religious diversity. The textbooks glorified war, incited violence and militancy, encouraged Jihad, discrimination, bigotry, and prejudice towards religious minorities and women as well, and provided inaccurate or omitted facts that distorted history (Nayyar & Salim, 2003). This critique advocated a comprehensive re-design of national curricula and textbooks and suggested fundamental reforms in the Textbook Boards at provincial levels and in the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education (Dattoo, 2009; Nayyar & Salim, 2003).

This critique generated quite a storm (S. H. Ali, 2009), and unleashed a highly controversial debate in the Pakistani media (Leirvik, 2008) on what was being taught to children in schools (Subramanian, 2009). However, this study was not the first one to point out these issues and there existed earlier more scholarly works; the extraordinary attention might be attributed to Pakistan's distinctive geo-political circumstances after the 9/11 incident (Nayyar & Salim, 2003). Nayyar and Salim (2003) suggested that the first known work undertaken to investigate the deliberate distortion of history for ideological reasons was by Hoodbhoy and Nayyar (1985). Similarly, the earlier contributions of Aziz (1998), M. Ali (1999), Rahman (2002), and Saigol (2003a) were significant in pointing towards ideological content within the curricula and textbooks.

In the beginning, the study was supported by the Federal Education Ministry and was inclined to endorse the suggested curricular reform but later on it distanced itself from the study because of its strong emphasis upon secularisation (S. H. Ali, 2009). Since Pakistan's strong identity is believed to reside within a Muslim state, any reform aiming at secularisation would meet with apprehension (S. H. Ali, 2009). This report, however, became the reason for the introduction of a new national curriculum in 2006 (Leirvik, 2008; Subramanian, 2009).

Chughtai (2011) investigated how Pakistan's curriculum reform agenda was set in 2006 and interviewed General Qazi, then Federal Minister of Education (2004-07). She found that the eruption of sectarian violence in the northern areas of Pakistan and subsequent deaths made the previous discriminatory curriculum an urgent and problematic issue for the policymakers. This was further enforced by General Qazi's review of his own children's textbooks that found the same discriminatory content as part of the curricula. Then, a new committee of academics rather than bureaucrats was formed to design what was intended to be a more tolerant and inclusive national curriculum (Chughtai, 2011).

In 2005, a comprehensive review of curriculum policy was initiated. The revised national curricula for 25 core subjects (Grades 1 to 12) were published in 2007. These curricula were prepared by comparing current curricula with curricula of different countries and consultation with stakeholders (Government of Pakistan, 2009). Several big changes were made in the new curriculum: "there was a stark opposite shift in content towards a secular, inclusive, and tolerant version of Islam" (Chughtai, 2011, p. 4), the open vilification of India was absent (Subramanian, 2009) and rather than being infused through Urdu, English, Social Studies, and Civics, Islamic religious teaching was confined to specific school subjects.

Another step forward in this direction was the formulation of the *National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action 2007*. The objective of this policy was "improvement in the quality of education at all levels through better quality textbooks at affordable prices and other learning materials for promoting Pakistan as a knowledge-based society" (Government of Pakistan, 2007a). Under this policy, a well regulated system of competitive publishing of learning materials and textbooks was

installed (Government of Pakistan, 2007a, 2009). However, textbooks based on the new curriculum policy were not introduced until 2012.

The next part of this section deals with the third phase of the history of curriculum reform in Pakistan. It is perceived that ideological underpinning of the national curriculum policy again shifted to Islamic nationalism. It is noted that Islamic ideology was reintroduced into new textbooks published in 2012. Regarding recent policy implementation in Punjab, it is suggested that the ideological bent of the Punjab's chief minister is largely responsible for this development (Jamil, 2009a).

Decentralisation with Alleged Resurgence of Islamisation (2010 onwards)

On 18 February 2008, general elections were held and the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPP) won the majority of seats. On 18 August 2008, General Musharraf was forced to resign from the presidency. In 2009, a constitutional amendment committee, comprising members from all of the main political parties and other stakeholders, was constituted by the PPP government to recommend a package of amendments to the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan (Hanif & Khan, 2012). The aim of these amendments was to restore the constitution to its original shape and remove all the alleged distortions introduced by the two dictators, Zia and Musharraf (Islam, 2013). Consequently, a consensus draft bill was produced which was passed by the National Assembly and the Senate unanimously in April, 2010 (Hanif & Khan, 2012). As a result, of this historic constitutional amendment (18th) the education system was decentralised to the provinces.

The new government, however, remained committed to the implementation of the *National Curriculum 2006/7* and continued to finalise the draft National Education Policy, a process initiated in 2005 by the Musharraf government. However, the insertion of a new chapter on Islamic Education in the final National Education Policy 2009, according to some researchers, led to the undermining of reforms (Jamil, 2009a). Moreover, new textbooks based on the new curricula came into force in 2012 and it was argued that these textbooks were again incorporating previous flaws (Menon, 2013).

Jamil (2009a) foresaw this development on the basis of two observations: First, the a chapter on Islamic Education in the August 1, 2009 version of the National Education Policy 2009 was inserted without any public debate, although earlier drafts (from 2005

to 2007) were publically and extensively consulted (Jamil, 2009b). Second, there were certain initiatives taken by the then Punjab chief minister, Shahbaz Sharif to reintroduce Islamic ideology into policy and curriculum reforms. Behuria and Shehzad (2013) pointed out another factor. They suggested that the Musharraf efforts remained fruitless in revising the curriculum, “primarily 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).

Although these researchers gave insights into the broader level of factors, which allegedly undermined the Musharraf era reforms, the nuanced details in the curricular content were not provided in their studies.

The next section outlines the influences of decentralisation on education administration and textbook production in Pakistan.

Changing Administrative Context of Curriculum Policy Making

From the promulgation of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, education was formally integrated in a concurrent list. This meant that the Federal and Provincial Ministry of Education were jointly responsible for education in Pakistan. However, some aspects of education, teacher training, examination, evaluation standard of education, and the preparation of guidelines for national curricula were the responsibility of the federal government (N. Mahmood & Malik, 2010). Under the *Supervision of Curricula and Textbooks and Maintenance of Standards of Education Act, 1976*, the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education used to produce National curricula for all Pakistani state schools (N. Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Government of Pakistan, 2012). The four provincial textbook boards were responsible for the production of textbooks for schools (N. Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Khan, Sultana, Bughio, & Naz, 2014). However, these textbooks were then reviewed and approved by the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education. This review process was alleged to be a mechanism for maintaining hegemony (N. Durrani & Dunne, 2010).

Since policy makers and different ethnic and religious groups see curriculum policy as a mean to shape the minds and values of the next generation (Halstead, 2005; Ravitch, 1990), curriculum policy making becomes an arena for social conflict in which groups clash over whose values are taught in the public schools. In a diverse society,

these efforts by people with differences in values inevitably draw public schools into controversies (Ravitch, 1990). Therefore, the final text of a curriculum “is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organise and disorganise a people” (Apple, 2004, p. 222). Apple (2000) summed it up eloquently by saying that “the politics of official knowledge are the politics of *accords* or *compromises* (Apple, 2000, p. 10 emphasis in original). However, since these compromises are not between or among equals, and dominant groups “always have more power to define what counts as a need or a problem and what an appropriate response to it should be,” “these compromises are never stable.” (Apple, 2000, p. 10). Therefore, there is always room for more democratic action (Apple, 2000). Ravitch (1990) added that social conflict arising out of curriculum controversy can be avoided by working within a democratic political tradition, which guarantees a fair and just society, where peace and mutual respect is ensured for people of different cultural backgrounds. This democratic action was in the form of the 18th constitutional amendment, which recognised the long-standing demands and rights of the provinces in Pakistan.

As discussed earlier, after the insertion of the 18th constitutional amendment, the education system was decentralised and more autonomy is vested in the provinces (Abbasi, 2014; Islam, 2013; P. Tahir, 2012). Since the concurrent legislative list has been abolished, pre-university education as a subject, including the school curriculum has been devolved to provinces (I-SAPS, n.d). Now, only the provincial governments are responsible for the education of their population. The Federal Ministry of Education has been dissolved. Education policy and planning are now in the jurisdiction of provincial governments. Similarly, the preparation and provision of the national curriculum as well as standards formerly designed and monitored by the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education are now in the jurisdiction of the respective provinces (I-SAPS, n.d; P. Tahir, 2012). Provinces can now freely formulate their own pre-university education policies and can reflect the socio-cultural diversity of their citizens (P. Tahir, 2012). Now, the provincial education ministries are authorised “to review and approve manuscripts of textbooks produced by other agencies before they are prescribed for various classes of an institution” (A. Tahir & Ullah, 2010, p. 216). Moreover, they can “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).

Having discussed the context of policy influence responsible for the ideological shift in the school curriculum policy of Pakistan and the later decentralisation of the education system with education policy and planning in the jurisdiction of provincial governments, the next section examines the influences of the context of policy influence in the context of text production.

Context of Text Production

This section reviews the findings of research studies on the pre-reform Pakistan Studies curricula and the textbooks based on these in order to develop an understanding of how curriculum policy at the macro level and textbook content have conceptualised Pakistani national identity, religious and ethnic diversity and global perspective.

To conduct this literature review, electronic databases (particularly Scopus, Proquest, Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) as well as others available through Google Scholar) were scanned for research studies exploring Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives within the Pakistan Studies context. Similarly, EThOS (the UK’s national thesis service), ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Database, DiVA (theses, dissertations database of joint group of Scandinavian universities), and Pakistan Research Repository (digital archive of all indigenously produced PhD theses) were scanned. In the same way, the catalogues of Allama Iqbal Open University in Pakistan were scanned for books and research articles. Newspaper articles were helpful in identifying the research studies conducted by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and think tanks in Pakistan. However, the most effective method was scanning the relevant references from the retrieved articles, books and theses, reading the references, and repeating the process to the point of saturation when no new relevant research study came to light (Randolph, 2009). A reference database was created using EndNote to conduct a literature review systematically.

The extent of the literature reviewed chronologically extends to research studies conducted in the past fifteen years with few earlier studies examined. Generally speaking, in Pakistan, prior to the last fifteen years there had been limited research. This has been attributed to the lack of funding, absence or lack of critical mass of critical

thinkers, the universities' hierarchical system, inadequate facilities (Memon, Joubish, & Khurram, 2010) and an unsympathetic political culture (S. Cohen, 2011). The recent decade has seen an awakened interest in research by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, which has resulted in the conduct of some research. However, it has been argued that there is still a dearth of quality research in the field of education (Memon et al., 2010).

In the Pakistani context, students are introduced to Pakistani national identity, religious and ethnic diversity, and global perspective mainly through compulsory Social Studies, Pakistan Studies and optional Civics. Social Studies was introduced at primary and secondary levels in the 1960s and Pakistan Studies was introduced at the secondary and university levels in the 1970s (M. Ali, 1992, 1999). Although these subjects have been taught for many decades they lack a substantiated and rigorous research base. Nevertheless, the watershed events around the 9/11 attacks and subsequent western interest in Pakistan in the wake of global terrorism have been a major impetus in the commissioning of numerous internal and external research reports on the education system and Pakistan Studies in Pakistan. Thus, for example, research studies have highlighted the “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. Studies have also highlighted an alleged relationship between international terrorism and Pakistan's schools (Leirvik, 2008).

The inclusion and exclusion of research studies to be reviewed (Randolph, 2009) were based on two criteria: First, these studies have explored the policy documents, curricula, and textbooks. Second, these studies have examined issues related to the main categories of the teaching of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives. A number of themes were identified as a result of reviewing the literature on the curriculum and textbooks research. Review of these themes is organised conceptually. The focus was on the research outcome with a goal of identification of central issues (Cooper, 1988; Randolph, 2009) and gaps in the literature (Rocco & Plakhotnik, 2009).

All subject areas implicitly tackle the task of introducing students to Pakistani national identity, religious and ethnic diversity, and global perspective by placing

education in the context of the Islamic perspective. However, the school subjects of Social Studies, Pakistan Studies and Civics (I. Ahmad, 2008; Lall, 2012a; Zia, 2003a) and Islamic education (Zia, 2003a) explicitly impart education in these thematic areas. The curriculum of Pakistan Studies and Social Studies has been an amalgamation of the geography, history, and economy of Pakistan (M. Ali, 1992) whereas the Civics has traditionally combined sociology, political science, and the history of Pakistan. However, these dividing lines are not neat and there exists considerable overlap of subject matter in the curriculum of Social Studies, Civics and Pakistan Studies—offering “a formulaic narration of the story of Pakistan, which is explained within the theoretical framework of ‘Islamic ideology’” (I. Ahmad, 2008, p. 100). Social Studies is taught in schools from lower to middle school level (grade 8) whereas Pakistan Studies is taught as a compulsory subject at secondary and up to Bachelor level.

Curricula and textbooks of Islamisation (1947-2006) period have been examined by several research studies. Findings from these studies can be categorised into themes such as linking Islamisation, national identity and curriculum, misrepresenting ethnic nationalities and religious minorities of Pakistan, neglecting active citizenship, and gendering citizenship.

Linking Islamisation, National Identity, and Curriculum

Several research studies have demonstrated the reflection of Islamic ideology in the national curricula and textbooks. Aziz (1998) analysed 66 history, Pakistan Studies and Social Studies textbooks used in schools and colleges from level 1 to 14, and concluded that a biased history of the country was being taught. However, he was criticised for devoting more time to quibbling about facts rather than exploring broader themes and educational purposes. Nevertheless, it was Jalal (1995) who questioned “the ideologically motivated distortions in official interpretations of history” (Jalal, 1995, p. 89) by examining a number of textbooks from the late 1970s and early 1980s for the curriculum of Pakistan Studies and concluding that the rewriting of national history from an Islamic point of view was given the highest priority by the writers. She labelled this history as the “creative bigotry of power” (Jalal, 1995, p. 88). Nayyar’s (2003) analysis of textbooks of English, Urdu, Pakistan studies and Social Studies showed that textbooks equated Muslim identity with Pakistani identity, and Islamic knowledge and

compulsory reading of the Quran were forcibly taught to all the students, including non-Muslims. He found that the curricula and textbooks emphasised the Islamic ideology of Pakistan. He argued that Islamic ideology had no foundation in history and was manufactured only in the Islamisation era of Zia. N. Durrani and Dunne (2010) analysed textbooks and curriculum documents and conducted case studies at four primary schools in Pakistan's North West Frontier Province to investigate how the curriculum portrayed Pakistani identities and how students in schools understood these identities. They found that "a complex nexus of education, religion, and national identity tended to construct 'essentialist' collective identities" (p. 215). Moreover, they asserted that "the national curriculum used religion (Islam) as the key boundary between the Muslim Pakistani 'self' and the antagonist non-Muslim 'other'" (p. 215) in order to promote national harmony among diverse groups within Pakistan.

In textbooks, official historiography and even hagiography were employed to resolve issues of state building and to construct a particular version of Pakistani national identity. Rahman (1999) found that the representation of Pakistani identity as Islamic identity was accomplished by portraying Muslim leaders, especially Jinnah and Iqbal, as orthodox Muslims and by suppressing any characteristics of their behaviour and thoughts that did not conform to Islamic identity. Zaidi (2011) argued that in order to shape the worldviews of future generations, education generally, and Pakistan Studies curricula in particular, were used to propagate specific ideologies. He claimed that in order to generate a national ideology, textbooks used historiography and hagiography. For example, "the two early champions of Islam, Muhammad-bin-Qasim and Sultan Mahmud of the Ghaznavi dynasty in eastern Afghanistan, whose campaigns culminated in the sacking of the Somnath Temple in 1025" were applauded respectively as "a warrior liberating the Brahmin-weary Sindhis" and "as the crusader for the one true religion" (Zaidi, 2011, p. 50). He believed that textbooks deliberately ignored the real motives for the invasions, which, according to him, were economic rather than ideological. The Mughal Emperor Akbar, he claimed, was portrayed as dubiously Islamic and harmful to the interests of Muslims, despite the fact Akbar's reign was lauded in western scholarship as a high point of religious harmony and cultural assimilation. M. Ali (1992) analysis of Pakistan Studies textbooks inferred that "Akbar [was] not mentioned directly but indirectly as a rival of Ahmad Sarhandi (d. 1624), who

[was] projected as a hero challenging Akbar's religious policy and restoring Islamic values in India” (M. Ali, 1992, p. 73). Rosser (2003b) concluded her study by commenting that: “In general, the curriculum [was] a composite of patriotic discourses, justification of the Two-Nation Theory, hagiographies of Muslim heroes, and polemics about the superiority of Islamic principles over Hinduism” (p. 5).

Misrepresenting Ethnic Groups and Religious Minorities of Pakistan

Pakistan Studies textbooks have generally tended to represent the dominant groups and ignore or pay lip-service to the history and culture of other ethnic groups (Hashmi, 2011). One of the few earlier research studies used a representative sample of Social Studies textbooks taught in secondary schools in Pakistan from 1947 to 1987 and examined the representation of ethnic groups within Pakistan, and the extent to which the representation conveyed a narrative of national cohesion and integration (Kazi, 1988). Kazi inferred that the representation of the Pakistani ethnic nationalities was not equitable as the books mainly represented the dominant groups, that is, Muhajirs and Punjabis, and depicted the majority of the indigenous groups as insignificant. The possible reason, he added, was the unequal distribution of political power. He concluded that the curriculum did not promote national cohesion because an equitable portrayal of indigenous groups was essential to achieve consensus in Pakistani nationalism and to avoid further societal division (Kazi, 1988). Similarly, analysing Pakistan Studies textbooks produced by the Punjab Textbooks Board in 1997, Zaidi (2011) noted that Pakistan Studies textbooks 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 to him was a reason for resentment of these groups in Pakistan. Jalal (1995) argued that the official history textbooks rejected regional distinctiveness in favour of a collective Pakistani ethos because it was consistent with the homogenising agendas of the state and “to educate the future generations to reject anything in their regional cultures that fails to qualify as Islamic” (Jalal, 1995, p. 86). She argued that local histories of indigenous people should be recognised since they promoted inter-cultural harmony and mutual understanding of each other.

The curricula and textbooks largely excluded religious minorities from the meaning of “citizen” by equating Pakistani citizen with Muslim (Naseem, 2006) and promoted hatred against them (Rosser, 2004). The textbooks constructed multiple enemies and religious others—notably Hindus/Indians—in opposition to whom Pakistani national identity was defined. Other religious denominations such as Christians, Jews, and Sikhs were “othered” through exclusion. Islam was used in the national curriculum to mark boundaries between out-groups and in-groups in Pakistan. There was long list of non-Muslims who played a significant role in the development of Pakistan. However, they were omitted and this omission reinforced the prejudices against non-Muslims (Nayyar & Salim, 2003), promoted religious intolerance, and excluded non-Muslims from national identity (Nayyar, 2003).

The curricula and textbooks painted Hindus as negatively as possible (Hussain, Salim, & Naveed, 2011; Mesti, 2011; Nayyar, 2003). Nayyar (2003) found that the curricula and textbooks in Pakistan equated the Muslim and Pakistani identity and there existed overt hatred towards Hindus. Mesti (2011) investigated the negative stereotypic concepts of Hindu minority in the discourse of the selected text from a Social Studies textbook. The analysis confirmed that writers created stereotypic images of the Hindus. Rosser (2004) found Pakistan studies textbooks declared that “Hindus are backwards, superstitious, they burn their widows and wives, and that Brahmins are inherently cruel, and if given a chance, would assert their power over the weak, especially Muslims and Shuddras” (p. 7). This “pathological hate,” Nayyar (2003) argued, was only because of adoption of the ideology of Pakistan based on an abstract Islamic model.

Most of the studies have focused on the discrimination within the country. Neither of these studies, however, mentioned the potentially disastrous consequences of discriminatory education policy on the foreign relations of Pakistan with India. However, Lall (2008) drew on literature, Pakistan Studies textbooks of 1985 and 1991, and interviews to demonstrate that education was being used to construct hostile national identities—both anti-Hindu and anti-India. She argued that this construction of identities established on the basis of ethnic and religious definitions of self could have serious negative international consequences since India and Pakistan had fought three wars since 1947. She further argued that a less antagonistic image of the other and less nationalistic

image of self in textbooks might curb radicalisation and promote greater tolerance and peace in the region.

Neglecting Global perspectives

Global perspectives have been the least explored aspect in the research on Pakistan Studies textbooks. However, there were some studies, which have examined the global content of the textbooks. For example, while exploring the local-global dynamic embedded in school's official curriculum which re-constructs students' identities, Datto (2009) identified two types of global content: *Ummah*, constructing trans-national (pan-Islamic global) and global as international. However, his research focused more upon the exploration of students' lived-world experiences with regard to their interaction with the media-scape than the examination school's official curriculum and textbooks.

Pakistan Studies has not promoted human rights. Many research studies have demonstrated this fact. For example, Hina, Ajmal, Rahman, and Jumani (2011), using a citizenship education framework, and adopting qualitative content analysis methodology to examine secondary Pakistan Studies textbooks, found key flaws: There was more emphasis on the dissemination of knowledge of public organisations and less emphasis on human rights issues in Pakistan. Contrary to the overall advised teacher education pedagogy, the teacher guidelines and lesson exercises were based on rote learning. Similarly, Dean (2005) analysed the Social Studies curricula and textbooks produced by the Sindh Textbook Board and concluded that curricula and textbooks did not promote active citizenship and human rights. Textbooks mentioned local, national, regional, and international level institutions of religious, judicial, social, and political domains. Charitable institutions were given coverage but civil society institutions pertaining to the development and the promotion of human rights were excluded. Most textbooks promoted simplistic conceptions of democracy and citizenship and good citizenship was linked with being a good Muslim.

The next section deals with the context of practice, that is, how the policy intent encoded in policy text is enacted in the day-to-day practice of school teachers. A review of the extant theoretical and empirical literature was undertaken to understand how school teachers experience and view curriculum reform and how they respond to it. This review of teachers' perspectives of curriculum reform was important for the

interpretation of teachers' responses through the interview data and the analysis process. It also helped in addressing the third sub-question of this study: *What are the perceptions, practices, and suggestions of Pakistan Studies teachers within public and private schools regarding the teaching and promotion of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?*

Context of Practice

The literature reviewed in the previous sections on the Pakistan Studies policy, curriculum, and textbooks in the Pakistani context identified that with the exception of a few studies, teachers' perspectives on curriculum reform in Pakistan Studies were a largely neglected area in the Pakistani context. Therefore, this section mainly relies on the international theoretical and empirical literature to gain insight into how school teachers experience and view curriculum reform. International literature related to Social Studies teachers' implementation of a curriculum reform was specifically reviewed because of the content similarity between Pakistan Studies and Social Studies.

In this regard, Lipsky's (2010) notion of "street-level bureaucrats"—"public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work" (p. 3)—was instructive. He included teachers in his long list of street-level bureaucrats and argued that they "deliver benefits and sanctions structure and delimit people's lives and opportunities" (p. 4) in a number of ways since they "have considerable discretion in determining the nature, amount, and quality of benefits and sanctions provided by their agencies" (p. 13). Being professionals and being governed by professional or occupational ideologies, they apply considerable discretionary judgment in their specialised working field—where they are relatively free from the clients' scrutiny and the superiors' supervision (Hupe & Hill, 2007; Lipsky, 2010). However, he suggested that this discretion is controlled "by rules, regulations, and directives from above, or by the norms and practices of their occupational group" (p. 14). He further added that "the major dimensions of public policy levels of benefits, categories of eligibility, nature of rules, regulations and services—are shaped by policy elites and political and administrative officials" (p. 14). Along with these influences, the policy choices of street-level bureaucrats are also

influenced by supervisors and community and occupational norms. Hupe and Hill (2007) argued that “however closely controlled and supervised, the essence of all work is that it involves some degree of discretion. Wherever work is delegated, the delegating person loses some control” (p. 281). All of the above cited influences determine “the major dimensions of street-level policy and account for the degree of standardisation that exists in public programs from place to place as well as in local programs” (p. 14). Certainly, in Pakistan, teachers feel strongly guided by their state administrative leaders and school principals but exercise some degree of discretion in carrying out their professional activities.

The contextual factors responsible for street-level bureaucrats to employ policy discretion in their day to day practice were further extended by Hupe and Hill (2007). First, they emphasised the role of interpretation in the policy discretion of street-level bureaucrats: They argued that the ambiguous or contradictory nature of policy might force street-level bureaucrats to interpret policy rules. However, this interpretation is essentially contextual and subjective (Trowler, 2003). Second, the growing number of rules may also influence their policy discretion. Third, they “work under an action imperative: they have to act. [They] see themselves forced to make choices: choices about how to deal with a specific rule—in general and in specific situations—but also choices between rules” (Hupe & Hill, 2007, p. 281).

This phenomenon is particularly evident in the realm of education policy making where policies are usually made at federal, provincial, district, and even school level and then implemented at school level by the teachers. When teachers’ professional landscapes are dominated by such policies, they can also make decisions and apply discretion with respect to those policies since “they are working in a micro-network of relations, in varying contexts” (Hupe & Hill, 2007, p. 279). They “do not simply comply with or implement education policy. Rather, they actively make education policy. [They] interpret the range of state-, district-, and school-level policies affecting their work through the lens of their strategic knowledge” (Goldstein, 2008, p. 449). Building on the work of Shulman (1986), Goldstein (2008) defined strategic knowledge as “a teacher’s intellectual toolkit; it comprises principles of teaching, learning, and development derived from empirical research; accumulated practical know-how and expertise accrued through experience” (p. 50). In addition, it comprises “moral, ethical, and ideological

commitments—fairness, respect, equity, integrity, dedication, and so on—that are considered fundamental to the profession” (Goldstein, 2008, p. 451). Strategic knowledge interacting with the education policy makes teachers as street-level education policy makers “in the form of the curricular and instructional decisions they enact within the specific, particular contexts of their own classrooms” (Goldstein, 2008, p. 449). The notion of teachers as street education policy makers is also manifested in the work of Spillane (2009). He used the metaphor of “statehouse to the schoolhouse” to elaborate his interactive policy making perspective and argued that as policy moves from the statehouse to the schoolhouse, that is, from higher-levels of policy making to street-levels of policy making, human sense-making significantly influences the implementation process.

Pakistani teachers do have agency or a capacity to make individual choices. There have been few studies in Pakistan of how Pakistani teachers have used their interpretational freedom. Their degree of discretion in the implementation of a centrally determined curricular reform in the area of Pakistan Studies has received limited attention.

Literature also suggested that teachers may resist a top down education policy aiming to limit and control their instructional practices “by setting curriculum standards, establishing accountability systems, and prescribing instructional methods” (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006, p. 31). A dominant explanation of teacher resistance considers it as a conservative act and even representative of personality flaws: Goodson, Moore, and Hargreaves (2006), for example, reported a research project conducted in the Ontario province, Canada and in New York State with older teachers and found that aging teachers responded to educational changes through the processes of degeneration and generation. They found that the process of degeneration comprised of loss of enthusiasm, energy, commitment etc. while the process of generation comprised of “historically situated missions formed decades ago that teachers have carried with them throughout their careers” (Goodson et al., 2006, p. 42). However, another explanation of teacher resistance is based on what Achinstein and Ogawa (2006, p. 32) called “principled resistance” and “involves overt or covert acts that reject instructional policies, programs, or other efforts to control teachers’ work that undermine or contradict professional principles” (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006, p. 32) such as

community-building, individuality and creativity and high expectations. It would prove interesting to explore whether Pakistan Studies teachers saw themselves in any ways as “resisters.”

In addition, Banks (2010) identified some other factors hindering teachers’ commitment to the pluralistic curriculum. He believed that the focus on high-stakes testing and accountability, the heavy reliance on textbooks for teaching and the teachers’ low level of knowledge about ethnic cultures were the main factors in slowing down the institutionalisation of a curriculum, which acknowledges the perspectives of diverse population of a society. Political resistance is also shown by many teacher who believe that an all-inclusive perspective would challenges the existing power structure of a diverse society. However, ideological resistance, he believes, is a major factor that slows the development of such curriculum. It is the assimilationist ideology, which makes it difficult for policy makers and teachers to acquire a commitment to the pluralistic curriculum. Banks (2001) argued that the assimilationist (teacher) believes in an ideal society which does not exhibit ethnic identity. Moreover, he believes that ethnicity “promotes division, exhumes ethnic conflicts, and leads to divisions within society. It also promotes group rights over the rights of the individual” (Banks, 2001, p. 8). Assimilationists believe that when all the ethnic groups in a society share only one national culture and are structurally included in the national civic community, people will abandon their different ethnic cultures (Banks, 2001; Spinner-Halev, 2000).

Social Studies teachers’ implementation of a curriculum is therefore influenced by their beliefs and perceptions. Peck and Herriot (2014) argued that “beliefs are integral to every other aspect of their teaching, from their understanding of the subject matter, to planning and assessment, to interacting with students” (p. 388). They further argued that passions, pedagogies, and practices of Social Studies teachers’ are essentially influenced by their beliefs of three overlapping purposes of teaching Social Studies: inculcation of good citizenship, construction of national identity and cultivation of the ability to co-exist or empathise with others. Social Studies teachers’ enactment of a curriculum is also influenced by their beliefs and perceptions about varied pedagogies used in Social Studies instruction. Peck and Herriot (2014) reported several obstacles in the use of interdisciplinary and inquiry-based approaches to the teaching of Social Studies. They include practical working realities and philosophical beliefs among teachers and

mentors—for example, scant time for planning and doubts about the effectiveness of inquiry-based approaches (p. 389). Similarly, an issues-centered approach to teaching Social Studies is rejected by some Social Studies teachers who have the belief that the primary task of their job is to cover curricular content as efficiently as possible. This study opened up the possibility of exploring the overlap between Pakistan Studies curricular reform and Pakistan teachers' pedagogical beliefs and practices.

The theoretical literature on Social Studies also suggests that teacher beliefs about teaching controversial issues influences their implementation of a curriculum demanding teachers to apply classroom discussion approaches in order to shed light on a topic or policy issue through multiple perspectives. While teaching controversial issues, students are engaged “in learning about issues, analysing them, deliberating alternative solutions, and often taking and supporting a position on which solutions may be based” (Hess, 2008, p. 124). Controversial issues are believed to be an important part of any Social Studies curriculum and considered a central and necessary component of democratic education of children (Camicia, 2008) since “the teaching of controversial issues has been widely viewed as preparing students for effective citizenship” (Asimeng-Boahene, 2007, p. 231) and for the cultivation of clarified national identity. Other rationales to include controversial issues are cited as “developing an understanding and commitment to democratic values, increasing interest in engagement in public life, learning important content, improving critical thinking, and building more sophisticated interpersonal skills” (Hess, 2008, p. 124). However, this approach to teaching Social Studies is rejected or resisted by some Social Studies teachers who have the belief that discussing controversial issues “might negatively impact some students in their class” (Peck & Herriot, 2014, p. 394) or might generate controversy in the community (Hess, 2008; Peck & Herriot, 2014). Clearly many aspects of Pakistani history and culture included in Pakistan Studies curriculum could be viewed and treated as controversial—it would be valuable to examine teachers' perspectives in this area.

The political nature of Social Studies curriculum also relates to the teachers' mediation of the content of the textbooks and implementation of a curriculum. Curriculum documents are not neutral (Apple, 1993; Pinar, 1995; Ross, 2002; Schugurensky, 2002) especially the Social Studies or Pakistan Studies curriculum. Ross (2000) argued that the curriculum is a selection made from a society's culture.

Moreover, Apple (2004) suggested that the curriculum “is always part of a selective tradition, someone’s selection, some group’s vision of legitimate knowledge” (Apple, 2004, p. 222). The selection of curriculum content is based on the objectives and intentions of the curriculum. Every definition of outcomes essentially embodies values. Use of particular teaching methods and assessment and quantification of outcomes ensure the transfer of these values (Ross, 2002). In spite of teachers relatively limited role in determining the shape of the official curriculum (Ginsburg & Kamat, 2009), the formal curriculum is decided by the teachers (Marker & Mehlinger, 1996). This significance of teachers’ work is due to their responsibility for the organisation of constructive and meaningful experiences for their students (Adalbjarnardottir, 2002). Social Studies teachers play a significant political role since they mediate the content of the textbooks (Marker & Mehlinger, 1996). The current study investigates the mediation of the content of the textbooks by the Pakistan Studies teachers—through eliciting their reported practices.

Gaps in Pakistan Studies Textbook Research

This review of the textbook literature has revealed that prior to the publication of the 2006 National Curriculum, Pakistan Studies textbooks were biased in a number of ways. Additionally, it has revealed that the research on Pakistan Studies curriculum has largely explored national identity; and the representation of different identities and their relations with national identity in textbooks and curricula (I. Ahmad, 2004; Aziz, 1998; Dean, 2005; Lall, 2008; Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Rosser, 2003a, 2003b; Saigol, 1995; Zaidi, 2011). Representation of different identities have also been explored in teaching and learning practices in schools (Dean, 2005). Textbook effects on perceptions of students what it means to be a Pakistani were also analysed (N. Durrani & Dunne, 2010). The reviewed literature also indicated that Pakistan Studies has not been promoting active citizenship (Dean, 2005, 2007, 2008). Whereas Pakistan Studies should develop students’ knowledge and understanding of duties and rights associated with citizenship, the curricula and textbooks in Pakistan did not incorporate human rights education systematically (S. J. Ahmad, 2003).

In addition, the research literature has largely been concerned with the presence of Islamic values in the curricula and textbooks (I. Ahmad, 2004; Aziz, 1998; Dean, 2005;

Lall, 2008; Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Rosser, 2003a, 2003b; Saigol, 1995; Zaidi, 2011).

This strand of research highlighted that Islamic ideology was deliberately used in education to enhance common cultural traits and solve the issues of national integration and social cohesion in a society of diverse ethnic, religious, cultural and language groups. This research also underscored that the curricula mainly incorporated the history, experience, and culture of dominant Sunni Muslims and ignored the histories, experiences, and cultures of other ethnic nationalities and religious groups.

It is worth noting, however, that most of the research studies were relatively small scale (I. Ahmad, 2004, 2008; S. J. Ahmad, 2003; Dean, 2005) and conducted in a vacuum: several studies failed to demonstrate that they benefited from the available rich theoretical and research literature in the field. Citizenship was explored mainly through the vocabulary of a secular citizenship discourse, which is not the only way in which people can be animated to engage in active citizenship (Panjwani, 2008). Panjwani (2008) asserts that the civic virtue of social criticism necessary for active citizenship can be provided by many religions—and particularly Islam—which might provide the language to critique contemporary structures. While exclusively relying on a discourse of secular citizenship, research on Pakistan Studies curriculum has largely ignored Islamic discourses. Therefore, there is a need for a rigorous research study that not only benefits from the rich western research literature but also is sensitive to the religious, particularly Islamic citizenship discourses. This is particularly relevant to this research's aim related to developing understanding of global perspectives, where Islamic discourse is deployed to cultivate *Ummah* identity.

Many researchers speculated about the secularisation of curricula/textbooks and foreseen positive changes based on the evidence from the partially announced new national curricula in 2006/7 (Jamil, 2009a; Lall, 2008, 2009; Leirvik, 2008). The new textbooks based on the new curricula finally arrived in 2012 and await renewed scrutiny. The situation is further complicated by the devolution of the education system and associated alleged Islamisation. To this researcher's knowledge, there is no in-depth empirical analysis of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives as reflected in current prescribed Pakistan Studies textbooks used in schools.

The reviewed literature also suggests that teachers' perspectives on Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives are an as yet largely neglected area in the Pakistani context. Therefore, this study investigated micro level policy associated with Pakistan Studies mainly examining teachers' perspectives on whether and how Pakistan Studies in schools is promoting and balancing common national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan).

Research evidence also suggests that no study appears to have attempted to develop an understanding of the convergence or divergence between Pakistan Studies curriculum policy objectives, textbooks' content, and teachers' perspectives. The trajectory of liberal-democratic discourse introduced at the macro level into schools in Punjab has not been explored in previous research. This study is an attempt to address these gaps in the research literature.

Conclusion

The unresolved conflicts between nationalist, regional, and religious identities have hampered the task of nation building in Pakistan—thus making the idea of the Pakistani nation a contested concept (S. Cohen, 2002; Talbot, 1998). Therefore, there is a need for civic preparation aimed at cultivating “multiple, nested, and overlapping identities” (Kymlicka, 2004) so that students can identify with fellow citizens having different ethnic origins, with the larger state and with the global community (Appiah, 2008). In addition, there was a “need for a curriculum that does not prioritise the preservation and reproduction of dominant cultural forms and preferences” and that “incorporate[s] interculturalist perspectives into a curriculum aimed at preparing diverse but cohabiting students for life in a diverse but increasingly connected (and rapidly evolving) world” (Osler, 2006, p. 100). Such an approach encourages universalism—“the vision of an interconnected society and culture that is unbounded by the political territory of the nation-state” (Bromley, 2009, p. 34) and the modern and common understanding of human rights (Bromley, 2009; Osler, 2011). In sum, there is a need for a form of Pakistan Studies curriculum which effectively balances the promotion of a unifying national identity, with ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives (Banks, 2004, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011; Banks et al., 2005; Bromley, 2009; Osler,

2011). How far the new curriculum policy and textbooks of Pakistan Studies reflects a balanced approach to national identity and cultural diversity is yet to be established. In addition, the global component of citizenship in the curriculum policy is uncertain and unclear since “there is no explanation of who a global citizen is, what their roles and responsibilities are and neither does it outline how the development of global citizens will be achieved” (Pasha, 2014, p. 2). This study thus examined Pakistan Studies textbook writers’ and teachers’ perspectives on the global themes of Pakistan Studies curriculum under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter presents the research approach used in this study. It also explains the choices pertaining to the multiple case study research design—spanning from the choices of epistemology and theoretical perspectives to methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2007).

This chapter is organised in four sections. The first section describes the research aims and research questions. The second section introduces the overall methodology adopted in this study and the justification for choosing this particular methodology. The third section elaborates the methods of data collection and analysis. The fourth section discusses the ethical issues associated with this research project and specific ways these issues were managed and the final section addresses the issue of trustworthiness relevant to this study.

The Research Aim and Research Questions

The overall purpose of this research study was to examine the policy to practice contexts of the secondary school *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies* focusing on identity themes, that is, Pakistani national identity, internal ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives. In exploring these areas of focus, the study examined the curriculum policy related to Pakistan Studies (macro), textbook production (meso) and the teachers' perspectives in secondary school setting (micro). This study was guided by the broad research question: *What are the curriculum policy processes and practices related to the enactment of the secondary school National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006 in Punjab (Pakistan)?* Three specific research questions were formulated for the three contexts of the policy trajectory model:

1. What objectives and recommendations do curriculum policy documents offer on the teaching of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies?

2. How do Pakistan Studies textbook writers' interpret and enact policy objectives and recommendations regarding Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives in their writing of textbooks under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?
3. What are the perceptions, practices, and suggestions of Pakistan Studies teachers within public and private schools regarding the teaching and promotion of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity within Pakistan and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?

These questions required a research design—"the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions" (Yin, 2003, p. 26)—to address the three aspects of the main research problem. Accordingly, a research design was constructed, which used three levels of analysis: macro, meso, and micro.

Research Design

An embedded, multiple-case study research design (Yin, 2014) informed by a social constructivist epistemological position and interpretivist theoretical perspective (Merriam, 2009) was used. Conducting research within the parameters of this epistemological and theoretical stance meant that the study took place within an understanding of discourses and perspectives as socially constructed phenomenon and that knowledge of this understanding is acquired through interpretation, which is essentially subjective (Ledger et al., 2014; O'Donoghue, 2006). The aim was to examine the notions of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives—and instructional strategies represented within the three units of analysis: curriculum policy documents, textbooks, and conceptions of teachers. Moreover, this study used interviews and document analysis as data collection methods. Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse policy documents and textbooks whereas cross-case analysis was used to thematically organise the interview data.

The selection of this particular research approach was made after considering various research approaches, research questions, and analytical frameworks. In this process, Crotty's (1998) work was informative. He suggested that any research process should spell out carefully the answers to four basic questions to justify the selection of a specific research approach: "What *methods* do we propose to use? What *methodology* governs our choice and use of methods? What *theoretical perspective* lies behind the methodology in question? What *epistemology* informs this theoretical perspective?" (1998, p. 2, emphasis in original). These questions form the basis of the study's research design as indicated in Figure 3.1

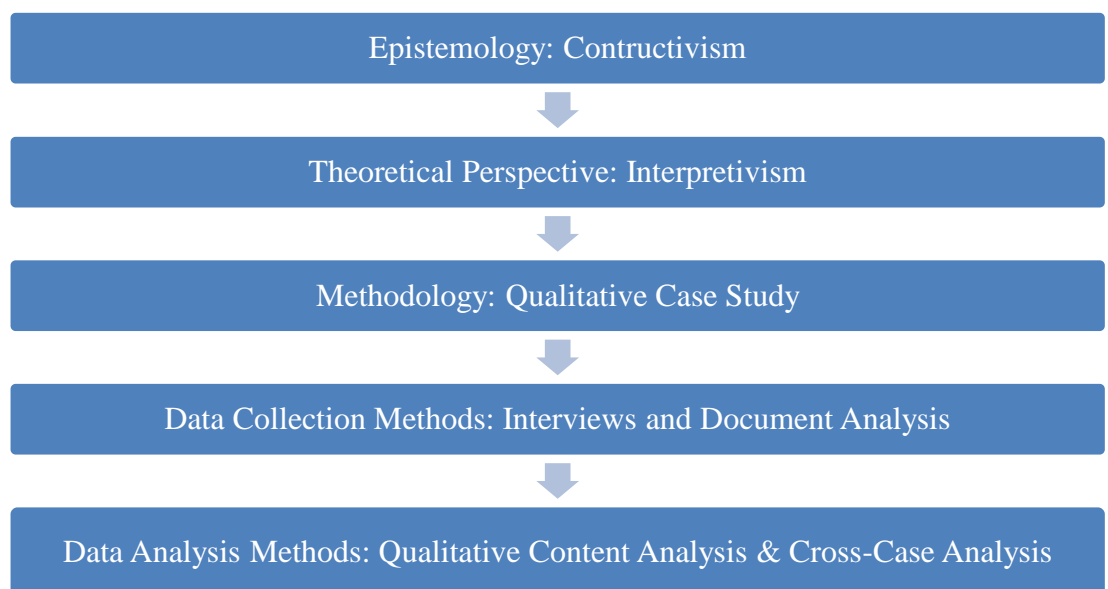


Figure 3.1: Current study's epistemological, theoretical, methodological stances governing methods of data collection and data analysis.

Moreover, Creswell (2014) suggested that the researcher should make these philosophical ideas explicit in their research design as this helps to explain and justify chosen certain methods. These assumptions comprised epistemological and theoretical stances required to study a particular problem and specific research questions. Therefore, what follows is the justification of the choice of particular research approach in terms of explication of epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods used in this research study.

Case study methodology, underpinned by a social constructivist epistemological position and interpretivist theoretical perspective, was deemed most appropriate since this study aimed to develop understanding of an individual teacher's constructions of reality or essentially his or her perspectives. Moreover, certain characteristics of case study research methodology were the reasons for the adoption of this particular methodology. A case study is a research methodology aimed at understanding a social phenomenon within a naturally occurring settings (Yin, 2014) "especially when the boundaries between object of study and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2003, pp. 13-14). Moreover, employing case study methodology helps in studying one aspect of a problem in some depth by providing rich description and detailed example of the phenomenon over a relatively short period of time (J. Bell, 2010; Bloor & Wood, 2006; Hays, 2004). In short, the rich description of the social phenomenon, the detailed representation of the participants' perspectives and the consideration of the contextual influences made the case study a suitable choice for the current study, which aimed at studying perspectives in various contexts of curriculum policy.

Furthermore, the choice of this particular research approach was based on this study's philosophical assumptions about reality. This study is underpinned by the social constructivist epistemological position and interpretivist theoretical perspective. This study was most suited for the qualitative case study research design because of the nature of the questions and issue being studied.

Case study research can be conducted with various epistemological orientations—such as a positivist or an interpretivist orientation (Yin, 2014). Case study research conducted with a positivist perspective assumes the existence of a single concrete reality that is independent of any observer, that is, "objectivity is achievable" (Broom & Willis, 2007, p. 20). Positivist research studies are interested in looking "for the central tendency, some measure of what is average or typical" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 29). However, pure quantitative methods were not likely to help in the analysis of the rich data required to examine various perspectives on Pakistan Studies in Punjab.

In contrast with quantitative research, a qualitative research orientation was adopted. This meant that the study accommodated an interpretivist theoretical stance which assumed the existence of multiple realities that are dependent of the observer (Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2011). Interpretive constructionist research is

interested in understanding “how people view an object or event and the meaning they attribute to it” and recording “syntheses of understandings that come about by combining different individuals’ detailed reports of a particular event or cultural issue” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 29). In other words, this approach allowed a deeper focus upon the issues at the micro level—in this case the Punjab region, the Pakistan Studies curriculum context, and the themes of national, regional, and global identity as a specific sub-area of curricular focus.

This study used the social constructivist paradigm since it was focussed upon the understanding of meanings of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity within Pakistan, and global perspectives constructed in the curriculum policy documents and textbooks and in understanding teachers’ sense making of these meanings. This researcher looked into varied and multiple subjective meanings of various aspects of Pakistan Studies rather than reducing them into a few categories. This was considered to be the most relevant and pertinent framework to study the constructions of reality—for example, the teachers’ perspectives regarding curriculum policy and various aspects of the Pakistan Studies textbooks.

The study’s philosophical assumptions also pointed towards the adoption of particular methods for data collection and data analysis. Document analysis was used to gather data from the curriculum policy documents. Semi-structured interviews with teachers were conducted to elicit their multiple perspectives on curriculum policy, the teaching of identity-related issues and textbooks. The choice of analysis methods was also guided by the philosophical assumptions which themselves were based on this study’s research problem. The study used qualitative content analysis, which is “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). The data from the curriculum policy documents and textbooks required interpretation and qualitative content analysis is a suitable method for “describing material that requires some degree of interpretation” (Schreier, 2012, p. 2). Moreover, qualitative content analysis is capable of processing fairly large amount of textual data (Mayring, 2000, 2004, 2014; Weber, 1990) which was necessary for this study with many documents to analyse. In addition, Krippendorff (2004) suggests that qualitative methods have proven successful, particularly in political analyses. Thus, this

study used content analysis informed by an interpretivist approach in order to be attentive to the various discourses embedded in curriculum policy documents and to develop understanding of the perspectives of the participants of this study.

Sampling

The cases and sub-cases examined in this study were purposefully selected since the aim was not to generalise to a wider population but to study the particular cases and understand the issues at hand (Creswell, 2007, 2014).

The policy trajectory model was central in identifying the units of analysis for this study. There were three research questions, each aligned with three contexts of the policy model—context of text production (macro), context of text production (meso) and context of practice (micro)—guiding towards the examination of the three units of analysis. These units of analysis were varied. They included the Pakistan Studies curriculum documents, Pakistan Studies textbooks, and teachers associated with the teaching of Pakistan Studies at secondary school level. Since a single case “may involve more than one unit of analysis” (Yin, 2003, p. 50) and each unit can be divided into sub-units, every single document or every teacher was considered as sub-unit within the three units of analysis. The reasons for the selection of several embedded sub-cases within each case were to reach an interpretive reading of the policy text or the teacher perspective in its own context and to make the overall study robust and compelling (Silverman, 2005; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008; Yin, 2014). These cases and sub-cases are represented within the analytical framework of policy trajectory in Figure 3.2.

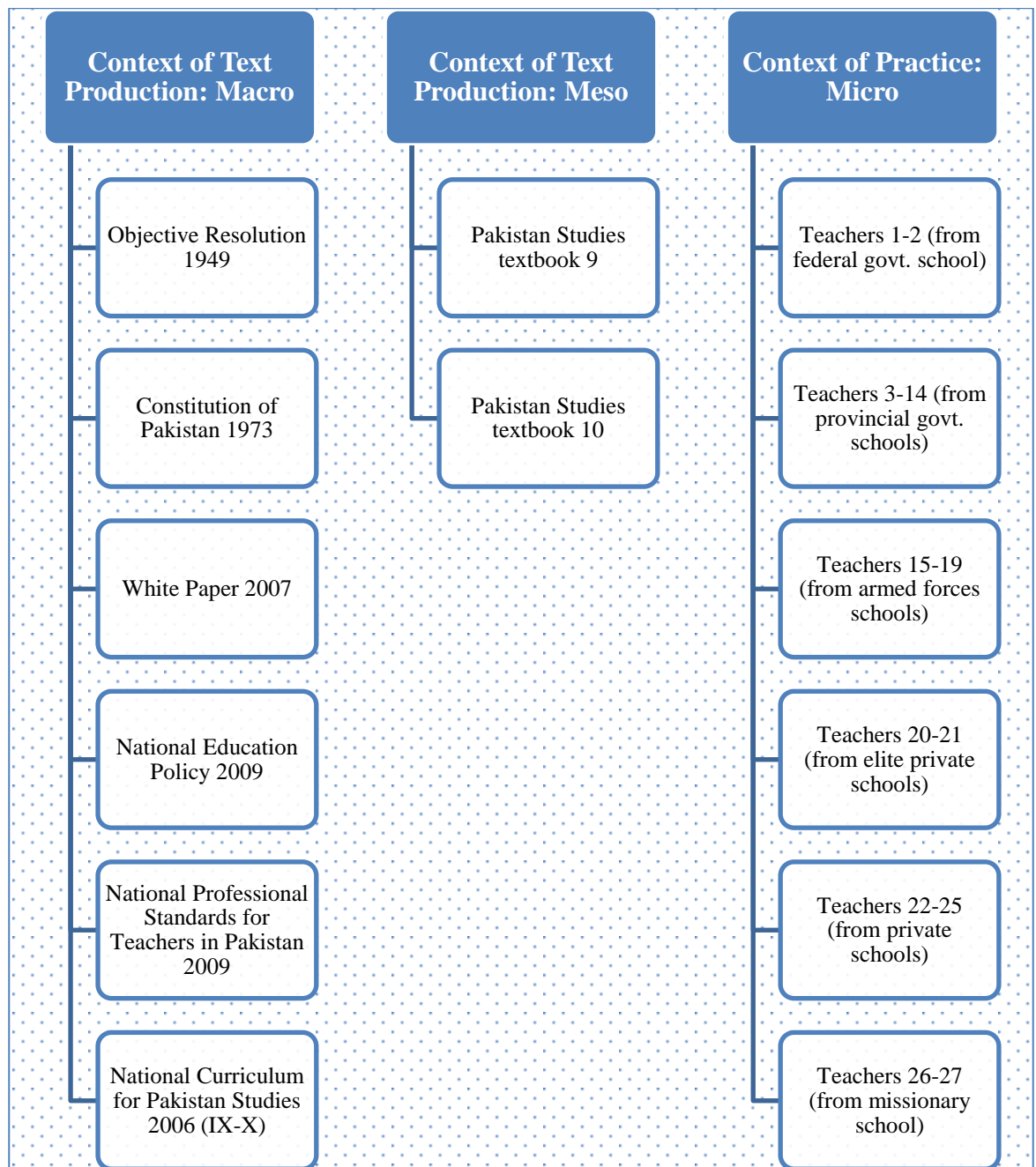


Figure 3.2: Cases and sub-cases integrated with policy trajectory model applied to this study.

Curriculum Policy Text Sampling: Macro level

This study used purposive sampling because the purpose of the study and the knowledge of the population was critical in the selection of the policy texts (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun, 2012; Patton, 2015). Moreover, purposive sampling was most appropriate as the aim was “not generalisability but transferability” (White & Marsh,

2006, p. 36). Since the analytical problem at hand is defining the sample, this type of sampling is called purposive sampling (L. Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Krippendorff, 2004).

The selection of the policy texts was based on a systematic approach. L. Cohen et al. (2007) suggested that “the rules for sampling people can apply equally well to documents” (p. 477). Moreover, the first sub question of this study deals with the notions or meanings of Pakistani national identity, internal ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives represented in the curriculum policy documents of Pakistan Studies. Moreover, only those policy documents were relevant here if there was a stable correlation between that text and answers to the research question. Accordingly, this analysis was based on primary curriculum policy documents officially produced by the government of Pakistan. The policy documents analysed in this study are given in Table 3.1. Specific introductory details of these documents are given in Chapter 4 where their analysis is provided.

Table 3.1: Summary of Curriculum Policy Documents and Selection Purpose

Documents (subunits of analysis)	Institutions	Selection Purpose
Objective Resolution 1949	National Assembly of Pakistan	To identify constitutional context
Constitution of Pakistan 1973		
White Paper 2007	Communication & Publication Wing of The Academy of Educational Planning and Management, Pakistan	To identify federal government policy
National Education Policy 2009		
National Professional Standards for Teachers in Pakistan 2009	Federal Ministry of Education Pakistan	To identify national teaching context
National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies (IX-X)	Provincial Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education Rawalpindi Pakistan	To identify secondary school curriculum context of Pakistan Studies

Textbook Sampling: Meso Level

The selection of the Pakistan Studies textbooks was again purposive based on particular criteria related to this study. The aims and parameters of the research were also significant in the selection of Pakistan Studies textbooks. The criteria for the selection of the textbooks were determined by the focus of the study and particularly the research questions. The second sub question of this study deals with the notions or meanings of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives represented in the secondary school Pakistan Studies textbooks. Only the Punjab government's officially endorsed textbooks were analysed (see Table 3.2). These

textbook fulfilled the following criteria for the selection of textbooks: (a) at the time of fieldwork they were in use in secondary schools classes (IX-X) in the Punjab province, Pakistan ; (b) these textbooks were produced by the Punjab Textbook Board/Punjab Curriculum Authority for the adoption in these classes; and (c) the teachers interviewed in this study identified that they were using these textbooks. Only the English versions of these textbooks were selected for analysis since the English versions were directly translated from the Urdu version of these textbooks (Nayyar, 2013).

Table 3.2: Summary of the Textbook Data Sources

Textbooks	Year of Publication	Endorsing Authority
Pakistan Studies 9	2014	Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, Pakistan
Pakistan Studies 10	2013	Punjab Curriculum Authority, Lahore, Pakistan

This study confined itself to these policy documents. However, other relevant literature and information were also considered such as newspaper, Education Ministers’ interviews and TV political talk shows discussing the new education policy 2009, and publications (leaflets, blogs, letters to state authorities) of minority activists. Nevertheless, these sources of information served mainly to develop background knowledge of the issue and for the identification of the discourses, since the study aims in particular to analyse the curriculum policy documents and textbooks of Pakistan Studies with a special focus on notions or meanings of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, global perspectives, and instructional strategies represented in them.

Teacher Sampling: Micro Level

The selection of 27 teachers as the research participants followed the purposeful sampling technique (Patton, 2015). These teachers were selected to ensure a comprehensive sample of teachers from a range of different types of school in Pakistan. It was assumed that teachers working in different school context might hold dissimilar

views with respect to Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, global perspectives, and instructional strategies. Since qualitative research is more about presenting multiple perspectives, participants from different types of schools in Punjab were deliberately selected to bring diversity into the research design and to capture various perspectives of Pakistan Studies teachers with respect to new Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks. The participants of this multiple-case study comprised of teachers currently teaching Pakistan Studies at the chosen research sites—public and private schools. The recruited teachers varied by gender, age, and other demographic characteristics (see Table 3.3).

The rationale for the use of multiple case studies was theoretical replication, that is, the cases were selected to predict contrasting results (Yin, 2014). In addition, multiple case studies offer a more robust study and more compelling evidence, as compared to single case study because the findings of multiple case studies are not dependent on a single case (Yin, 2014). School affiliations of the teachers (cases) are given in the Table 3.3. An individual teacher constituted the primary unit of analysis (Miles et al., 2014; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2014). All the cases were bounded by space and time: public and private school teachers working in a city in Punjab (Pakistan) and time (data collection period). All cases were assumed to be embedded in the social and political contexts of respective schools (Yin, 2014).

Table 3.3: Demographic Characteristics of Study Participants

Teacher Code	Gender	Age	Academic Qualification	Professional Qualification	Experience	School Type
01.FG	M	39	MA English	B.Ed.	2 years	F. Govt.
02.FG	M	46	MA Political Science, MSc Pakistan Studies, LLB	B.Ed.	8 years	F. Govt.
03.PG	F	46	BA Education	M.Ed.	3 years	P. Govt.
04.PG	F	30	MSc Botany	B.Ed.	2 years	P. Govt.
05.PG	F	45	MA Economics	B.Ed.	2 years	P. Govt.
06.PG	M	43	MA History	M.Ed.	4 years	P. Govt.
07.PG	M	53	BA, LLB	B.Ed.	22 years	P. Govt.
08.PG	M	49	MA Political Science	B.Ed.	1 and a half year	P. Govt.
09.PG	M	51	MA History	B.Ed.	1 year	P. Govt.
10.PG	M	43	MA Political Science	B.Ed.	2-3 months	P. Govt.
11.PG	M	45	MSc Math	B.Ed.	2 months	P. Govt.
12.PG	M	36	MA English	B.Ed.	3-4 months	P. Govt.
13.PG	M	48	MA History	B.Ed.	6 years	P. Govt.
14.PG	M	49	MA History	M.Ed.	16 years	P. Govt.
15.AF	F	42	MSc Economics	B.Ed.	14 years	AFS
16.AF	F	30	MSc Environ. Science	B.Ed.	2 years	AFS

17.AF	F	37	MA History	B.Ed.	7 years	AFS
18.AF	F	30	MA Islamic Studies	B.Ed.	9 years	AFS
19.AF	F	36	MA Urdu	B.Ed.	2 years	AFS
20.E.Pri	M	42	MPhil Pakistan Studies	B.Ed.	6 years	Elite Private
21.E.Pri	F	38	MA History	B.Ed.	4 years	Elite Private
22.Pri	F	21	BSc Geog.	B.Ed.	3 months	Private
23.Pri	F	39	M.A Urdu	B.Ed.	6 months	Private
24.Pri	M	35	MA Islamic Studies	--	8 years	Private
25.Pri	M	36	MA History	M.Ed.	3 years	Private
26.M	M	49	MA History	B.Ed.	15 years	Missionary
27.M	M	45	BSc Physics & Maths	B.Ed.	8 years	Missionary

Research Sites

The opportunity to work in the city X of Punjab province provided an arena in which various teachers of Pakistan Studies could be recruited from the public and private secondary schools in an accessible area. Selection of this city was based on two sets of considerations: theoretical concerns related to the research questions and more practical concerns about access and timing (Hardy & Phillips, 2002). Firstly, city X—an ethnically homogeneous but religiously diverse medium sized city in Punjab—was selected to reflect somewhat typical educational experiences in Punjab. Secondly, Punjab’s secondary school system is stratified into public schools (federal, provincial, and armed forces schools) and private schools (private elite, missionary, and low-priced private English medium schools). These schools have different approaches to the national curriculum depending on their resources and affiliations. The city X provided an opportunity to capture diversity in the teachers’ perceptions, practices, and suggestions regarding Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and

global perspectives by allowing recruitment of the teachers from various types of public and private schools

The first type of research site in the city X consisted of public schools—separate for boys and for girls. These schools are run by the federal government or provincial government and are locally controlled by the regional office and the district education authority respectively. These schools are typical examples of “the non-elitist system of education, fully dependent upon the state, functions for the most part in Urdu” (Rahman, 2005, p. 28) since public education in Pakistan is usually taught in the indigenous vernacular rather than in English. The students as well as teachers in these schools tend to come from poorer working and lower-middle class homes having “less exposure to Western discourses available on cable television, in English books, and during conversations with peer group members, family and friends who have been abroad” (Rahman, 2004, p. 310).

A sub category of the public school is the armed forces schools for boys and girls. Established by the Pakistan army, navy, or air force, these types of schools are found in all the provinces of Pakistan. These educational institutions were established by the higher bureaucracy and armed forces in Pakistan because they needed entrants who are well versed in English. With the help of these schools, they could have their own children prepared at lower cost than the elite private schools (Rahman, 2004). Since these educational institutions are administered by the armed forces, state control is higher as compared to general public schools. The textbooks used in these schools are in English. There is a growing trend towards using textbooks written by foreign authors. However, in most cases textbooks are those that are recommended by the provincial governments’ Textbook Boards. The teachers of these institutions are mostly from the middle class and generally believed to hold anti-India and pro-military ideas (Rahman, 2004).

The second type of research site consisted of private schools—mostly co-educational. Private schools in Punjab are “decentralised, market based, and totally unaided by government subsidies or support” (Andrabi, Das, & Khwaja, 2008, p. 330). They are generally believed to provide a “relatively better quality of education” (Arif & us Saqib, 2003, p. 9). Some private elite schools are mostly international and represent the type of schooling, which can be bought by the wealthier elites (Rahman, 2005). For

example, an international school is run by a group, which has branches in nine countries ranging from UK and Pakistan to Bangladesh. The mission statement of this international school clearly reflects its internationalist ethos. The curriculum is believed to be much more international in outlook as compared to other types of schools in Pakistan. Textbooks contain “discourses originating in other countries and, both at school and at home, are exposed to cable television, dress, fiction and conversations with adults who themselves are familiar with other countries” (Rahman, 2004, p. 315). Teachers as well as children from private elite school “tend to be more tolerant of the other, be it religious, the West or India, and less supportive of militant policies in Kashmir than their counterparts in other schools” (Rahman, 2004, p. 315).

Lower-priced private English medium schools are run by local entrepreneurs and generally perceived to be similar to public schools with respect to the quality of education. Poor parents are attracted by them because they offer English medium education at a relatively low price. These schools are also bound to follow the textbooks written by the Punjab Textbook Boards (Rahman, 2004).

Missionary Schools—different kinds of private schools—were originally established to cater exclusively for the needs of the poor Christian community. However, in reality these schools now have socially and religiously mixed student populations. In most cases, there are equal numbers of Christian and Muslim students. Apart from the educational objectives that they share with other schools in Pakistan, these schools have the explicit objective of building bridges of understanding between students of different faiths by encouraging inter-faith dialogue between them. In these schools, “Values Education” is given priority and special emphasis is given to the cultivation of respect and tolerance for the people of different beliefs. Though Muslim teachers are also employed in these schools, teachers are mostly Christians.

Table 3.4 gives an overview of the participants’ affiliations with these different types of schools.

Table 3.4: Participants' School Affiliations

Type of School	Student Population	No. of Schools Recruited	No. of Teachers Recruited
Public Schools			
Federal Gov. High School	Boys	1	2
Provincial Gov. High School	Boys	5	9
Provincial Gov. High School	Girls	2	3
Armed Forces School	Co-educational	2	5
Private Schools			
Private Elite School	Co-educational	2	4
Private Eng. Medium School	Co-educational	1	2
Missionary High School	Co-educational	1	2
Total			27

The choice of these schools as research sites was based primarily on an examination of their official websites, their variation in affiliations, and relatively easy access to the gatekeepers (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). As this project began, it was assumed that teachers in these schools because of different political affiliations, available resources, and indeed educational traditions were responding to the curricular reform differently. Therefore, the underpinning logic in the selection of these seven research sites was to illuminate the differences and nuances that existed between policy rhetoric (evident in curriculum policy and textbooks) and implementers' (teachers') perceptions, practices and suggestions elicited through interviews. It was assumed that the extent of variance from inclusive and democratic ideals would be more in the case of teachers of public schools as compared to the teachers of the private schools.

Data Collection Methods

This section provides details of the data collection methods used in this study. Two different methods—document analysis and semi-structured interviews—were used to collect data from the three sources of data—that is, curriculum policy documents, textbooks, and teachers.

Document Analysis

This policy-related research aimed to examine the nationally produced curriculum documents around certain policy issues. Secondary school Pakistan Studies had only one national curriculum document. In order to develop an understanding of the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006*, other policy documents were also analysed. These documents were related to the Pakistan Studies textbook production and teachers' practices in Punjab. Furthermore, it was important "to appreciate the way in which policy ensembles, collections of related policies, exercise power through a production of 'truth' and 'knowledge,' as discourses" (Ball, 2006, p. 48). This "policy ensemble" was also identified through the notion of intertextuality—explicit and specific cross-referencing in the curriculum policy texts (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Moreover, Fowler's (2009) advice regarding examining written laws to certain rules and regulations to fully appreciate the education policy was useful.

This resulted in the collection of several other policies that governed textbook production and secondary school teachers' practices in the Pakistani context. The *Constitution of Pakistan 1973* and the *Objective Resolution 1949* (which now forms the Preamble to the Constitution 1973) were analysed to understand how these documents conceptualised the education of the diverse population of Pakistan as Fowler (2009) suggested that in order to find out the actual policy of a state, written law should be consulted as first source of information. These documents were also important since they have formed the foundation of almost all the educational policies in Pakistan. Moreover, the National Education Policy (Government of Pakistan, 2009) constantly refers to the various articles and clauses of the *Constitution of Pakistan 1973* and the *Objective Resolution 1949*. Therefore, in order to gain a comprehensive view of education policy these were primary documents.

However, most laws of the state are stated generally as is also the case with the *Constitution of Pakistan 1973* and the *Objective Resolution 1949*. To put laws of the state into practice in educational settings, details are needed which are missing from the law itself, so government agencies usually provide these details in the form of certain rules and regulations (Fowler, 2009). In the Pakistani context, the Federal Ministry of Education had been providing these rules and regulations. Consequently, the contents of the *Education in Pakistan—A White Paper 2007*, the *National Education Policy 2009*

and the *National Professional Standards for Teachers in Pakistan 2009* were analysed qualitatively and systematically.

Selection of several policy documents was also based on the assumption that they would help in corroborating the findings, thus developing a robust understanding of the policy issues focussed upon in this investigation.

Teachers' Interviews

There were two different types of schools in research and 27 teacher participants in total. 1-3 teachers from each school were recruited.

Interview questions of the semi-structured interview were constructed drawing upon the relevant literature (Banks, 2009a, 2011; Davies, 2011) and the interview guides developed elsewhere to capture the participants' views of national identities (N. Durrani, 2008a) and cosmopolitan citizenship (Alviar-Martin, 2008). All the questions were modified and updated to adapt to the new research topic and cultural and national context (see Appendix F for Teacher Interview Guide).

During the fieldwork in Pakistan, individual schools were contacted to secure approval from the principal since this was the person with the full authority to grant or deny permission to conduct research in the vicinity of his/her school. Hard copies of information sheets and consent forms were distributed via the school's administrative office to all teachers who were directly involved in the teaching of Pakistan Studies. All the teacher consent forms were returned through the administrative office of the school in sealed envelopes for collection by the researcher.

Having received the consent forms from the volunteering teachers through the administrative office, an initial meeting with each teacher was organised. During this meeting, an initial introduction of the research study was undertaken and interviews were scheduled on a mutually agreed date, time, and venue. This process was repeated with each school.

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews with teachers were conducted. All interviews were audio taped with the teachers' permission. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to elicit the teachers' perspectives on Pakistani national identity, internal ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives in Pakistan Studies. Interviews were conducted on the agreed date and time in the school or agreed place—to ensure the

participants' right to privacy. The purpose of conducting semi-structured interviews—“neither an open conversation nor a highly structured questionnaire” (Kvale, 1996, p. 27)—were to capture the multitude of participants' views on identity themes of Pakistan Studies textbooks. It was assumed that the participants would differ in their perspectives on the identity themes of the new Pakistan Studies.

Each participant was provided with a context for the interview by a short briefing before the interview, which informed him/her about the research purpose, the interview purpose, and the practicalities relating to the recording of interview. They were also asked if they had any questions before starting the interview. This was followed by the reading and signing of the consent form by each participant. The signed informed consent forms were handed over to the researcher to keep in appropriate storage for record.

Each interview opened with a general and broad question. Next, follow-up questions were asked for clarification and to continue the conversation (Hägglund, Boman, & Lundman, 2008). Attentive listening—by “showing interest, understanding, and respect for what the subject says”—was ensured to establish a good rapport with the participant (Kvale, 1996, p. 128). Each interview was followed up by a debriefing, for example, some of the main points emerging from the interview were mentioned and the participants were asked to comment on this feedback (Kvale, 1996). With one participant who did not wish to have her interview recorded, written notes were taken during and after the interview (with her consent). With the help of the interviewee, it was ensured at the end of the meeting that the interviewer's written notes represented a fair record of the interviewee's views.

The interviews were conducted in Urdu since English was not the first language of the respondents. Urdu language recorded data was translated and transcribed into English language transcripts by the researcher. Coding procedures and analysis were later undertaken on these English language transcripts. Therefore, this research had an additional element of translation. This researcher is from the same province in which the research was conducted. Moreover, he is a university graduate of Urdu language and literature and capable of translation. Therefore, he understands not only the culture of the participants but also nuances of Urdu to English translation. Nevertheless, in order to check the translation accuracy, ten English language transcripts were independently

reviewed by a voluntary educationist (from a Pakistani University) proficient in English language and the participants themselves. However, the confidentiality of the research participants during this process were ensured by anonymising the participants. The aim of all the activities was to translate the transcripts as accurately as possible.

Methods of Data Analysis

To move from description to interpretation in the process of analysis of policy documents, a standard process of analysis was used: Qualitative content analysis informed by the interpretive framework was deployed for the analysis of curriculum policy documents and textbooks (Berg, 2001; Schreier, 2012, 2014). Qualitative content analysis is “a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative data” (Schreier, 2012, p. 1). In simple terms, this is achieved through successively assigning the parts of the data to the categories, which are derived either deductively from the theory or inductively from the data itself or by some combination of both (Schreier, 2014). It means inductive and deductive approaches are not mutually exclusive and can be mixed (Berg, 2001; Schreier, 2012, 2014). This study used both deductive and inductive categories for the systematic analysis of curriculum policy documents and Pakistan Studies textbooks because the aim of the study was to understand potential ideological shifts of emphasis, which required use of previous knowledge to examine new material. For the analysis of interview data, cross-case analysis was conducted.

What follows, is the category descriptions and the process of conducting the qualitative content analysis and cross-case analysis used in this study.

Qualitative Content Analysis of Curriculum Policy Documents

The 7-step analysis process started with pre-coding (see Figure 3.3). This required careful and iterative reading of the curriculum policy text, coupled with highlighting and underlining of the significant passages (Saldaña, 2009) in the curriculum policy documents. The aim of this activity was to examine the diversity of ideas and oppositional perspectives (White & Marsh, 2006) with respect to the focus of the current study. This was also important since this pre-coding provided “evidentiary warrant” (Saldaña, 2009) and “authentic citations” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) in the form of significant passages for supporting the claims and increasing the trustworthiness of this

research. In addition, it was helpful in determining “the big picture” (White & Marsh, 2006).

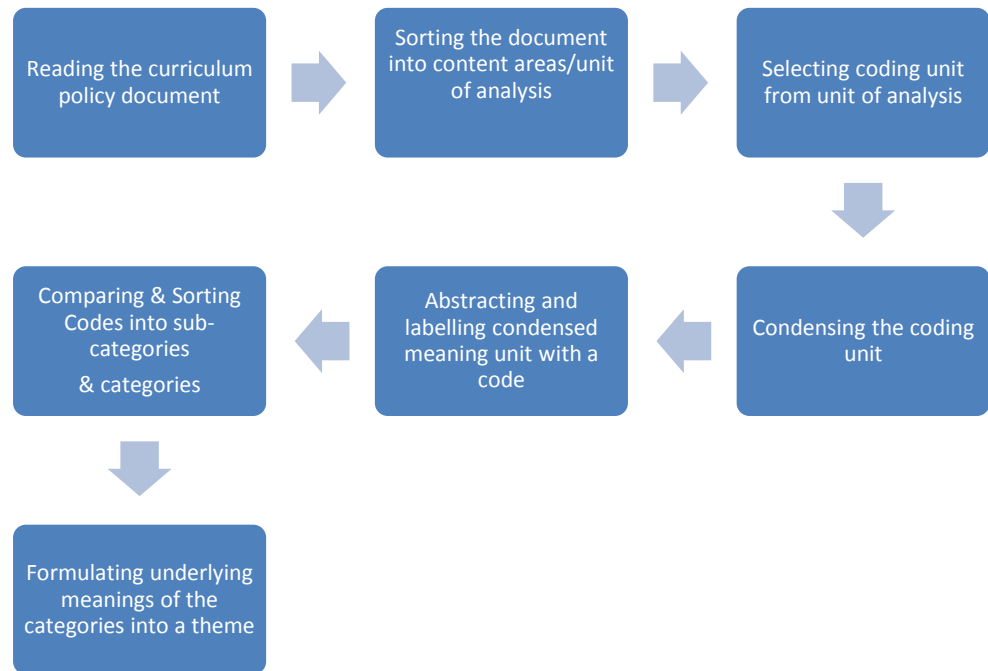


Figure 3.3: The main processes of qualitative content analysis as applied in this study.

Pre-coding was followed by the chunking of the data. Content analysis usually deals with a large volume of text. Therefore, to make a content analysis manageable, one way is to break it into smaller units and deal with each separately. The most important criterion in the selection of smaller units (passages) within the curriculum was their relevance to the research question. Each curriculum policy document was broken down into smaller “chunks” or content areas—so that parts of curriculum text dealing with a specific issue were separated. The research problem had four areas of investigation, that is, Pakistani national identity, internal ethnic and religious diversity, global perspectives, and instructional strategies. The curriculum text was broken down into these areas. Since the previous theoretical literature and prior research informed the understanding of the deductive categories, this chunking of data used main categories in the concept-driven way.

Having sorted the policy text into content areas, the next step was to code text within each content area. To examine and specify what is said about the main categories, subcategories were derived from the curriculum policy documents. Thus, the subcategories were created in the data-driven way. The mixing of these two strategies—concept-driven coding with data-driven coding—was necessary in order to use the prior theoretical and research knowledge to study the new curriculum policy. This also helped in comparing the results with the previous research studies on curriculum policy, thus shedding light on the ideological shift.

The actual process of data-driven coding involved “the grouping and labelling of data in the process of making it more manageable both for display and to provide answers to the research question/s” (Grbich, 2012, p. 259). In this study, each coding unit—“the constellation of words or statements that relate to the same central meaning” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106) was the specific “phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about and/or what it means” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 139).

In the process of coding, four main strategies—progressive summarising, comparing, contrasting, and subsumption—were helpful in creating subcategories. First, successive summarising comprised of “paraphrasing relevant passages, deleting from these passages anything that appears superfluous, and summarising similar paraphrases which are then turned into...subcategories” (Schreier, 2014, p. 176). Comparing and contrasting was useful in creating sub-categories from data originating from different sources. The various codes were first compared, contrasted, and then sorted into sub-categories and categories. Lastly, subsumption involved examining text using the following process: The material was read in order to find the relevant concept. If an already created sub-category covered this concept, it was subsumed under the respective sub-category. If no such sub-category existed, a new sub-category was created to cover this concept. The reading of the material continued until the point of saturation (Charmaz, 2006)—that is, no additional new concepts were found (Schreier, 2014).

As a result several sub-categories were formed—thus constituting the manifest content. Finally, the latent content, that is, the underlying meaning was formulated into themes (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). The whole process of analysis is summarised in Figure 3.3:

Using *Nvivo 10* Software for Qualitative Content Analysis of Textbooks

The Qualitative content analysis of the Pakistan Studies textbook was undertaken by using *Nvivo 10* software because the textbook data consisted of several hundred pages and because the software has the ability to facilitate the process of managing, accessing, and analysing large amount of qualitative data (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013; Bazeley & Richards, 2000; Hutchison, Johnston, & Breckon, 2010). Moreover, this windows-based program was preferred because it provided a set of tools—to record, sort, match and link—that were 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). Therefore, the coding process was carried out by using *Nvivo 10* software.

First, the “broad brush coding” or chunking the textbook data into broad content areas was undertaken. Both textbooks were scanned and converted into readable pdf documents. Later, these documents were imported into *Nvivo 10* software as sources. Four nodes comprising of four areas of investigation, that is, Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, global perspectives, and instructional strategies were created. Nodes and child nodes are presented in Figure 3.3. They were created without undertaking any coding of the text (Richards, 1999). Then all the textbook data were “fractured” (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013)—sorting parts of a text dealing with above mentioned categories under four nodes and their child nodes (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). These nodes were identified a priori (Julien, 2008) and constituted a “provisional start list” of the categories—created from the conceptual framework and research questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Miles et al., 2014). Thus, these categories were structured in a concept-driven-way (Richards, 1999), that is, they were theory-guided (Miller & Yang, 2007). This initial coding or chunking of the textbook data into broad content areas was first step to identify the passages that were relevant to the focus of investigation (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013).

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 Minorities •Use of emotive or on 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 •Portrayal of supranational organizations •Description of Human rights •Use of emotive or non 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 activities

Figure 3.4: Categories used for the textbook analysis.

This “broad brush coding” was followed by “coding in detail.” Since *Nvivo 10* software offers a facility to “code on from already coded data” (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 71), additional coding units were organised from the already coded data. Each coding unit was summarised using condensation—“a process of shortening [the text] while still preserving the core” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106). All the “condensed meaning units were abstracted and labelled with a code” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106) in order “to capture the finer nuances of meaning lying within the text” (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 72). Thus, all sub-categories were generated in a data-driven way.

Coding of the textbook data was an iterative process. Codes were applied and reapplied to the textbook data. Similarly coded data—sharing some characteristics—were organised and grouped into sub-categories (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). However, the coding and categorisation processes were not perfected in the first iteration: The process demanded a “meticulous attention to language and deep reflection on the emergent patterns and meanings” and there were “some rearrangement and

reclassification of coded data into different and even new categories” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 10). The whole process of creating subcategories was accompanied by “regular monitoring and pruning of unused or duplicate [sub] categories, clarifying vaguely defined ones and shifting and reorganising trees as understanding” grew (Richards, 1999, p. 64).

This whole process of segregating, grouping, regrouping and re-linking helped in consolidating the meanings of the textbook data (Grbich, 2012). The coding and categorisation of the textbook data followed by analytic reflection on the emergent subcategories resulted in identifying several themes (Saldaña, 2009). Several empirical assertions were developed to weave these themes together. These assertions were tested for their evidentiary warrants by conducting systematic search of the entire textbook data for confirming and disconfirming evidence (Erickson, 1986). Some assertions were reframed in order to accommodate the disconfirming evidence in the data. These assertions, themes, and the evidentiary warrants in the form of selected quotations from the textbooks are reported in Chapter 5.

Cross-Case Analysis of Interview Data Using *Nvivo* 10 Software

As far as the analysis of the interview data is concerned, cross-case analysis (Miles et al., 2014) was deployed since it best suited the research question which was posed. The reasons for conducting cross-case analysis were to enhance the transferability of the findings to other contexts and to deepen understanding by examining similarities and differences across the range of cases recruited in this study (Miles et al., 2014). For this, Miles et al.’s (2014) interactive model for the analysis of qualitative data was used.

This model consists of four components of data analysis: data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (see Figure 3.5).

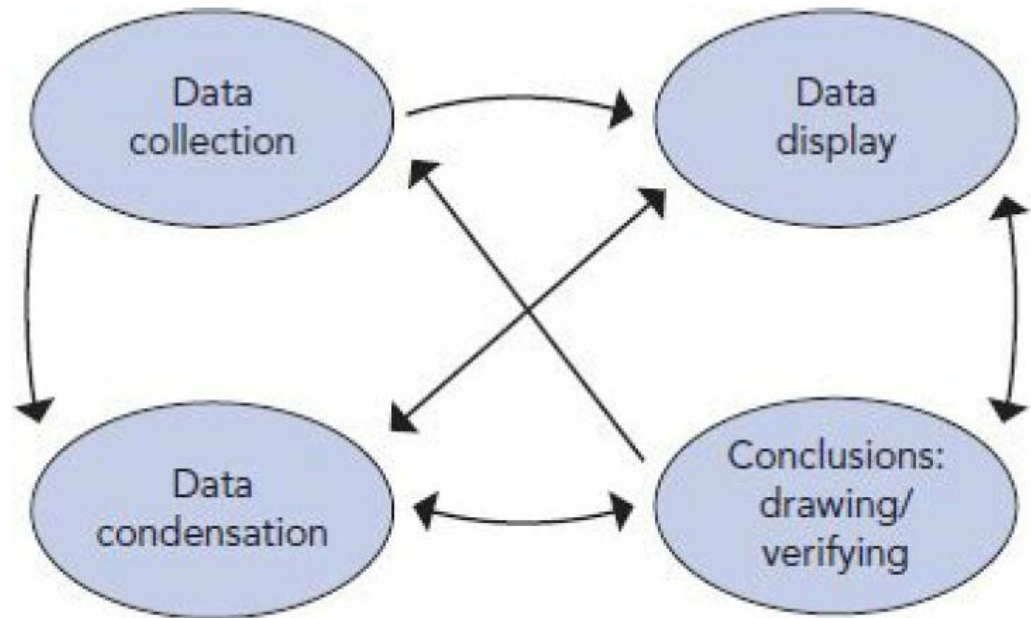


Figure 3.5: Components of data analysis: Interactive model (Miles et al., 2014).

Miles et al. (2014) suggested that the activity of data collection and three analysis activities form an interactive, cyclical process: “The researcher steadily moves among these four nodes during data collection and then shuttles among condensing, displaying, and conclusion drawing/verifying for the remainder of the study” (p. 14). Data collection activity associated with this study is reported above. Other aspects of this model as interactively used within *Nvivo 10* software are discussed below.

Data Condensation.

All the audio files of interview data were imported into *Nvivo 10* software. Transcriptions and translations of recordings were created using the tool within the software.

Initial coding was undertaken by creating deductive nodes. Firstly, these nodes were created without doing any coding. Then, all the interview data were fractured into content areas of perceptions, practices, and suggestions regarding Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global identity themes of the Pakistan curriculum/textbooks.

This deductive coding was followed by inductive coding. Interview transcripts were read and re-read by the researcher in order to code for evolving sub-categories. A code in this analysis was a word or short phrase that assigned a summative and essence-capturing attribute to a portion of interview transcripts (Saldaña, 2013). Rather than imposing a preconceived set of sub-categories on the data, there was a conscious intention during this phase of analysis that sub-categories emerged naturally (Trace, 2001)—the process which Elo and Kyngäs (2008) termed as inductive analysis. This was undertaken because the overarching task was to uncover teachers’ constructions of meanings of various identity themes of the textbooks. However, theoretical propositions and research questions played a significant role in determining what aspects of interview transcripts were to be taken into account (Mayring, 2000).

Data Display.

Data condensation was followed by the second major step of analysis activity, that is, data display. This was accomplished by creating a role-ordered matrix (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Miles et al., 2014). The summarised data was sorted into columns representing the main categories of perceptions, practices, and reflections—and rows representing the teacher code. This display of data facilitated the systematic comparisons across 27 teachers. An example of these displays is included in Table 3.5. This display uses data from only three teachers. Nevertheless, the original display summarised responses of all the 27 teachers interviewed in this study (see Appendix G).

Table 3.5: An Example of the Role-Ordered Matrix of Three Teachers' Perceptions, Current Practices, and Suggestions Regarding National Identity Theme of the Textbooks

Teacher code	Perceptions	Current Practices	Suggestions
01.FG	He thinks that overall the book is comprehensive: All aspects of Pakistan are dealt well but foreign relations (<i>with Ummah</i>) are not elaborated.	He teaches students that Pakistan is a unique country. Reports that topics such as struggle for the independence of Pakistan, culture, languages and social and political explanation of Pakistan's underdevelopment despite having abundance of natural resources help him develop his students' national identity.	Suggests that new textbook should include: More national heroes' life histories of Leaders who took part in the freedom movement and of Military's leaders who received Nishan-e-Haider. Futuristic approach to the description of national resources. More topics to promote national identity.
02.FG	He does not think there are any changes in the curriculum. Same topics are being repeated.	He does not teach topics out of the curriculum; he just follows the topics given in the curriculum. Reports that the topics related to the past and struggle for the independence of Pakistan help him in developing students' national identity.	
03.PG	She thinks this curriculum is better. There is content related to history and culture of Pakistan. Four provinces' language for this class level is fine. Everything related to Pakistan is in it.	She uses morning assembly activities—recitation of Quran, quotes from Hadiths (sayings of Prophet (PBUH)) and then explanation of them. Islamic moral lessons regarding appropriate behaviours in school and society.	More topics on the languages of Pakistan, problems of Pakistan, and national heroes from all provinces but acknowledged at the national level.

Drawing and Verifying Conclusions.

These displays were discussed in supervisory meetings and reflections were recorded. “Analytic reflection” (Saldaña, 2013) on role-ordered matrices and the cross-case comparisons facilitated interpretations of data patterns and themes. Clustering and frequency counting of the themes helped in the development of certain assertions regarding the various areas of investigation in this study. These assertions were verified by re-reading the interview transcripts and coded data and making necessary changes in the assertions. All the developed assertions and themes from interview data are reported in Chapter 6.

Having discussed the method used to analyse data, the next section moves to describe the ethical framework used in this study to manage the data collection and analysis.

Ethical Considerations

Formal ethics approval was sought from the Northern Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee before the commencement of the project. On 1st July 2014, the Ethics Committee provided the approval to conduct the current research project (Ethics Ref: H0014116). The official approval letter is attached as Appendix A.1.

This study was guided by an ethical framework constructed to manage the entire process of research. Berg (2001) suggested that it is a professional responsibility of researchers to search for knowledge, but they also have an ethical responsibility that the participants of their studies are not exposed to any potential harm during the conduct as well as the dissemination of the research. Moreover, it is relatively easy to assess short-range consequences, but it is highly problematic as well as necessary to assess the possible long-range consequences of social research participation (Berg, 2001). Moreover, Sultana (2007) suggested that “ethical concerns should permeate the entire process of the research, from conceptualisation to dissemination, and that researchers are especially mindful of negotiated ethics in the field” (p. 375). Therefore, a fundamental concern for this researcher was to develop an ethical framework to manage the entire process of the research—from the data collection and analysis to the dissemination of the findings. Therefore, this researcher had to make certain ethical decisions by

evaluating numerous aspects in the specific complex political and social situations in which he conducted this research (Piper & Simons, 2005).

Traditional approaches to constructing an ethical framework is based on negotiating the principles of anonymity, confidentiality, and rights of access in fieldwork. These were addressed at the appropriate level. In the designing phase, it is evident from the institutional approval. The subsequent implementation phase also incorporated this framework and specific details are documented below.

In Punjab, where the fieldwork was completed, approval for the conduct of the research was provided by the school principals of the selected schools. All participants were recruited from Punjab and there existed no equivalent Human Research Ethics Committee to provide approval to conduct the research project locally. Therefore, there was a need to seek and obtain permissions from an individual gatekeeper—who could provide entrance to the research site and help locate the most suitable people for the study (Creswell, 2012). School principals of the selected schools in Pakistan provided the approval to conduct the research. Information sheets and consent forms were distributed via the school's administrative office to secondary level Pakistan Studies teachers. In most cases, this researcher had an initial meeting with the teachers and scheduled interviews after receiving the consent forms from the volunteering teachers through the administrative office. In some cases, telephone calls from teachers helped in organising and scheduling interviews. This process was repeated with each school.

During the interview process, many steps were taken to manage the possible embarrassment and risks for the participants who expressed possibly contestable or critical views. Since interviews mainly elicited the teachers' views of Pakistan Studies textbook content introduced after curricular reform and since there existed a disjuncture between policy rhetoric and implementers' (teachers) views on Pakistan Studies, it was possible that some participants might feel embarrassment for not incorporating some aspects of policy directives in their day-to-day teaching. Teachers who were not interested in participating in the study were asked to return blank forms in sealed envelopes, so that the school principals were not aware of who did or did not participate in the research. Additionally, the teachers were informed in the briefing before interview that

- they would have the right not to answer any question;
- they would be provided an opportunity to see, comment and suggest changes on the transcribed and/or translated interviews;
- investigators would not disseminate any information without the permission and confirmation of accuracy from interviewees;
- pseudonyms would be used in dissemination of the research report and the original names of schools as well as participants would remain confidential throughout the research project;
- and that they would be free to withdraw at any time before the publication of the research. They could do so without providing an explanation.

Moreover, there were possible risks to schools and teachers because of expressing unpopular views with regard to the curriculum policy and textbook content, especially related to the religious and ethnic groups in Pakistan. To manage these risks, steps were taken to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of particular schools and teachers. It was ensured that neither the participating schools nor the participant teachers were identified throughout the research process. Transcribed and/or translated interviews, preliminary analyses, and final report used only pseudonyms for participating schools and the teachers. During the fieldwork in Pakistan, audio data and electronic transcripts were regularly stored on password protected UTAS student cloud storage site after every interview. All hard copies of the interview transcripts were kept in a locked filing cabinet within the School of Education at the University of Tasmania. This filing cabinet was accessible only to the research team. All the data were to remain securely stored on UTAS cloud storage until the five years after the publication of the research study. All audio files were to be destroyed and electronic transcripts were to be deleted five years after the publication of the research. To ensure the participants' right to privacy and confidentiality, it was ensured that raw data from this project was not shared with anyone except the research team. Moreover, the political sensitivity of the project did not ethically allow the researcher to share the data. Therefore, throughout the research process the data from this project were not shared with any organisation.

A significant portion of this study was based on qualitative content analysis of data which was public in nature (state documents and textbooks) and the “research is socially

sensitive in nature” (Sieber & Stanley, 1988, p. 49), traditional concepts associated with ethical social science research such as confidentiality, anonymity, and informed consent were not sufficient to elaborate the ethical practice in this project. Therefore, the concept of trustworthiness in the chosen methodology is discussed in the next section.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness in this study is dealt with in this study using the concepts associated with a qualitative/interpretive research tradition. Three concepts, validity, reliability, and generalisability are used to describe the trustworthiness in the quantitative research tradition. Though the criteria for the evaluation of trustworthiness in research differ between the positivist and interpretivist methodology (Yanow, 1996, 2000; Yanow & Peregrine, 2012), interpretive research is often evaluated on the basis of criteria applicable to quantitative research and is found to be lacking (Krefting, 1991). However, it is a precondition that every research project must be appraised in terms of the procedures used to generate the findings. Yanow and Peregrine (2012) argued that validity, reliability and generalisability do not fit with the presuppositions of interpretive research; therefore, these indicators are not useful for assessing trustworthiness in interpretive research. Moreover, Graneheim and Lundman (2004) suggested that findings of studies using qualitative content analysis should be evaluated using concepts associated with the qualitative research tradition. These concepts are credibility, dependability and transferability, which describe various aspects of trustworthiness (Elo et al., 2014; Guba, 1981). Therefore, the next section deals with these aspects of trustworthiness and the specific ways these aspects were incorporated in this study.

The first aspect of trustworthiness for qualitative research—credibility—“deals with the focus of the research and refers to confidence in how well data and processes of analysis address the intended focus” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 109). In the current study, this aspect of trustworthiness was addressed in many ways. First, it was addressed related to “the focus of the study, selection of context, participants and approach to gathering data” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 109) at decision making level. Selection of curriculum policy documents was made from a range of contexts. Participant teachers were recruited from diverse school settings and had diverse experiences, genders, and ages. This enabled the researcher to understand and shed light

on the research questions from a variety of perspectives. It was ensured that the most appropriate method for data collection was used. On the one hand, secondary school textbook writers' different perspectives on identity themes of the textbooks and on the instructional strategies were accessed through textbooks. On the other hand, secondary school teachers' perspectives were accessed through interviewing method of data collection, which helps in directly solicit the perspectives of the teachers (Saldaña, 2011). The appropriateness of these methods for data collection is widely accepted in the methodological literature (e.g, Kvale, 1996; Pingel, 2010). Moreover, it was also ensured that the amount of data required to answer a particular research was sufficient. Some of the interview transcripts were brought back to volunteering participants asking about the fairness and representativeness of their views (Creswell, 2012). Moreover, it was made sure that they were still willing for it to be used in the final findings (Bassey, 1999).

Credibility was also ensured during the analysis phase. For instance, the most suitable coding units were selected during the analysis phase of the study so that meanings of the text were not lost or data were fragmented: meaning units were neither too narrow—consisting of single word nor too broad—consisting of several paragraphs. Furthermore, it was ensured that “no relevant data have been inadvertently or systematically excluded or irrelevant data included” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 110). Credibility was also ensured through judging “the similarities within and differences between categories” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). For example, the categories for interview transcript analysis were finalised through several discussion sessions between the researcher and the supervisory team. Additionally, to support assertions and findings of the study, representative quotations from interview and textbook data were provided for readers (Saldaña, 2011), assuming that “in the qualitative research, it is the rich, thick descriptions, the words (not numbers) that persuade the reader of the trustworthiness of the findings” (Merriam, 2002, p. 15). Lastly, alternatives themes and divergent patterns were systematically searched in the data inductively as well as logically to find the “the best fit” for the findings and conclusion (Patton, 2005).

The second aspect of trustworthiness—dependability—“accepts that reliability in studies of the social may not be possible, but attests that methods are systematic, well-

documented, and designed to account for research subjectivities” (O’Leary, 2004, p. 58). This was ensured through the “audit trail” (Carcary, 2009; Gray, 2009) and “external audit” (Creswell, 2012). An audit trail was developed by organising the data and conducting the analysis in a systematic way through *Nvivo* (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). External audit was ensured through the supervisory team constantly monitoring that this researcher followed the most appropriate procedures for the collection of data from various sources. Moreover, they ensured that the researcher analysed the collected data systematically and that the most balanced and sensible conclusions were drawn by making most rational connections between phenomena being analysed in this study (Scott & Usher, 2011).

Transferability—“whether findings and/or conclusions from a sample, setting, or group lead to lessons learned that may be germane to a larger population, a different setting, or to another group” (O’Leary, 2004, p. 58)—is the third aspect of trustworthiness in qualitative content analysis. Merriam (2009) suggested two strategies to enhance the transferability of the study: careful selection of study sample and thick description. In this study, diversity in the sample with regard to research sites as well as the participants was ensured by selecting the sample on the bases of range of characteristics (Patton, 2015). Second, Merriam (2009) insisted on providing “a highly descriptive, detailed presentation of the setting and in particular, the findings of a study” (p. 227). Therefore, a clear and distinct description of study’s context and the processes used to select the participants were provided. Moreover, characteristics of sample, data collection methods, and analysis process were documented clearly and distinctively for the readers.

Role of the Researcher

The researcher played a key role in this interpretive study. This study incorporated significant input from the author, and the major “instrument” for the conduct of this study was the researcher himself (Radnor, 2001; Yanow & Peregrine, 2012).

It is acknowledged that when this study commenced, the researcher had certain beliefs, perceptions, and opinions and they might have played a role in conduct and analysis of this study, which was based on broader questions on the intersections of identity, education, religion, and politics. The researcher had a long-standing interest in

the social, economic, and political issues of Pakistan and how they affect education. The designing of this study was influenced by politics and the researcher's own views of education. It was his belief that the Musharraf government had struggled in handling different problems faced by Pakistan such as incorporating the religious values of certain groups into curriculum policy. He also believed that the current federal government and its allies in the Punjab provincial government had failed to curb the permeation of exclusionary conceptions of national identity in education. The researcher had the belief that the Pakistani public mass education system was deliberately being used by dominant religious and ethnic groups to inculcate distinctive cultural values and national devotion to maintain social control. This researcher's perceptions of issues related to national identity, education, religion, and politics in Pakistan were formed by his university degrees in Pakistan Studies and Islamic Studies, his professional experience as a secondary Pakistan Studies teacher, and by his upbringing in moderate Islam. From his experience as a teacher seeking to open up identity-related issues with students, he had a sense of what teaching and learning approaches engaged students and what did not.

To mitigate the researcher's biases in this interpretive study and to avoid ideological intrusions often associated with the production of research on diversity (Stanfield & Dennis, 1993) and identity issues, several strategies were deployed. Yanow and Peregrine (2012) suggested that reflexivity and engagement with positionality offer specific strategies for an interpretive study. By reflecting on the processes shaping the knowledge claims during the fieldwork and the researcher-documentary interactions, the researcher was able to assess how his beliefs, perceptions, and opinions shaped his production of knowledge (Yanow & Peregrine, 2012). For a researcher trained in a positivist tradition, these beliefs and opinions would be seen as prejudice and as a source of bias and therefore a hindrance to true knowledge (Klein & Myers, 1999). However, in this interpretive research, prejudices gave this researcher an awareness of his own historicity and a necessary starting point of his understanding of curriculum reform in Pakistan. The researcher began with certain notions of curricular reform and teachers' responses to it, and made several revisions of these basic notions when confronted with empirical data to gain an improved understanding (Klein & Myers, 1999).

Several strategies were deployed to mitigate the researcher's biases during the conduct of interviews, analysis, and writing phase. During the interview process, open-ended questions were used to allow the participants to determine the focus and content of the interview responses. Relevant amplificatory probing questions were asked to encourage the teachers to elaborate on their perceptions, practices and suggestions regarding the textbook content (Kvale, 1996; Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003). The researcher's contextual knowledge of the functioning of various types of schools facilitated the further probing. Follow-up questions elicited additional information from the teachers, thus adding depth and context to the data. To balance subjectivity and objectivity during the qualitative content analysis of the data and the writing of analysis, the supervisory team ensured that researcher's processes and thinking operated under the various checks, and that the effects of the researcher's biases on the final research product were minimal.

Summary

This chapter discussed in detail the social constructivist interpretive approach that framed this study. This chapter has also discussed and explained the course and logic of decision making used throughout the research process. This encompassed the research design, the methods used to gather and analyse the data, and the specific processes deployed to manage the risks and harms that might affect participants. In addition, a detailed discussion on the techniques used to enhance the trustworthiness of this study is provided.

The next three chapters present findings from data—the curriculum policy documents, textbooks and interview transcripts—obtained via the two data collection methods and analysed through the qualitative content analysis and cross-case analysis.

Chapter 4: Macro Context of Text Production: Qualitative Content Analysis of Curriculum Policy Documents

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the qualitative content analysis of key curriculum policy documents in Punjab, Pakistan. These documents were examined to develop an understanding of the revised Pakistan Studies curriculum policy with special focus on the policy objectives and recommendations with respect to the teaching of Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section provides the introductory description of the curriculum policy documents analysed in this study. The second section presents the findings of policy objectives and recommendations regarding teaching of identity themes of the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy.

Policy Documents

The aim of examining the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy documents was to develop an understanding of the context of text production at macro level regarding policy objectives and recommendations with respect to the teaching of Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives. This aim was linked with this study's overall aim to investigate the current policy-to-practice context for Pakistan Studies in secondary schools Punjab. The overall research approach was a qualitative case study of policy trajectory of secondary school Pakistan Studies in Punjab. In-depth data involving three sources of information were collected to understand three policy contexts: the context of influence, context of text production and context of practice (Bowe et al., 1992; Crawford, 2000).

Curriculum data were gathered rigorously and systematically. The aim and parameters of the research were significant in the selection of primary policy documents. The criteria for the selection of the documents and texts were determined by the focus of the study and particularly by the first sub-question of this study:

1. What objectives and recommendations do Pakistan Studies curriculum policy documents offer on the teaching of common national identity, ethnic and

religious diversity, and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?

Since the focus was on identity themes, only policy documents discussing one or more aspects of teaching of these themes were selected. The notions of policy ensemble (Ball, 2006) and intertextuality (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010) were also helpful in identifying these policy documents. A brief introduction of the analysed policy documents is provided. This introduction to the policy documents is ordered from macro to micro.

The *Objective Resolution 1949* and the *Constitution of Pakistan 1973* were the two main constitutional documents analysed in this study. The aim of examining these macro level constitutional documents was to find out the official policy discourse of Pakistan with respect to the ethnically and religiously diverse population of Pakistan. These documents were identified through the explicit and specific cross-referencing in the education policy texts. For example, the *National Educational Policy 2009* explicitly drew on the constitutional discourses. The *Objective Resolution 1949* was a major resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and it proclaimed that the future constitution of Pakistan would be modelled on the ideology and democratic faith of Islam rather than on a European pattern. The *Objective Resolution 1949* now forms the preamble of the *Constitution of Pakistan 1973*—the third constitution of Pakistan. The *Constitution of Pakistan 1973* is a comprehensive document incorporating the supreme law of the State of Pakistan to guide political culture and policy formation. This study only analysed the content of the constitutional articles that directly influence the education of the ethnically and religiously diverse population of Pakistan.

Education in Pakistan—A White Paper, Document to Debate & Finalise the National Educational Policy (Hereafter referred to as “the White Paper 2007”) was the “pre-policy document to stimulate a discussion of major policy issues concerning education in Pakistan” (Government of Pakistan, 2007b, p. ii). During the Musharraf regime, this policy document was produced by a policy review team after a year long consultation process. The Federal Ministry of Education formally published and disseminated it. This policy document is widely acknowledged as a significant text since it documented the consultation process and the policy recommendations associated with

the future direction of education in Pakistan (S. Ali, 2009) as envisioned by the Musharraf regime.

The *National Education Policy 2009* document (Hereafter referred to as “the NEP 2009”) was developed by the Federal Ministry of Education after consultation with all the identified stakeholders: governments of all federating units of Pakistan, civil society members, educational institutions, academia, teachers, parents, and students. This process of consultation was initiated early in the Musharraf regime and documented in the White Paper 2007. However, a new democratic government—elected in 2008—officially released this policy in November, 2009—with certain amendments, most notably, the insertion of a Chapter on Islamic Education in it. According to some critics, this development led to the undoing of reforms introduced by the Musharraf regime (e.g, Jamil, 2009a). This policy replaced *National Education Policy 1998-2010*. Two reasons given for the introduction of the new education policy were the challenges triggered by globalisation and the poor performance of previous policy to achieve anticipated educational outcomes (Government of Pakistan, 2009).

The National Professional Standards for Teachers 2009 (Hereafter referred to as “the NPST 2009”) were developed by the Federal Ministry of Education (Pakistan) for primary level beginning teachers as well as for secondary level teachers. This document was created by the Strengthening Teacher Education in Pakistan (STEP) project of the Policy and Planning Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education consulting stakeholders in all provinces of Pakistan and collaborating with the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). The financial support for the STEP project and for the production of the NPST 2009 document was provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The NPST 2009 was developed recognising the importance of “world class teachers” in improving “the quality of education and converting the raw talents of [Pakistan’s] people into a productive asset” so that they could “compete successfully in the global knowledge economy” (pp. 1-2). The imported language of western neo-liberal discourses will be reviewed later in this chapter.

The NPST 2009 provided comprehensive information about the national professional standards of professional knowledge, skills, and dispositions. The NPST 2009 identified that the quality of teachers was “abysmally low” (p. 8). To raise the

quality of teachers, the NPST 2009 identified ten professional standards for teachers: subject matter knowledge, human growth and development; knowledge of Islamic ethical values/social life skills; instructional planning and strategies; assessment; learning environment; effective communication and proficient use of information communication technologies; collaboration and partnerships; continuous professional development and code of conduct; and teaching of English as second/foreign language. Each standard had three parts: “(1) knowledge and understanding (content) (what teacher knows); (2) dispositions (behaviours, attitude and values) and (3) performances (skills) (what teacher can do and should be able to do)” (p. 9). All the professional standards influence the teaching of the Pakistan Studies in secondary schools in Punjab. However, this analysis specifically examined two standards, that is, “knowledge of Islamic ethical values/social life skills” and “instructional planning and strategies” in detail because of this study’s specific focus on the teaching of identity issues.

The National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006 Grades IX–X (Hereafter referred to as “the NCPS 2006”) was introduced by the Federal Ministry of Education in 2006 in order to replace *the National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2002*, which was severely criticised for its Islamic orientation, insensitivity to cultural and religious diversity of Pakistan and narrow focus on global identity themes (Lall, 2008, 2009; Nayyar & Salim, 2003). Conversely, the new NCPS 2006 identified the aim of the subject as “to enable [students] not only to understand the factors leading to the creation of their homeland, but also to appreciate various aspects of its ideology, history, culture, geography, politics, economy and strategic position in regional and international affairs” (p. 1). The NCPS 2006 adopted specific objectives and recommended content, learning outcomes and instructional strategies to achieve these objectives. A qualitative content analysis of the articulation of all of these messages is provided in the findings section.

With the exception of the constitutional documents, the *Objective Resolution 1949* and the *Constitution of Pakistan 1973*, all of the education/curriculum policy documents mentioned above were written in English. The writing of education policy documents in English is a “signifier of the colonial past and perhaps of the global present of Pakistan, despite Urdu being the lingua franca and national language” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 110). This could also mean that these policy documents would “probably not be

accessible by many teachers who would ultimately be responsible for implementation of the policy” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 110).

Findings

This section provides the findings of the qualitative content analysis of the education/curriculum policy documents. To make the links between what the study found in curriculum policy documents data and the research question that directed this analysis in the first place (Ryan, 2006), these findings are arranged according to the content areas: national identity, cultural diversity, global perspectives—and the recommended instructional strategies.

National identity

Regarding national identity, three analytical themes were evident in the data. First, education/curriculum policy documents explicitly aimed to cultivate the national identity of the students. Second, the distinction made between enlightened and dogmatic interpretations of Islam, as articulated in the political messages of the Musharraf Era, seemed to be downplayed in these policy documents. Third, the policy documents still sought to demonstrate the compatibility of Islamic ideology and modernity, which was the core of the “enlightened moderation” of the Musharraf Era.

Like previous national education policies, the NEP 2009 was centrally concerned with the cultivation of national identity in Pakistani students. Several aims were adopted in this regard which clearly showed the NEP 2009’s focus on national identity. For instance, the NEP 2009 explicitly aimed to cultivate Pakistani national identity; democratic and moral values, human rights and sense of personal responsibility and participation in the students. It also aimed “to create a sense of unity and nationhood and promote the desire to create a welfare state for the people of Pakistan” (p. 10). Moreover, it aimed “to revive the the education system “to cater to social, political and spiritual needs of individuals and society” (p. 10).

The message of enlightened moderation articulated in the White Paper 2007 seemed to be downplayed in the NEP 2009. In the White Paper, there was a clear indication of the Musharraf government’s distancing from dogmatic ideologies. For example, the White Paper stressed that:

Islam is not and cannot continue to be treated as a static religious dogma, thriving on ignorance and nostalgia. We cannot conveniently detach ourselves from the fundamentals of the religion and depend mainly on politically and ethnically driven interpretations, made well after the life of the Holy Prophet (May peace be upon him). We tend to ignore the fundamentals of Islam as enshrined in the Quran and *Sunnah* without the burden of later interpretations driven essentially by tribal, ethnic, and political considerations. (pp. 3-4)

However, the NEP 2009 took a position on this issue based on more traditional majoritarianism by articulating that “the cultural values of the majority of Pakistanis are derived from Islam” (p. 3). The NEP 2009 argued that “since an education system reflects and strengthens social, cultural and moral values, therefore, Pakistan’s educational interventions need to be based on the core values of religion and faith” (p. 3). However, there was no distinction made between enlightened and dogmatic interpretations of Islam. There was also no mention of a plurality of Islamic interpretations existing in Pakistan.

The NEP 2009 justified the adoption of Islamic values on the basis of the *Constitution of Pakistan 1973*, which emphasised “the need for developing Pakistani children as proud Pakistani citizens having strong faith in religion and religious teachings as well as the cultural values and traditions of the Pakistani society” (p. 3). The NEP 2009 asserted that “all policy interventions shall fall within the parameters identified in the Principles of Policy as laid down in Articles 29, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37 and 40 of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan” (p. 3).

Nevertheless, the NEP 2009 did not include the text of these articles. Therefore, the *Constitution of Pakistan 1973* was consulted to examine the constitutional articles.

Table 4.1 provides a description of these articles with regard to the education policy in Pakistan. However, articles 29-30 are not reproduced here, as they were mainly concerned with the naming of the principles and responsibility of each organ and authority of the State to act in accordance with these principles. Similarly, some clauses are also not reproduced here, as they were focused upon issues not relevant to this study.

Table 4.1: Constitutional Justification Provided by the National Education Policy 2009 for the Adoption of Islamic Values

Article No.	Article's description
31	<p>Islamic way of life.</p> <p>(1) Steps shall be taken to enable the Muslims of Pakistan, individually and collectively, to order their lives in accordance with the fundamental principles and basic concepts of Islam, and to provide facilities whereby they may be enabled to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Quran and Sunnah.</p> <p>(2) The state shall endeavor, as respects the Muslims of Pakistan :-</p> <p>(a) to make the teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiat compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language and to secure correct and exact printing and publishing of the Holy Quran;</p> <p>(b) to promote unity and the observance of the Islamic moral standards...</p>
33	<p>Parochial and other similar prejudices to be discouraged.</p> <p>The State shall discourage parochial, racial, tribal, sectarian, and provincial prejudices among the citizens.</p>
36	<p>Protection of minorities.</p> <p>The State shall safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of minorities, including their due representation in the Federal and Provincial services.</p>
37	<p>Promotion of social justice and eradication of social evils.</p> <p>The State shall:</p> <p>(a) promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas;</p> <p>(b) remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period...</p>
40	<p>Strengthening bonds with Muslim world and promoting international peace.</p> <p>The State shall endeavor to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.</p>

Source: Constitution of Pakistan 1973 (pp. 17-20)

It is evident from the constitutional articles cited above that Pakistan's constitution explicitly acknowledges the role of Islam in the life of Pakistani society. In addition, it rejects any kind of prejudice among its citizens and ensures the safeguarding of the rights of minorities in Pakistan. It also demands the strengthening of strong ties with Muslim world and the fostering of friendly relations among all nations.

The NEP 2009 revisited the adoption of Islamic values in Chapter 4 dealing with Islamic Education and reiterated that “the ideology of Islam forms the genesis of the State of Islamic Republic of Pakistan” (p. 23) and its fundamental principles were defined in the *Objectives Resolution of 1949* as follows:

Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust; And whereas it is the will of the people of Pakistan to establish an order: “Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people; Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed; Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Qura’an and Sunnah. (Government of Pakistan, 2009, p. 23)

This referencing to the *Constitution of Pakistan 1973* and the *Objectives Resolution of 1949* serves to privilege the notion of Islamic values as homogeneous, shared, uncontested, and non-negotiable; this is what is needed for developing Pakistani children. Interestingly, the NEP 2009 did not mention article 22 of the constitution that delineated the rights of non-Muslim minorities with regard to religious instructions in educational institutions. Article 22 clearly stipulates that “no person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own” (Constitution of Pakistan 1973). Therefore, teaching of Islamic content to non-Muslim students would be considered as the violation of the constitutional rights of the minorities.

The NEP 2009 also identified more Islamic teachings as a solution to minimise increasing intolerance and violence in Pakistani society:

Islamiyat (Islamic Education) is being taught as a compulsory core subject... up to graduation... so as to create a tolerant and peace loving society with vision of finding solutions to the real life problems through the teachings of the Holy Qura’an and *Sunnah*. (pp. 23-24)

The insertion of a whole chapter on Islamic Education in the NEP 2009 and the broader articulated aim to transform society through placing Islamic humane values at the heart of the curriculum (“Pakistan’s educational interventions need to be based on

the core values of religion and faith” (p.3)) clearly gave the NEP 2009 a stronger Islamic orientation.

Then there was demonstration of the compatibility of Islamic ideology and modernity in the NEP 2009. Inspired by the discourse of enlightened moderation, the White Paper 2007 considered moderate Islam as compatible with modernity. Therefore, it envisioned “to frame school policies and curriculum ‘through a sensible education system’, with more secular schooling and religious education being regarded more as the responsibility of the family” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, pp. 111-112). Nevertheless, it made the NEP 2009 an awkward intellectual compromise. The Ministry of Education’s vision reflected the Janus-faced nature of Pakistani curricular policy-making:

Our education system must provide quality education to our children and youth to enable them to realise their individual potential and contribute to development of society and nation, creating a sense of Pakistani nationhood, the concepts of tolerance, social justice, democracy, their regional and local culture and history based on the basic ideology enunciated in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.” (p. 10)

The challenges of synthesising Islamic values and modernity were also mirrored in this passage by the challenges of looking outwards and to the West for educationally progressive ideas and ideals whilst at the same time respecting traditional, constitutionally validated, and distinctively Pakistani educational imperatives.

The themes identified in the NEP 2009 were also evident in other policy documents. For example, the NCPS 2006 identified ten objectives for the Pakistan Studies curriculum (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Objectives of Pakistan Studies IX-X Stated in Curriculum 2006

No.	Objectives of Pakistan Studies
1.	Inculcate a sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah for blessing us with an independent and sovereign state.
2.	Underscore the importance of national integration, cohesion, and patriotism.
3.	Encourage traits of observation, creativity, analysis, and reflection in students.
4.	Promote an understanding of the ideology of Pakistan, the Muslim struggle for independence and endeavors for establishing a modern welfare Islamic state.
5.	Acquaint the students with various phases of Pakistan's historical, political, and constitutional developments.
6.	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 our national context.
7.	Enhance understanding of the physical features and human resources of Pakistan.
8.	Impart awareness about various aspects of socio-economic activities at national level and the role played by Pakistanis in the development of their society.
9.	Highlight Pakistan's strategic position in international politics, especially its relations with neighboring and Muslim countries.
10.	Lay emphasis on the rights and obligations of the citizens of an independent and sovereign state.

Source: National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies IX-X, 2006 (p. 1)

Grouping these Pakistan Studies curriculum objectives into national identity, cultural diversity, and global identity themes suggested that the envisaged NCPS 2006 had a strong national orientation. With the exception of objective six, which was related to cultural diversity, and objective nine, which was related to global awareness, all other objectives dealt with the various aspects of Pakistani national identity. Moreover, recommended contents and learning outcomes flowing from these NCPS 2006 objectives had a strong national orientation.

The NCPS 2006 divided the recommended contents and learning outcomes into eight chapters (see Table 4.3):

Table 4.3: National Curriculum Pakistan Studies 2006 Recommended Division of Chapters and Chapter Titles

Chapter No.	Chapter Title
Chapter 1:	Ideological Basis of Pakistan
Chapter 2:	Making of Pakistan
Chapter 3:	Land & Environment
Chapter 4:	History of Pakistan-I
Chapter 5:	History of Pakistan-II
Chapter 6:	Pakistan in World Affairs
Chapter 7:	Economic Developments
Chapter 8:	Population, Society & Culture of Pakistan

Source: National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies IX-X, 2006 (p. 1)

Again with the exception of Chapter 8, which is related to cultural diversity and Chapter 6, which is related to global identity, all other chapters dealt with the various aspects of Pakistani national identity (3 History chapters, 1 Geography, 1 Economics and 1 chapter dealing with the ideological basis of Pakistan—or more appropriately with Islamic ideology).

The predominant theme of the suggested content and learning outcomes of the Chapter 1 of the NCPS 2006 was Islamic ideology. The issue of Islam is dealt within the NCPS 2006 explicitly as it seemed as the policy makers' perceived centrality of Islam to the Pakistani national identity.

Table 4.4: Recommended Contents and Learning Outcomes for Chapter 1

Contents	Learning Outcomes
1. Definition, sources and significance of ideology	Students will be able to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Define the term ideology.
2. Basis of Pakistan Ideology with particular reference to the basic values of Islam and economic deprivation of Muslims in India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify the major sources of Pakistan ideology. • Explain the ideology of Pakistan with reference to the basic values of Islam, and socio-cultural milieu of Muslim India. • Trace the origins and evolution of Two-Nation Theory, with specific reference to economic and social deprivation of Muslims in India.
3. Two-nation theory: origin and explication	
4. Pakistan ideology: Allama Iqbal's and Quaid-i-Azam's pronouncements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify the concepts relating to Pakistan ideology in the pronouncements of Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam.

Source: National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies IX-X, 2006 (p. 2)

However, some content elements recommended for Chapter 1 were different from the previous curricula. For example the “two-nation theory,” which had been traditionally elaborated with anti-Indian/anti-Hindu discourses, now would be explained “with specific reference to economic and social deprivation of Muslims in India” (p. 2)

The themes identified in the NEP 2009 were also evident in the NPST 2009—especially in the standard 3 for the quality teaching, which stipulated that the teachers should “understand the Islamic ethical values and practices in the light of Quran/Sunna and other religious contexts, and the implications of these values for bringing national and global peace, unity, and social adjustment” (p. 11). As the curriculum documents did not make a distinction between the required content to be taught to Muslim and non-Muslim students, the NPST 2009 assumed that the all teachers were Muslims and they were assumed to have good knowledge of Islamic “beliefs, prayers, and ethics” (p. 12).

They were also assumed to be committed to “bring awareness among people that the ‘Quran’ and ‘Sunnah’ are the only the valid source for knowing about Islamic values in true sense” (p. 12). All students were assumed to “practice Islamic code of conduct by their own behaviors” (p. 13).

Cultural diversity

There were two key analytic themes evident in this area. First, it was evident from the policy documents that there was a positive acknowledgement of cultural diversity in Pakistan. Second, the policy documents adopted objectives and recommendations to positively address the problem of educating multi-ethnic and multi-religious Pakistan.

The NEP 2009 did not perceive Pakistan as being mono-ethnic or homogenous in its religious make-up: There was realisation that Pakistani identity is not shaped by a singular, dominant culture but rather was constituted by “a multitude of cultures and topographies” (p. 10). The NEP 2009 was also aware of reality on the ground that Pakistani society accommodated a “diversity of views, beliefs, and faiths” (p. 23) and there existed “an unresolved and continuing debate on how and what religious and moral values to be taught through the educational system and how to accommodate non-Muslim minorities” (p. 9). The NEP 2009 also identified that “the curriculum [did] not cater to...the variations within the geographical breadth of the country” and this diversity had not been “adequately recognised and assimilated by the education system” (p. 35).

Having identified the problem, the NEP 2009 adopted certain aims and objectives with respect to cultural and religious diversity—which also reflected policy makers’ positive acknowledgement of cultural diversity. The NEP 2009 aimed “to promote social and cultural harmony through the conscious use of the educational process” and “to promote national cohesion by respecting all faiths and religions and recognise cultural and ethnic diversity” (p. 10). Regarding the religious minorities in Pakistan, the NEP 2009 aimed “to provide minorities with adequate facilities for their cultural and religious development, enabling them to participate effectively in the overall national effort” (p. 11). The NEP 2009’s explicit recognition of cultural diversity of Pakistan was a positive development towards acknowledging the role of minorities in Pakistani society.

The NEP 2009 proposed actions and recommendations with respect to cultural diversity and curriculum also reflected policy makers' positive acknowledgement of the cultural diversity of Pakistan. The NEP 2009 recommended the incorporation of human rights education into the curriculum:

Curriculum shall emphasise the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens of Pakistan, so that each individual shall develop within himself/herself and the society at large a civic culture strong enough to withstand any extra constitutional interference which threatens those rights. (p. 36)

The recommendation for the incorporation of human rights education into the curriculum was an innovation since there had been no conscious decision to incorporate human rights issues in the previous curricula (S. J. Ahmad, 2003). Similarly, The NEP 2009 also recommended the inclusion of themes such as gender equality, peace education, and inter-faith harmony within the curricula.

However, the policy makers' recommendations were wary about a religious backlash: "Curricula and awareness and training materials shall be developed for students and teachers in this context, keeping in view cultural values and sensitivities" (p. 36). These concerns were not insignificant keeping in view the curriculum controversies and the subsequent violent clashes among different cultural communities in Pakistan.

The NPST 2009 also set benchmarks for the quality of teaching with respect to the cultural diversity of Pakistan—within the Islamic framework. For example, "Standard-3: Knowledge of Islamic Ethical Values/Social Life Skills" specified that the teachers should know and understand "the Islamic code of conduct (beliefs, prayers and ethics) in light of Quran and Sunnah (i.e. Maarooif (Good) and Munkir (Evil), equality, justice, brotherhood, balance, tolerance and peace) (p. 11). The NPST 2009 also mentioned the knowledge and understanding of the "globally accepted values" and "universal ethical values" as benchmarks for the quality teaching in the Pakistani classrooms but it failed to elaborate these values explicitly. Indeed, using the Islamic framework, teachers were asked to value and commit to "respect for individual and cultural/religious differences, and appreciation of the basic worth of each individual and cultural/religious group, to "tolerance and celebration of diversity" and to "dialogue as a means to conflict resolution" (p. 12). Regarding practice, the NPST 2009 demanded that teachers should engage in classroom and school activities—such as the creation of learning communities, the practice of

Islamic code of conduct and Islamic teachings, the use of Islamic/Ethical values, and the use of Islamic knowledge to deal with issues of human rights—so that benchmarks for the quality teaching related to the cultural diversity of Pakistan could be met within the Islamic framework.

The NCPS 2006 had only one objective that acknowledged the cultural diversity of Pakistan. This objective specified that Pakistan Studies would “inculcate awareness about the multi-cultural heritage of Pakistan so as to enable the students to better appreciate and get used to the idea of unity in diversity” (Government of Pakistan, 2006). The content and learning outcomes for this objective were also recommended (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: Pakistan Studies Curriculum’s Recommended Contents and Learning Outcomes Regarding Cultural Diversity

Contents	Learning Outcomes
1. Population <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growth and distribution • Rural-urban composition • Gender composition • Education and literacy 	Students will be able to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss the growth and distribution of population in Pakistan • Analyse the rural-urban composition of population and the geographical distribution.
2. Pakistan Society and Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National • Regional • Arts, dresses, festivals, heritage, crops, and folklore 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss the gender composition of population in Pakistan. • Explain the basic features of Pakistani society and the major social problems faced by it.
3. Pakistan Languages <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National • Regional 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss the educational and health conditions in Pakistan. • Identify the major features of Pakistan’s culture and commonality in regional cultures leading to National Integration and cohesion.
4. Role of minorities in Pakistan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trace the origin and evolution of national and regional languages. • Trace the role of minorities in Pakistan with specific reference to Quaid-i-Azam’s speech of 11 August 1947, defining their status.

Source: National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies IX-X, 2006 (p. 13)

The content recommended for this chapter was a deviation from the previous curriculum. For example the content item—“role of minorities in Pakistan,” and the learning outcome associated with this content, “trace the role of minorities in Pakistan with specific reference to Quaid-i-Azam’s speech of 11 August 1947, defining their status” (p. 13)—had not traditionally been part of Pakistan Studies curricula since Zia Era.

Global perspectives

With respect to global perspectives, there were three key themes evident in the policy documents. First, these documents articulated the perceived need to prepare students for global citizenship in terms of global competitiveness in the global knowledge economy. Second, no explanation of roles and responsibilities related to global citizenship were provided. Third, the recommended policy actions to deal with increasing globalisation were ambiguous—keeping the ideas related to global citizenship relatively vague.

The NEP 2009 identified as one of the reasons for its promulgation of global education as “the challenges triggered by globalisation and nation’s quest for becoming a knowledge society” (p. 1). The policy explicitly acknowledged that “globalisation” has made little impact upon the education system (“a desired response has been missing” (p. 1)). Another way of putting this would be to say that the Pakistani education system had consciously ignored and avoided engagement with contemporary twenty first century educational imperatives, issues and concerns (the policy document referenced media and culture). The NEP 2009 identified that the unprecedented acceleration of globalisation in recent years and the opportunities and challenges created by this. The policy also identified the need for respecting cultural “values without regressing into unnecessary anachronisms and parochial insularity” (pp. 11-12).

Consequently, the NEP 2009 aimed “to develop a self-reliant individual, capable of analytical and original thinking, a responsible member of society and a global citizen” (pp. 10-11). This objective of education undoubtedly resonated with global citizenship education language. This is most likely a UNESCO or western import—echoing the kinds of language about global citizenship used in much of the developed English-speaking world. However, “there is no explanation of who a global citizen is, what their roles and responsibilities are and neither does it outline how the development of global citizens will be achieved” (Pasha, 2014, p. 2). Moreover, the recommended policy actions to deal with increasing globalisation were ambiguous. For example, the NEP 2009 recommended: “Educational inputs need to be designed with a comprehension of the challenges and opportunities related to globalisation. Strategies shall be developed to optimise opportunities and minimise the potentially negative impacts” (p. 13). The NEP 2009 recommendations regarding these “challenges and opportunities” and “negative

impacts” were “limited to the confines of economic advantage” global economy and international competitiveness; and there was no “broader understanding of the world, power structures and responsibilities in a global world” (Pasha, 2014, p. 2).

The NPST 2009 also set benchmarks for the quality teaching related to the global perspectives. For this, the NPST 2009 recognised the need for quality teaching professionals. The policy stipulated that the teachers should be dedicated to the “acquisition of current and recent content knowledge of subjects they teach; use of broad knowledge of instructional tools, strategies and pedagogical skills; ethical monitoring and assessing of student learning outcomes; and cultivating in students the ethical scholarly dispositions” (p. 1). Nevertheless, these policy imperatives were articulated with the aspirations “to compete successfully in the global knowledge economy and convert the raw talents of its people into productive asset” (p. 1) rather than the aim to develop the students’ broader understanding of the world. Similarly, the NPST 2009 stipulated that “the teachers should understand pedagogy of English as Second/Foreign language and effectively communicate in English language” (p. 18) but did not specify the significance of enabling students to communicate in English with respect to global citizenship.

Contrary to the NEP 2009 aiming to cultivate responsible global citizenship in future generations of Pakistanis and the NPST 2009 aspiring to increase the global competitiveness of Pakistani students, the NCPS 2006 adopted only one objective with respect to the cultivation of identity beyond national borders: “highlight Pakistan’s strategic position in international politics, especially its relations with neighboring and Muslim countries” (p. 1). The prescribed content for this aim in the chapter titled “Pakistan in World Affairs” were staid and bland international relations (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Pakistan Studies Curriculum’s Recommended Contents and Learning Outcomes Regarding Global Identity

Contents	Learning Outcomes
1. Geo-political significance of Pakistan	Students will be able to:
2. Objectives of Pakistan Foreign Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Define the objectives of Pakistan’s foreign policy.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Territorial sovereignty and Security Ideology Economic development Cultural enrichment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Narrate Pakistan’s relations with immediate neighboring states. Explain the genesis and development of the Kashmir problem.
3. Pakistan’s Relations with neighboring countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Comprehend Pakistan’s relations with the Central Asian countries.
4. Pakistan and the Muslim World	
5. Kashmir Dispute	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discuss Pakistan’s relations with OIC countries.
6. Pakistan’s relations with the major world powers	
7. Pakistan and the United Nations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain Pakistan’s relations with SAARC countries. Describe Pakistan’s relations with USA, China, U.K., EU, Russia, and Japan. Discuss Pakistan’s contribution towards peace keeping in the world.

Source: National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies IX-X, 2006 (p. 10)

The content prescribed for this chapter did not have any linkage between Pakistan Studies and global citizenship. There were no traces of cosmopolitanism or global citizenship since several elements of global learning were missing. There was no recommended content that encouraged students’ critical awareness regarding Pakistan’s trajectory from colonial past to independent present—and the long interludes of military military-dominated governance. Similarly, there was no content—suggested in the Chapter titled “Pakistan in World Affairs”—which encouraged critical reflection on the future of the global world. In addition, the NCPS 2006 barely nodded in the direction of “developing skills and higher order thinking.” Unless and until “skills” were explicitly identified as an integral part of global citizenship education, there was little reason for

Pakistan Studies teachers to take them seriously. Western curricula tend to have skills run alongside knowledge as learning outcomes.

Instructional strategies

With regard to teaching in the secondary school system, there were two key themes evident in these education/curriculum policy documents. First, there was an agreement among the policy makers that the dominant pedagogies in Pakistan were content driven and textbook-centered. Second, the suggested teaching strategies to improve teaching quality were liberal and progressive as encouraged in the advanced nations of the world.

The NEP 2009 identified the problem of the prevalence of “the practice of rote learning which stops the mental growth of the child and blocks innovative learning” (p. 38). The NEP 2009 acknowledged that in Pakistan, “textbook development appear[ed] to be the only activity flowing from the curriculum. (p. 35). Moreover, the NEP 2009 identified the problem of teachers not using the curriculum in their classrooms, “being solely focused on the single textbook assigned to them. Consequently even assessments are based on this textbook and not the curriculum” (p. 35). The NEP 2009 stated that all these contribute to the “practice of rote learning” which has “sinister outcomes” (p. 36). The NEP 2009 also noted that all these had been hampering the development of quality education in Pakistan.

Some of the NEP 2009 proposed policy actions to ameliorate this situation were:

Curriculum development shall be objectives driven and outcome based. It shall focus on learning outcomes rather than content. It shall closely reflect important social issues; provide more room for developing the capacity for self-directed learning, the spirit of inquiry, critical thinking, problem solving, and teamwork. (p. 36)

Efforts have to be made to address this issue and need for inculcating critical and analytical thinking skills for producing life-long independent learners has to be emphasised. Assessment mechanism should be such that analytical thinking and critical reflections are tapped and encouraged. (p. 38)

A well regulated system of competitive publishing of textbooks and learning materials shall be introduced (p. 37)

Student performance shall be based on assessing competence in a specialised area that requires a given skill set. There shall be periodic reviews of the assessment system. (p. 39)

The NEP 2009 recommended policy actions—such as outcome based curricula, teaching and assessment practices focused on cultivating analytical thinking and critical reflections in students, competitive publishing of textbooks and periodic reviews of the assessment system—were significant shifts in the educational landscape and culture in Pakistan. Traditionally, public examinations and assessment in Pakistan have relied overwhelmingly on the assessment of knowledge recalled from officially prescribed textbooks, thus testing only the low order recall skills of the students.

The NEP 2009 also recommended teaching strategies. These strategies were also progressive—as advised in developed nations: innovative instructional strategies; strengthening the power of reasoning; stimulating active participation; practicing social skills; the promotion of discussion, co-operative learning, inquiry-based learning, field trips, and creative forms of communication.

Similarly, the NPST 2009 stipulated a standard for quality instructional strategies. Standard-4 specifically identified that teachers should “understand instructional planning, design long-term and short-term plans based upon knowledge of subject matter, students, community, curriculum goals, and employ a variety of developmentally appropriate strategies” so that “critical thinking, problem solving and performance skills of all learners” (p. 12) can be promoted.

The NCPS 2006 underlined the importance of instructional strategies and allocated a section on recommended pedagogy for Pakistan Studies. The NCPS 2006 advised teachers to shun “the spoon-feeding style of traditional classroom teaching” and “to adopt innovative instructional strategies” (p. 14)—such as lecture, discussion, cooperative learning Inquiry/Investigation. The NCPS 2006 espoused the importance of adopting innovative instructional strategies in terms of their helpfulness in “intellectually engag[ing] the students of varying degrees of interests, abilities and styles of learning, strengthen their power of reasoning and stimulat[ing] their active participation through different activities and exercises” (p. 14). However, the NEP 2009 references to the importance of the spirit of enquiry, self-directed learning, problem-solving, critical thinking, and teamwork were absent from NCPS 2006 learning outcomes.

The emphasis on innovative instructional strategies in these policy documents was encouraging to contemplate but their realisation in the form of their implementation by the teachers in classrooms was not as easy as the suggested learning outcomes of Pakistan Studies curriculum and the associated assessment framework tended to work contrary to it.

Summary

This chapter has presented the findings of policy objectives and recommendations regarding teaching of Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity and global identity themes of the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy. Regarding national identity, it was evident from the data that these policy documents were concerned about the cultivation and promotion of Pakistani national identity. The political messages of Musharraf Era' enlightened interpretations of Islam and shunning of dogmatic Islam seemed to be less seriously considered in education policy. However, there was still articulation of the compatibility of Islamic ideology and modernity. Regarding cultural diversity it was evident from these policy documents that there was a positive acknowledgement of diversity and there were objectives and recommendations regarding the education of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious Pakistani citizenry. Regarding the global identity, there were also evidence of an ambition to prepare students for global citizenship—but the ideas were not elaborated and remained somewhat vague.

Chapter 5: Meso Context of Text Production: A Qualitative Content Analysis of Pakistan Studies Textbooks

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from qualitative content analysis of the new secondary school Pakistan Studies textbooks—officially prescribed by the Punjab government for the secondary Schools in Punjab, Pakistan. These textbooks were analysed with special focus on the content related to Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives to develop an understanding of the context of textbook production in the curriculum policy trajectory.

The evidence gathered in this chapter offered an opportunity to see how the textbook writers responded to the macro context of text production (Bowe et al., 1992). In other words, it examines the extent to which liberal discourse of curriculum policy was incorporated in the writing of the Pakistan Studies textbooks to be used in secondary schools in Punjab, Pakistan. The alteration of curriculum policy to meet provincial requirements was possible at the point of interpretation and enactment. The evidence and analysis provided in this chapter serves to illuminate the meso context of policy text production as well as context of practice because the textbook writers interpreted centrally generated policy guidelines in turn enacted in the form of Pakistan Studies textbooks. Bijarani (2009) has aptly pointed out that “Pakistan has produced a number of educational policies in the past and all have been quality documents in their own right. The failure has always been in the commitment and implementation” (Bijarani, 2009, p. vii). The extent of faithful implementation in the form of the textbook writers’ reliance on liberal-democratic discourses in the production of the Pakistan Studies textbooks is examined in this chapter.

Overview of Textbook Production Context in Punjab

Four provincial textbook boards in the four provinces of Pakistan are responsible for the production of textbooks according to the federally produced curriculum policy. Since the focus of the study was on Punjab, only the Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore is discussed here. The Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, a Punjab government institution, was established after the recommendations of the National Education Commission 1959

to tackle “the problem of the provision of adequate textbooks both in quality and quantity” and “to maintain governmental control on printing, publication and distribution of the textbooks” (Government of the Punjab, 2014b, par. 2). The Punjab Textbook Board used the National Curriculum 2006 as its central guide in the production of the textbooks—even after the decentralisation of education in Pakistan (Government of the Punjab, 2014a). This could be interpreted as the provincial government’s caution or lack of confidence in establishing its own provincial guidelines or that the previous national guidelines were heavily influenced by Punjabi policy interests/concerns, so it was felt that there was no need to change much.

The content of these textbooks reflected the provincial government’s educational ideology—and prescribed conceptions of national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives since these textbooks were produced under the tight control of Punjab governmental institutions.

Before the decentralisation of the education in Pakistan, national curricula used in all Pakistani state schools were produced by the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education (N. Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Government of Pakistan, 2012). The four provincial textbook boards were responsible for the production of textbooks (N. Durrani & Dunne, 2010) for use in primary to higher secondary education as well as in teachers’ training courses (A. Durrani & Shahid, n.d.). These four provincial textbook boards’ role was to ensure the faithful translation of the curriculum policy’s objectives, content, and activities into textbooks. Provincial textbook boards would send manuscripts of their preferred textbooks to the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education for approval. During the review of textbooks, it was ensured that the manuscript was a translation of the letter and the spirit of the national curriculum and there was no material which spoke against the teaching of Islam or the ideology of Pakistan (A. Durrani & Shahid, n.d.). Through this tight control, the state sought to ensure “the inclusion of its own version of social reality and the exclusion of counter-hegemonic notions of reality” (N. Durrani & Dunne, 2010, p. 217).

However, decentralisation of the education system shifted the procedure for the approval of the curriculum and textbooks from federal to provincial level. The Punjab Curriculum Authority (PCA) was created in Punjab to respond to the decentralisation. It was “to make provisions for the supervision of curricula, textbooks, and maintenance of

standards of education in the Punjab, to regulate the supplementary material and to deal with ancillary matters” (Government of the Punjab, 2012, p. 1). Nevertheless, since Punjab Curriculum Authority and the Punjab Textbook Board had overlapping functions, it caused confusion and something of a cold war between the two institutions. Nevertheless, recently introduced legislation has merged the two—ending several years of bureaucratic power struggle (Government of the Punjab, 2015).

Even the *National Textbooks and Learning Materials Policy of 2007*, which sought to introduce competitive publishing and quality textbooks, was used to tightly control the process of textbook production. This policy prescribed that “a well regulated system of competitive publishing of textbooks and learning materials shall be introduced as part of an enhanced public-private partnership in the development of education in Pakistan” (Government of Pakistan, 2007a, p. 1). This was interpreted and implemented as the private textbook publishers competing for textbook writing rights (Afzal, 2014, Jan 15). Moreover, under this policy, the role of the provincial Textbook Boards was envisioned as “competent facilitating, regulating and monitoring authorities” whose function was to “review and help support the process of approval textbooks for use in schools in their respective areas of jurisdiction” (Government of Pakistan, 2007a, p. 1). Initial complaints regarding the private publishers hiring low cost authors and the resulting poor quality textbooks were taken seriously by the Punjab Text book Board (Afzal, 2014, Jan 15). Consequently, review committees were formed within the Punjab Textbook Board to oversee private publishers’ textbook writing. Now, the private publishers were “to go through an iterative process where the review committee comments on and asks for changes to the submitted textbooks, four or more times in some cases” (Afzal, 2014, Jan 15 par. 5). However, there were also newspapers reports suggesting that this “iterative process” for the selection of the textbook was being used to maintain tight control on the content of the textbooks and the inclusion of the hegemonic notions of Pakistan’s national identity, cultural diversity and global perspectives (Afzal, 2013, Oct. 2, 2014, Jan 15).

Selection of the Textbooks for Analysis

Purposive sampling was used in the selection of the Pakistan textbooks for this analysis. The analytical problem at hand, the purpose of the study, the knowledge of the

population, the context of this study and the posed research question defined criteria for the textbooks selection (Fraenkel et al., 2012; Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2006). This qualitative content analysis of the Pakistan Studies textbooks was guided by the second sub-question of this study:

How do Pakistan Studies textbook writers' interpret and enact policy objectives and recommendations regarding Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives in their writing of textbooks under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?

Therefore, two Pakistan Studies textbooks—which were published in 2014 for Year 9 (Choudhary, Kawish, & Azam, 2014) (Hereafter referred to as “the PS 9 textbook”) and in 2013 for Year 10 (Dar, 2013) (Hereafter referred to as “the PS 10 textbook”)—were analysed. The PS 9 textbook was “approved by the Federal Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing), Islamabad according to the National Curriculum 2006 under the National Textbook and Learning Material Policy 2007” (Choudhary et al., 2014, p. ii). In contrast, the PS 10 textbook was only approved by the Punjab Curriculum Authority, Lahore—signifying that the PS 10 textbook manuscript was produced after the decentralisation of education to the provinces.

Findings

This section deals with the presentation of findings. It presents the findings of this analysis in three subsections: national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives.

National Identity

A state disseminating its particular conception of national identity through the educational system has to select unifying symbols and values (Ahmed, 2008). However, “there is no absolute or objective criterion (or criteria) on which nationalism in general or state-nationalism in particular can be grounded” (p. 47). 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 or civilisation, language, religion, etc. have been used 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 ancestors? Who were the heroes? How was Islam dealt with in the textbooks? Who were the enemies?

Who were the ancestors?

Analysis identified that in the most recent textbook iterations the Pakistan Studies textbooks gave more importance to recent history—starting from the creation of Pakistan in 1947 and there was no emphasis on ancient history. For example, the PS 9 textbook started with the following lines: “Pakistan came into existence on 14th of August, 1947. During the twentieth century, many nations got freedom, and many free and independent states emerged on the map of the world. Pakistan is also one of those countries” (Choudhary et al., 2014, p. 1). This was in contrast to the previous approach to the Pakistan Studies textbook writing which used to emphasise the existence of Pakistani nation as an old nation having distinct characteristics from very ancient times (Yaqian, 2011).

There was no emphasis on tracing the roots of Pakistani nation in ancient history and cultural traditions of the people living in the area now forming Pakistan. For example, there was no mention of the “Ancient Indus Valley Civilisation” or culture existent 5000 years ago and there was no demonstration of Pakistani culture as a continuation of this. Similarly, there was no tracing of the roots of the Pakistani nation and ancestry in the Middle East or Turks explicitly. However, in order to demonstrate the Islamic roots of Pakistani identity, ancestors of 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)

Nevertheless, there was emphasis on the history of Pakistan Movement (1940-1947) with “failure of the war of freedom in 1857” (Choudhary et al., 2014, p. 19) as a starting point.

Who were the heroes?

Like the previous Pakistan Studies textbooks, these textbooks also portrayed many heroic images selected from the historical figures who were believed to have made significant contributions to Pakistani nation. Although there was 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 started with the history of 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 Pakistan Studies narrative of the Pakistani nation.

However, the textbooks certainly represented a “great men” approach to Pakistan Studies of whom Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah—founder of Pakistan was seen as pre-eminent. The PS 9 textbook dealt the 1940s roots of Pakistan in a slightly more layered and detailed way but the history was 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 PS 9 textbook was 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 was 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 were 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 in the Pakistan Studies. 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 discussed recent Pakistani political history from 1970 to 2006. It was more careful and even-handed than the PS 9 textbook with fewer value judgments. However, there was sympathetic treatment of the period in presidential office of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from 1971 to 1977. He was quoted in his first Presidential speech as being committed “to build a new and progressive Pakistan which Quaid-e-Azam dreamed” (p.4). The author took 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 was a nod towards a range of negative impacts. There was balanced treatment of education and trade reforms with positive and negative impacts detailed in equal measure. There was meticulous detail shared on the content of the 1973 constitution. There was a factual outline of the second extended period of martial law under General Zia-ul Haq from 1977-1988. The Islamisation process was 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 was notable—as far as possible, the author stuck to indisputable and safe facts.

How Islam was dealt in the Pakistan Studies textbooks?

In a country like Pakistan which is struggling to mould young people's identity in the face of competing imperatives and ideologies, and which had to re-invent itself after 1947 and a long period of colonial rule, teaching a nationalist, Islamic and an ethnically mono-cultural form of history can be seen as a form of curricular and social cement which binds people together. Therefore, the centrality of Islam to the Pakistani identity as one of the most frequent themes in the textbooks was clear. Chapter 1 of the PS 9 textbook established 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" (Choudhary et al., 2014, p. 4)

Firstly, Islam was foregrounded in explicating the ideology of Pakistan. The Pakistan Studies textbook equates Pakistan's ideology with Islamic ideology. For example:

The basis of the ideology of Pakistan lies in the religion of Islam, which provides guidance to the Muslims in every sphere of life. The Islamic way of living encompasses all aspects of human life. It has basic principles with reference to social, moral, political, religious, and economic fields. Mamie system is based on the Holy Quran, the Sunnah of the Hazrat Muhammad and the Ahaadith. This very system is declared the basis of Pakistan. (Choudhary et al., 2014, p. 1)

and,

Pakistan is an ideological state. It is based on a specific philosophy of life. It's basis is the religion of Islam. This religion has been in practice for centuries. This 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)

Secondly, the PS 9 textbook used Islam in narrating the simplified story of the formation of Pakistan. It is true that textbook knowledge is always highly selective and anyone who writes a text must select, omit, condense, structure, reduce and generalise as well as substantiate information. However, Pakistan Studies textbook narrated a simplified and condensed story of Pakistan within the framework of Islam:

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 it 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 made this discourse in the Pakistan Studies textbook an attempt to ideologically manipulate students. Moreover, this was in stark contrast with earlier independence histories where the formation of Pakistan was articulated through discourses highlighting the narrow-mindedness of the All India Congress and its leadership instead of this emphasis on Hindu conspiracies (Nayyar, 2003).

The inclusion of Islamic ideology provided the textbook writer with an opportunity to incorporate the knowledge of Islamic beliefs. The textbook asserted that “the Muslims of the Sub-continent put up the demand for Pakistan because they wanted to lead their lives in accordance with their beliefs. They also wanted to worship Almighty Allah without any obstruction” (p. 5). The linking of Islamic ideology with Muslim demands for a separate land enabled the writer to shift the focus of the discussion towards Islamic beliefs and practices. Students were introduced to these beliefs and practices related to the five pillars of Islam: “the oneness of God (Touheed), the finality of the Prophethood of Hazrat Muhammad, Life here-after, Angels and the Books revealed by Almighty Allah,” “Namaaz” (prayer), Fast, “Hajj” (pilgrimage to Mecca), “Zakat” (obligatory alms-giving) (pp. 5-6). Then students were presented with the idea that “Islam is not merely the set of rituals and worships, but it is a complete code of life. It has the ability to fulfill all the demands of human life...all the economical, moral and political purposes of the society” (p. 4). Moreover, the students were assured that “The Islamic system is in perfect harmony with modern demands and is completely practicable for every age” (p. 4). In some ways, a religious chain of causation in the birth of the Pakistani nation replaced a nationalist chain of causation. Both explanations perhaps suffered from being mono-causal and insufficiently layered and nuanced.

Students were also introduced to concepts such as “justice and equality” and the “promotion of democracy” but both sets of ideas were viewed through an Islamic lens: For example, the PS 9 textbook explained that “while establishing a just society, the Muslims put an emphasis on justice. It is determined in Islamic belief that all human

beings are to be given equal status without any discrimination of caste, colour, creed, language and culture” (p. 6). Moreover, the textbook underscored that “consultation and deliberation are the basis of the Islamic state and society. Democracy is promoted in an Islamic State and the rights of the people are protected. Every citizen enjoys equal status” (p. 7).

An explicit student-learning outcome in exploring the ‘ideological basis of Pakistan’ was 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 the previous analysis of curriculum documents as a move away from the anti-Hinduism 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 adopted the traditional way of elaborating the “two-nation theory” within anti-Indian/anti-Hindu discourses—a textbook writing practice prevalent from Zia Era. For instance, the PS 9 textbook linked the economic backwardness of the Muslims after the war of Freedom (1857) with the Hindus acquitting themselves 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 giving knowledge of differences. The Pakistan Studies textbooks clearly identified differences whilst narrating a version of the national story. For this purpose, textbooks emphatically underlined “the Hindu-British collusion” and vigorously spelt out the economic and social oppression of (undifferentiated) Muslims. A clear and simple causation chain ran from 1857 to 1947. This was evident in the PS 9 textbook account of the aftermath of the war of 1857:

When the war of Freedom (1857) was over, the Muslims were oppressed very badly. Although the Hindus supported the Muslim 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 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).

A subsequent chapter in the PS 9 textbook explored “The Making of Pakistan” from 1940-1947. The presence of twin hostile “others” was particularly strongly weaved through the PS 9 textbook. The blackening of Hinduism continued 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 (p20-21).

There was a high political and constitutional flavour to Pakistan’s history as recounted from 1947 to 1973 in Chapter 4 of the PS 9 textbook. Key constitutional landmarks were itemised in detail including the Pakistan Objectives Resolution (1949), the 1956 Constitution; a Basic Democracies System (1959); Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (1961); and the 1962 constitution. Here the enemy was less central to the story but there were plenty of challenges nevertheless for Pakistan’s apparently universally wise and clear-sighted leaders to respond to. Nonetheless, in general the national story presented in the textbook shifted 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; the formulation of nascent foreign policies; and establishing the principles of a democratic Islamic republic (pp. 93-97).

Vilification of India intensified in the text especially in the description of the events of 1948, 1965 and 1971 wars. The textbook asserted 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 war were triumphantly narrated

over two pages. The texts generally contained few images but an exception was 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. Moreover, there was a predictably one-eyed account of the Kashmir issue—“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).

The separation of East Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh was treated less as a democratic inevitability and more 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 focused 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, 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) and the issue of Bengali language in “disintegrating the national unity” (p. 126). There was much blame in this account and little sense of complexity or that Pakistani policies might have had something to do with East Pakistan’s desire to secede.

Cultural diversity

The treatment of cultural diversity in Pakistan Studies textbooks was the second focus area for the textbook analysis. It has been reported by numerous earlier studies that successive Pakistani textbooks failed to educate students meaningfully about religious and ethnic diversity of Pakistan (e.g, N. Ali, 2008; N. Ali, 2010; Saigol, 2005; Zaidi, 2011). Moreover, the textbooks had presented a limited view of the role of minorities in Pakistani society.

This study's analysis was aimed at identifying the treatment of cultural diversity in Pakistan Studies textbooks produced to incorporate the new curriculum policy, especially the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006*. The content, themes, and arguments contained within PS 9 and 10 were carefully scrutinised to understand the ways cultural diversity was treated.

The qualitative content analysis of the textbooks identified several key themes and discourses: The textbooks represented Muslims simplistically as theologically and geographically homogeneous as Sunni Muslims. Students were not encouraged to develop their own provincial identities, since the descriptions of provincial cultures were mainly confined to language and did not extend to their history and contemporary beliefs. The textbooks emphasised that minorities were provided “equal political, economic and social rights” (p. 116). However, the presentation of non-Muslim personalities (heroes) was relatively tokenistic. Little space was provided for minority ethnic Pakistani tribal leaders and their actions were presented from majority perspectives.

Muslims were simplistically represented as theologically and geographically homogeneous. This was generally evident in the national story told by the two PS textbooks. The textbooks nowhere highlight sectarian differences between Muslims. The general message of the Pakistan Studies textbooks was 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” (p. 103). However, the Islamic beliefs and practices presented in the chapter 1 of PS 9 textbook were Sunni. Moreover, the theme of Muslim homogeneity was also evident in the descriptions of the multi-cultural heritage of Pakistan and theme of unity in diversity dealt in the PS 10 textbook. For example, one of the objectives of the 2006 National Curriculum was 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 our national context” (Government of Pakistan, 2006, p. 1). To realise this objective, the National Curriculum 2006 recommended the textbook content—such as population, Pakistan society and culture, Pakistan languages and role of minorities in Pakistan—to be included in a chapter titled “Population, Society and Culture of Pakistan” (p. 13). Accordingly, the PS

10 textbook dealt this content under the same headings. However, the learning outcomes specifically relevant to the themes of unity and diversity were the focus of this analysis.

One of the learning outcomes for this chapter was to enable students to “identify the major features of Pakistan’s culture and commonality in regional cultures leading to National Integration and cohesion” (p. 10). The allocated section in the PS 10 textbook for this learning outcome dealt with it under the subheadings of the effects of Islamic values, provincial cultures, era of Muslim rulers, educational system, regional mystical (*sufiana*) poetry and literatures, local means of information and Urdu language as forces of cohesion (pp. 106-107). The analysis revealed an emphasis on the homogeneity of Muslims. The PS 10 textbook underscored that when Islam was introduced in South Asian cultures, Islamic values thrived in the cultures of the areas—now constituting Pakistan. Furthermore, it highlighted that these Islamic values, “a new way of life, brotherhood, equality, social justice and honesty” (p. 106), were a source of regional cultural similarities causing cohesion and integration in the current Pakistani society. The textbook acknowledged that “all four provinces of Pakistan have their provincial cultures” and attributed the differences to “civilisation to some extent, present in their customs and traditions and lifestyles” (p. 106). Nevertheless, the textbook underscored that “in spite of regional and lingual 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 also noted that in era of Muslim rulers, fine arts flourished which was “our cultural heritage” and “means of our recognition” (p. 106). The textbook reiterated 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 were identified as playing a significant part in promoting harmony, national integrity, and cohesion. The PS 10 textbook declared that “our regional mystical poetry and literature” is an “expression of our common cultural heritage” because they all have “lessons of mysticism, humanity, peace and justice, love and cooperation” (p. 106). However, the Islamic nature of the cultural heritage was again emphasised by giving only the names of Muslim poets from various provinces.

It seemed that the message of the PS textbooks about national unity was being didactically imparted in a way that tended to flatten regional distinctiveness and

diversity. The central intention might be “unity in diversity” but the dominant “unity” driver had 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.

Students were not encouraged to develop provincial identities as the descriptions of provincial cultures were mainly confined to languages only. The PS 10 textbook provided “a study of the beginning and development of a few famous regional languages of Pakistan” (p. 110) and listed discussion on Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Balochi, Kashmiri, Seraiki, Brahvi, and Hindko in eight subsections. The PS 10 textbook introduced students to the origins of these languages and their dialects; areas where they are spoken; the major literary figures (poets and prose writers), and the literary works in these languages; and the positive developments in these languages after the creation of Pakistan. This treatment of diversity in the PS 10 textbook was valuable but not sufficient to appreciate the different cultures of Pakistan fully. Instead of giving enough attention to various cultural groups’ history and achievements, the PS 10 textbook gave only emphasis to a few major groups’ languages. Moreover, like the previous Pakistan Studies textbooks, the PS 10 textbook did not present different local cultures in a comprehensive way. This can be interpreted as a strategy to present “the difference between local cultures...as difference between languages. In this way, students would not be encouraged to develop local identity” (Yaqian, 2011, p. 77).

However, the PS 10 textbook particularly underscored the important role of the Urdu language in creating unity in Pakistan and asserted,

[Urdu] is not associated with a specific region or racial group of Pakistan. It is spoken and understood all over Pakistan. It is Pakistan's national language as well as the language of communication. The people of Pakistan have a special relation with it and a liking for it. After the creation of Pakistan, Urdu was given the status of the national language. (p. 107)

Although the Urdu language was given more space as compared to the provincial languages in the textbook, the usage of words for tracing its evolution in history was not emotive. This was in contrast with the traditional way of presenting Urdu to the Pakistan Studies students.

The PS 10 textbook emphasised that minorities were provided “equal political, economic, and social rights” (p. 116). The PS 10 textbook also identified that “the rights

of the minorities have been fully protected in the 1973 constitution of Pakistan...they have full rights. Furthermore, it underscored that “they have complete liberty to worship according to their religious, perform customs, transmit and publish their religious principles and set up their own religious organisations” (p. 116). The textbook further emphasised that the minorities were given adequate representation at all levels of government and that they were given equal opportunities in the economic field citizens so that they could improve their financial conditions. However, there were also expectations of the minority groups: “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). The use of powerful coded language is evident here to influence the actions of future voters. A message can be inferred that to vote for a candidate who supports regional autonomy is to support instability and engage in unpatriotic behaviour as voting citizens.

To emphasise the equal rights of minorities, the PS 10 textbook also elaborated that “the status of the minorities in the light of the Quaid-e-Azam’s speech on 11th August, 1947” (p. 117). For example, these lines (among others) from the speech were included to cultivate a positive attitude towards religious diversity in Pakistan:

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) and,

By the grace of Allah, we are starting our journey in such conditions and in an age where such discrimination is not encouraged. No Distinction is made between different castes and faiths. We are taking a start with this basic principle that we are equal citizens of our state. (Dar, 2013, p. 117)

Inclusion of these excerpts from the Quaid-e-Azam’s speech was a positive step in the acknowledgement of the Pakistan’s religious diversity and the spread of religious tolerance in multi-religious Pakistan. Moreover, the PS 9 textbook included diversity themes using Islam and majority perspectives. For instance, the textbook noted:

Sense to provide security to the minorities was also included in the background of the demand for Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam said very clearly that the rights of the minorities will be fully protected in Pakistan. Islam does not allow that life, property, dignity and religious traditions of the minorities in Pakistan go unprotected. (Choudhary et al., 2014, p. 8)

However, the PS 9 textbook's emphasis on Islam in the teaching of the affective theme of cultural diversity was problematic because it did not fulfil the educational needs of all students studying Pakistan Studies. This was particularly true with regard to the non-Muslim students who also study this compulsory school subject.

Furthermore, there was less space allocated for the multicultural content compared to the national content. For example, the PS 9 textbook devoted Chapter 1 (Ideological Basis of Pakistan), Chapter 2 (Making of Pakistan) and Chapter 3 (History of Pakistan-I) to provide a simplified and condensed national story which largely ignored conflicting memories, contested readings of national pasts, and national/ethnic prejudices. There were only occasional mentions of internal diversity and dissent spread through these Chapters. Similarly, the PS 10 textbook treated recent Pakistani political history from 1970 to 2006 through a homogenous lens. Although it incorporated fewer value judgments and dealt with events in a more careful and even-handed way than the PS 9 textbook, the focus remained on telling Pakistan's national story demonstrating internal harmony as far as possible. Additionally, the effects of the limited multicultural content for students were also evident in the presence of strong othering in the narration of the national story to the students, which systematically denied minorities (especially Hindus) their contributions to the Pakistani nation within the textbooks' contents.

The PS 10 textbook also included some non-Muslim personalities in a short subsection to demonstrate the contribution of the non-Muslim minorities to Pakistan. The textbook underscored that minorities had "always tried to perform prominently in all the fields" (p. 118). Justice AR Cornelius, introduced as the chief justice of the supreme court of Pakistan and an expert in *Sharia* and *Fiqha*, was lauded for rendering valuable services in compiling the 1973 constitution. Justice Badi-uz Zaman Kakaos was introduced as a judge of the Supreme Court who "had great knowledge of the Quran and Sunnah." Then a few names of minority personalities who achieved "high civil and military awards for their excellent performances" were mentioned. Doctor Ruth Pfau and Doctor Drago of Mirpurkhas were mentioned for their contributions to the field of health followed by the mention of few minority sportsmen. Here, it was interesting to note that with the exception of Harcharan Singh who was mentioned as the "the first Sikh officer to be included in the Pakistan Army," the religious affiliations of these

personalities were not mentioned and students could only guess their religious affiliations through their names.

Global perspectives

Textbooks can serve as instruments of international understanding between states, which share a conflicting and entangled history. Therefore, it was of interest to examine the stories of other countries that emerge in Pakistan Studies textbooks. Moreover, it was also pertinent to examine the international organisations included in the Pakistan Studies textbooks that might tend to the cultivation of a global sense of identity. The theme of interconnectedness and interdependency was also a focus of this study. The qualitative content analysis of these textbooks revealed the following themes: First, the depiction of the world beyond Pakistan's relations with neighbouring countries and western world were mostly filtered through the lenses of "us and them" rather than the global "we." Second, Pakistan Studies textbooks constructed a sense of the "global" in two ways: One was *Ummah*, a supra-national religious community of all Muslims using the vocabulary of Islam. Second was international—using the vocabulary of political internationalism. Textbooks attempted to construct *Ummah* identity by emphasising the relations between Muslim countries and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). The PS 10 textbook emphasised the role of the United Nations Organisations in world politics and peace and also highlighted regional (South Asian) organisations, perhaps, to contribute to the construction of a regional sense of identity by students. The prescribed content for the cultivation of a global sense of identity was factual. Affective elements of the content, that is, global attitudes, beliefs, perspectives and values, remained weak.

Enemy images and the description of Pakistan's foreign policy

The description of Pakistan's foreign policy was 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." One of the learning outcomes of this chapter defined by the Pakistan Studies National Curriculum 2006 was to enable students to "define the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy" (p. 10). The content recommended for this learning outcome included "territorial sovereignty and security; ideology; economic development, and cultural enrichment" (p. 10). Explaining

the territorial sovereignty and security objective of Pakistan's foreign policy, the PS 10 textbook emphasised that sovereignty, freedom, and the security of its borders had been important for Pakistan. Pakistan was portrayed as a country that had always respected the territorial sovereignty of other countries and expects the same from them. In addition, it was depicted as following the United Nations Charter and taking an active part in the "world's struggle against the use of strength" (p. 30). However, India was 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). Like the PS 9 textbook, the PS 10 textbook described Pakistan as "an ideological country and with its base to Islam" (p. 30) and underscored its importance with respect to the foreign policy of Pakistan. It was underlined 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 the Islamic countries. Therefore, Pakistan has always maintained good relations with them" (p. 30). The "cordial relations" with the western world and the United States were justified through the economic development objective of the foreign policy. The PS 10 textbook elaborated 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 noted 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). This cultural enrichment objective was also presented as the justification for Pakistan efforts to develop cultural relations with Islamic states by the PS 10 textbook.

Enemy images and the depiction of Pakistan's relations with other countries

The depiction of Pakistan interacting with neighbouring countries was animated by friend and enemy images. The learning outcome of chapter 6 of the PS 10 textbook defined by the Pakistan Studies National Curriculum 2006 was to enable students to "narrate Pakistan's relations with immediate neighbouring states" (p. 10). The PS 10 textbook allocated a section for this content and included Pak-China relations, Pak-India

relations, Pak-Iran relations and Pak-Afghan relations as subsections to present Pakistan's relations with immediate neighbouring states. However, the content provided for this section was again filtered through the "us" and "them" mentality. China was portrayed as "a great neighbour of Pakistan" (p. 31) that always "proved herself to be a dependable friend in war and peace" (p. 31) the relationship had always been "friendly" (p. 31) Their friendship was portrayed as "based on the sincere emotions of the people" (p. 31). The two nations were depicted as developing "sincere harmony" (p. 31) between them. It was highlighted 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 Indian Ocean a nuclear-free zone (p. 31). It was also underscored that China and Pakistan had signed many defence agreements. Apart from highlighting the common enmity, the textbook also underlined the two countries' financial and technical cooperation. For example, China's help in the construction of the Silk Route was lauded as "a symbol and glowing example of Pak-China friendship" (p. 31).

Contrary to the positive description of Pak-China relations, the PS 10 textbook took a fairly bleak view of Pak-India relations. The textbook highlighted that "the main dispute between Pakistan and India [was] the Kashmir issue. Without its solution the relations cannot be improved. Better ties can be established between both countries in all the fields if it is resolved" (p. 31). Pakistan was depicted as the country always showing a positive, constructive attitude whereas India was depicted as "not serious about resolving [Kashmir] issue" (p. 31). She was also represented as the country that violated treaties between Pakistan and India. The textbook gave examples of occasions when some improvement in the relationship occurred. However, it reiterated that without the amicable solution of Kashmir issue, no efforts to improving Pak-India relations could be fruitful. Pakistan relations with India also featured in the PS 10 textbook content included in this chapter in response to the learning outcome defined by the Pakistan Studies National Curriculum 2006 as to enable students to "explain the genesis and development of the Kashmir problem (p. 10). The textbook narrated the genesis of Kashmir by identifying it as Muslim majority area and underscored that the Muslims of Kashmir "desired to annex Kashmir with Pakistan" (p. 34). Nevertheless, it was the ruler of Kashmir who "was against Pakistan and Muslims...integrated Kashmir with India

cunningly and permitted Indian forces to enter into Kashmir. He provided an opportunity to India to take control” (p. 34). In the development of the Kashmir problem India is depicted as insincere, stubborn, and regularly prone to use force.

Iran was portrayed as a friendly Islamic neighbour that was “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, were emphasised. Moreover, it was highlighted that Iran always gave full support to Pakistan on the Kashmir issue and praised its stance. Iran stood with Pakistan in the 1965 and 1971 wars. Its political, moral economic and military aid was “very encouraging for Pakistan” (p. 32).

Afghanistan was represented as a neighbouring Islamic country having “old religious, historical, cultural, racial and geographical relations” (p. 33) with Pakistan. It was highlighted that “Pakistan had no pleasant relations with Afghanistan in the very beginning” as a consequence of territorial and border disputes. Having finalised the borders, the two country came closer. However, “relations were strained again after an army revolution in Afghanistan in April 1978 and the “Afghan government used the Russian army to crushing the opposition...Thirty lacs [three million] Afghans left their country and sought refuge in Pakistan. Pakistan gave them refuge for humanity and Islamic spirit” (p. 33). After the removal of the Taliban government, “Pakistan extended cooperation with the new government and gave financial aid for the reconstruction of Afghanistan” (p. 33).

Another learning outcome of this chapter defined by the Pakistan Studies National Curriculum 2006 was to enable students to “comprehend Pakistan’s relations with the Central Asian countries.” (p. 10). The allocated section for this content dealt with Pakistan’s relations with Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The description of each country’s relation with Pakistan was brief and mainly factual. There were no complex judgements made. Pakistan was seen mostly as active in helping these fledgling countries. Nevertheless, students were repeatedly reminded of these countries’ richness in oil, gas, coal and uranium reserves; and how developing good relations could serve Pakistan’s energy policy self-interest.

Yet, another learning outcome was to enable students to “describe Pakistan’s relations with the USA, U.K., EU, Russia and Japan.” (p. 10). The textbook allocated a

section for this learning outcome and included Pak-America relations, Pak-Russian relations, Pak-Britain relations, Pakistan and the European Union relations and Pak-Japan relations as sub-sections to present “Pakistan’s relations with the major world powers” (p. 10).

America was represented positively right from the initial days of Quaid-e-Azam in 1948 when the American ambassador while presenting his credential “gave the assurance of mutual friendship” and expressed an expectation of “friendship and goodwill” (p. 40). 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). An agreement of cooperation signed between the two states in 1955 was interpreted as America giving “some further hopes to Pakistan for constructing and designing it in a better way” (p. 40). American assurance of assistance to Pakistan for its 5 years second plan was especially highlighted. Pakistan’s alliance with America in war against the “Russian occupation” of Afghanistan was underscored. Students were 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). America was portrayed as giving aid to Pakistan even when she had imposed sanctions on the countries preparing nuclear weapons. Frequent visits of presidents and prime ministers to America and the American delegations to Pakistan were highlighted to demonstrate that very cordial relationships existed with America. The only criticism of America, however, came in the discussion of the 9/11 terrorist attack in America and the subsequent Pakistan’s alliance with America in the Afghanistan war.

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)

As evident in the above excerpt from the PS 10 textbook, this criticism was not in terms of oppositional discourses of Islamic parties but in term of the economic discourse.

Pak-Russian relations were represented as not being very friendly from the start. The PS 10 textbook traced the reasons for this in the Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan preference for America over Russia early in the Cold War years. The textbook stated that “after the Russian invitation, the American President Truman also invited the Pakistani Prime Minister for a visit which was immediately accepted” (p. 42). It continued, “as a consequence of this step, a gulf was created between Russia and Pakistan which has not been filled till today (p. 42). The textbook stated that “Russia declared Pakistan a biased country” (p. 42). The text then highlighted the Russians’ efforts to offer Pakistan help and the subsequent economic agreements, which “helped to lessen the tension created previously” (p. 43). Later on, various official visits, agreements, and economic pacts between the two countries were highlighted to demonstrate the more positive relationship. Pakistan’s involvement in the war against Russia in Afghanistan was not highlighted here and the subsection was closed with reiteration: “Now, cooperation between both countries is ongoing in different fields” (p. 43). This description was in contrast with earlier treatment of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and Pakistan’s involvement in Chapter 5 of the PS 10 textbook: “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).

Pak-Britain relations were depicted as “shoulder to shoulder in different fields of life” (p. 44). Numerous official visits, agreements, and economic pacts between the two countries; and Britain’s assurance of its support to resolve the Kashmir dispute were highlighted to demonstrate the positive relationship. British economic assistance to Pakistan under various governments remained the focus of this subsection. Nevertheless, there was no reflection on the colonial past of Pakistan. Moreover, there was no mention of the “miseries inflicted on forefathers by the British colonial rule” which had been extensively used in the PS 9 textbook to develop students’ national identity.

Two more subsections dealt with “Pakistan and the European Union relations” (p. 45) and “Pak-Japan relations” (p. 46). The content remained factual—describing mostly the economic benefits Pakistan accrued through developing positive relations with the EU and Japan.

Representation of supranational organisations

The PS 10 textbook included three international organisations, the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC), the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the United Nations Organisation (UNO), to bring into the students' awareness and sense of identity. The representation of the first organisation (OIC) can be interpreted as a content that could help students to identify with Muslim *Ummah* whereas the two others (SAARC and UNO) might provide the seeds for a more global identification.

Pakistan's involvement with the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) was justified by the Pakistan's desire to strengthen *Ummah*:

Pakistan was always a willing participant in endeavours which sought to promote the unity of Islamic world and it [had] played an important role for creating harmony and cooperation among thereon. It [had] supported the movements started for the cause of Muslims. (p. 34)

Instead of highlighting the role and achievements of this organisation, the PS 10 textbook then moved to briefly describe Pakistan's relations with Islamic countries. Among the OIC countries only Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Libya, Malaysia Indonesia, Jordan, Iraq, and Sudan were selected to bring to the attention of the students. However, not all of these countries were given space for description: Pakistan and Saudi Arabia relations were described in 6 bullet points Pakistan and Turkey in 4 bullet points whereas other above mentioned OIC countries were given a passing mention. The only point that seemed to be highlighted though the representation of these countries that Pakistan had been playing a significant role in developing Islamic historical and financial relations with the countries. Moreover, students were lead to believe that "all...Islamic countries are our brothers and friends" (p. 34).

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was the second international organisation that was incorporated in the curriculum as well as the textbook. Students were informed that the SAARC "is an organisation for regional cooperation of the South Asian countries" (p. 34). Having listed the member states' names—Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Maldives, Bhutan, and Afghanistan, the PS 10 textbook introduced the main objectives of the organisation.

Under the subheadings of “Pakistan and Bangladesh” (p. 38), “Pakistan and Sri Lanka,” “Pakistan and Nepal” (p. 39), “Pakistan and Maldives” and “Pakistan and Bhutan” (p. 40), the textbook highlighted some of the activities of the SAARC and Pakistan’s active role in them. Additionally, the close ties of Pakistan with these countries were underscored. An interesting observation of this section was the textbook identifying the religious affiliations of these countries—most notably Buddhism and Hinduism. This could be interpreted as the textbook projecting Pakistan as a country that could cooperate with non-Muslim countries as long as they could actively collaborated in cultural, economic, technical, and scientific fields.

The United Nations Organisation was the third international organisation that was included in the curriculum as well as the textbook to introduce students to the supranational. Students were told that “after the Second World War...seeing the destruction...the human race considered it necessary to create a new organisation to promote mutual cooperation and to put a stop to future wars” (p. 46). The PS 10 textbook listed four objectives around the establishment of the United Nations: maintaining international peace, the provision of justice, economic and social cooperation, and resolving human problems (p. 46). Then students were introduced to the six basic organs of the United Nations, giving purely factual information on each of them. However, the national curriculum recommended content related to “Pakistan and the United Nations” underscored “Pakistan's contribution towards peace-keeping in the world” (p. 48). Pakistan was depicted as respecting the charter of the United Nations, supporting the United Nations in its efforts towards arms reduction and international control on nuclear energy working with the United Nations to combat racism, supporting “the oppressed nations’ right of self-determination” (p. 49). Moreover, Pakistan was highlighted as sending soldiers to establish peace in the world at the request of the United Nations, helping countries to get membership of the United Nations, and “playing a very effective role against terrorism and extremism in the world” etc. (p. 49), a self-congratulatory verdict which would bear informed critical exploration and scrutiny.

Summary

The analysis of the Pakistan Studies textbooks provides an opportunity to see how national curriculum policy documents have been interpreted and how the perceived objectives and recommendations of the curriculum policy have been enacted by the provincial textbook boards and the textbook writers. As was indicated in the previous chapter, the curriculum policy lacked clarity regarding the teaching of themes of national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives. The three examined content areas in the Pakistan Studies revealed that textbook writers have continued several previous traditions and themes of Pakistan Studies textbook writing but that some new ideas were also incorporated. The analysis of national identity identified in the Pakistan Studies textbooks offered little content on ancient history. Modern history—starting from the creation of Pakistan in 1947—was mainly the focus of these books. No separate chapter was assigned for national heroes; they were introduced while discussing the political history of the nation and the ideological basis of Pakistan. The centrality of Islam to the Pakistani identity was frequently highlighted. Textbooks vigorously underlined “the Hindu-British collusion” and the vilification of India intensified in the text especially in the description of the events of 1948, 1965 and 1971 wars. The separation of East Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh was treated as a continuation of Indian enmity. The analysis of cultural diversity content showed that the textbooks tend to represent Muslims simplistically as theologically and geographically homogeneous as Sunni Muslims. Secondly, provincial identities were not developed and content related to them suffered from tokenism. The textbooks highlight that equal political, economic, and social rights exist to protect minorities and only offer limited references to non-Muslim personalities. Lastly, the analysis of global perspectives revealed that the textbooks mostly filtered the depiction of the world beyond Pakistan’s relations with neighbouring countries and western world through the lenses of “us and them” and not simply as “we”—the human beings. Global identity was depicted as *Ummah* and through international organisations and governance structures. The prescribed content for this area was factual and did not tend to promote the cultivation of an inclusive global identity.

Chapter 6: Context of Practice at a Micro level: Cross-Case Analysis of Teachers' Perceptions, Practices, and Suggestions Regarding Pakistan Studies Curriculum Policy and Textbooks

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the interviews with Pakistan Studies teachers in public and private schools in one district of Punjab, Pakistan. The interviews were conducted to understand teachers' perceptions, practices, and suggestions regarding the new Pakistan Studies curriculum policy (2006/2007) and the revised Pakistan Studies textbooks based on this policy introduced in the secondary schools in Punjab in 2012. While curriculum policy formulated at federal or provincial level, it is implemented by the teachers who work in their specific organisational context (Trowler, 2003). Because of the centrality of teachers' work in this implementation phase and because of the aim of this study to deepen understanding of the ground level realities of curriculum change in Punjab secondary schools, it was important to examine teachers' perceptions, practices and suggestions regarding the Pakistan Studies curricular reform.

This chapter presents the findings in three sections. The first section mainly presents the description of findings emerging from the interview data regarding perceptions, practices, and suggestions of teachers with regard to the *national identity theme* of the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy and textbooks. The second section presents the findings of interview data in respect to teacher views with respect to the *cultural diversity theme* of the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy and textbooks. The third section, adopting the same framework, describes the findings of the teacher interview data with regard to the *global identity theme* within the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy and textbooks.

The overall aim of interviewing Pakistan Studies teachers was addressed primarily through purposively selected multiple cases of Pakistan Studies teachers (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2014) combined with cross-case analysis (Miles et al., 2014; Saldaña, 2013) under interpretative assumptions (Merriam, 2009; Yanow & Peregrine, 2012). This analysis was facilitated by the qualitative analysis software, *Nvivo 10* (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). As detailed in Chapter 3, the interactive model for the analysis of interview data

consisted of following steps: data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (Miles et al., 2014).

All the coding processes were carried out using *Nvivo 10*—which provided a set of tools—to record, sort, match and link—which helped to answer the research questions from the data (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). Priori categories derived from the conceptual framework and interview guide questions constituted the main categories—the key aspects which this study set to investigate (Schreier, 2012)—namely Pakistan Studies teachers’ perceptions, practices and suggestions regarding national identity, cultural diversity and global perspectives. Sub-categories—that is, what is said about the aspects or main categories in the interview transcripts (Schreier, 2012)—were created inductively from the data. Based on these main-categories and sub-categories, role-ordered matrices were generated (see appendix G). These role-ordered matrices helped in grouping, summarising, and comparing different teachers’ responses around the main categories of national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives. Comparing and contrasting the findings from role-ordered matrices assisted the cross-case analysis of the sample of Pakistan Studies teachers. This was also helpful in holistically understanding the views of Pakistan Studies teachers with regard to the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum and the textbooks.

Having briefly re-iterated the methods used to collect and analyse the data, the next section describes the findings regarding teachers’ perceptions, practices, and suggestions with respect to national identity theme of the Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks. These findings include not only emergent common themes but also some unexpected issues (Zaoura, 2013).

National Identity Theme

Teachers’ Perceptions of National Identity Theme of the Textbooks

This sub-section presents findings of interviews conducted with the 27 teachers in this research study to understand their perceptions of national identity theme of the revised Pakistan Studies textbooks.

Perception here refers to a teacher’s own meaningful interpretation of the different aspect of the revised Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks influenced by his or her prior experiences (Pickens, 2005). These perceptions or interpretations may be

considerably different from reality. National identity theme here refer to the content of the Pakistan Studies curriculum or textbooks, which explicitly or implicitly linked to the cultivation of Pakistan's national identity. National Identity is an elusive and complex concept (Jamieson, 2002; Smith, 1991). However, for this study three conceptions of Pakistani national identity currently prevalent in scholarly and journalistic work in Pakistan, that is, the Islamist, the pluralist, and the nation–statist conceptions (Adeney, 2007; I. Ahmad, 2004, 2008; Lall, 2012a; Shafqat, 2009) were used in order to understand the diverse responses of the teachers regarding evocations of Pakistani national identity in the curriculum or textbooks.

To elicit teachers' perceptions of Pakistani national identity embedded in Pakistan Studies textbooks, teachers were asked to comment on the Pakistan Studies curriculum reforms introduced in the Musharraf era (2006/7) and their personal likes and dislikes regarding the new Pakistan Studies textbooks (see Appendix F). Moreover, they were asked to comment on the features of Pakistani national identity that they saw as particularly promoted through the new Pakistan Studies textbooks, the features of Pakistani national identity not being promoted through the Pakistan Studies textbooks and the stories, events, or emphasis in the Pakistan Studies textbooks used to construct Pakistani national identity. Relevant amplificatory probing questions were asked to encourage the teachers to elaborate on their perceptions (Kvale, 1996; Legard et al., 2003).

Based on the responses of the teachers on the national identity theme of the revised Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks, the teachers fell into three groups. Most of the teachers perceived that there were certain changes in the treatment of national identity theme of the Pakistan Studies textbooks. Some teachers perceived that there were not many changes in the presentation of national identity theme of the Pakistan Studies textbooks. A few teachers were not aware of any changes in the treatment of national identity themes of the Pakistan Studies textbooks.

Most of the teachers—from public as well as private schools—perceived that there were some significant changes in the treatment of national identity theme within the Pakistan Studies textbooks. They either appreciated or expressed concerns about these changes. They appreciated, for example, the inclusion of post partition history, Islamic

values, unbiased history, and topics on Indian animosity towards Pakistan and Pakistani cultural content.

Categorising the teachers' responses into Islamist, nation-statist and plural revealed that most of the teachers—mainly from the public schools—had Islamist appreciations and concerns regarding the Pakistani national identity theme. Most of the teachers in this category expressed the view that the addition of more modern and contemporary history—especially an updated history related to the leadership eras of Ayub Khan, Zia-ul-Haq, Nawaz Sharif, Benazir Bhutto, and Pervez Musharraf—was a positive development. However, their appreciation of the inclusion of post-partition history was premised on the idea of greater centralisation rather than provincial autonomy. To put it differently, they appreciated the emphasis in the textbooks on post-partition history that gave more coverage to the federal political leadership. They were also notably positive about the inclusion of the constitutional struggle in Pakistan, more recent history of the previous decade, and current affairs. They believed it was a good thing because they thought that emphasis on the more recent past had resulted in the textbook giving references to various national web sites; e.g., an Economic Survey of Pakistan, inclusion of activities and colourful pictures, which they believed were helpful in enhancing the content on national identity. A teacher explained the reason for the appreciation of this inclusion:

Before this, students were less interested in Pakistan Studies but now students are studying about Musharraf, he is still alive and students have also seen him. This increases their interest in the subject and gives them a solid knowledge. (Teacher-12PG)

Teachers in the Islamist category also appreciated the addition of content related to Islamic values such as justice, democracy, tolerance, and respect for law. They believed that these values are the pillars of Islam and Pakistani society. They argued that it was necessary for the students to have deeper knowledge of Islamic values. However, a few teachers expressed their concerns about the comparatively decreased focus upon—and less comprehensive treatment of—topics relevant to Islamic culture and the increased focus of the curriculum on geographical features of Pakistan.

Some teachers—mainly from private schools—expressed their appreciations and concerns in ways that were categorised as pluralist. They perceived the inclusion of

more emphasis on the four provincial cultures of Pakistan as a good development for the cultivation of Pakistani national identity. In addition, two teachers—from missionary schools—were concerned about the inclusion of a disproportionate amount of content about Islamic beliefs. They expressed views that Pakistan Studies should deal with topics relevant to Pakistan and that Islamic content (beliefs) should be confined to Islamic Studies. They viewed the addition of content about Islamic beliefs as an unjust imposition on the minority students:

We have sects (in Christianity) but if a student has Catholic faith, he will be taught only about Catholic faith (in our school). I was taught in a government school and there I had to study Islamic Studies. I still remember Islamic prayers and verses. How can we impose our faith on our students, when they are not comfortable with this? (Teacher-26M)

Moreover, they argued that the representation of the belief system of Islam had the potential to cause conflict in society. For example, one teacher argued,

I do not have the aim of making them religious scholars; my aim is to make them good citizens. The aim of Pakistan Studies is to make them patriotic citizens. If we start arguing about the preaching of religious beliefs, this would cause conflict. (Teacher-27M)

They perceived that content related to Islamic beliefs had been reduced rather than removed totally in the new Pakistan Studies textbook. They believed that this was because the textbook writers wanted to please the Islamic pressure groups or that the textbook committee would not approve a textbook without Islamic content. Interestingly, they were not concerned about the presence of Islamic ethical values as they both expressed that the ethical values were universal in all the religions and needed to be promoted.

Teachers in the pluralist category also saw the inclusion of “unbiased history” as a positive development. They believed that the history component of the new curriculum was without any prejudice, free of twisted facts, and based upon grounded realities. When asked to provide specific examples, a teacher pointed vehemently to the following example of the treatment of Mughal rulers:

The previous curriculum was a pack of lies, and used to reflect a certain way of thinking. For example, it used to be taught that India was ruled by Muslims—no, it was not. It was ruled by Mughals—and then there was a lot of praise for these Mughal rulers. When I was a student, I used to take them

mistakenly as saints. When I became adult, I came to know they were corrupt people. These were the lies included in Pakistan Studies... They are no more in the new textbook. (Teacher-11PG)

Another teacher, arguing that the history in the new textbook was unbiased and multi perspectival, elaborated this point by giving an example of the treatment of East Pakistan in the new textbook:

We have been reading and teaching that it was wish of the people (of East Pakistan) to separate—but in truth—the ground reality, which is also now incorporated in this textbook—the Awami League had a majority—it was their right to make government. Now in Pakistan Studies, they have described this fact. Similarly, there were the many ambiguous and one-sided concepts in the previous textbook. They are now described in both ways. They have left it to the new generation to decide themselves who was right and who was wrong. It is a good thing that you have both aspects. They have not blamed—they have only described in both ways—it is a good thing. (Teacher-14PG)

Interestingly, only two teachers—from the armed force schools—had perceptions inclined towards nation-statist conception of Pakistani national identity. They saw the inclusion of topics on Indian animosity towards Pakistan as a positive thing and considered it an essential theme for the cultivation of national identity. For example, a teacher from an armed forces school believed that “inclusion of topics such as the Pakistan movement and the Indian animosity was good because these topics induce sudden responses from the students and promote Pakistani national identity. Students are really involved in the discussions of the classroom” (Teacher-19AF). There was also concern expressed by one teacher regarding the decreased content related to pre-partition history—especially, the content on those personalities who contributed to the struggle for Pakistan’s independence. This teacher believed that the antagonistic history always helped him in cultivating students’ national identities.

There was a small group of teachers —from public as well as private schools—who saw no changes in the Pakistan Studies textbooks. They believed that same previous topics and themes were being repeated and the syllabus just divided into two books. One teacher articulated it as: “Typical pattern (of topics) is being followed. It seems as if the time has stopped after the Zia Era” (Teacher-15AF).

Then there were only two teachers who were not aware of any changes in the curriculum/textbook though they had taught the new textbook for several months. The reasons for this as mentioned by one novice teacher are: “I do not know because I am teaching this curriculum for the first time. I have not read this book completely” (Teacher-6PG).

Practices Regarding National Identity Theme of the Textbooks

This section presents findings of interviews conducted with the 27 teachers to understand their practices regarding national identity theme of the revised curriculum/textbooks. Practices were understood as the professional actions introduced by teachers to address an education policy (Collins & O'Brien, 2011; Zaoura, 2013).

Most teachers—from public as well as private schools—reported that with regard to teaching national identity they had been teaching the textbook content mainly through lectures believing that the content was sufficient for the cultivation of the national identity of the students. They did not believe in departing from the official curriculum and reported that they had just been following the topics given in the textbooks.

The frequently given reason for adopting this practice was that they were satisfied with the textbooks' content, which sufficiently helped them in cultivating their students' Pakistani national identity. In this regard, they reported the following content: topics in related to the past and the struggle for the independence of Pakistan, sacrifices made by ancestors, culture, languages, and social and political explanations of under development despite having an abundance of natural resources. Secondly, most teachers reasoned that assessment models dictated their reliance on the lecture method. They reported that they had been making sure while teaching that students remained on track and according to (examination pattern) because there were changes in examination system and there was more emphasis on objective type questions in final board exams so students should learn the textbook content thoroughly. An extreme example of this practice was evident in one teacher's reported practice when he made his students learn the content of model papers and practise tests—just to keep them on track so that they could get through the exams:

Here no concept of good citizenship is given, nor do students have such aims—most of the time, we do exam-oriented study... Short question-answer books are available ready-made in the market and the students just learn

them. Students learn them themselves and if they do not, they have to face the music. (Teacher-6PG)

This teaching to the test phenomenon is not unique to Pakistan either—indicative of how high-stakes assessment schemes can determine pedagogical practices. However, a focus upon core or perceived more important disciplinary areas can narrow the curriculum and the range of teaching and learning approaches used.

Other teachers also reported the constraints of time and the primacy of preparing students for the assessment expectations, albeit in less emphatic language. For example, many public school teachers identified practical and logistical barriers to adopting more progressive or participatory approaches to teaching. A frequently reported barrier was that class sizes reduced the amount of time these teachers could dedicate to the curricular reform agenda. A teacher identified it as: “I have no time to have any activity so I just rely on the lecture method” (Teacher-11PG). A second identified barrier was the teachers’ increased extra-curricular commitments: “Dengue virus duties, walks related to environmental issues, election duties—and recent duties related to floods” (Teacher-14PG). A third stated barrier was the prevailing strict accountability and testing regime: “The Education department has introduced strict rules. If you have results less than 25 %, your annual salary increments will not be given. If your result is 0% you will be removed from service” (Teacher-6PG). Fourth, many teachers identified a barrier that the students are generally alienated from Pakistan Studies. A teacher elaborated on this:

It is a non-core subject. Students are more absorbed in Sciences or Mathematics and pay less attention to it because they usually think they will study this close to exams and do some rote memorisation and just get through the exams. (Teacher-15AF)

In other words, Pakistan Studies faced a problem of being a relatively low status subject area in the students’ eyes.

Another frequently reported practice by most of the teachers—from public as well as private schools—was the use of moral lessons for the cultivation of Pakistani national identity. They reported that they had been giving moral lessons regarding appropriate behaviours in school and society and that these moral lessons were often derived from the teachings of Islam. They taught Islamic ethical lessons every day because they believed that to educate their students as good citizens, considerable knowledge of

Islamic moral values was necessary. A teacher emphasised the importance of this: “You cannot remain aloof from Islam here. It is a must. They must know their Islamic duties. This is the stage it is necessary to give them guidance” (Teacher-5PG). Similarly, another teacher emphasised Islam as the core of Pakistani society and argued: “Musharraf brought moderate Islam (and tried to change this core of society) and tried to liberalise society... (but) Islam is a necessary feature of Pakistani national identity. If Islam is removed from it, nothing will be left behind” (Teacher-13PG). Similarly, another teacher emphasised the practical value of Islam in achieving the aim of the cultivation of Pakistani national identity. He asserted, “Quoting from the Quran and Hadith enhances the impact of the lectures. It makes our work easier” (Teacher-13Pri).

Some public school teachers reasoned that the linking of moral values with Islamic values would not be wrong because they believed that Islam is the continuation of previous Abrahamic religions but it has more refined, comprehensive and better morality concepts, which are universally applicable for the character building of the students. A teacher elaborated on this point as:

It would be inappropriate to relate ethics particularly with Islam. Which religion says tell a lie? Which religion says to steal? Which religion says to commit adultery? Which religion says to violate human rights? Islam has just given us better concepts. (Teacher-7PG)

Nevertheless, one public school teacher had reservations in relation to involving Islam in teaching students to be good Pakistani citizens. He argued:

It is wrong to give reference to religion because no religion dictates you to steal, or tell lies or do injustice—all the religions have the same preaching. Putting more emphasis creates prejudice in the minds of students. They start thinking that Islam is the only true religion and other religions are false. This prejudice takes them to the wrong path. (Teacher-11PG)

Yet he reported that he had not been sharing his thoughts with his students directly because he believed his students had immature minds at this stage and because he had fear that it could be interpreted wrongly and could cause a public controversy. He explained his point further as: “I am not an atheist. But I am in search of true Islam. We need to create human beings (out of these students), who should be praised for their character—and are not called terrorists” (Teacher-11PG).

However, there were two different practices reported with regard to the cultivation of Pakistani national identity among non-Muslim students. Few teachers believed that in order to construct Pakistani national identity, it was *always* necessary to use Islam. Believing that it was their professional duty and responsibility to teach non-Muslim students equally and make them good citizens, they reasoned that it was appropriate to use Islamic morality principles for the cultivation of Pakistani national identity and good citizenship in non-Muslim students given that their parents had opted for this approach at the time of school admission. A teacher who emphasised the adoption of Islamic culture instructions not only for Muslim students but also for non-Muslim students argued, “They are living in Pakistan, they need to learn and adopt Islamic values” (Teacher-4PG). Similarly, a public school teacher reported, “I do not say to them to recite ‘There is no God but Allah and Muhammad (PBUH) is the Messenger of Allah’ but I say, do not lie, do not steal” (Teacher-7PG).

Christian teachers from the missionary school had interesting perspectives on this issue. They believed that in order to construct Pakistani national identity, it was not necessary to give their students knowledge of Islamic beliefs but that the Islamic ethical values and the core and common values between religions could be used. They believed that every religion provides lesson of good deeds and using religion as a reference point in lectures made lectures more effective. A teacher argued, “A religious touch should be in the lecture. When we say our religion says this, our government also says the same; this gives a teacher a strong position” (Teacher-27M). They did not see the inclusion of Islamic ethical values in the textbook and in their teaching practice causing a conflict. For example, a Christian teacher elaborated it as:

I do not see religion causes any conflict in the diverse religious community of students (Muslims and Christians). Ethical values that are given in the Bible are the same as they are given in Quran. These Ethical values are also the same in the curriculum. There is no conflict between them though the basic beliefs are different. If we do not interfere in the beliefs of our students and just stick to the actual aim of making them good citizens, there will not be a problem. (Teacher-26M)

They did see the inclusion of knowledge on Islamic beliefs in the textbooks and in teaching practice as causing a conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims. Therefore, they always tried to avoid the discussions of religious beliefs in classrooms. However, in

their day-to-day practice, they would try to inculcate national identity by emphasising inter faith harmony and equality of all. They believed that remaining “religiously blind” was the best strategy for the cultivation of the message of equality. A Christian teacher elaborated this as:

In my 18 years of teaching, I have never made my students realise that they are Christians and Muslims. I just believe in equal rights...I am religiously blind. I never give an opportunity to my students to feel that they are being discriminated against because of their faith. (Teacher-27M)

These teachers had an admirable quest for consensus and common ground but a denial of different strands/themes within the religious traditions and also—ironically—diminishing the contribution of students’ religious beliefs to their sense of identity as “good Pakistani citizens.”

Many teachers—mainly from the elite and armed forces schools—mentioned their practice of the teaching of Pakistan Studies from the point of view of promoting multiple perspectives for the cultivation of clarified and reflected Pakistani national identity. They usually presented different perspectives of key themes so that students could assess the various versions of national history. They had either been providing multiple interpretations by themselves or asking their students to bring forward their own knowledge, drawing upon oral traditions or social media. For example, reflecting on the textbook content and her practice, a teacher asserted: “I do not say to them this is right and you have to follow this. They should have their own thinking as well to assess different situations which I put in front of them” (Teacher-18AF). However, another teacher reported that he frequently made his students compare the knowledge gained in class with ordinary life experiences. (Teacher-20E.Pri). One teacher reported that he often made his students aware of the nation’s current affairs by making them read newspapers and listen to news so that they could appreciate multiple perspectives on a given issue. Another teacher reported that she often augmented state history with oral history. She elaborated:

I try to respect the opinions of my own students. If it is the topic related to history, I ask them if they have any references or historical events in their minds communicated to them by their elders. The goal is to develop patriotism toward the state. It can be done either through the textbook or through oral history. (Teacher-17AF)

Yet, these teachers also saw state exams as the biggest hurdle in developing a more nuanced appreciation of national identity amongst their students because ultimately they had to suggest to their students to follow and re-capitulate the official state version of history. A teacher gave a more specific comment:

As far as exams are concerned, my guideline to the students is that we are not aware of the approach of the examiner and the political parties they favour; therefore, I suggest whatever written in the textbook, follow that. It is also about the marks. Favouritism is there and because of his (examiner) liking and disliking, he may give more or less marks. (Teacher-18AF)

Therefore, for these teachers, state exams were the key determinant for their practices related to the national identity theme of the Pakistan Studies textbooks.

A few private school teachers—from elite and missionary schools—reported practices that could be labelled as a more whole school approach to the cultivation of national identity. These teachers identified that all school activities were arranged in the way that student could become more responsible and dutiful; they believed that this performance of duties would become ingrained students' habits and when they would be in their adult life they would be aware of their responsibilities to the nation. Private school teachers frequently followed this scheme. A snapshot of the whole school approach in daily practice gathered from these teachers seemed to be: School starts with morning assembly where *Nazra* (recitation of Quran) and quotes from Quran and Hadiths (sayings of Prophet (PBUH)) are shared followed by the explanation of them. Students sing the national anthem and then a national flag raising ceremony is conducted. Debate competitions and gatherings of literary societies are used to develop students' presentation and argumentation skills. To cultivate democratic participation, student elections and pupil monitors' charitable activities are conducted. Along with their routine subject teaching, these teachers give students moral lessons regarding appropriate behaviours in school and society. Teachers believed that all these whole school activities contributed to the cultivation of Pakistani national identity.

Having described teachers reported practices and the reasons they gave for the adoption of these practices, the next section describes the various suggestions provided by these teachers to improve the content of the curriculum/textbooks.

Suggestions Regarding National Identity Theme of the Textbooks

This sub-section presents the findings of interviews to understand teachers' suggestions regarding improving the treatment of the national identity theme within the Pakistan Studies textbooks. Based upon their suggestions, the teachers fell in two categories: Teachers' suggesting that more topics were required to promote national thinking (23) and teachers' suggesting that no changes were needed (4). Therefore, majority of teachers were in favour of the inclusion of one or more additional aspects of national identity content.

Most of the teachers—mainly from the public schools—suggested changes in the national identity theme of the textbooks, which can be labelled Islamist. For example, many teachers in this category suggested that Islamic points of view should be given more attention in order to improve the national identity content of the textbook. They felt that more content on the pillars of Islamic ideology of Pakistan and their relevance to society should be included. They also suggested that content related to Islamic values—justice, democracy, tolerance, and constitutional matters should be enhanced. One teacher argued, “When Islamic values had been added in the constitution of Pakistan then Islamic values are Pakistani values, they should be promoted more” (Teacher-24Pri). Therefore, he thought that it was necessary for his students to have deeper knowledge of the Islamic values. This group of teachers did not see it as an injustice to non-Muslim students who would be forced to read the Islamic content of the textbooks, as one teacher argued:

It would not be an injustice to add more information related to Islam. Injustice would be only when we do not treat non-Muslim students properly and we have hatred for them...Nobody's religion should be attacked in the textbook or during lectures...Islam is a universal religion. All that is in Islam is applicable to all human beings. (Teacher-8PG)

Similarly, another teacher argued:

Islamic concepts of justice, democracy, and tolerance are not only valuable for Muslim students but also for non-Muslim students because in this way, they will become aware of their rights and duties—and then they can work towards the progress of this country. (Teacher-24Pri)

Some teachers in this category suggested that more topics to promote national thinking should be included. For this they suggested the addition of more topics on

national heroes—from all provinces but acknowledged at national level such as life histories of leaders who took part in the freedom movement or military leaders who received *Nishan-e-Haider* (Pakistan’s highest military gallantry award). They were not in favour of additions of cultural issues as they argued this would promote what they regarded as provincialism and provincial prejudice.

Some teachers’ suggestions regarding the content of Pakistan Studies textbooks were pluralist. For example, teachers from missionary schools were mainly concerned with the addition of minority voices in the national narrative. One teacher who sought the addition of more content related to Pakistan minorities—for example the Christian minority and the contributions of different Christian leaders. He believed, “Now the Christian minority can also say that our contributions to Pakistan are also highlighted. But I think it is not enough—there should be more. Other minorities—Hindus and Parsis—should also be given some space” (Teacher-26M). Similarly, another argued that there were many minority leaders who worked for Pakistan but he could not see their adequate portrayal in the textbooks or other official histories. He went on to suggest that contributions of these minority leaders should also be acknowledged. Nevertheless, he suggested that their contributions should not be included, describing them as Christian or Hindu, rather as Pakistanis. He argued, “Every other community, Sikhs or Parsi, who has contributed to Pakistan, should be given space in the book. Otherwise, other communities would feel isolated” (Teacher-27M).

A few teachers in the pluralist category also suggested future thinking approaches to the teaching of Pakistan Studies. They argued that a futuristic vision—especially in the teaching of natural resources of Pakistan—should be included and that the historical content should be shortened and moulded accordingly. A teacher argued, “though there is certain importance of the past, whilst keeping the present in our view we should work towards making our future better” (Teacher-22Pri). Furthermore, the teacher argued, “If they (students) come to realise the importance of the resources, they will also come to realise that they should not waste these scarce resources” (Teacher-22Pri). These teachers believed that there was an abundance of national resources within Pakistan across different provinces but that there was an absence of vision to use these resources to help future generations to develop and prosper. Therefore, they argued for textbook content that had futuristic components within the ambit of Pakistan Studies. They also

argued that information on the problems in provinces and various ways of solving them should be included because it would not only promote national thinking but also encourage the younger generation to find creative solutions to these problems.

A few teachers' suggestions regarding the content of Pakistan Studies textbooks were nation-statist. For example, these teachers insisted that the freedom movement should be given more space, and politics since 1947 and the history of various constitutions should be curtailed. They believed that content related to an antagonistic freedom movement was much more effective in the construction of national identity than the power struggle and ever changing political history after partition. Nevertheless, they also suggested that more content on the history of recent decades should be included in the curriculum and the textbooks because they heightened the interest of the students in the subject. It was interesting to note that only one teacher suggested that the Kashmir issue should be given more space in order to cultivate the national identity of the students. Only two teachers suggested a cultivation of the love of the national language—Urdu.

With regard to medium of instruction, I would suggest that our own Urdu language should be preferred (although we teach 50% of our lectures in English). This would help in improving national integration...At least Urdu should be given its value in the state run educational institutions. (Teacher-19AF)

It is interesting in the sense that there was relatively less emphasis by the teachers on the Kashmir Issue and Urdu language—both of which are generally promoted as the core components of Pakistani national identity (Ayres, 2009).

Apart from the above cited views of the majority of the teachers arguing for the addition of content related to one or another conception of Pakistani national identity, a few teachers were not in favour of the addition of more national identity content. They believed that this additional material would increase the burden upon students and teachers. They were mainly concerned with the burden that would come from the assessments and examinations. A teacher elaborated it as:

We already have too much syllabus content. As a teacher, I feel that it is too much to do in one year. Students do not want to study it...before the addition of more national identity content, the syllabus should be reduced (Teacher-17AF).

Others expressed their lack of agency and voice in such matters. For example, a teacher argued, “I have no idea of the syllabus and what it should be. There should be good results; I have no concern with what should be in the syllabus” (Teacher-6PG). Conversely, other teachers suggested various other alternatives to the addition of more national identity content. For example a teacher argued, “For the better cultivation of national identity, changing the textbook is not the only way, other resources should be used, and parents should be involved more” (Teacher-18AF). Therefore, they did not insist on changing the content of the textbooks but did argue for the textbook content to be augmented by other library resources.

There was also certain outlier views in the suggestions of teachers. For example, contrary to most of the public school teachers suggesting more Islamic curriculum content, a public school teacher suggested that instead of promoting Islamic nationalism there was need to promote a more secular nationalism in the curriculum and the textbooks. This teacher insisted on including the virtues of secular national identity and argued:

It is a tradition here that we involve Islam in teaching students to be good Pakistani citizens. I think it is wrong to give reference to religion because no religion dictates you to steal, or tell lies or do injustice—all the religions have the same preaching. Putting more emphasis on Islam creates prejudice in the minds of students. They start thinking that Islam is the only true religion and other religions are false. This prejudice takes them along the wrong path. (Teacher-11PG)

This teacher also provided a solution to this problem:

There are two countries that came into existence on the basis of religion: Pakistan and Israel. Israel is not a stable country nor is Pakistan. Just because of religion, you cannot keep a country united. You have to raise slogans of nationalism. There were some religious parties—who have been considering nationalism as *Kufar* (infidelity). When it is said we Pakistanis are Muslim where should Christians go, where should Hindus go? We disown them by just saying that we Pakistanis are Muslim...this promotes all kinds of prejudices. If we do not go to nationalism then we will have all other identities. (Teacher-11PG)

Having presented findings regarding the perceptions, practices and suggestions of Pakistan Studies teachers regarding the national identity theme of the Pakistan Studies

textbooks, the next section moves to describe the findings regarding teachers' views with respect to the cultural diversity theme of the Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks.

Cultural Diversity Theme

Teachers' Perceptions of Cultural Diversity Theme of the Textbooks

This sub-section presents findings related to the teachers' perceptions of the cultural diversity theme within the revised Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks.

Cultural diversity theme here refers to the content of Pakistan Studies textbooks dealing with Pakistan's communal diversity—"self-conscious and more or less well-organised communities entertaining and living by their own different systems of beliefs and practices" (Parekh, 2000, p. 3). They include Pakistan's long established four provincial communities such as Punjabis, Sindhis, Pakhtoons, and Balaochis, indigenous peoples such as Kalash; and the various religious communities of Pakistan such as Muslims, Christians, Hindus, and Parsis.

To elicit teachers' perceptions regarding cultural diversity theme during the interview session, they were asked to describe the multiethnic/multicultural concepts and ideas taught in their Pakistan Studies classes. Moreover, they were asked to comment on cultural groups they thought receive the most attention in the new Pakistan Studies textbooks and the ethnic/religious groups they thought secured less attention (see Appendix F). Relevant amplificatory probing questions were asked to help in obtaining in-depth understanding and full description of the perceptions of the teachers (Kvale, 1996; Legard et al., 2003).

Categorising the responses of the teachers related to the cultural diversity theme within the revised curriculum and textbooks resulted in the classification of the teachers into two groups: Most teachers perceived that there were certain changes in the cultural diversity theme of the textbooks. However, only one teacher stated that he did not know about the changes in this theme within the Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks.

Most of the teachers, who perceived that there were certain changes in the cultural diversity theme within the textbooks, either appreciated or expressed concern about the changes in this dimension of the Pakistan Studies textbooks. They appreciated the inclusion of fair treatment for all the provincial cultures of Pakistan, over representation of Punjabis, the addition of information related to Brahvis, Saraikis, and Kashmiris, over

representation of Islamic culture, more positive approaches to Sindhis, or the non-representation of non-Muslim cultural groups. Some were also concerned about the limited representation of Balochis, the non-representation of Gilgit-Baltistan and the non-representation of international cultures.

Most of the teachers—mainly from the public schools—perceived that all provinces were represented fairly. They perceived that no dominant provincial ethnic group was being promoted in these textbooks. They argued that although there was a lack of richness in the detail about different cultures, there was an equality in the depiction of the ethnic/cultural groups of Pakistan: “no one is preferred; no one is given more attention. All cultures of Pakistan are presented in a balanced way” (Teacher-10PG). They further argued that a curriculum should be neutral in order to promote national integration and from this point of view, they perceived that the new Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbook was good.

Some teachers—mainly from the private schools but a few from the public schools—perceived that all provincial cultural groups were covered but that the representation of them was not balanced. They perceived that Punjabis were over represented in the Pakistan Studies textbooks. They justified this over representation on various grounds. For example, a teacher argued that Punjabis got the most attention in the new Pakistan textbooks because they were the largest group and most Pakistani leaders were from Punjab: “If by chance, there is discussion or depiction of a leader who happens to Punjabi, then it is not his fault. No leader is mentioned specifically that he is Punjabi or Sindhi” (Teacher-20E.Pri). Another perceived it to be because Punjabis had made more sacrifices for Pakistan and because Punjabis had been more involved in politics compared to other ethnic groups.

I do not think there is over representation of Punjabis in this book. It is true that if those who made sacrifices for Pakistan are more from Punjab, it is not to Punjabis who are to blame. (Teacher-10PG)

Another perceived it to be a representation of the political and administrative reality of Pakistan: Punjabis have greater representation in the federal government and are dominant in politics.

Obviously, this book is a Punjab textbook; therefore, Punjabis are being given more attention in the textbook. Nawaz Sharif (Punjabi leader and current prime minister) is being promoted in it because they have been ruling

Punjab for a long time. You will see their influences in the textbook. They have described other cultures but more on Punjab maybe because it is being taught in Punjab. Maybe in different provinces it is different. (Teacher-21E.Pri)

Yet another believed that it was good to have more knowledge and information regarding Punjab compared to other cultures of the country because this teacher believed it helped in the cultivation of students' "Punjabi identity first." A teacher also argued for adding the city-level knowledge and information to the textbook so that students could develop affinity with the culture and place where they themselves were living.

Some teachers—from public as well as private schools—appreciated the addition of content related to some small language groups such as Kashmiri, Brahvi, Saraiki, and Hindko. They maintained that the previous curricula and textbooks had neglected these ethnic groups and only the four main provincial groups had been the focus of the textbooks. Moreover, they claimed that this addition would be helpful in enhancing the cultural knowledge of Pakistan Studies' students.

Some teachers appreciated the strong representation of Islamic culture and argued that less representation of non-Muslim groups was justified on the ground that Pakistan is an Islamic country. Moreover, they reasoned that in the school, most of the students are Muslims and non-Muslims are few; therefore, it was reasonable for the Pakistan Studies textbooks to focus on Muslim culture:

Muslims are in majority so they have given more attention to Islamic culture. As far as the representation of religious minorities are concerned, they are few—only 3% whereas Muslim are 97%. Pakistan is an Islamic country. It is not wrong to highlight Islamic culture. (Teacher-6PG)

Some teachers—from public as well as private schools—were concerned about the less representation of Non-Muslim cultural groups in the textbook and perceived it as injustice to the non-Muslim groups of Pakistan. They even believed that the textbooks were not up to the standard because it had no information regarding the non-Muslim sub-cultures of Pakistan such as Christians or Hindus. For them, just mentioning the Christians, Hindus, and Parsis segment of the population was not sufficient. They wanted to see elaborated discussions of their cultures in the textbooks. One teacher argued, "They are also citizens of Pakistan—though they are in the minority. They have as many rights as do others" (Teacher-10PG). They were even cynical about the purpose

of the textbooks, as one teacher believed that the textbook was more geared towards cultivating “liberty” in youth than providing information about the cultural groups of Pakistan.

A few teachers—from public as well as private schools—were concerned about the representation of Balochis. They argued that the representation of them was important because they formed a significant part of Pakistan. Furthermore, they asserted that their representation in the textbooks would not only enhance the Punjabi students’ positive knowledge of a major cultural group of Pakistan, it would also help in ameliorating the sense of deprivation in Balochis: They would feel more of a part of the Pakistani nation.

Two teachers were concerned about the non-representation of Gilgit-Baltistan—the newly created fifth province of Pakistan—in the new Pakistan Studies textbooks. For example, a teacher stated, “Gilgit-Baltistan has become the 5th province but this book still says that Pakistan has four provinces” (Teacher-1FG).

Another two teachers were concerned about the non-representation of international cultures. Arguing the absence of international cultures knowledge in the textbook a teacher stated:

The British ruled here for hundred years. There is political history related to that in this textbook but nothing is related to their culture. Knowledge about different cultures—the real beauty of Pakistan Studies—is neglected here. In this textbook, we do not even have information about Arabs from where our religion has originated. (Teacher-7PG)

They believed that the presence of these international cultures in the textbook was necessary because it helped in raising globally competent individuals.

Only one teacher fell into the category of “I don’t know.” When asked to comment cultural diversity content of the textbooks, this teacher stated that he had less concern with the content of the curriculum/textbooks. He argued, “I am not giving students knowledge, I just want them to pass the examination successfully. Students are not here to receive knowledge. They are here to pass the examination” (Teacher-6PG).

Practices Regarding Cultural Diversity Theme of the Textbooks

Interviewed teachers were asked to provide a description of the methods they employed for the teaching of topics related to cultural diversity of Pakistan. They were

asked to describe whether and how they compensate for the less discussed cultural groups in the new Pakistan Studies textbooks.

The findings from the data suggested that most of the teachers—from public as well as private schools—had been teaching only the cultural diversity content included in the Pakistan Studies textbooks. They provided reasons confining themselves to teaching of the textbooks' content. Firstly, they perceived that they had a duty to follow the topics in the textbooks. Secondly, they reported that they had too tight teaching schedules to add extra content on cultural diversity. Thirdly, they reported that in order to prepare students for the state examinations they had to limit themselves to the textbooks' content. Fourthly, they reported that lack of cultural diversity in their school and student population from single ethnic or religious groups made them teach the textbooks' content as it was. Fifthly, it was because of their personal beliefs that discussing the ethnicity or religion in class would undermine the national integration process. Sixthly, they reported that they had not added extra content on cultural diversity in Pakistan for the fear of disrupting the class discipline or creating community controversy. Seventh, teachers' reported that sometimes it was their own limited knowledge of other cultures of Pakistan—which made them reluctant to move beyond the confines of the textbooks' knowledge.

However, some teachers reported that they had been supplementing the textbooks content with their own personal knowledge during teaching lessons on cultural diversity. A few teachers reported that they had been teaching moral lessons on Islamic humanism alongside the textbook content. Whereas a few public teachers reported that they had been paying special attention to the issues of Christian students in order to win future converts, other teachers—from private and armed forces schools—reported that they paid particular attention to the issues of Christian students because of their professional role as teachers.

Most of the teachers reported that they had been teaching only the textbooks' content on cultural diversity in order to remain within the curricular boundaries. They argued that they could not do anything to compensate for the relative lack of representation of cultural groups because they had to follow the topics in the textbooks.

We have short time. I have to cover the whole syllabus—I need to prepare my students for short answer questions as well as long answer questions. I try to dictate every question's answer. This is because I believe that if they

have written every question's answer, it will remain in their minds. The more a student is in touch with the book the more he has the learning of these concepts in it. (Teacher-21.E.Pri)

They also reported that their teaching schedules were too tight to accommodate extra content/lectures on cultural issues. For example, a teacher reported, "I just have a 40-50 minutes period. It is great if I could only carry out teaching and learning of the textbook in the class room" (Teacher-7PG). Another teacher elaborated this barrier as:

I remain bound to the curriculum. Teaching is mostly content driven because I have limited time, the syllabus is huge, and then I have to cover Islamic Studies in the same period during the week... The week is divided into three days for Pakistan studies and three days for Islamic studies. (Teacher-3PG)

They also reported that they had to prepare students from the examination point of view:

I have constraints because of board exams; there they evaluate the knowledge of students through an exam paper. You can say that it is the examination system failure that they do not evaluate extra knowledge of the students; no weightage is given to extra knowledge. Therefore, we are compelled to teach students only the content of the textbook and make them memorise that textbook content. (Teacher-20E.Pri)

Some teachers reported that they could not do anything to compensate for the relative lack of representation of cultural groups in the textbooks because they usually taught a student population from a single ethnic group or religious group. For example, a teacher reported:

Since I am teaching in Punjab and my students are all Punjabis, my focus remains only on Punjabis. Even if there is a single Balochis in my class, I will pay attention to issues of Balochis in my class... I have neither Balochis nor Sindhis in my class; I never paid attention to their issues. In my service of 28 years, I never had any Balochis or Sindhis attending our school. I have not seen a single Hindu student in my classes. (Teacher-11PG)

Some teachers reported that they had not been adding more content on cultural diversity of Pakistan because of their personal belief that discussing and emphasising different ethnicities would undermine the national integration process. Therefore, even teaching the textbooks' content about the cultural diversity of the country, they had been mostly discussing and emphasising similarities among them. A teacher elaborated this theme as:

There are things that should not be argued about, they are not negotiable, and national identity is one of those. It is enough to say that we have a hybrid culture. To keep them all together, there is a need for national integration...Differences do exist, they always do exist. You cannot settle them forever. We should focus on those things, which can make us one. (Teacher-15AF)

Some teachers reported that they had not been adding more content on the cultural diversity of Pakistan because they believed that discussing ethnicity and religion in classes at school level could disrupt the class discipline—and even cause controversy in the community. They believed that in order to avoid the controversy, it was better only to teach according to the official Pakistan Studies' textbooks:

My point of view is that such kind of things should not be discussed at all. At this level, students have a narrow approach so involving them in the discussion of these issues would make issues more controversial and make it hard to teach. (Teacher-16AF)

Some teachers reported that teaching the cultural diversity of Pakistan had not been their priority because of their limited knowledge of other cultures of Pakistan. A teacher elaborated it as:

Honestly speaking, being a teacher I do not know much about other cultures. I am living in Punjab; I know Punjab and Punjabi culture so while teaching we keep on elaborating Punjabi culture. For other cultures, we just tend to stick to the content of the textbook. (Teacher-21E.Pri)

In the same way, a novice teacher—a recent geography graduate—added that she could discuss cultural groups only through the geographic perspectives because of her limited knowledge of cultural or political perspectives.

The discussion on them (cultural groups) comes only through the discussion of natural resources—such as the relatively limited development of Baluchistan and the reasons for that...It is because I have more knowledge of geography than cultural or political issues of these ethnic/cultural groups. I also have very little experience of teaching. (Teacher-22Pri)

Some teachers reported that they added personal knowledge as needed and related this information to the textbooks' knowledge while teaching the content on cultural diversity in order to enhance students' understanding of cultural diversity of Pakistan. However, they reported that when they were teaching a topic relevant to these groups,

they added only some general information because at school level, they believed that the level of engagement or interaction was not high because of the knowledge level of the students:

I do my best to add my knowledge—gained over the years through education and experience—I have visited some places and the personalities I have read about or the culture I have been through—to the textbook content to compensate for ethnic/cultural groups, which receive less attention in the new Pakistan/ social studies textbooks. But I do give them this kind of information from my own knowledge. (Teacher-20E.Pri)

A few teachers—from private schools— reported that they had been using strategies such as a poster competition of different Pakistani cultures and a celebration of culture day to show the cultural diversity of Pakistan in schools. For the poster competition, the students brought colours and posters to paint different cultural traditions of Pakistan. For the celebration of cultural day students displayed dresses and different cultural food stalls in school. They presented cultural dances and plays—which included the different marriage customs. Teachers reported that this helped them to increase the awareness of the Pakistani cultures among their students in order to raise their awareness of other cultures’ ways of life, dresses, traditions, and foods.

Two teachers reported that though they had mostly been teaching the textbooks’ content only, they taught moral lessons on Islamic humanism. As one of the teachers elaborated, “as far as minorities are concerned, I teach my (Muslim) students that they should respect other religions as well because our religion teaches us religious tolerance” (Teacher-18AF).

However, since they had some Christian students attending the schools, a few public school teachers reported that they paid special attention to the issues of Christian students in the hope of the winning converts. For example, a public school teacher argued:

I have a few Christian students in my class. I pay particular attention to them with the view that when they will be adult and they will hear preaching of Islam then they will listen to us attentively. (Teacher-13PG)

Contrary to this, other teachers from private and armed forces schools reported that they paid attention to the issues of Christian students not in the hope of winning converts. They were motivated by their professional role as teachers who guided

students regardless of their religion or ethnicity. In this category, many teachers reported that they were religiously blind and they always treated students equally. For example, a teacher asserted, “I am a teacher, not a preacher” (Teacher-16AF).

Suggestions Regarding Cultural Diversity Theme of the Textbooks

Teachers were also asked to provide their suggestions with respect to the cultural diversity theme of Pakistan Studies textbooks so that the representation of cultural groups in the new Pakistan Studies might be improved.

The dominant suggestion regarding the improvement of the cultural diversity content of the Pakistan Studies textbooks was that the instead of highlighting a particular ethnic or religious group there was a need for more emphasis upon commonalities among all the ethnic or religious groups in Pakistan. A teacher explained:

If you want to promote national integration then you need to be balanced. If you pay more attention to a certain ethnic group or a region, there is already chaos in Pakistan, it will add to that. No special attention or space even to the deprived ethnic groups—such as Balochis—should be given. (Teacher-15AF)

They equated commonalities with “Pakistani culture” and they vehemently argued for it. As one public school teacher put it:

Pakistani culture should be promoted more—more than the present textbook does. This should be done by highlighting those things that are common between Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Ismailis, and Parsis living here. They are all Pakistanis. (Teacher-7PG)

They also equated the promotion of common beliefs and values with what they termed as a balanced approach to teaching Pakistan Studies: “It is Pakistan Studies so a balanced approach should be taken to the representation of all cultures” (Teacher-23Pri). To this end, some suggested that textbooks should not represent non-Muslims groups at all. For instance, a teacher argued fervently:

Non-Muslim minorities have values different from the national values and their way of living is different so they should not be represented in the textbooks. ...Christian students are studying in Pakistan they must learn Pakistani (Islamic) culture. (Teacher-4PG)

Other teacher argued that non-Muslim groups should not be part of this curriculum “because the majority is Muslim students; only their perspective should be in the textbooks” (Teacher-8PG). Yet another teacher argued that adding more content on non-Muslim groups would undermine the neutrality of the curriculum:

I think it (content on non-Muslim groups) should not be part of Pakistan Studies. Now it is neutral, it is neither discussing Muslims nor non-Muslim. If you add another chapter on Muslim and non-Muslim (cultures), it would become a topic of discussion (and controversy). (Teacher-16AF)

She further rejected the idea of adding more content on non-Muslim groups because she believed it would obstruct the students’ chance to express their views and learn communication skills in Pakistan Studies classes:

If you introduce a chapter on non-Muslim groups, it would give a point of debate. The benefit of having Pakistan Studies at this level is that it gives students an opportunity to express their views and learn communication skills. The benefit of having a neutral chapter is that the students can easily talk about a particular topic. If we add a chapter on religious groups, it will not make them express their views fully. (Teacher-16AF)

In the same way, a public school teacher argued that Balochis should not be part of this curriculum:

Balochis cannot be represented in this textbook because they are running a separatist movement. Pakistan Studies should depict only those people as heroes who are acknowledged by the whole of Pakistan. (Teacher-10PG)

Nevertheless, a few teachers were ready to make concessions on their “balanced approach” in the case of Balochis. They argued that common values should be promoted but Balochi can be given more so that their sense of alienation might be alleviated and national integrity could be promoted.

More could be added in the syllabus for the chapter on different cultures but with balanced focus on all the main cultures of Pakistan. If Balochis are given more space due to their long history of deprivation and not being in mainstream politics, they can be given extra coverage—so that some difference can be made in their life. (Teacher-17AF)

In the same way, some teachers suggested that in order to improve the cultural diversity content of the textbooks, non-Muslim groups should be given equitable representation in it. Arguing for the equitable representation of non-Muslim groups in

the Pakistan Studies' textbooks, a teacher stated, "I would not say that the representation of all should be on an equal basis but non-Muslim cultural groups are free and independent citizens of this country so they should also be given some space" (Teacher-1FG). Another qualified the extent of representation with their contribution to the Pakistani nation by arguing:

Pakistan Studies is about what is in Pakistan—they are either minorities or any other group. Representations of Christians and other religious minorities in this book are not as they should be. If they have done something for the country, they should be given space in the textbook. (Teacher-2FG)

Another reasoned that the addition of information on Christian and Hindu cultures would help in enhancing the cultural knowledge of Muslim students.

There are more Christians in Punjab, so in the Punjab textbooks, more information should be added; and there are more Hindus in Sindh, so in the Sindh textbooks more information should be added... this would be helpful to our students to understand Pakistan's diversity. (Teacher-26M)

Yet, there was also fear of a religious backlash because they perceived that Sunni Muslims had traditionally resisted the addition of the perspectives of other religions in the textbooks. For example, a teacher elaborated it as:

Content related to the cultures of non-Muslim groups should be added into these textbooks only with the consensus of all. Having seen the figures of their population, if government feels that. Only through consensus because there can be a religious backlash. If all school of thoughts come to a consensus on certain content, then it is OK! (Teacher-14PG)

Some argued for the addition of more information on the people of Gilgit-Baltistan, Waziristan, and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Textbooks, they argued, should also talk about Gilgit-Baltistan on an equal footing with other provinces. Arguing for the inclusion of Waziristan and FATA in the textbook a teacher, stated:

The cultures of four provinces are represented in the book but the people of FATA and Waziristan are also Pakistanis. They have the same Islamic values and their way of living is not very different so they should be given representation in this book. (Teacher-4PG)

Two teachers argued that not only the sub-cultures of Pakistan but also international cultures should be part of this curriculum.

More cultural content should not be included because students study these topics at lower levels, these topics do not belong to this level, and as such, it is not an important thing to include. But international cultures should be included so students can make comparisons with other countries. (Teacher-12PG)

Two teachers who believed in Islamic humanism argued that the textbook content should be underpinned by the principle of Islamic humanism. This, according to one of the respondents, would help students in cultivating respect and tolerance for the religious diversity existing within Pakistan as well as beyond the borders.

More information regarding Islamic humanism should be given, as they are common and compatible with the non-Muslim cultural values in a way that the students feel the whole world as their home. Allah has considered human beings as His family. (Teacher-9PG)

Contrary to the views of those teachers who were against any kind of promotion of a particular ethnic or religious group, two teachers believed that it was of the utmost importance at that this level of study that students should be given knowledge regarding their own culture and surroundings. This, they argued, would help the students cultivate an identity with their place of living. As one teacher argued:

If other cultures are given less attention then it is what it should be. I think students at this level should be given more information regarding Punjab and less information regarding other provinces. At the lower level, I would suggest that students should be given more information regarding their own city. (Teacher-11PG)

They went on to suggest that the textbooks being taught in Punjab should have more focus on Punjabis and books taught in other provinces should have more representation of their respective cultures. Nevertheless, they were not totally against adding content related to other cultures. For example, a teacher argued, “this is not to suggest that the Punjabi students should not be given information regarding other cultures within Pakistan. At least bits of information can be added related to other cultures” (Teacher-25Pri).

Global Identity Theme

Teachers' Perceptions of Global Identity Theme of the Textbooks

This sub-section presents findings related to the teachers' perceptions of the global identity theme of the revised Pakistan Studies textbooks.

Global identity theme here refers to the content of the revised Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks dealing with broadening "students' understanding of the world in the wake of the impacts of globalisation" (Pike, 2015, p. 11). Moreover, this content is assumed to cultivate affinity and allegiance to "the worldwide community of human beings" (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 4) so that they could "care for the fate of all human beings" (Appiah, 2008, p. 87).

Teachers were asked to describe the frequently taught and discussed global topics. They were also asked to provide their thoughts on global topics which received the most or the least attention in the new Pakistan Studies textbooks. They were also asked to describe whether and how they compensated for the less discussed global ideas or concepts in the new Pakistan Studies' textbooks (see Appendix F). Relevant amplificatory probing questions were asked to enrich the data.

Most of the teachers—from public as well as private schools—perceived that the global issues were the least discussed theme in the Pakistan Studies textbooks. They argued, "Global covers all but the countries with which we have no relationships, trade, imports, or exports, are not covered or discussed" (Teacher-10PG). They believed that the textbook writers did not do justice to this theme of Pakistan Studies. They even perceived, "the textbook does not give a proper attention to the concept of foreign policy/relations of Pakistan as it should be" (Teacher-7PG).

Most of the teachers—from public as well as private schools—perceived that the textbooks emphasised national issues more as compared to global issues and the range of the discussed topics was narrow. A majority of the teachers also perceived that there was description only of Pakistan's relations with neighbouring countries. They argued that the Pakistan Studies subject was meant to discuss what was within Pakistan and that global issues were somewhat irrelevant to this. Therefore, they perceived that the textbook paid more attention to national issues. However, they argued that if there were global topics they should only be related to Pakistan. They mostly identified topics such as the United Nation Organisation and the South Asian Association for Regional

Cooperation (SAARC) countries and Pakistan's role in them, the foreign policy of Pakistan and the relations of other countries with the world, Pakistan relations with neighbouring country—for example what kind of relation Pakistan has had with India and the wars with her.

Some teachers—mainly from the private schools—identified and appreciated the positive change in the global identity theme of the Pakistan Studies textbooks. They identified these changes in the area of the portrayal of India, incorporation of Human Rights awareness and ecological issues. A teacher stated, “All textbooks seek to portray India as our arch enemy—this curriculum as well as previous one. The previous curriculum was more open in this regard but now only facts are given” (Teacher-26M). Yet another appreciated the incorporation of environmental issues on the ground that this would help in preparing students for more environmental consciousness.

Contrary to the teachers who appreciated one or more aspects of the global content of the textbook, a few teachers—from public as well as private schools— were concerned about the inclusion/exclusion of certain aspects of the global content in the textbook. They were mainly concerned about the not very extensive discussion of global concepts such as international health issues, global warming, and global village, less attention given to the Kashmir and Palestine issues, more attention to the relations with Europe, and non-coverage of international extremist activities and Pakistan's involvement in them.

Two teachers were in “I don't know” category because they identified that they had no training in the teaching of Pakistan Studies and they had only recently started teaching Pakistan Studies. One teacher stated, “I am a science teacher. I am asked to teach Pakistan Studies because of the shortage of teachers in this school. Now, science teachers are also teaching Urdu, English, and Pakistan Studies” (Teacher-6PG). Because of different disciplinary training, these teachers had insufficient content knowledge of the Pakistan Studies curriculum and therefore could not comment on it. Nevertheless, they generally commented on certain aspects of this theme of the Pakistan Studies textbooks.

Practices Regarding Global Identity Theme of the Textbooks

This sub-section presents findings related to the teachers' practices with respect to global identity theme of the revised curriculum/textbooks.

During the interview, the teachers were asked to provide description of the instructional methods they employed for the teaching of topics related to the global identity theme of the Pakistan Studies textbooks. They were asked to describe whether and how they compensated for the less discussed global identity theme in the new Pakistan Studies textbooks.

Connecting and correlating global issues and local issues while teaching the content of the Pakistan Studies textbooks emerged as a common theme across almost all the interviewed private school teachers. Most of the teachers reported that in their Pakistan Studies classes, they had been regularly talking about Pakistan but during lectures, they also gave references to different world cultures—but keeping the focus on Pakistan only. They had been focusing only on the requirements of the syllabus and had been incorporating global perspectives only to clarify students' conceptual understanding otherwise they had been avoiding it.

The cited topics that resulted in teachers' connecting and correlating global issues and local issues were diverse. For example, foreign relations of Pakistan, the event of 9/11 and then its impact on Pakistan's foreign policy, international humanitarian organisations helping in different countries during natural calamities, international terrorism, and comparison of sit-in in Islamabad with sit-in in developed countries. A private school teacher elaborated it:

I usually discuss and compare local issues with global issues, for example Malala...free and equal education in Europe. To discuss terrorist acts in Pakistan or anywhere else in the world is a natural thing in our class. I have students who have come back from European countries to study here; they discuss and compare their experiences abroad with Pakistani experiences so automatically linkage is developed. (Teacher-21E.Pri)

Several private school teachers provided examples of the integration of global perspectives into the textbooks' knowledge. A private school teacher provided an elaborated example with respect to the teaching of Pakistan and India relations.

Our national policy (as evident in our textbooks) do say that India is our arch rival, but being an honest human being, I give my students extra knowledge regarding economic benefits of having trade with India. When I am teaching

textbook content with respects to wars with India, it emerges as an enemy but I tell my students-when they ask about the winner of the war-that no one wins the war, there is always loss-the one who has more loss is called loser. There was a time when wars were needed but now there is no more need of war, there is need of cooperation. We cannot change our neighbour but we can change our friends. If we turn them into friends, this will benefit us. Here in the textbooks, you learn about the wars and enmity...but our cultures are same; border is just a geographical line: on one side, there is Pakistan and on other side, there is India. See the people they are the same. (Teacher-20E.Pri)

Most of the public teachers recounted that connecting and correlating global issues with local issues did not happen very often in their classrooms. They identified many barriers in incorporating global perspectives within their classrooms: national curriculum policy, available time, teachers' own knowledge, availability of the resources, and personal preferences. These barriers were exactly the same as with the teaching of national identity and cultural diversity theme.

I cannot do discussion on my own will. I am given a parameter and limit. I can talk about global topics generally while teaching the curriculum. But I cannot discuss a separate global topic. I am bound to follow national curriculum policy. (Teacher-14PG)

It depends on if I have the information related to the topic to teach, the length of the topic matters and the required periods to teach the content to students. (Teacher-21E.Pri)

I am also teaching to O level classes and their curriculum is more global oriented. When I come to teach to matric classes that knowledge influences my teaching (and I teach with a global perspective). (Teacher-21E.Pri)

We are not provided resources to enhance global knowledge. (Teacher-10PG)

Some public teachers reported that they had not been connecting and correlating global issues and local issues in their classrooms for personal preference and ideological reasons. For example, they stated that they had not been doing this, as a teacher stated, "No, I do not think I should. No, never. Media is giving all this. I do not think I should do this" (Teacher-4PG). Moreover, a teacher reported that he just focused on exams and preparing students for getting good grades. A public teacher believed that developed countries were not ideal for comparisons as she stated:

Global issues or global comparison is not important... I do not discuss global issues in my class often. Sometimes, I do when I talk about rule and law and I give examples of developed countries to motivate students to follow the rules or laws—but not in detail... rules and laws are also given by Islam and if we follow them here, we can make this setup right. Islam has all the elements, which can guide us. (Teacher-5PG)

It is hard to teach the students from the backward cities at this level (with a global perspective). To teach students with a global perspective, it is necessary that students have some prior knowledge. On understanding the prior knowledge of the students, I decide whether to take global perspective or not—whether to involve students in these topics to that level or not. (Teacher-20E.Pri)

In the interviews with the teachers, they were also asked firstly to comment on whether and how they encouraged students to act in response to disasters in their own country. Secondly, they were asked to comment on whether and how they encouraged students to act in response to issues in a foreign country. The aim of these questions was to understand the difference of their perspectives on acting nationally and internationally.

The analysis of the responses showed that, with only one exception, all teachers had been motivating students for national or co-religious donations but not for international causes. Most teachers reported that they had been motivating students to donate for national disaster victims and that the responses from students and parents had been overwhelming. They encouraged students to donate to the disasters-earthquake or flood by teaching moral lessons to their students to donate for national disaster affectees in their own classrooms or using the platform of morning assembly. Most of the teachers reported that the responses from the students and parents had been very generous: “Whenever there is national disaster, everyone participates. We tell our students once. *Alhamdulillah* (thanks be to God), we get many contributions voluntarily—even parents contribute” (Teacher-17AF)

Most teachers reported that in most cases, this had been an administrative or whole school initiative. Whenever there was a need, the institution asked for the collection of donations for disaster victims: “It all depends on the administration but if I want to do it individually—no. I need permission from my principal or above. There is a certain decorum which is followed” (Teacher-1FG).

Most teachers reported that collection of donations had been on a national level and had never been done at international level. For instance, a teacher stated:

I have never seen an example of donation to other countries in all my service here in this institution. This is done on national level and has never been done at international level. I do discuss the international tragedies in classrooms but do not act for them. (Teacher-2FG)

It seemed that there were parameters around the extent of global citizenship and a lesser sense of identifying with human disasters in non-Muslim or developed nations.

Most of the teachers reported their emotional sympathies for the Muslim *Ummah*. These teachers had been holding morning prayers for the disaster victims belonging to the Muslim community all over the world. Nevertheless, they reported that there had been no institutional routines or procedures for doing this for the global non-Muslim community. There were even signs of mistrust regarding the intentions of the global non-Muslim community. An example of this can be seen in the following quote from a teacher's interview excerpt:

If it (any kind of disaster) happens to Muslims in India or anywhere else, yes we do prayers for them in morning assemblies... Others are also human beings but it is just to show sympathies with our own Muslim *Ummah*. Prayers can be held also for the non-Muslims but there are no such routines in our institution—even not in all over Pakistan. If something happens to Pakistani Muslims, who from the international Christian community will pray for them? Rather, they will be happy! (Teacher-17AF)

Here they were equating the non-Muslim global community with international Christian community.

There was only one teacher who reported and identified some instances of international donations and affinity with the world beyond Muslim *Ummah*. However, he admitted that this was not a frequent thing to happen in his school.

Donations are typically made for national community and not for any foreign country. Sometimes, we sell Red Crescent tickets and the money is given to the Red Crescent, which they themselves send to other countries. In school, prayers for the victims of an international disaster—not particularly for Muslim *Ummah*—are undertaken only if there is a national mourning to show sympathy. (Teacher-14PG)

Many teachers provided their reasons for not motivating students to donate to international disasters. Firstly, they reported that they were not able to look outside of

Pakistan, as there had always been some kind of disaster within Pakistan, which tended to receive precedence. Secondly, they argued that it was extremely difficult to get donations for those affected by foreign disaster because a majority of Pakistanis are poor and their priority regarding charity had been more localised disasters. For example, a teacher argued, “Our country itself is poor and people do not have resources to the extent to donate to the people caught in disaster in a foreign land” (Teacher-25Pri). Thirdly, they believed that because of the geographic distance, it was hard to promote empathy within their students for a distant country disaster: “If the government of Pakistan appeals for a disaster abroad, I will share information with students to donate. It is possible for a neighbour country but not for countries too distant to inculcate empathy in our students for them” (Teacher-7PG). Fourthly, they believed it as a deviation from the main aim of the study: “Students will be distracted from their real aim of exams and obtaining of good marks if they pay more attention to international affairs. 9th-10th class is the base of their educational career” (Teacher-23Pri). Finally, they were not inclined to it because of ideological reasons:

Honestly speaking, for India—no. Islam teaches us tolerance but Islam also teaches that if somebody breaks your promise, you can also break the promise. Being a teacher, I am not against anyone but if someone harms us, we have to teach our students that these are the harms we have been receiving from these people. (Teacher-18AF)

Donations for foreign disasters. No, never! I have full sympathies and respect for local Christians or Hindus but not with global ones because they have evil design against Muslims. For locals it is because a model is presented to them. Seeing our good character, they would be attracted to Islam. Without this, they would not listen to us. (Teacher-13PG)

However, there were also a few teachers who although never having experience of motivating students to donate to foreign countries’ disasters, showed an inclination to do so in future. They believed that since Islam and their ideals for the care of humanity directed them to have a positive and universal approach to human beings—even from other religious backgrounds, they were ready to do what they had been doing for only the national community. An armed school teacher stated:

I am not against India. I am not against things; I am against acts. Being a teacher, I am not a negative minded person. They (Indians) have inflicted a lot of miseries on our forefathers but being Muslim we have some duties towards humanity. (Teacher-19AF)

Similarly, another armed forces school teacher stated, “Donations (in this school) are made only at a national level but even if there is some disaster in India, I will have a positive approach. I believe in hating sins not human beings” (Teacher-16AF). In the same vein a private school teacher asserted, “It can be done for a disaster in the country or any foreign country—even for India—for the sake of humanity” (Teacher-22Pri).

Suggestions Regarding Global Identity Theme of the Textbooks

This sub-section presents findings related to the teachers’ suggestions regarding the global theme of the revised Pakistan Studies textbooks.

Teachers’ suggestions were elicited by asking them to provide suggestions for the improvement of the global theme in the new Pakistan Studies. They were specifically asked, “if you are asked to write the Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks, what would you emphasise: cultural/provincial, national, or global issues?”

Most of the teachers—public as well as private—suggested that the content of any future Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks should be more based upon national issues, concerns, and priorities than global and provincial. The core of their arguments was that paying more attention to national and international identifications in the curricular content would broaden the visions of students and make them better citizens. However, they believed that adding more content related to national identity should be the priority, as they perceived, “If we give more emphasis to cultural issues, this will promote provincialism and provincial prejudice” (Teacher-2FG). They endorsed the idea of the addition of the cultural, national, and global issues but frequently emphasised, “There is no need to balance these three. Nationalism and the problems of Pakistan should be given more focus” (Teacher-3PG). They even suggested percentages of the content for example, a teacher suggested, “This is Pakistan Studies, so national issues should be given more weighting: 70% Pakistani issues, 20% global issues, and 10% cultural issues” (Teacher-22Pri). A typical line of thinking and reasoning regarding the addition of the more on national issues than global and provincial is evident from the following quotation from a teacher.

I will promote nationalism. I want to add global issues but the priority is the nation. I also want to add provincial issues but the priority is nation. The integrity of the country comes before anything else. (Teacher-8PG)

Many teachers provided reasons for their paying more emphasis to national issues than global and provincial. First, some held the perception that nationalism was the only solution for all the problems in Pakistan. For example, a teacher argued, “If we are able to cultivate love for the country in our students, every problem of Pakistan would be solved—especially terrorism” (Teacher-8PG). Second, they thought that the subject of Pakistan Studies was meant to focus upon what was relevant to Pakistan: “When we have given a name to this subject as Pakistan Studies, the content would be more relevant if it has something to do with Pakistan. Global concepts can be Pakistan’s relations with countries, trades, sports, and games” (Teacher-10PG). Third, they believed that a national approach to Pakistan Studies was the most appropriate for this level of study and that a global approach should be added at the higher level: “For a 10th class student the global knowledge given in the textbook is sufficient. He may gain it at upper levels” and “at this level just national knowledge. Global knowledge can be added at 1st year (grade 11)” (Teacher-5PG). Fourth, they believed that global issues were changing with time and it was hard to change the textbooks every year and add whatever were the latest issues. Fifth, they argued that the students could get the global information from the media so there was no need for incorporating more content related to global content in textbook. Sixth, they also thought that adding more on provincial content would lead to provincial prejudices: “I want to make my students not Balochis, Sindhis, Pathans, or Punjabis but Pakistanis” (Teacher-18AF). Seventh, they held an apprehension in relation to the global community and global perspectives:

After 100 years of sufferings, we have every right to be left alone to live our own way. We want this to happen, whatever differences we have. From the human rights point of view, we want to walk with them to the extent that our sovereignty is not undermined but if it is undermined, we are ready to fight. This is same for all other nations—even if it is Afghanistan. (Teacher-15AF)

and,

I will not tell my students that all is good with humanity. I will tell my students, do good with all human beings. But it is also important to tell students that a snake will bite so beware of them. If we say everyone is good, for this Islamic Studies is sufficient...In Pakistan Studies and Social Studies political matters are discussed. (Teacher-16AF)

Contrary to the above-mentioned teachers and their suggestions on the addition of more national than global and provincial focus, some teachers— from public schools— were totally opposed to adding global and provincial issues into the Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks. They expressed similar reasons as described above: “We should put more emphasis on our own people—our own country. I am against putting global issues in this. This is Pakistan Studies and more emphasis should be on Pakistan” (Teacher-16AF) and “more emphasis should be given to national issues because paying more attention to Punjabi identity would move students away from national identity” (Teacher-4PG).

Some teachers—from public as well as private schools—suggested that it would be good to add national and global content but they were totally against adding provincial content. These teachers favoured a strong national approach to the teaching of Pakistan Studies. Nevertheless, they were willing to suggest the addition of content related to global theme but they were not willing to suggest addition of content related to provincial cultural diversity of Pakistan. For example, a teacher asserted:

Number one national, number two global but not provincial. I will promote only Pakistanism. Global issues will only be there if they are related to Pakistan...Global content should be given space but not too much...until your national integrity is intact you are surviving, otherwise no (Teacher-15AF).

Another suggested:

More information can be added about the countries with which Pakistan enjoys friendly relations but I believe that to make students patriotic Pakistanis, there is need to inculcate nationalism more... We need to enhance their global identity but not at the expense of making them good patriotic Pakistanis. (Teacher-27M).

However, they were not totally in favour of adding provincial identity content as they argued that emphasising provincial identity would promote provincial prejudices.

I am against provincialism—prejudice, and intolerance. Nationalism is first. Pakistan is like a bouquet and provinces are its beauty. For me, Pakistan First—and then peace of the world. First, there should be peace in the home (Pakistan) and then world peace. (Teacher-14PG)

and,

The textbook should emphasise national and global issues. When you talk about national issues, provincial issues are automatically added to it. If we cannot demonstrate the contribution of provinces, we cannot develop

national identity. All provinces should be equally represented. Things start going wrong where there is inequality. (Teacher-19AF)

A few teachers—from public as well as private schools—suggested a balanced approach to the addition of provincial, national, and global content. They asserted that all aspects should be given equal emphasis. Nevertheless, they believed that the national content of the textbook could not be reduced because of its importance for the integrity of Pakistani society. Secondly, they believed that mere promotion of provincial units and their cultures would lead students to provincial prejudices. However, they suggested that a balanced approach to the addition of cultural, national, and global content should be adopted.

I think these aspects must be balanced... we must cultivate nationalism but we should also touch upon globalisation. It is of utmost importance to give them updated knowledge of global issues. Our country cannot remain isolated: What is happening here in Pakistan also influences other country. What is happening in other countries also influences Pakistan. But global topics only related to Pakistan should be included. But there is no need to add a totally isolated topic related to any other country. (Teacher-12PG)

There were also three outlier cases challenging the taken-for-granted assumptions regarding teachers' perspectives on national identity, cultural diversity and global identity. First teacher argued for the importance of adding only global perspectives as compared to national and provincial. Second teacher argued for the importance of provincial identity as compared to global and national identities. Third teacher emphasised the importance of cultivation of students' affinity with Muslim *Ummah*.

Emphasising the importance of adding only global perspectives as compared to national and provincial, the first (elite school) teacher argued:

I think the way globalisation is increasing, it is better to put more emphasis on making students better human beings instead of focusing on regionalism or nationalism. If we put more emphasis on regionalism, it will divide humanity. These are regional identities and are merely for our identifications and we do not need to emphasise them. I believe that the global identities should be given more attention in the curriculum. (Teacher-20E.Pri)

The same teacher also identified the reasons for his strong beliefs in the cultivation of global identity.

Our school policy also does not allow the promotion of regionalism. They demand from us to conduct all teaching and learning in English. The culture

of the school is more global. It is impossible for me to promote Punjabism...in an institute where it is not allowed to speak in Punjabi...not even Urdu (the national language of Pakistan)... Yes, we can work towards promoting nationalism but it is easy for a student who has access to mobiles, Internet, and computers (to have a global outlook). (Teacher-20E.Pri)

Comparing the importance of the cultivation of global identity with the cultivation of global identity, he argued:

If a student remains in nationalism, he would become an enemy of humanity. If he has inculcated nationalism, he would talk about India and Pakistan enmity but if he thinks like a global citizen then he would not talk about the differences. (Teacher-20E.Pri)

In contrast to this view, a public school teacher asserted the need for the cultivation of provincial or cultural identity in the students first.

More emphasis should be on Punjabism. It does not mean that I want to promote provincial prejudice or tell my students that they are superior. I just want to connect them to their culture. If a person who is not attached to his culture, he is not rooted—he loses his identity. Four provinces of Pakistan are the four different colours of Pakistani Identity. First becomes true Punjabi, the rest will be seen later. (Teacher-11PG)

He also gave his reasons for the putting more provincial identity over national and global:

Punjabi culture is not out of Pakistan. I am emphasising Punjabi culture; I do so because it is another name of Pakistanism. Pakistan is nothing without these four provinces or cultures. If these provinces are separated, Pakistan will cease to exist. Pakistanism is hidden in Punjabism. When we focus on Punjabi culture, it does not mean we are anti-Pakistani. When we say we are Pakistani, it is a vague statement...it leads us to feel ashamed of our (Punjabi) culture, language and celebrations of our festivals. Nobody should be considered illiterate just because he speaks a particular language. Why just an Urdu speaker is considered a literate and civilised person? First, Punjabi identity of the students should be made strong, then Pakistani Identity and later, global identity. (Teacher-11PG)

There was only one teacher (from public school) who not only equated global with Muslim *Ummah* but also emphasised the need to cultivate the students' affinity towards Muslim *Ummah*:

We have a glorious past of Muslim *Ummah*...I want to tell them (students) about the glorious past (of *Ummah*) so that we could move towards

renaissance... All Muslims are like one nation (*Jammat*), therefore, it is necessary to tell them that wherever there are Muslims they are one nation (*Jammat*). This country is the only country, which came into existence based on Islamic ideology... I correlate Pakistan with *Ummah*. Pakistan is the only ray of light for the Muslim *Ummah*. (Teacher-1FG)

Yet, he expressed no apprehensions regarding the global community other than Muslim *Ummah*. Arguing for the addition of global content (not particularly related to Muslim *Ummah*), he asserted:

If these topics were added, our students would be well aware of the international concerns and issues. If they are not aware about these issues, how can they move in the International society and how will they be able to contribute to international politics? (Teacher-1FG)

Summary

This chapter has presented the findings from the interview data collected through interviewing 27 Pakistan Studies teachers in the public and private schools in Punjab, Pakistan. The teachers' perceptions, practices, and suggestions regarding the national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives are presented in various sections and sub-sections.

The following chapter presents a discussion of these findings in the light of the research questions, conceptual framework, and the relevant theoretical and research literature.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusions

Introduction and Overview of the Study

In this chapter, the findings reported in the previous chapters are drawn together and discussed. The key findings of this study are re-capitulated and re-visited keeping in view the research questions. Moreover, discussion of these findings in relation to each of the four research questions is undertaken in the light of the policy trajectory framework and the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, thus synthesising the findings. Implications for research, policy, and practice are considered in the final section.

The purpose of this study was to develop an understanding of the curriculum policy processes and practices related to the enactment of the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006* in secondary schools in Punjab. More specifically, the research aimed to develop an understanding of the convergence or divergence between Pakistan Studies curriculum policy objectives, textbooks' content and teachers' perspectives regarding the key aspects of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives following the introduction of the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum policy (2006) in Punjab, Pakistan.

The policy trajectory model (Bowe et al., 1992) was used as an analytical framework. The framework of the policy trajectory facilitated the examination of the selected curriculum policy contexts. This study explored the curriculum policy at three levels: federal government's curriculum policy at macro level, the Punjab textbook board's policy enactment in the form of production of textbooks at meso level, and individual secondary school teachers' perceptions and practices in response to this policy at micro level.

The overall research approach was a qualitative case study of the policy trajectory of the Pakistan Studies curriculum in secondary schools in Punjab. In-depth data involving three sources of information were collected to examine these contexts connecting policy to classroom practice. Qualitative content analysis of the purposefully selected curriculum policy documents was conducted to understand the policy objectives and recommendations for the promotion of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives. Similarly, qualitative content analysis of the

purposefully selected Pakistan Studies textbooks (recommended by Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore) was conducted to understand the translation and integration of policy goals related to Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives in the textbook contexts. Finally, cross-case analysis of the interview data from a purposeful sample of 27 teachers was conducted to understand their perceptions, practices, and suggestions regarding Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global identity themes of the curriculum/textbooks.

The findings of this study indicated mismatches between curriculum policy documents (macro level), textbooks (meso level), and teachers (micro level) on the discourses they privilege around national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives in Pakistan Studies. Furthermore, the analysis revealed the gradual permeation of theocratic discourses from the macro to micro levels of curriculum policy enactment.

At the macro level, the dominant conception of national identity expounded during the era of “enlightened moderation” held the binary discourses of Islamic nationalism and democratic pluralism in an uneasy tension—with attempts to face in two directions at once but edging towards the promotion of more pluralistic practices. With respect to ethnic and religious diversity, the objectives and learning outcomes were progressive. Moreover, the objectives and learning outcomes were asking teachers to cultivate an affinity with the non-Muslim world as well as the Muslim world.

At the meso level, the Pakistan Studies textbooks incorporated the nation statist/Islamist national identity, with only minor concessions to democratic pluralism. The textbooks paid limited attention to the representation of ethnic and religious diversity. The textbooks mainly cultivated students’ affinity with the Muslim world and used non-emotive language in the description of non-Muslim organisations.

At the micro level, most of the teachers subscribed to nation statist/Islamist national identity and their perceptions, reported practices and suggestion to improve the textbooks content all showed the importance they gave to these two versions of national identity. However, most of the teachers’ reported practices indicated that they confined themselves to the teaching of limited content on representation of ethnic and religious diversity because of limited time, large classes, and the examination system, which only assesses students’ knowledge of the textbook content. Most of the teachers had more

inclination towards nationalism than Muslim *Ummah* or humanity in general. Finally, the curriculum policy's recommended pedagogies were not identified in the reported practices of the teachers. These key findings related to the curriculum policy processes and practices are summarised in Figure 7.1.

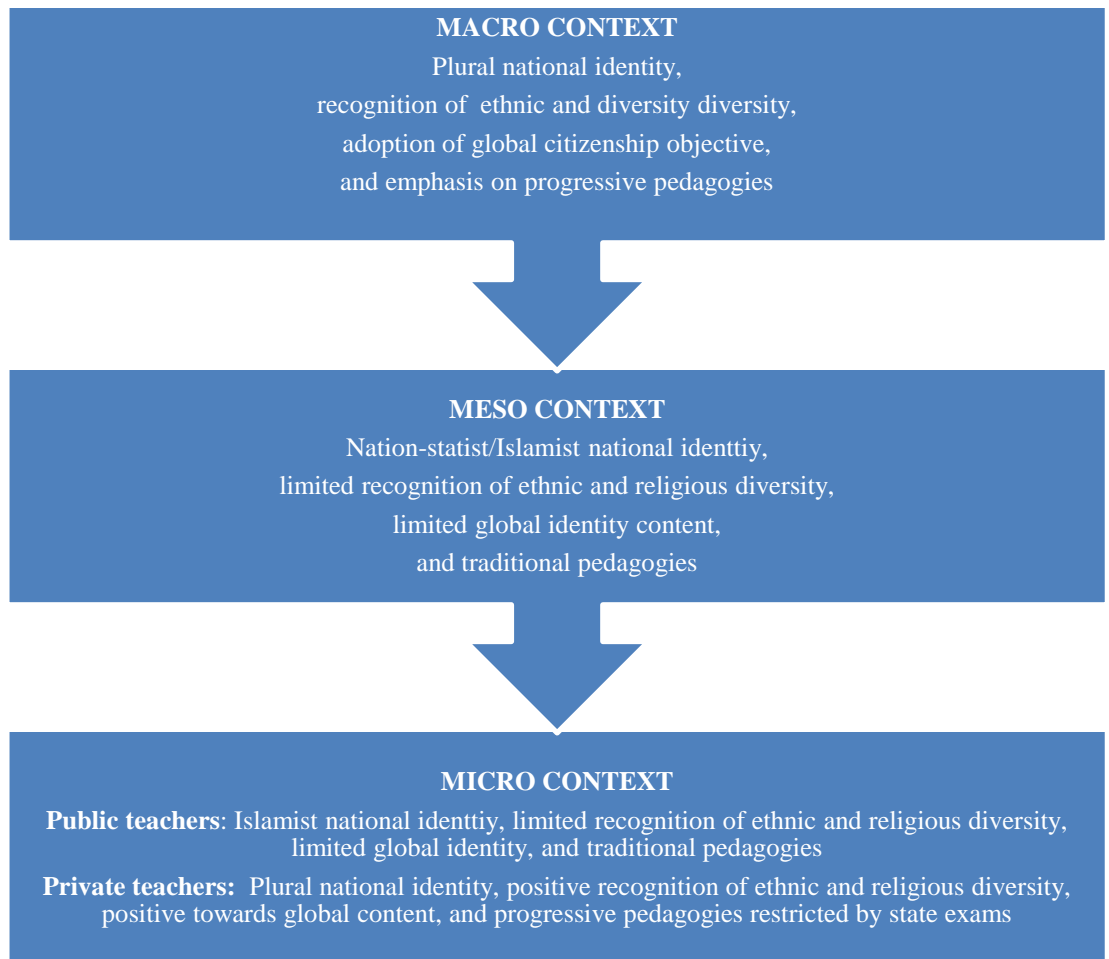


Figure 7.1: Key findings of the current study.

The key findings provided in the Figure are discussed in the following sections.

Discussion of the Results

This study was guided by the broad research question: *What are the curriculum policy processes and practices related to the enactment of the National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006 for secondary schools in Punjab (Pakistan)?*

Three specific questions were addressed—aligning with the policy trajectory analytical framework, which envisions at least three curriculum policy contexts: the context of influence, the context of text production (macro and meso) and the context of practice (micro).

Context of Influence

According to the policy trajectory framework, curriculum policy is normally initiated within the context of influence. In this arena, interested parties construct policy discourses and struggle to influence the policy processes (Bowe et al., 1992). At the context of influence, this framework envisions that there are many competing intentions and not a single intention, which struggle to influence the production of the policy texts (Ball, 1993; Ball et al., 2012; Lall, 2007). To understand the possible discursive influences on the curriculum policy production, a review of the published research on Pakistan Studies curricula and textbooks was conducted. From the findings reported in in Chapter 2, it can be noted that there existed at least two competing discourses regarding the content of the Pakistan Studies curriculum: a liberal-democratic vision and a theocratic approach (I. Ahmad, 2004, 2007, 2008). These competing discourses permeated the curriculum policy production as well as policy practices. A brief recapitulation of these discourses is necessary in contextualising the subsequent discussion on the curriculum policy processes and practices.

On the one hand, a theocratic approach to Pakistan Studies promotes the religious and traditionalist agenda of an Islamic state. The identity of a Pakistani is equated with orthodox Muslims strictly following the Islamic teachings in private as well as public spheres of life (Dean, 2005; Lall, 2012a). Therefore, the supporters of this approach advocate inclusion of Quranic and Hadith knowledge as curriculum content so that the Islamic moral values can be inculcated in students to build their Islamic character (S. H. Ali, 2009; Hoodbhoy, 1998b). They find justification for their claim in the “ideology of Pakistan” and the *Objective Resolution 1949* (I. Ahmad, 2008; Munir, 1980). In addition, they equate the “ideology of Pakistan” with Islamic ideology and argue that the struggle for the creation of Pakistan was based on a separate homeland for the Muslims and that now it is necessary to implement Islamic laws in this country. In sum, this

vision puts an emphasis upon distinctive Pakistani national identity and a desire to consolidate/cement a secure and unified sense of Pakistani Islamic ideology.

Traditionalists reject a pluralistic model of Pakistani national identity and argue that since Muslims are in the majority, they should enjoy more rights than non-Muslim minorities. Furthermore, the proponents of this conception tend to reject any kind of demand for the promotion of ethnic diversity and believe that “following and accepting the centralising role of Islam could harmonise the country’s ethnic and linguistic diversity. Islamic ideology is presented as a panacea for ethnic demands and political and socio-economic ills” (Shafqat, 2009, p. 2). In addition, they project a homogeneous vision of Islam—neglecting competing forms, conceptions, and sects of Islam in Pakistan.

Another dimension of this vision is based on Islamic nationalism or radical Islamism that seeks political unity among members of the worldwide Muslim population (I. Ahmad, 2008), thus seeing the world through the lenses of friends and enemies—Muslim and non-Muslim communities. This means that emphasis upon a distinctive Islamic identity has a sympathetic transnational Muslim *Ummah* overlay and it demands that pious Muslim citizens work towards the creation of monolithic Islamic state—a transnational entity extending beyond the sovereignty of a nation state. Jihad or holy war can tend to be associated with the theocratic vision as it fulfils the demands of the expansionist and action-oriented nature of the Islamic state—keen to export Islamic political ideology to non-Muslim nations (Jalal, 2009, 2014).

The Islamist conception of Pakistani national identity has a close affinity with the nation-statist conception, which emphasises the importance of anti-India nationalism in the formation of national identity rather than national integration (Jaffrelot, 2002; Shafqat, n.d.). From this perspective, “ethnic divergence is so strong that hardly anything binds Pakistan together internally, and anti-Indian nationalism is the only binding force” (Shafqat, 2009, p. 3). Islamist as well as nation statist visions of Pakistani national identity have been dominant and potent in Pakistan and the Pakistan Studies curriculum has been employed to promote these visions after the separation of East Pakistan in 1971 (Saigol, 2003b, 2005, 2010) to advance a theocratic agenda. This study’s analysis of new curriculum policy, textbooks, and teacher perceptions tended to confirm the deeply embedded notion of these traditional Islamic discourses.

On the other hand, the liberal-democratic vision emphasises Pakistan as multilingual and multicultural and not as a monocultural entity. The proponents of this vision believe that religion should be separated from the affairs of the state and “contend that the regional cultures and Islam have been in existence prior to the creation of Pakistan and both can flourish together” (Shafqat, 2009, p. 3). Moreover, they argue that a flourishing of national integration and authentic Pakistani national identity are possible if regional languages and cultures are allowed to grow and develop within the broader national context—and if greater decentralisation and enhanced autonomy to the provinces are provided. In the realm of the Pakistan Studies curriculum, this view is translated in the emphasis on pluralism, liberal-democratic values, human rights, tolerance of religious diversity (internal as well as external), affinity with the broader world (not only with the Muslim *Ummah*) and acquisition of relevant contemporary secular knowledge. The Musharraf regime’s educational policy was chiefly associated with this vision (Lall, 2009).

Proponents of the two binary visions reject each other’s visions (I. Ahmad, 2007). For example, proponents of the theocratic approach reject the liberal-democratic vision by declaring it Western, un-Islamic and alien. Proponents of a liberal-democratic vision reject the theocratic approach by declaring it parochial, medieval—impeding human progress, and exclusionary towards ethnic and religious diversity. The approaches are seen as incompatible and difficult to synthesise or reconcile.

The Pakistan Studies curriculum policy is an arena where these two visions clash (I. Ahmad, 2008). In fact, the Pakistan Studies curriculum policy in Pakistan has been oscillating between theocratic/conservative and liberal-democratic approaches—and sometimes both approaches were part of the same curriculum (S. J. Ahmad, 2003) just to entertain contending political groups, thus making the curriculum an unworkable compromise of conflicting themes. However, most of the time, it is the theocratic approach of Pakistan Studies which has been dominant. Conversely, the curriculum policy introduced under global and local pressures during the Musharraf regime was allegedly inclined towards the liberal-democratic approach to Pakistan Studies (Lall, 2009).

This study’s in depth analysis of curriculum policy, textbooks and teachers’ perspectives—mainly in the area of national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and

global dimension—was to ascertain the extent of the permeation of the reformist liberal-democratic discourse in the various arenas delineating the journey of curriculum policy into practice.

Analysis of Research Question 1: Curriculum Policy at Macro Level

This section discusses the findings related to the first sub-question: *What objectives and recommendations do curriculum policy documents offer on the teaching of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?*

In order to address this sub-question, evidence was collected from curriculum policy documents to understand the influences bearing upon Pakistan Studies textbook production context. A qualitative content analysis of the curriculum policy documents was conducted. Secondary school Pakistan Studies had only one national curriculum document, that is, the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006*. Other related policy documents related to the Pakistan Studies textbook production and teachers' practices in Punjab were also analysed to provide a comprehensive view. The aim was to identify the possible influences—of theocratic or liberal discourses—on the first context of text production of this study because here the discourses for the production of Pakistan Studies textbooks were constructed. Federally as well as provincially created curriculum policy documents were examined to understand the ways in which they conceptualised national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global content for incorporation in the secondary school Pakistan Studies textbooks. Moreover, they were examined to understand the recommended pedagogies for the teaching of Pakistan Studies. The key findings from the curriculum documents are provided in the Figure 7.2. These findings suggested the dominance of the liberal-democratic discourse on the curriculum policy documents though other interpretations were also evident.

Context of Text Production: Macro

- **Curriculum policy documents were more inclined towards:**
 - Plural national identity
 - Recognition of ethnic & religious diversity
 - Adoption of some global citizenship objectives
 - Progressive pedagogies

Figure 7.2: Key findings from the curriculum documents.

The analysis revealed that Pakistan Studies curriculum documents did not have a single interpretation. The policy texts were written in generalised ways. Therefore, the texts were open to interpretation and possible misinterpretation. No single interpretation was possible since these documents were constructed to address a range of concerns—local as well as global. These findings are in line with S. Ali's (2009) extensive analysis of the White Paper: Commenting on the use of sophisticated language in the White Paper, he asserted that “complex but rather meaningless statements...may act to reassure people with a range of concerns that these concerns are being listened to. This may also distract attention from the fact that the recommendations for action are rather different” (S. Ali, 2009, p. 126). He further argued that “the rhetoric may be a form of distraction from the preferred policy outcomes. It is also possible that the problem is constructed in such a way that the proffered policy appears most appropriate” (p. 126). This analysis was equally applicable to the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006*, which was the focus of this study.

Some examples of the inconsistencies and incoherencies in the document would help to elaborate the above claim. One of the ten objectives mentioned in the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006* was to “lay emphasis on the rights and obligations of the citizens of an independent and sovereign state” (p. 1). However, the suggested contents and learning outcomes for the chapters did not adopt this objective. The textbooks' incorporated an emphasis on duties/responsibilities but rights or any broader entitlements or human rights framework were largely ignored. Objective 3 was to “encourage traits of observation, creativity, analysis and reflection in students” (p. 1).

Again, the suggested content and learning outcomes did not reflect this objective. The recommended content was factual. Learning outcomes—which in turn determine the textbook content and assessment activities—were overwhelmingly knowledge based. Moreover, the predominant use of the verbs in the curriculum document—define, identify, describe, trace, narrate etc.—require factual recall of the prescribed contents. Contrary to this, the curriculum document also recommended approaches which “assess students’ knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, and synthesis skills” (p. 18).

Another example reflected the discourse contradiction in the curriculum document. Objectives 3, 6, 9 and 10 suggested an influence of somewhat liberal-democratic discourses of Pakistan Studies. In contrast, Objective 1, 2 and 4 were related to Islamic discourse of Pakistan Studies. Objective 1 was “inculcate a sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah for blessing us with an independent and sovereign state” (p. 1). Moreover, Objective 2 was to “underscore the importance of national integration, cohesion and patriotism” (p. 1). In addition, Objective 4 was to “promote an understanding of the ideology of Pakistan, the Muslim struggle for independence and endeavours for establishing a modern welfare Islamic state” (p. 1). Two chapters (1-2) were recommended for the textbook realisation of these objectives. These objectives, content and learning outcomes lay the foundations for describing the story of the Pakistani nation through ideological lenses. This finding is in line with the conclusions of Nayyar (2013) where he argued that the insertion of ideological content in the beginning of the curriculum document defined the Pakistani nation in a specific political way and it took “away the possibility of defining Pakistan along the lines of internationally accepted principles of humanism” (p. 30). These theocratic objectives were in contrast with other more liberal-democratic objectives.

Nevertheless, the dominant interpretation of the curriculum policy documents examined in this study were inclined overall more towards the liberal-democratic influences on Pakistan Studies, particularly for the content on ethnic and religious diversity and global identity—and for the recommended pedagogies.

The policy texts did not represent Pakistan as being a mono-ethnic or homogenous nation. These documents identified the presence of many cultures within the boundaries of the country. There was a positive acknowledgement of this diversity of faiths, beliefs, and views. Moreover, it was identified that there was a need for the accommodation of

non-Muslim minorities in the educational system. This was contrary to the Zia Era education policies, which had been promoting a “baneful sentiment of religious prejudices and obscurantism” (Shakir, 2005, p. 3) and encouraging “intolerance toward religious minorities, sectarianism, and violence” (Hathaway, 2005, p. 10). Moreover, there was no explicit or implicit evidence of the othering of Pakistan’s religious minorities—Christian, Sikh, and Hindu in the current policy texts.

Global awareness was constructed in terms of predominantly economic discourses and was close to the education policy prescriptions of developed western nations. The Pakistan Studies curriculum document adopted objectives that resonated with this theme and allocated one complete chapter for the cultivation of students’ identities beyond their national borders. Global awareness encompassed not only Muslim *Ummah* and neighbouring Islamic states but also some study of major powers—USA, U.K., EU, China, Japan, Russia, SAARC countries, and the central Asian countries. There was no mention of which countries to portray negatively or positively. Moreover, in contrast to the prominent aim of the previous national curriculum, there was no emphasis on highlighting the evil consequences of imperialism and colonialism. The related policy texts analysed in this study confirmed the absence of emphasis on the discourse of exporting the message of Islam to the other nations of the world. Similarly, it was in stark contrast with the aim of education articulated in the Zia Era’s education policy:

To create awareness in every student that he, as a member of Pakistani nation is also a part of the universal Muslim *Ummah* and that it is expected of him to make a contribution towards the welfare of fellow Muslims inhabiting the globe on the one hand and to help spread the message of Islam throughout the world on the other. (Government of Pakistan, 1979, p. v)

This difference between the policy rhetoric of two eras indicated a shift in the current curriculum policy, which was now looking beyond the Muslim community. It seemed that crude ‘othering’ became a thing of the past but as othering messages can also be sent through omission, it can be argued that the form of othering changed because students were not provided with opportunities, for example, to explore social and cultural rights, freedoms, or living conditions in western democracies.

The way policy texts conceptualise instructional strategies clearly reflects the influence of liberal democratic discourses upon Pakistan Studies. Policy texts were nowhere clearer than in recommending the preferred pedagogies for the teaching of

Pakistan Studies. For instance, the Pakistan Studies curriculum document explicitly encouraged teachers to shun the “spoon-feeding style of traditional classroom teaching” (p. 14) and emphatically stated the need for intellectually engaging the diverse body of students. Additionally, it asked the teachers to adopt teaching strategies which could help students in developing reasoning skills and which could encourage their active participation in the learning activities of the classroom. The policy text also listed four instructional strategies for the successful teaching of new Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks: lecture, discussion, cooperative learning, and inquiry/investigation. The policy text provided three reasons for pushing towards more progressive pedagogical practices: to prepare students to perform well for examinations, to cultivate in students the highest level of social consciousness for becoming social change agents and to enable students to face the global societal challenges successfully. The related policy documents analysed in this study also confirmed this emphasis on the innovative instructional strategies—cooperative learning, inquiry-based learning, field trips, and creative forms of communication; strengthening the power of reasoning; stimulating active participation; practicing social skills etc.

In other words, Islamic and liberal-democratic discourses remained in contradiction after 2006 in policy documentation. Some of the cruder ‘othering’ of other nations, which had been evident in the 1980s, had disappeared. Nevertheless, elsewhere, policy-makers still sought to face in both directions simultaneously. The rhetoric of a more subtle form of national identity, a more nuanced treatment of regional and cultural identities, and a more inclusive sense of global awareness may have been in evidence. In addition, more open and constructivist teaching and learning strategies were certainly being promoted. However, forces of continuity and conservatism remained strong and traditional Islamic stakeholders could still point to a curriculum consistent with their worldviews. As national politics moved back to the right after 2006 and as education was delegated to more conservative provincial centres of government, any green shoots of liberal-democratic reform were unlikely to exist in a less auspicious policy ecosystem.

The data confirmed and expanded the findings of the previous analysis of partially announced curriculum policy documents—which anticipated a further liberalisation of the curricula (Lall, 2009; Leirvik, 2008; Rosser, 2003a). More specifically, this analysis

of curriculum documentation for Pakistan Studies—especially with respect to national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives revealed that curriculum policy documents had conflicting influences on the context of Pakistan Studies textbook production, as it is evident in the analysis of Pakistan Studies textbooks.

The next section, providing analysis of recent Pakistan Studies textbooks, indicates that curriculum policy documents provided recommendations for the Pakistan Studies textbooks production. Some of these policy recommendations were faithfully enacted in the writing of the textbook whereas some were uncalled for—textbook writers used their own discretion—sensing the changed political environment of the country, especially when the Musharraf regime was not there to push towards a more liberal-democratic conception of Pakistan Studies. The next section provides a detailed discussion of the faithful and uncalled-for enactment of curriculum policy in the construction of Pakistan Studies textbooks for secondary schools.

Analysis of Research Question 2: Curriculum Policy at Meso Level

This section discusses the findings related to the second sub-research question: *How do Pakistan Studies textbook writers' interpret and enact policy objectives and recommendations regarding Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives in their writing of textbooks under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?*

This sub-question was addressed by analysing the officially prescribed secondary school Pakistan Studies textbooks. These textbooks were meant to translate the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006* into practice. It was important to examine these textbooks because most of the teachers heavily rely on them as their main source of understanding policy objectives. It was assumed that the generalised statements and ambiguities in the curriculum policy documents—especially with respect to national identity themes in the curriculum might provide room for manoeuvre for the textbook writers. Therefore, what follows next is an attempt to identify the extent and nature of resistance and compliance to the liberal-democratic discourses in the Pakistan Studies textbooks.

The key findings from the context of production in the form of analysis of Pakistan Studies textbooks are provided in the Figure 7.3. These key findings are discussed in the

following subsections. To understand the extent of these changes, this analysis is discussed keeping in view the findings of research conducted on the pre-reform Pakistan Studies textbooks.

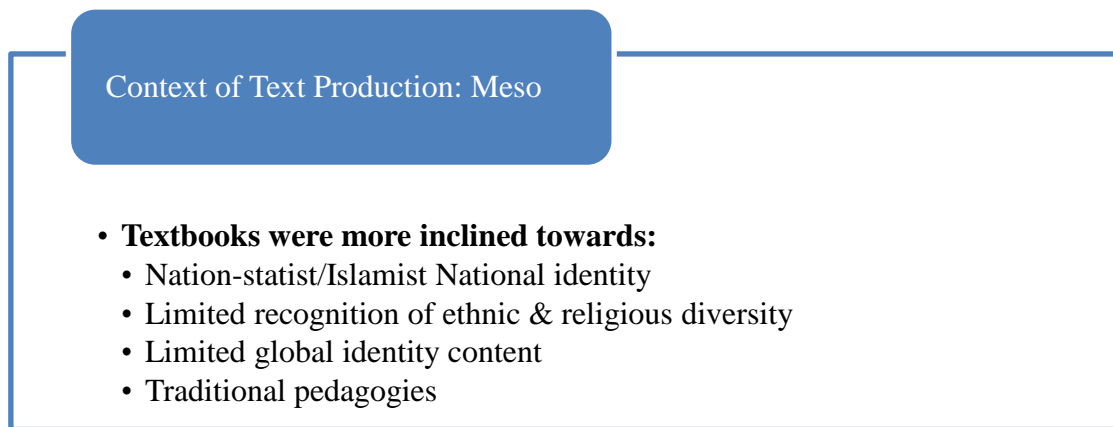


Figure 7.3: Key findings from the textbook data.

National Identity

To identify and analyse the treatment of Pakistani national identity in the Pakistan Studies textbooks, the content, themes, and arguments contained within Pakistan Studies textbooks were carefully examined. With respect to national identity, it seemed that there was continued but modified dominance of the theocratic discourse of Pakistan Studies in the textbooks because there was emphasis on the nation statist and Islamist conceptions of Pakistani national identity.

The current research investigated the Pakistan Studies textbooks produced after the reformed national curriculum and identified that the revised texts did not emphasise the ancient history of Pakistan. This contrasted with the approach to history writing right after the partition which emphasised the existence of the Pakistani nation as an old nation having distinct characteristics from very ancient times (Dean, 2005; Yaqian, 2011). There was no mention of the “Ancient Indus Valley Civilisation” or culture existent 5000 years ago and or the presentation “of Pakistan as the successor of the primordial ‘Indus state’”(Shaikh, 2009, p. 57). It means that the students were not given an opportunity to identify with “liberal Indus person” (Ahsan, 2005). However, in order to demonstrate the Islamic roots of Pakistani identity, it was narrated that the ancestors

of the Pakistani nation were the local people who embraced Islam—a practice prevalent in the writing of history in the Zia Era. The centrality of Islam to the Pakistani national identity was emphasised in explicating the ideology of Pakistan. For instance, Chapter 1 of the Pakistan Studies textbook 9 equated Pakistan’s ideology with Islamic ideology and later chapters told the story of Pakistani nation using the same lens.

The “ideology of Pakistan” has been a controversial topic in Pakistan’s history and previous research literature has extensively explored this (e.g., N. Durrani, 2008a; N. Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985; Saigol, 2005). The essence of this debate was that the “ideology of Pakistan” or Islam as the ideology of Pakistan had relatively recent origin and no textbook written prior to 1977 mentioned the “ideology of Pakistan” (Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985). Recent Pakistan Studies textbook explanation of the ideology of Pakistan in terms of Islam meant a continuation of the Zia Era’s education policy.

Previous research studies on the national identity content of the pre-reform Pakistan Studies textbooks identified that those textbooks mainly incorporated the nation statist and Islamist conceptions of Pakistani national identity. Hoodbhoy and Nayyar (1985) found that the textbooks were emphasising the ritualistic and formal Islam, neglecting social justice aspects of Islam. Nayyar and Salim (2003) criticised the presence of Islamic content in the non-religious textbooks of Pakistan Studies. Additionally, Dean (2005) had the same observation. She argued that:

The conceptual framework, aims and objectives are...directed towards ensuring the message of the Holy Quran is disseminated; true practicing Muslims are developed; Islamic ideology is accepted as the basis for Pakistan and foundation of national unity; social science knowledge that conforms to the moral, social, and political framework of Islam is acquired and Islamic, moral and civic values inculcated. (Dean, 2005, pp. 39-40)

Several other analyses of the pre-reform Pakistan Studies textbooks highlighted the importance that the textbook writers’ gave to Islam in underlining key messages around Pakistani national identity (e.g, I. Ahmad, 2004; I. Ahmad, 2007, 2008; Rosser, 2003b; Saigol, 1995, 2000; Zaidi, 2011). These accounts pointed to the predominance of Islamist conceptions of Pakistani national identity in the pre-reform Pakistan Studies textbooks. However, the current analysis of the new Pakistan Studies textbooks confirmed the continued dominance of this conception of Pakistani identity. Hence, it

seemed that the theocratic discourse of Pakistan Studies had maintained its primacy in the textbooks.

Arguably, there was no problem in including religious knowledge within the Pakistan Studies textbooks if students were to be introduced to the religious principles underpinning their own religion. Nevertheless, the textbooks assumed that all students were Muslim rather than the reality that some students are non-Muslims. It was also a violation of constitutional rights of non-Muslim students who were being forced to learn a content not from their own religions (Government of Pakistan, 1973; Nayyar, 2013). Moreover, the absence of multiple perspectives on the reasons behind the creation of Pakistan might lead students to believe that there was only one reason for the creation of Pakistan, that is, it was the Muslims of the subcontinent's desire to lead life according to the teaching of Islam.

This can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, it arose from the certain flaws in the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006*. Nayyar (2013) identified these flaws and argued that the recommendations by the curriculum that Pakistan's identity and history should be narrated with reference to the ideology of Pakistan and that the Two-Nation theory should be explained with special reference to social and economic deprivations of Muslims in undivided India were two major flaws in the curriculum document. He asserted that it provided the Pakistan Studies textbook writers' with an opportunity to provide a fabricated history of Pakistan and to project Hindu-Muslim enmity. A detailed examination of the Pakistan Studies textbooks (as reported in Chapter 4) confirmed and elaborated his findings. Jamil (2009a) identified two other factors. He argued that two initiatives—the extra-ordinary state support to the ideology of Pakistan by the 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.

The current textbook analysis showed that official historical narrative provided in the textbooks did not provide alternative perspectives. This was particularly evident in the chapters explicating the ideological basis of Pakistan and telling the story of

Pakistan. Ideas were not presented for exploration, interpretation, elaboration, exemplification, or critical reflection but as baseline information, foundational pillars, and uncontested “truths.” These findings were in agreement with Rosser’s (2003a) 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).

International literature has demonstrated that individuals can simultaneously maintain multiple identities, that is, commitments to their cultural communities, national community as well as to global community (Banks, 2011; Kymlicka, 2004; Ross, 2007). Nevertheless, over reliance on one official historical narrative denies students an opportunity to develop an authentic and clarified national identity as well as their own cultural identities (Banks, 2011, 2014; Banks et al., 2005). Moreover, there is a need for consciously enabling students to engage with national history in a critical manner (Crawford, 2000) so that they can acquire skills of self-reflection, analysis and critical evaluation necessary to cope with an ever changing world.

This study confirmed that the new Pakistan Studies textbooks also incorporated hagiographic texts as well as anti-Hindu/anti-Indian discourses in order to construct the national identities of Pakistani students. Regarding pre-reform Pakistan Studies textbooks, Rosser (2003a) contended that the rhetorical style of using victimisation and justification themes had been the traditional way of narrating the nation in Pakistan Studies and that this practice was amplified in the Zia Era’s textbook writing practices. Moreover, Muhammad-Arif (2005) posited the view that “the use of heroes enables the State to stress its might; that of victims helps it to designate the ‘Other’ (India) as the ultimate ‘villain’, this in turn justifying once more the need for Partition” (p. 151). Additionally, it helps in diverting the blame for Pakistan’s disintegration to “Indian cunning and incipient Bengali irridentalism” (Rosser, 2003a, p. 132).

This study added further understanding of the range of issues cited in the above mentioned research literature and confirmed the continued existence of hagiography and anti-Hindu/anti-Indian discourses in the post-reform Pakistan Studies textbooks. For instance, many heroic images selected from the historical figures were brought into the students’ consciousness while discussing the ideological basis of Pakistan and the

political history of the nation; The hagiographical portrayals of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Al Jinnah, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Liaqat Ali Khan were similar to pre-reform Pakistan Studies books. However, post partition leaders—Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, General Zia-ul-Haq, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, and General Pervez Musharraf —were depicted with care and fewer value judgments, which had the effect of making the text relatively bland and technocratic. The enemies were obviously identified while underlining the whiggish sense of inevitability of a separate Pakistani nation. Hindu-British collusion was a significant oppositional factor in this story before the partition. The PS 9 textbook fleshed out the “Two-Nation theory” as the ideological and explanatory driver of this process. Nevertheless, in the description of post partition history, the vilification of Hindus turned into vilification of India—more explicitly in the depiction of the events of the 1948, 1965 and 1971 wars. This depiction is consistent with the nation statist conception of Pakistani national identity. The disintegration of Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 was rendered as more the consequence of Indian enmity than the failure of Islam to identify practical or popular policies in East Pakistan. The exercises and suggested tasks following this account signposted no opportunities to explore the narrative or submit it to any kind of critical review. Thus, the evidence pointed towards the continued influence of a modified but still strong theocratic discourse within Pakistan Studies and a shift away from the moderate pluralist educational agenda launched by President Musharraf in 2006.

Cultural Diversity

The textbooks represented Muslims simplistically as theologically and geographically homogeneous as Sunni Muslims. It is true that Muslims constitute 95 % of the Pakistan’s population. However, Muslims do not form a single homogeneous group since there are various doctrinal groups within Islam. Among them, Sunni Muslims are dominant whereas Shia Muslims and other Islamic minority sects face discrimination (I. H. Malik, 2002). These larger religious groups are themselves not homogenous and various sectarian differences exist within each group. The Shia Muslim community often reject the Sunni worldview and their conception of Pakistan national identity through the curriculum. For example, 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 interpretation was deliberately ignored (N. Ali, 2008). 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 (Stöber, 2007). N. Ali's (2008) analysis of pre-reform curricula of Urdu, Islamiyat, and Social Studies confirmed that "the idealised and authorised Pakistani citizen is assumed to be the Sunni Muslim, while other ways of being Muslim are silenced" (p. 2). Current study also confirmed and expanded these findings in the context of Pakistan Studies.

The ascendancy of the Sunni vision of Pakistani national identity in the current Pakistan Studies textbooks undermined the pluralist agenda of the curriculum policy, expounded at the macro level. The dominance of the Sunni vision would further alienate the other Islamic groups in Pakistan where sectarian conflicts have already weakened social development and political stability (N. Ali, 2010). Moreover, as it is evident in the past, construction of national identity based upon Sunni model had proven difficult because competing visions of an Islamic identity (I. Ahmad, 2008; S. Cohen, 2002) make the idea of the Pakistani nation a contested concept (S. Cohen, 2002, 2011). The addition of the Sunni perspective within Pakistani national identity would not help students identify with the state's official and less complicated version of Pakistani national identity.

The textbooks' depiction of the provincial cultures was mainly restricted to the description of language only, thus not encouraging students to develop provincial identities. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are four provinces—Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa—in Pakistan. The *Gilgit Baltistan Empowerment and Self Rule Order 2009* has also granted a de-facto province-like status to Gilgit Baltistan. Azad Jammu and Kashmir is a self-governing state under the federation of Pakistan. Then there are the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, a semi-autonomous tribal region in the northwest of Pakistan. These federating units and other areas have their own distinct cultures—"every region...is comprised of people who are ethnically and linguistically different to the people in the next province" (S. S. Ali & Rehman, 2001, p. 3). There are more than twenty language groups in Pakistan (Hamed, 2008).

However, textbooks listed discussions only on eight groups (Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Balochi, Kashmiri, Seraiki, Brahvi, and Hindko). Moreover, the textbooks' discussion remained confined to the positive developments in these languages of these cultural groups after the creation of Pakistan. Moreover, like the previous Pakistan Studies textbooks, these textbooks did not present different local cultures in a comprehensive way. This can be interpreted as a strategy to present “the difference between local cultures...as difference between languages. In this way, students would not be encouraged to develop local identity” (Yaqian, 2011, p. 77).

Interestingly, Punjabi culture was also not discussed in a comprehensive way. Singh's (2012) explanation is instructive here. He argued that “Punjabi elites that control state and military power...view the discouragement of all regional identities, including their own, as conducive to the maintenance of their centralised power structure” (Singh, 2012, p. 163). This discouragement of the Punjabi identity was also evident in the teachers' interview data—where they vigorously emphasised the need for cultivating Pakistani national identity and emphatically equated cultural diversity with provincialism, prejudice, and hatred.

Yet, the textbooks particularly underscored the important role of Urdu (the national language) in creating unity in Pakistan. Although the Urdu language was given more space as compared to the provincial languages in the textbook, the language for tracing its evolution in history was not emotive. This was in contrast with the traditional way of presenting Urdu to the Pakistan Studies students of different language background to construct their national identity (Aziz, 1998; Rosser, 2003a; Yaqian, 2011). This is certainly a positive development, especially when certain groups in Pakistan resent the over emphasis on Urdu, perceiving it a tool of hegemony.

The Pakistan Studies textbooks' representation of the minority cultures and promotion of interfaith harmony were limited. The textbooks emphasised that minorities were provided equal social, economic, and political rights. Additionally, the textbooks underlined that complete liberty to worship was granted to minorities by the constitution. Excerpts from the Quaid-e-Azam's speech were also included to recognise religious diversity and promote religious tolerance in multi-religious Pakistan. Many non-Muslim personalities (heroes) and their contribution to Pakistan's development were mentioned; however, their presentation was relatively superficial: The space provided to non-

Muslim personalities was limited and their presentation was from majority perspectives. Furthermore, these voices of inter-faith harmony were obstructed in the presence of strong othering in the official ideological narration of Pakistan's story to the students, which Nayyar (2013) claimed as the "first step in telling non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan that this country is not theirs" (Nayyar, 2013, p. 30). Similarly, Rosser (2003a) believed that "exclusivist ideologically driven historiography" (p. 112) causes communal tirades. In addition, in his pre-reform textbook analysis, Nayyar (2003) argued that equating being a Pakistani with being a Muslim alienates religious minorities 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). Therefore, it can be argued that in the presence of strong ideological messages and the Sunni view of Pakistani national identity, the incorporation of little information on minorities would not help students see their own culture and heroes represented positively in the textbooks.

Global Perspectives

The world beyond Pakistan was mainly described in terms of the state's relations with neighbouring countries and the western world and this description mostly used the lenses of "us and them" rather than the global "we." This can be attributed to the insertion of ideological components in the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy—an item which was unnecessarily introduced by writers of the National Curriculum (Nayyar, 2013). The official website does not have this item listed as a foreign policy objective. This addition gave textbook writers complete discretion to depict the world beyond Pakistan using friend and enemy imagery. For example, the PS 10 textbook claimed 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 the Islamic countries. Therefore, Pakistan has always maintained good relations with them" (p. 30). However, the textbook justified the friendly relations with the western world, especially the USA on the basis of the economic development objective of the foreign policy.

Similarly, some supranational organisations were brought into the consciousness of the students: Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the United Nations Organisation (UNO). Pakistan

Studies 10 textbook constructed *Ummah* identity by emphasising relations with Muslim countries and the OIC. The textbook emphasised the role of the United Nations Organisations in world affairs and Pakistan's active role in it for world peace in order to construct students' global identity. Not expectedly, there was a highlighting of South Asian organisation (SAARC), probably, to construct a South Asian identity of students. However, it is interesting to note that the textbook used emotive language and religious imagery to describe the relations with Islamic countries and OIC. Description of Pakistan's relations with the western world and the USA remained confined to the safe and uncontroversial domain of official visits, agreements, and economic pacts. It can be argued that the deployment of these rhetoric devices was meant to cultivate a strong *Ummah* identity. The Pakistan Studies 10's treatment of Pakistan's foreign policy relationship with these countries in relatively narrow terms, with little or no engagement with social and cultural rights, freedoms, living conditions or the characteristics of western secular democracies and the use of factual information in the non-*Ummah* content would possibly affect the students in different way—maintaining their *Ummah* identity but keeping their global identity limited.

This research has also identified that these textbooks did not incorporate human rights in a systematic way. In his analysis, S. J. Ahmad (2003) reported that pre-reform textbooks did not address the human-rights in a very explicit way: contents were mostly generalised sermons regarding appropriate behaviour—without commenting on the human rights violations prevalent in Pakistani society. This also holds true for the current Pakistan Studies textbooks.

The pluralistic curriculum reform agenda envisioned in the Musharraf Era—claiming to purge textbooks of the hate material, underscoring the compatibility of Islam with modernism, aiming to counter Islamic dogma, and incorporating global and economic discourses to integrate Pakistan with the wider world (Behuria & Shehzad, 2013; Lall, 2009)—seems to have been resisted and accommodated in a changed political climate by the textbook writers. Behuria and Shehzad (2013) claimed 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). However, Chughtai (2015) argued that it was not

because of politically extremist religious agenda which led to a distancing from these reforms but it was “because [of] the anti-Musharraf faction, emboldened after his removal from office, framed the issue in terms of a conspiracy by a US-supported dictator wanting to distance Islam from Pakistan” (p. 207). Additionally, in her extensive research on Punjab Textbook Board’s internal mechanisms, Chughtai (2015) identified that since textbook changes jeopardised the profits of the private publishers they resisted any changes in the textbook in order to pursue their own political or profit interest, thus indirectly lending support to the Islamic political extremists. It seemed that the cumulative effect of all these factors is evident in the textbooks analysed in this study and explains the shift from an increasingly pluralist agenda at a macro level to the dominance of theocratic discourses in textbooks at a meso level.

Analysis of Research Question 3: Curriculum Policy at Micro Level

The third sub-question concerned the context of practice: *What were the perceptions, practices and suggestions of Pakistan Studies teachers within public and private schools regarding the teaching and promotion of Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity and global perspectives under the revised secondary school Pakistan Studies curriculum in Punjab (Pakistan)?*

To address this question, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 27 Pakistan Studies teachers from public and private schools to elicit their perceptions, practices, and suggestions regarding Pakistani national identity, ethnic and religious diversity; and global identity content of the textbooks and curriculum policy—thus illuminating interpretation, translation, and reconstruction of curriculum policy in practice. It was assumed that local resources, diffuse sets of discourses, and varied values play a significant role in the hybrid and complex process of curriculum policy enactment (Ball et al., 2012).

Cross-case analysis (Miles et al., 2014) of the 19 public and eight private school Pakistan Studies teachers’ perspectives is reported in Chapter 6 in detail. “Deviant or minority readings” (Bowe et al., 1992, p. 22) of the Pakistan Studies textbooks were also of interest in the exploration of these teachers’ perceptions, reported practices, and suggestions. The key findings of this cross-case analysis are provided in the Figure 7.4.

Context of Text Practice: Meso

- **Public School teachers inclined more towards:**
 - Nation-statist/Islamist national identity
 - Limited recognition of ethnic & religious diversity
 - Limited global identity content
 - Traditional pedagogies
- **Private School teachers inclined more towards:**
 - Plural national identity
 - Recognition of ethnic & religious diversity
 - Comparatively positive towards global identity content
 - Progressive pedagogies restricted by state exams

Figure 7.4: Key findings from the interview data.

This cross-case analysis revealed that the curriculum policy enactment in the form of teachers' practices at micro level both comply and resist the macro level curriculum policy. To support this assertion, specific details and elaborations of these key findings are discussed below.

Teachers' Understanding of Curriculum Policy—Pakistani National Identity, Cultural Diversity and Global Perspectives

Most of the teachers were unaware of the 2006 national curriculum documents produced during the Musharraf regime. Nevertheless, many of the teachers were aware of the curriculum debates—regarding the Pakistan Studies content and the liberal educational agenda—through the media. Most of the teachers did not come to know about the specific changes in the curriculum content before the new textbooks were available in the market in 2012. This can be attributed to a long tradition in Pakistan to preparing “official curriculum” by policy makers centrally and sending it to the micro level, through top down approach for the implementation by teachers (Vazir, 2003). Teachers have usually been excluded from the curriculum development process; this was true for the Pakistan Studies national curriculum document 2006, which was solely drafted by university professors, with not a single school teacher included in the

curriculum development team. In her recent study, Chughtai (2015) claimed that though the curriculum was reformed, there was no simultaneous effort to prepare teachers to teach the curriculum differently. Similarly, Hashmi (2011) reported that “no teacher trainings or refresher courses for the teacher were conducted by the board” (Hashmi, 2011, p. 218). Teachers’ responses also highlighted the professional development issue related to the new curriculum policy. For example, most of the public teachers highlighted the fact that no professional development was undertaken after the introduction of new curriculum policy. They further added that if this was done, it prioritised Mathematics and Sciences. Pakistan Studies, Islamic Studies, and Language subjects were neglected. In the absence of established mechanisms for transmitting new curriculum policy, it was unlikely that the teachers would have in depth knowledge of new curriculum policy recommendations and thus it was unlikely that they would significantly change their practices.

Most of the teachers’ perceptions and suggestions indicated that they subscribed to an Islamic model of Pakistani national identity more than to the pluralistic, liberal-democratic one. There were different interpretations of what Pakistan Studies should be and what kind of Pakistani national identity it should promote. This could be possibly attributed to their different interests and their diverse value systems. Nevertheless, the dominant understanding was more Islamist than plural because most of the teachers—mainly from the public schools—expressed their appreciation for the addition of specific Islamist content and articulated some concerns regarding the comparatively decreased Islamic content in the new Pakistan Studies textbooks. They valued the inclusion of post partition national history—depicting efforts to increasingly centralised governments over the years—and showed concern about the lesser focus upon topics related to Islamic nationalism and Islamic culture.

However, some teachers—mainly from private schools—expressed pluralist appreciations and concerns. They appreciated the inclusion of post partition national history with a view of struggle and experiences of different ethnic groups, cherished the inclusion of “unbiased history,” and showed concerns about the dominance of Islamic beliefs and typical Zia Era patterns of topics. Interestingly, two teachers—both from armed forces schools— exhibited otherness by adhering to the nation-statist conception of Pakistani national identity. They appreciated the inclusion of topics on Indian

animosity towards Pakistan and revealed their concerns about decreased focus on antagonistic pre-partition history in the new Pakistan Studies.

The findings from the interview data regarding perceptions and suggestions of teachers with regard to the cultural diversity theme of the Pakistan Studies textbooks indicated that these teachers did not subscribe to one understanding of the cultural diversity theme. It was particularly noticeable that their understanding of internal diversity of Pakistan was influenced by the two conceptions of the Pakistan national identity—Islamist and pluralist. It seemed that nation-statist conception was not at play here as it deals more with Pakistan's antagonistic relations with India. Most of the teachers—mainly from public schools with a greater leaning towards Islamist conceptions of Pakistani national identity—perceived that the representation of all the provincial cultures in the textbooks was fair and suggested that there was a need to increase content promoting sameness and commonalities—such as Islam and the Urdu language. They also suggested that the cultural groups that are running separatist movements—such as Balochis should not be part of the curriculum at all.

In contrast, some teachers—mainly from private schools—expressed their concerns regarding the paucity of cultural diversity theme. They mainly pointed towards the inadequate details on the different cultural groups in Pakistan—such as representation of Sindhis, Balochis, and Gilgit-Baltistanis. However, they appreciated the recent addition of Brahvi, Saraiki, and Kashmiris. Missionary school teachers were particularly critical of the lack of minority voices in the textbooks. Interestingly, a significant number of teachers—public as well as private—expressed their concerns regarding no or less representation of non-Muslim cultural groups. Among them were not only teachers who had already expressed their adherence to the plural conception of national identity but a few of those who were Islamist conception of national identity. A plausible explanation for this could be that there are different shades of Islamist conception of national identity—whereas theory depicts it only as one conception that is not willing to positively engage with internal non-Muslim diversity.

The findings of interview data related to the global identity theme of the Pakistan Studies textbooks revealed that most of the teachers—public as well as private—identified global issues as the least discussed theme in the these textbooks and the range of the discussed topics were narrow. Nevertheless, these teachers were least concerned

about the narrowness of the representation and world beyond the borders of Pakistan and seemed content with what was provided in the textbooks. Only a few teachers from private schools showed their concerns regarding the limited representation of a non-Muslim international community, the lack of discussion on global warming, ecological issues, or non-coverage of international extremism. Most of the teachers—public as well as private—suggested that the content of any future Pakistan Studies curriculum/textbooks should be more on national issues than global and provincial.

Interestingly, the importance of cultivating global identity was underscored by only two teachers. One elite private school teacher emphasised the need to cultivate more of an affinity with humanity than with the Pakistani nation because he believed that nationalism divides humanity into nations and creates an atmosphere of enmity. The second teacher was from a public school who emphatically underscored the need for nurturing students' affinity towards Muslim *Ummah*.

Teachers' Practices

Most of these teachers continued the practices that they had been using under the previous curriculum policy. There were a few who had introduced slight changes in order to prepare students for the changed examination patterns.

Almost all teachers reported that they taught the national identity content of the Pakistan Studies textbooks through lectures by emphasising: Islamic content of the text, content on justice, democracy, and tolerance, content on the conservation of natural resources, on speaking Urdu in the school premises, narrating national heroes' life histories or on wearing national dress. They also reported that Islamic moral lessons had been significantly helping them cultivate students' national identity. Interestingly, teachers from missionary schools, though concerned about the dominance of the knowledge on the Islamic belief system, also underscored the importance of religious moral values—even Islamic—for the cultivation of Pakistani national identity. All of these teachers particularly emphasised that lecturing around the textbook content was their main instructional approach because they believed that the topics related to national identity were sufficiently helpful in constructing Pakistani national identity and because state exams only assess the students' knowledge of textbooks. In addition to these,

public teachers reported that the strict accountability for the students' results significantly influenced their choice of content-based pedagogy.

Contrary to those teachers whose pedagogy was mostly inclined towards the Islamist conception of Pakistani national identity, a few teachers underscored the importance of multiple perspectives through oral history and newspapers to make students aware of current affairs. Moreover, a few private school teachers—from elite and missionary schools—reported that they had been using whole school approach to the cultivation of Pakistan national identity. These teachers reported that they had been consciously using the morning assembly's activities—such as recitation of Quran (and Bible in case of missionary schools), quotes from Hadiths, national anthem and national flag raising for character building as well as national identity construction. In addition, they reported debate competitions and gatherings of literary societies as forums for developing students' presentation and argumentation skills. Furthermore, student elections, pupil monitors, and charitable activities were reported to cultivate democratic participation in students. Nevertheless, these were very small in number and “outlier cases” (Miles et al., 2014, p. 32)—which were not confirming to the general patterns of teachers' practices.

With respect to the teaching of the cultural diversity theme in the textbooks, most teachers reported that they confined themselves only to the teaching of the textbook content only and did not compensate for the lack of representations of various cultural groups of Pakistan.

These teachers also identified many barriers to the teaching of cultural diversity. The most frequently identified barriers were too tight a schedule to accommodate extra content/lectures on cultural issues, the challenges of providing full coverage of textbook topics in a short time space, and an examination system that tests only textbook knowledge and does not reward extra knowledge. Nevertheless, there were also some less frequently identified barriers. These included engaging a student population from the single ethnic groups or religious groups and public teachers' extra duties outside education such as election duties. Some teachers reported that they had not been adding more content on different cultural groups within Pakistan because they believed that discussing and emphasising different ethnicities would undermine the national integrity of Pakistan. Some teachers identified that they did not discuss ethnicity and religion

because of the fear of disruption in the class discipline and because of the fear of community controversy. Some teachers reported that teaching the cultural diversity of Pakistan has not been their priority because of their limited knowledge of other cultures of Pakistan. Many teachers stated that they added personal knowledge to the textbook knowledge while teaching textbook content in order to augment the insufficient cultural diversity content of the textbook. However, they acknowledged that this did not happen very often. Very few teachers—mostly from private schools—reported that they celebrated cultural days, organised poster competition on different Pakistani cultures, or recommended additional sources.

With respect to the teaching of global identity theme of the textbook, it was reported by most of the teachers—public as well as private—that they often connected local issues to global issues. They acknowledged that during lectures while discussing issues related to Pakistan they often mentioned, compared, or contrasted similar issues in relevant world cultures. It is worth noting here the teachers' use of teacher-centred lectures and didactic pedagogy. There was no reference to other methods such as discussion, group work, use of sources, use of film, internet research, debate, critical thinking, or empathetic perspective activities. Limiting instructional strategies only to lecturing severely limits exploration of often-contested global issues. The identified barriers that were similar to those listed above in the discussion related to teachers' practices in response to cultural diversity theme of the textbooks. In addition, limited resources, apprehensions regarding the non-Muslim communities and belief that media provide sufficient global information and schooling has no role were also identified. Moreover, most of the teachers—public as well as private—reported that they had been motivating their students to donate for national disaster victims and not for any international disaster. It was also reported that the collection of donations had been solely school administration's initiative and they had just been following the instructions given from above. This illustrates teachers' limited autonomy with respect to the activities organised in schools. Moreover, they reported that occasionally morning prayers had only been organised for any disasters in Muslim *Ummah* and there had been no institutional routines for doing the same for communities other than Muslim. From this, it could be inferred that with respect to global identity themes, the limited teachers' practices, if any, were restricted to Muslim *Ummah*. It seems that there were certain

parameters around the extent of the realisation of the global identity theme. Moreover, there was lesser sense of identifying with human disasters in non-Muslim or developed nations.

It seems that the state examination and the official textbook had strong influences on the teachers' practices resulting in the compliance to the textbook knowledge. Many teachers—from private and armed forces schools—reported that they used different sources and different interpretations of Pakistan's history. Nevertheless, they had to rely on the textbook knowledge and lecture methods because they had to follow the topics in the curriculum/textbooks.

Findings of this study reinforce the position maintained by previous research studies. For instance, Hashmi (2011) found that teachers' practices were traditional: activity based instructional strategies were negligible and the lecture method was the only instructional strategy being used in the classroom. S. J. Ahmad (2003) asserted that "the teachers generally rely on textbooks and the teachers' guides, and hesitate to take liberty in expanding on the approved texts" (p. 112). Greaney and Hasan (1998) claimed that in Pakistan, high-stakes testing systems "dictate what is taught in classrooms and how it is taught...(and) determine what is learned and how it is learned" (p. 136). Additionally, they claimed that "teachers prepare students to deal with (the content and skills assessed in previous exams) rather than with broader official curricular objectives. Over time, aspects of the official curriculum which are not tested...tend to be ignored by teachers" (p. 136). These claims seemed similarly applicable to Pakistan Studies teachers' practices under the new curriculum policy.

Teachers in the current study seemed to ignore curriculum policy recommendations related to instructional strategies—such as, discussion, cooperative learning, inquiry/investigation etc.—which are believed to develop students understanding of the subject. It seemed that public as well as private teachers relied more on pedagogy that helped students memorise textbook content in order to avoid the strict accountability penalties associated with low student performance on the state exams. Therefore, it can be argued that whatever the changes in policy on curriculum content; in pushing for new approaches to Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity and global perspectives; whatever the rhetoric of teacher standards might be, if assessment practices remain unchanged, pedagogy is highly unlikely to shift.

This whole issue of compliance and resistance can be interpreted at another level. Bowe et al. (1992) claimed that policy “texts carry with them both possibilities and constraints, contradictions and spaces” (p. 15). Moreover, they asserted that “the reality of policy in practice depends upon the compromises and accommodations to these in particular settings” (p. 15). It seems that these Pakistan Studies teachers interpreted and modified the curriculum policy creatively to fulfil the requirements of their particular context—acting like “street-level bureaucrats” (Lipsky, 2010) and applying considerable discretionary judgment in their specialised working field (Hill & Varone, 2005; Hupe & Hill, 2007; Lipsky, 2010). Although teachers played an inactive role in the power struggles around official curriculum construction (Ginsburg & Kamat, 2009), the formal curriculum was what each teacher decided (Marker & Mehlinger, 1996). They mediated the content of the textbooks and certain aspects of the curriculum policy, allowing certain ideas to enter the classroom and slamming the door on those which did not resonate with their own ideologies (Marker & Mehlinger, 1996).

Therefore, in many ways curriculum policy enactment by these Pakistan Studies teachers’ practices shows compliance as well as resistance to the curriculum policy recommendations at the macro level.

Implications for Policy, Practice, and Research

Implications for Policy

This study has examined the curriculum policy processes and practices related to the enactment of the *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies 2006* for secondary schools in one province of Pakistan, that is, Punjab.

On the whole, it is identified that there would be benefits in clarifying the place, nature and role of Islamic ideological foundations within Pakistan Studies. Instead of official endorsement of one sect of Islam, that is, Sunni, there is a need for more nuanced and inclusive interpretations of Pakistani religious identities. Many non-Muslim minorities exist in Pakistan. Official endorsement of one Islamic sect may lead more towards conflict in society. Nevertheless, this is not to suggest that the Pakistan should embrace secularism since it would be counter-productive. As Weiss and Juergensmeyer (1995) have argued:

It is an oversimplification to imagine separation of religion from State, in traditional and especially post-colonial societies, because they have religious histories that were part of national heritages; religious institutions that were an effective communication system; and religious leaders who generally proved to be more efficient than government officials. (As cited in Aslam, 2003, p. 3)

Then what is the way forward? One future for Pakistan may lie in Jinnah's vision. Four key dimensions of Jinnah's vision for Pakistan are democratisation, an egalitarian version of Islam, the implementation of a strict rule of law and special protective measures for disadvantaged groups and minorities (For details see Syed, 2008a). Curriculum policy makers in Pakistan may incorporate Jinnah's ideals in any future curriculum reform. For a successful Pakistan Studies curriculum reform, it is necessary that "it seeks to create a strong Unum from Pluribus. It would be able to do so if it underscored teaching and learning about democratic civic ideals as proposed by Mohammad Ali Jinnah" (I. Ahmad, 2008, p. 109). However, the findings from this study point to a long-standing ambiguity and tension between the two models. There is a need for a Pakistan Studies curriculum that is faithful to, and respectful of distinctive Islamic Pakistani history and heritage and accommodative of some of the educationally valuable approaches that come with an acceptance of facets of liberal-democratic pedagogy—that is, multiple perspectives, criticality, debate, inquiry, open-endedness etc. This policy shift would surely help in solving most of the education policy problem identified in this study.

This study reported that teachers' practices were directly related to the assessment policy of the state. Teachers' over reliance on content-based teaching was dictated by the board assessments, which were mainly based on recalling textbooks' factual knowledge of the institutional structures than the skills and understanding of the subject matter. A newly minted curriculum framework does not shift teacher practices—only revised assessment practices will achieve this. Therefore, there is a need to overhaul the examination system in order to develop in students a deeper understanding of Pakistan's ideological, moral, and cultural values.

Implications for Practice

- There would be merit in linking the various curriculum policy contexts to ensure awareness of roles and responsibilities at each level. There is a need to introduce teachers to the complexities of teaching about national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives through professional development courses. Teachers should be introduced not only to theoretical nuances related to these concepts through the coursework but also through practice during pre-service and in-service training.
- A major finding of this research was the continuing silences of the Pakistan Studies textbooks to the cultural and religious diversity of Pakistan. Reliance on assimilationist approaches would not be useful in the future (Syed, 2008b) because they have contributed to the social conflict. Therefore, this study recommends incorporation of the voices of different communities in the curriculum policy. The guiding normative principle would be that “‘we’ cannot integrate ‘them’ so long as ‘we’ remain ‘we’; ‘we’ must be loosened up to create a new common space in which ‘they’ can be accommodated and become part of a newly reconstituted ‘we’” (Parekh, 2000, p. 204). The addition of perspectives of cultural groups and religious minorities and removal of the intolerant content in the curricula and textbooks of Pakistan Studies is necessary. This, however, “does not mean that we should teach cultural hero worship, group ethnocentrism, and cultural myths, and fantasies” (Banks, 2007, p. 123) of these cultural groups in Pakistan. Rather, curriculum “should help students to develop clarified and reflective cultural group attachments, to demystify their own cultural groups, to develop an awareness of them as separate cultural entities, and to understand their relationships with other cultural groups” (Banks, 2007, p. 123). These efforts would also be supportive to the current national efforts to curb the menace of terrorism and intolerance and interfaith disharmony.
- The textbooks as well as teachers were more inclined toward cultivating Pakistani national identity in students and they were least concerned with developing students’ affinity with broader global community. Besides, Joshi

(2010) claimed that textbooks' emphasis on Muslim *Ummah* is an "effort to craft a 'regionality' distinct from India's appropriation of the grand narrative of the natural geographical unity of the subcontinent" (Joshi, 2010, p. 368). Lall (2008) has argued that educating students with nationalistic, exclusive, and religiously inspired discourses can badly influence the world peace, especially when on both sides of the border Pakistani and Indian children are being taught conflicting histories. This is particularly problematic in the era of heightened globalisation where "nationalism and national identity cannot exist independently without relating to other cultures, peoples, and lands" (Dattoo, 2009, p. 107). There is a need of creative response "to the globalising world and for this school curriculum needs to strike a balance between the students' need to maintain a distinctive local identity as well as their search to be coherent with the global" (Dattoo, 2009, p. 220). However, this is not to suggest that the students' cultural and national identities should be neglected at the expense of global identities.

- A major finding from this research was that teachers had very little knowledge of the curriculum policy produced. It is of utmost importance for teachers to have firm knowledge of the changing curriculum in order to perform their work effectively. Therefore, there is a need for a provision to ensure that teachers have knowledge and understanding of the curriculum changes.

Implications for Research

Because of the centrality of Pakistan Studies in promoting Pakistani national identity in the secondary school curriculum, Pakistan Studies was specifically chosen to analyse notions of national identity, ethnic and cultural diversity, and global identity in the curriculum policy, textbooks, and teachers' practices. Nevertheless, the national identity and the other themes, which have been explored in this study, could also be part of cross-curricular themes. Therefore, future studies can explore these themes in the other school subjects— especially Urdu, English, and Islamic Studies. Here the subject of Islamic Studies need necessary scrutiny because of the policy documents particular emphasis on Islamic education as a mean "to create a tolerant and peace loving society

with vision of finding solutions to the real life” (Government of Pakistan, 2009, p. 23). Previous research has identified the addition of *Huqooq-ul-Ebad* (rights of other human beings), *Huqooq-ullah* (rights of God) and Islam’s teaching of *Adl-o-Ehsan* (justice and benevolence) in the Islamic Studies curriculum (S. J. Ahmad, 2003). However, there is dearth of in depth studies on the presence of human rights education in the context of Islamic Studies curriculum. Future studies can fill this research gap.

A large-scale study ensuring a more representative group of Pakistan Studies teachers exploring perceptions and practices regarding teaching of national identity, ethnic and religious diversity, and global perspectives would be helpful in obtaining more generalisable findings for some broader set of conditions and not particularly for the context studied in this research. This would be particularly helpful in developing a comprehensive picture. The approach in this study was a qualitative case study—particularistic and small-scale. This approach was inevitable because of the research’s aim of “understanding the nuances and patterns of social behaviour...[by] studying specific situations and people, complemented by attending carefully to specific contextual conditions” (Yin, 2011, p. 98). The current research literature on Pakistan Studies has been mainly confined itself to the critique of the policy texts and textbooks (e.g, I. Ahmad, 2008; Aziz, 1998; Behuria & Shehzad, 2013; Lall, 2008; Rosser, 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Saigol, 2003b, 2005). Nevertheless, there are few exceptions: for example, Yaqian (2011) complemented his research with questionnaires to investigate the perception of a history course from students and teachers. Similarly, N. Durrani and Dunne (2010), N. Durrani (2008a) and Dean (2005) complemented their research studies with interviews with teachers and observation of classroom practices of the teachers. Compared to the studies using policy texts and textbooks as data, the exploration of Pakistan Studies teachers’ perceptions and practices through large-scale questionnaire studies and studies involving interviews and long-term participant observations are lacking. This is important because teachers can be professional shapers of curriculum and pedagogy rather than passive recipients of central and state-mandated edicts. This gap can be filled with future studies using these methodologies.

Another way future research can be devised is to replicate of this study in the other provinces (Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan, and Gilgit Baltistan) and other territories. All of these federating units are inhabited by different cultural groups and

having different relationships with federal governments in different periods of Pakistan's political history (Mushtaq, 2009; Samad, 2013). Therefore, this research study would add to the existing knowledge of the curriculum policy processes and practices regarding Pakistan Studies in Pakistan.

Pakistan recently (16 December 2014) witnessed terrorist attacks on the Army Public School Peshawar where 141 innocent people were martyred including 132 students of grades 1-10 (Shirazi, Haider, Jahangiri, & Hakim, 2014). This resulted in large-scale changes in Pakistan's policy towards the Taliban and other terrorist groups. The *National Action Plan 2014* clearly reflects these changes in the Pakistan's policy to deal with terrorism. As part of the enactment of the *National Action Plan* in the educational sector, the Punjab government has recently (August 2015) introduced "Supplementary Reading Material" in all public schools of Punjab. This material deals with "the menace of extremism, intolerance, sectarianism and to promote tolerance, peaceful co-existence, inter-faith harmony etc." (Government of Punjab, 2015). This material is now incorporated in the curriculum and textbooks; and it would be part of the tested curricula—of Punjab Examination Commission and Boards of Intermediate & Secondary Education in Punjab—in the form of short questions/MCQs on the topics mentioned above. A future study could analyse the content of this Supplementary Reading Material and the relevant assessments. Teachers' perceptions and practices specific to this material could also be explored.

Conclusion

This chapter has revisited the key findings keeping in view the research questions, and theoretical framework, and discussed the main implications of the study for policy, practice, and research. This study was a relatively small-scale qualitative case study aimed at developing an understanding of curriculum policy enactment in various contexts through an in depth exploration of the central phenomenon rather than to generalise to the population. Therefore, generalisations from the study should only be made by keeping the contextual factors in view. However, findings from this study not only confirmed but also expanded the previous research findings.

The key findings of this study suggested that the liberal-democratic discourse of Pakistan Studies promulgated at the macro level seemed to disperse at the micro level. In

addition, it was noted that there existed a lack of interaction between various policy contexts—the context of practice was not closely linked to macro context of text production. Therefore, it is argued that there would be merit in more tightly linking the various curriculum policy contexts. This could be implemented by ensuring awareness of roles and responsibilities at each level and by introducing the various policy enactors to the complexities of teaching about Pakistani national identity, cultural diversity, and global perspectives through various policy dissemination strategies.

Moreover, in order to flourish, a plural democracy, like that of Pakistan, needs to be sustained. Therefore, there is a need for the promotion of an awareness of liberal-democratic discourse among policy makers as well as teachers associated with Pakistan Studies. One of the teachers from a Missionary school articulated an optimistic future:

Even if we relate Pakistan Studies with religion then there is no issue because in the struggle for the independence of Pakistan, Muslims and Christians did work together. Now, we have good relationships in our country. The system is working well; we have brotherly relationships. There is no conflict among us and I am here to inculcate this message in our students. I am here to tell them about the lesson of equality and that the all human beings are equal; we are all the children of Hazrat Adam. Nobody is lesser. Just like in mosque or in church every one is equal. (Teacher-27M)

Future research can contribute to building upon this tolerant vision.

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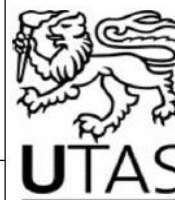
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Appendices

Appendix A.1: Letter of Full Ethics Application Approval to Conduct Research

Social Science Ethics Officer
Private Bag 01 Hobart
Tasmania 7001 Australia
Tel: (03) 6226 2763
Fax: (03) 6226 7148
Katherine.Shaw@utas.edu.au



HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (TASMANIA) NETWORK

1 July 2014

Dr Peter Brett
Faculty of Education
Private Bag 3508

Student Researcher: Yaar Muhammad

Sent via email

Dear Dr Brett

Re: FULL ETHICS APPLICATION APPROVAL
Ethics Ref: **H0014116 - Balancing Cultural, National & Global Identifications?: An Examination of Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in Punjab (Pakistan)**

We are pleased to advise that the Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee approved the above project on 1 July 2014.

This approval constitutes ethical clearance by the Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. The decision and authority to commence the associated research may be dependent on factors beyond the remit of the ethics review process. For example, your research may need ethics clearance from other organisations or review by your research governance coordinator or Head of Department. It is your responsibility to find out if the approval of other bodies or authorities is required. It is recommended that the proposed research should not commence until you have satisfied these requirements.

Please note that this approval is for four years and is conditional upon receipt of an annual Progress Report. Ethics approval for this project will lapse if a Progress Report is not submitted.

The following conditions apply to this approval. Failure to abide by these conditions may result in suspension or discontinuation of approval.

1. It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval, to ensure the project is conducted as approved by the Ethics Committee, and to notify the Committee if any investigators are added to, or cease involvement with, the project.

A PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

2. Complaints: If any complaints are received or ethical issues arise during the course of the project, investigators should advise the Executive Officer of the Ethics Committee on 03 6226 7479 or human.ethics@utas.edu.au.
3. Incidents or adverse effects: Investigators should notify the Ethics Committee immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
4. Amendments to Project: Modifications to the project must not proceed until approval is obtained from the Ethics Committee. Please submit an Amendment Form (available on our website) to notify the Ethics Committee of the proposed modifications.
5. Annual Report: Continued approval for this project is dependent on the submission of a Progress Report by the anniversary date of your approval. You will be sent a courtesy reminder closer to this date. **Failure to submit a Progress Report will mean that ethics approval for this project will lapse.**
6. Final Report: A Final Report and a copy of any published material arising from the project, either in full or abstract, must be provided at the end of the project.

Yours sincerely

Katherine Shaw
Executive Officer
Tasmania Social Sciences HREC

Appendix A.2: No Objection Letter to Change the Thesis Title

RE: Ethics Application Approval: H0014116 Balancing Cultural, National and Global Identifications?: An Examination of Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in Punjab (Pakistan)

Katherine Shaw

Thu 29/10/2015 10:35 AM

To: Peter Brett <peter.brett@utas.edu.au>;

Cc: Yaar Muhammad <yaar.muhammad@utas.edu.au>;

Hi Peter,

Thank you for your query. We don't need to update the title on the ethics application given that the data collection is complete.

Kind regards,
Katherine

Katherine Shaw
Executive Officer, Social Sciences HREC
Office of Research Services | Research Division
University of Tasmania
Private Bag 1
Hobart TAS 7001
T +61 3 6226 2763
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CRICOS 00586B

From: Peter Brett
Sent: Thursday, 29 October 2015 9:44 AM
To: Katherine Shaw
Cc: Yaar Muhammad
Subject: FW: Ethics Application Approval: H0014116 Balancing Cultural, National and Global Identifications?: An Examination of Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in Punjab (Pakistan)

Hello Katherine – Yaar Muhammad – one of my Ph.D students is approaching completion of his research (hoping to submit in around two months) having received ethics approval in July 2014. As he approaches submission he has re-framed the title of his thesis to more accurately reflect his findings. The process of data collection has been completed and will not be re-visited. He has asked me below whether he is required to amend his ethics application in the light of his title change. Please could you advise?
Regards.

Appendix B: Information Letter to Principal

Locked Bag 1307
Tasmania 7250 Australia
Phone +61 3 6324 3265 Fax +61 3 6324 3048
Email education.enquiries@utas.edu.au



Faculty of Education

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LETTER TO PRINCIPAL

Dear Principal,

My name is Yaar Muhammad and I am a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Education, University of Tasmania (Australia). I am from Pakistan and am interested in researching the educational provisions for citizenship education (through Pakistani Studies and Social Studies) in Pakistan. I am currently conducting a research study in partial fulfilment of the requirements for my PhD studies under the supervision of Dr Peter Brett, Associate Professor Marion Myhill and Dr Greg Ashman, entitled "Balancing Cultural, National & Global Identifications?: An Examination of Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in Punjab (Pakistan)" and your school is cordially invited to participate in this study.

The study aims to capture a holistic picture of Pakistan's educational system with respect to the development of multiple identities and citizenship education. More specifically, the study aims to identify, describe, and analyse the various notions of multiple identities reflected in the educational provisions (curricula, textbooks and teachers) of public, elite private, missionary, and armed forces schools of Pakistan.

With your kind permission, all Grade 7-10 Pakistan Studies/Social Studies teachers will be invited to participate in interviews. Neither the school nor the individual teachers will be identified in the information published from the research. Each interview will last for a maximum of one hour.

I enclose an information sheet, which details the various processes in the study. Teachers will be informed about the topic of interview beforehand and also subsequently receive a transcript of their responses for confirmation of accuracy, clarification and/or amendment.

If you think that it is worthwhile for your school to participate in this study, please sign the consent form and return to administrative office of your school. It will be delivered to the researcher who will later contact teachers of your school to schedule a meeting for an interview.

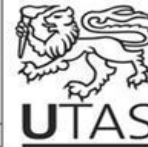
If you need further information about this research project, please feel free to contact me at my email address yaar.muhammad@utas.edu.au or the Chief Investigator, Dr Peter Brett (peter.brett@utas.edu.au).

Thank you for your kind consideration.

Sincerely,
Yaar Muhammad
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Education

Appendix C: Consent Form for Principal

Locked Bag 1307 Launceston
Tasmania 7275 Australia



FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Participant Consent Form [1.0] [May 2014]

Balancing Cultural, National & Global Identifications?: An Examination of Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in Punjab (Pakistan)

Consent Form for Principal

1. I agree to take part in the research study named above.
2. I have read and understood the Information Sheet for this study.
3. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
4. I understand that the study involves interviewing the teachers of my school about their views on citizenship education and the teaching around cultural, national, and global identities within the Pakistan/social studies curriculum. Each interview will take one hour. I also understand that the interview will be audio recorded, and each teacher will be given opportunity to review the transcribed and translated interview.
5. I understand that all research data will be securely stored at the University of Tasmania's password-protected cloud storage site during the fieldwork as well as analysis period. After five years from the publication of the study results data will be destroyed.
6. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
7. I understand that the researcher(s) will maintain confidentiality and that any information provided by the teachers to the researcher(s) will be used only for the purposes of the research.
8. I understand that neither the school nor the individual teachers will be identified in the information published from the research.
9. I understand that participation is voluntary and that we may withdraw at any time without any effect. If we so wish, we may request that any data we have supplied be withdrawn from the research before 31 March 2015. We understand that we will not be able to withdraw our data after the publication of research.

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator	
<input type="checkbox"/>	I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.
If the Investigator has not had an opportunity to talk to participants prior to them participating, the following must be ticked.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	The participant has received the Information Sheet where my details have been provided so participants have had the opportunity to contact me prior to consenting to participate in this project.

Investigator's name: Yaar Muhammad _____

Investigator's signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D: Participant Information Sheet

Locked Bag 1307 Launceston
Tasmania 7279 Australia

FACULTY OF EDUCATION



Participant Information Sheet [version number 1.0] [May 2014]

Balancing Cultural, National, & Global Identities? An Examination of Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in Punjab (Pakistan)

Information Sheet for Citizenship Education (Pakistan/social studies) Teachers

1. Invitation

This research is being conducted in partial fulfillment of a PhD degree for Mr. Yaar Muhammad under the supervision of Dr. Peter Brett, Lecturer at the Faculty of Education, Dr. Marion Myhill, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Education and Dr. Gregory Ashman, Lecturer at the Faculty of Education, University of Tasmania, Australia. You are invited to participate in the research that investigates the ways in which the curriculum and wider educational provision of public, elite private missionary and armed forces schools help to develop students' sense of multiple identities.

2. What is the purpose of this study?

This study aims to identify, describe and analyse the various notions of multiple identities reflected in the educational provisions of public, elite private, missionary and armed forces schools of Pakistan.

3. Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited because you are a teacher of Pakistan/social studies.

4. What will I be asked to do?

During the interview, you will be asked about your instructional strategies in response to the Pakistan/ social studies curriculum reforms introduced in the Musharraf era, and treatment of cultural/ethnic diversity as well as global issues in new textbooks.

You will be interviewed for one hour in English or Urdu. The interview will likely take place in Sept 2014 at your school and it will be audio recorded only with your permission. If you prefer that the interview is not to be recorded, the interviewer will make written notes during the interview and then ensure at the end of the meeting that his notes represent a fair record. Transcription and translation of audio recorded interviews will be done later for analysis. You will be given an opportunity to see and comment on the transcript as well as on the preliminary analysis.

5. Are there any possible benefits from participation in this study?

You will have the opportunity to reflect on your professional practices. Since you will be given an opportunity to see and comment on the transcript as well as on the preliminary analysis, it is possible that participation will enhance your professional practices related to multiple identities and citizenship education.

6. Are there any possible risks from participation in this study?

Participation involves no foreseeable risks other than the possibility of feeling uneasy or unsure about your interpretation or incorporation of policy directives in your day-to-day teaching.

7. What if I change my mind during or after the study?

You are free to withdraw at any time before the publication of the research. You can do so without providing an explanation. If you so wish, you may request that any data you have supplied be withdrawn from the research before 31 March 2015.

8. What will happen to the information when this study is over?

Audio data and electronic transcripts will be stored on password-protected UTAS cloud storage site during the fieldwork as well as analysis period. Five years after the publication of the research study, all audio files will be destroyed, hard copies of transcripts will be shredded and electronic transcripts will be deleted.

9. How will the results of the study be published?

After the publication of thesis, the student investigator can be requested to provide an electronic copy of thesis. However, all research participants (teachers) of public, elite private and missionary schools will be provided with a final electronic or paper summary report of the study. We will ensure that individual participants of the study (and their schools) are not identifiable in any publication on the findings of the research study.

10. What if I have questions about this study?

If you have any question related to any aspect of this study, Please feel free to contact any of the following members of the research team.

<p>Dr. Peter Brett Lecturer, Faculty of Education University of Tasmania, Cradle Coast Campus, PO Box 3508, Burnie, Tasmania 7320, Australia Email: Peter.Brett@utas.edu.au Telephone: +61 3 6430 4932</p>	<p>Dr. Marion Myhill Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Education University of Tasmania, Newnham Campus, Locked Bag 1307, Launceston Tasmania 7250, Australia Email: Marion.Myhill@utas.edu.au Telephone: +61 3 6324 3908</p>
<p>Dr Greg Ashman Lecturer, Faculty of Education University of Tasmania, Newnham Campus, Locked Bag 1307, Launceston Tasmania 7250, Australia Email: Greg.Ashman@utas.edu.au Telephone: +61 3 6324 3063</p>	<p>Mr. Yaar Muhammad PhD Candidate, Faculty of Education University of Tasmania, Newnham Campus, Locked Bag 1307, Launceston Tasmania 7250, Australia Email: Yaar.Muhammad@utas.edu.au Telephone: +61 36324 3792 Mobile (Pakistan): +923335802634</p>

"This study has been approved by the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on +61 3 6226 6254 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominated to receive complaints from research participants. Please quote ethics reference number [Hxxxxx]."

Thank you for your time and considering to be part of this research study. If you are not interested in participating in this study, please return the blank consent form in a

sealed envelope to administrative office of your school. However, if you think that it is worthwhile to participate in this study, please sign the consent form and return to administrative office of your school in a sealed envelope. It will be delivered to the researcher who will later contact you to schedule a meeting for an interview.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

Appendix E: Participant Consent Form

Locked Bag 1307 Launceston
Tasmania 7275 Australia



FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Participant Consent Form [1.0] [May 2014]

Balancing Cultural, National & Global Identifications?: An Examination of Citizenship Education in Secondary Schools in Punjab (Pakistan)

Consent Form for Citizenship Education (Pakistan/social studies) Teachers

1. I agree to take part in the research study named above.
2. I have read and understood the Information Sheet for this study.
3. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
4. I understand that the study involves interviewing me about my views on citizenship education and the teaching around cultural, national, and global identities within the Pakistan/social studies curriculum. This interview will take one hour. I also understand that the interview will be audio recorded only with my permission, and I will be given opportunity to review the transcribed and translated interview.
5. I understand that participation involves no foreseeable risks other than the possibility of feeling uneasy or unsure about my interpretation or incorporation of policy directives in my day-to-day teaching.
6. I understand that all research data will be securely stored at the University of Tasmania's password-protected cloud storage site during the fieldwork as well as analysis period. After five years from the publication of the study results data will be destroyed.
7. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
8. I understand that the researcher(s) will maintain confidentiality and that any information I supply to the researcher(s) will be used only for the purposes of the research.
9. I understand that the results of the study will be published so that I cannot be identified as a participant.
10. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without any effect. If I so wish, I may request that any data I have supplied be withdrawn from the research before 31 March 2015. I understand that I will not be able to withdraw my data after the publication of research.

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator	
<input type="checkbox"/>	I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.
If the Investigator has not had an opportunity to talk to participants prior to them participating, the following must be ticked.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	The participant has received the Information Sheet where my details have been provided so participants have had the opportunity to contact me prior to consenting to participate in this project.

Investigator's name: Yaar Muhammad _____

Investigator's signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix F: Teacher Interview Guide

Teacher Interview Guide

Teacher Name:
Age:
Sex:
Academic Qualification:
Professional Qualification:
Grade and subject taught:
School Type:

Questions for teachers:

Curricular reform

1. How long have you been teaching the Pakistan/ social studies curriculum?
2. What are you generally hoping to achieve through your teaching of the Pakistan/social studies curriculum?
3. What do you know about the Pakistan/ social studies curriculum reforms implemented in the Musharraf era?
4. What do you think were the effective and less effective aspects of the previous Pakistan/ social studies curriculum?
5. Do you like the new Pakistan/ social studies curriculum? Explain your answer.
6. How are you incorporating the curriculum reforms in your instructional strategies? [Has the new curriculum altered the way that you teach? Has it changed aspects of the emphasis, which you place upon particular issues or subject content?]

National Identity

7. What instructional strategies do you use to teach your students to be a good Pakistani citizen?
8. What features of Pakistani national identity do you think are valuable and should be particularly promoted and preserved through the Pakistan/ social studies curriculum?
9. What features of Pakistani national identity do you think are less valuable and might be questioned or explored within the Pakistan/ social studies curriculum?
10. What stories, events, or emphases do the Pakistan/social studies textbooks use to construct the Pakistani national identity?

Cultural Identity

11. What multiethnic/multicultural concepts and ideas are taught in your Pakistan/ social studies classes?
12. Which ethnic/ cultural groups do you think get the most attention in the new Pakistan/ social studies textbooks?
13. Which ethnic/cultural groups do you think receive less attention in the new Pakistan/ social studies textbooks? Do you do anything to compensate for that?
14. What suggestions would you offer for improving the representation of ethnic/ cultural groups in the new Pakistan/ social studies textbooks?
15. How do you encourage your students to reflect upon controversial issues in your Pakistan/ social studies classes? Do you encourage them to make decisions about controversial issues? How?
16. How do you encourage your students to respect other people, even if they differ with their own opinions, culture, religion, or background?
17. Do you think that all human beings are entitled to universal human rights? If so, how do you cultivate this in your students?
18. What treatment do women receive in the new Pakistan/ social studies textbooks? Please give some specific examples?

Global identity

19. Do you take global perspective in your teaching of Pakistan/ social studies? If yes, could you please give some specific examples?
20. What global concepts and ideas do you usually teach in your Pakistan/ social studies classes?
21. Which global concepts and ideas do you think receive less attention in the textbooks? Do you do anything to compensate for that?
22. How do you encourage your students to make connections between global issues and local issues? Please give some examples.
23. How do you encourage students to act in response to issues in countries other than their own? If yes, could you please give some specific examples?
24. This school puts importance on global perspective. How do you think your teaching complements the school's aims?
25. Do you think students at your school are able to cultivate and develop a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications? If so, in what ways?

Note: There is possibility that these questions may change or expand depending on the context and flow of the conversations. Relevant probing will be done as and when necessary to elaborate or clarify any particular aspect of the discussion.

Appendix G: Role Ordered Matrices

Table 2: Role-Ordered Matrix of Participants' Perceptions, Current Practice, and Suggestions Regarding National Identity Theme of the Textbooks

Teacher Code	Teachers' Perceptions of National Identity Theme	Teachers' Current Practice Regarding National Identity Theme	Teachers' Suggestions Regarding National Identity Theme
01.FG	He thinks that overall the book is comprehensive: All aspects of Pakistan are dealt with well but foreign relations are not elaborated.	He teaches students that Pakistan is a unique country. Topics such as the struggle for the independence of Pakistan, culture, languages and social and political explanation of Pakistan's underdevelopment despite having abundance of natural resources boost his students' national identity.	<p>He suggests the addition of more national heroes' life histories:</p> <p>Leaders who took part in the freedom movement,</p> <p>Military leaders who received Nishan-e-Haider.</p> <p>Futuristic approach to the description of national resources.</p>
02.FG	He doesn't think there are any changes in the curriculum. The same topics are being repeated.	He does not depart from the curriculum; he just follows the topics in the curriculum. Topics related to the past and struggle for the independence of Pakistan help him in developing students' national identity.	More topics to promote national thinking.

03.PG	<p>She thinks this curriculum is better. There is content related to the history and culture of Pakistan. She thinks it is fine to have four provinces language for this class level. Everything related to Pakistan is in it.</p>	<p>She describes that her school starts with Nazra (recitation of Quran) and quotes from Quran and Hadiths (sayings of Prophet (PBUH)) and then explanation of them. She gives the students moral lessons regarding appropriate behaviours in school and society, relates moral lessons with Islam, believes it is her duty and responsibility to teach Christian students equally and make them good citizens to teach even Islamic content when their parents themselves have opted for it at the time of admission.</p>	<p>More topics on languages of Pakistan problems of Pakistan and national heroes from all provinces but acknowledged at national level.</p>
04.PG	<p>She thinks there are no changes: Topics are same and themes are same. They have just split the syllabus into two books. The books mostly talk about Pakistan's political history since 1947 and various constitutions.</p>	<p>She uses mostly a lecture method. She advises her students to wear national dresses, asks them to speak always in Urdu, and gives instructions with respect to adoption of Islamic culture—even for non-Muslim students. She believes, “They are living in Pakistan; they need to learn and adopt Islamic values.”</p>	<p>Freedom movement should be given more space.</p> <p>Politics since 1947 and history of various constitutions should be shortened in it. More current affairs should be included.</p>

05.PG	<p>She thinks there are some new things. Topics related to national identity such as the Pakistan movement, geographical features, climatic regions, constitutional matters, and some information related to Pillars of Islam (ideology of Pakistan) are good.</p>	<p>She makes sure while teaching that students remain on track and according to (examination pattern). Since there is an objective type exam, students have to learn things thoroughly. She uses lectures, map drawing, and Islamic moral instructions. She argues, “You cannot remain aloof from Islam here. It is a must. They must know their Islamic duties. This is the stage it is necessary to give them guidance.”</p>	<p>She suggests that the content of the book is enough but to improve the book, more on Pillars of Islam (ideology of Pakistan) can be included and related it to society.</p>
06.PG	<p>“I do not know, I am teaching this curriculum for the first time. I have not read this book completely.”</p>	<p>He makes them learn model papers, tests, practice—just to keep them on track so that they can get through the exams. “Short question-answer are available ready-made in market and the students just learn them. Students learn them themselves and if they don’t, they have to face the music.”</p> <p>“Here no concept of good citizenship is given, nor students have such aims—most of the time exam oriented study.”</p> <p>BARRIER: “Education department has introduced strict rules. If you have results less than 25 %, your annual (salary) increments will not be given. If your result is 0% you will be removed from service.”</p>	<p>No changes are needed.</p> <p>“I have no idea of the syllabus and what should it be. There should be good results; I have no concern with what should be the syllabus.”</p>

07.PG	<p>He is concerned about the decreased focus on topics relevant to culture, and religion, and increased focus of the curriculum on mountains and atmosphere and considers it as a negative development.</p>	<p>He teaches Islamic ethical lessons every day because he believes that to make his students good citizens, a lot of knowledge of Islamic ethical values is a must. However, he believes, “It would be inappropriate to relate ethics particularly with Islam. Which religion says tell a lie? Which religion says to steal? Which religion says to do adultery? Which religion says to violate human rights? Islam has just given us better concepts.”</p> <p>In order to make non-Muslim students good citizens, he does not give them knowledge of Islam, only promotes core and common values between religions. “I do not say to them to recite “There is no God but Allah and Muhammad (PBUH) is the Messenger of Allah” but I say do not lie, do not steal...”</p>	<p>He suggests the addition of more topics on Pakistani culture and more on ethics.</p> <p>He argues, “Pakistan came into being just 68 years ago but our culture started from Muhammad Bin Qasim.”</p>
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08.PG	<p>“Topics related to national identity are OK! But there is still some room for improvement.”</p> <p>He is concerned about the removal of Islamic content.</p>	<p>Curriculum and examination pattern are changed. Mostly lecture method is used but certain activities are done to help them memorise the content such as oral tests in the classrooms.</p> <p>He gives all of his efforts to connect his students to Islam so that they can become good citizens. For non-Muslim Students he works on their moral development. The moral values common in religions are promoted.</p> <p>“I do not preach them beliefs but common values. I do not compel them. I give them role model so that they are inspired to become good citizens. Even if I give them role model of good Muslim so that one day they are inspire to become good Muslims.”</p>	<p>He believes that Islamic points of view should be given more attention here.</p> <p>“This would not be an injustice to add more information related to Islam. Injustice would be only when we do not treat non-Muslim students properly and we have hatred for them. Nobody’s religion should be attacked. Islam is a universal religion. All what is in Islam is applicable to all human beings.”</p>
09.PG	<p>He is concerned about the reduced content on those personalities who contributed to the struggle for independence and ideological and Islamic cultural topics</p>	<p>Through Islamic moral lectures.</p>	<p>More on the issues of Pakistan.</p> <p>Student should know more about the sacrifices of ancestors.</p>

10.PG	<p>He appreciates the updated current history related to Ayub Khan, Zia, Nawaz Sharif, B Bhutto, and even Musharraf.</p>	<p>He gives examples of good Pakistani citizens—national heroes, Icons, and celebrities. He offers himself as a role model/hero for his students and students often follow him. He has allocated 1 period (40 mins) in a week for working on their citizenship building where he gives them lectures and discuss traffic rules and human rights issues, laws, respect of elders, problems of using drugs, problems associated with bad company.</p> <p>He believes, “the base of Pakistan is on the slogan of: What is the meaning of Pakistan, There is no God except Allah.” Therefore, he works towards character building.</p> <p>“To make non-Muslims good Pakistani citizens, he believes Islam has a partial role.” I know Pakistan is not comprised of only Muslims. There are also non-Muslim minorities...I do my best to give my Christian students moral lessons from Jesus life and preaching--which I know. They have almost the same religious lesson as those of Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) with the only difference of <i>Kalimah</i>.”</p>	<p>More on ideology of Pakistan and patriotism, Sacrifices of <i>Shuhdah</i> (martyred people) because reading their sacrifice promotes patriotism and topics on civics and geopolitical issues.</p>
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<p>11.PG</p>	<p>He thinks, “Previous curriculum was a pack of lies, and used to reflect a certain way of thinking. For example, it used to be taught that Idea was ruled by Muslim.--no, it was not. It was ruled by Mughals. Then a lot of praises for these Mughals rulers were there. When I was students, I used to take them mistakenly as saints. When I became adult, I came to know they were corrupt people. These were the lies included in Pakistan Studies.” He could not comment on the new curriculum as he has started teaching it just few months ago.</p>	<p>He does not involve Islam in teaching students to be good Pakistani citizens and thinks, “it is wrong to give reference to religion because no religion dictates you to steal, or tell lies or do injustice—all the religions have the same preaching. Putting more emphasis creates prejudice in the minds of students. They start thinking that Islam is the only true religion and other religions are false. This prejudice takes them to the wrong path...”</p> <p>BARRIERS: “I do share my (radical) thoughts with my students BUT with certain limitations. Students have immature minds. What I am saying to you--is understandable to you. I am not atheist. But I am in search of true Islam. We need to create human beings (out of students), which should be praised for their character—We are not called terrorists...”</p>	<p>It is a tradition here that we involve Islam in teaching students to be good Pakistani citizens. I think it is wrong.” He understands the difference between good Muslim and good Pakistani.</p> <p>Wants curriculum based on secular nationalism:</p> <p>“When it is said we Pakistanis are Muslim where should Christian go where should Hindu go. We have just disowned them by just saying that we Pakistanis are Muslim...this promotes all kinds of prejudices. If we do not go to nationalism then we have all other contending identities.”</p>
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12.PG	<p>He appreciates new curriculum inclusion of recent past and current affairs and history of previous 8-10 years. “Before these students were less interested in Pakistan but now students are studying about Musharraf, he is still alive and students have also seen him. This increases their interest in the subject and gives them a solid knowledge.”</p>	<p>He uses lecture method most of the time and tries to cultivate patriotism in them by emphasising liberty which he believes they have in their own country but cannot be attained abroad.</p> <p>BARRIER: The class strength. “I have no time to have any activity so I just rely on lecture method.”</p>	<p>“I think they should have given at least an outline of pre partition history.”</p>
13.S.PG	<p>He thinks that the main fault in this Pakistan Studies curriculum is the absence of discussions of national thinking: “It was neither in the previous curriculum nor in this curriculum.”</p>	<p>He does it through lecture method. He teaches his students about the sacrifices made by fore fathers and then importance of caring Pakistan as they care their home. He emphasises Islam because he thinks it is the core of Pakistani society. “Musharraf brought moderate Islam (and tried to change this core of society) and tried to liberalise society. Islam is necessary feature of Pakistani national identity. If Islam is removed from it, nothing will be left behind.”</p> <p>When he has non-Muslim students, he tells them only about nationalism and patriotism but the element of religion would not be there since they have different religions.</p>	<p>More topics on Islam and mineral resources of Pakistan.</p>

14.PG	<p>He thinks the history part of the new curriculum is free of twisted facts and is without any prejudice or without any interest and is based on the ground reality. “They have given the same status to the opponents as they have the status in history.”</p> <p>He gives an example of East Pakistan.</p>	<p>Makes his students aware of the country affairs by making them read newspapers and listen to news.</p> <p>Tries to inculcate ethical values that come from Islam, do character building in teaching all subjects. Also uses morning assembly, debates, and <i>Bazm E Adab</i> for this purpose.</p> <p>For students belonging to minorities, he uses liberalism, tolerance, and similar ethical points. However, he believes, “Islam has also given us the same method: treat no Muslims with tolerance and patience—equality.”</p> <p>BARRIER: “Teachers’ extra assignments: Dengue Virus duties, walks related to environmental issues and election duties. Recently, duties related to floods. Sometime, we are also busy on Sundays.”</p>	<p>He suggests that a chapter on natural resources should be added so that students know which natural resource lies where and how can they be used. Here we have oil, gas, and coal. I think there should be more awareness about these resources. We have areas—Skardu—Gilgit—more introductions on FATA. “Children know more about Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan—they think Pakistan consists of only these areas. More details should be there for the areas I mentioned before.”</p>
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15.AF	<p>She does not think there is any change with the exception of addition of few topics. “Typical pattern (of topics) is being followed. It seems as if the time has stopped after Zia Era.”</p>	<p>“They vary topic to topic. Mostly lecture and I tell them what is good and what is wrong. I have only few minutes (mentioning to 40 minutes period) in a day, where we can only give them only <i>line of action</i> or stop them from an activity-- not expected from a good citizens. Being a subject teacher, this is what we can do.”</p> <p>BARRIER: “It is a non-core subject. Students are more absorbed in sciences or Mathematics and pay less attention to it as students usually think they will study this close to exams and do some rote memorisation and just get through exams.”</p>	<p>More on national integrity.</p>
16.AF	<p>She does not think there is any change.</p>	<p>Through moral lessons</p>	<p>More topics on promoting unity.</p>

17.AF	<p>She does not see changes in the curriculum. She is teaching same book (NBF book) for more than ten years. School is affiliated with FB so they are teaching NBF book.</p> <p>She thinks, “It is a bit dry and boring subject as there are not many colourful things in it. History and then learning of dates is hard. Boring in the sense that if you want to give students an idea of something, tell them the main idea in 3-4 lines the main idea of that. Then follow it with headings and events. When you make it too lengthy without any reason, you will lose interest in that.”</p>	<p>She tries to make her student good Pakistani citizens but in sciences, students do equations and participate in lab activities. There is change. In this, there are no such things. She tries to teach them using drawing time lines. She teaches them history as a story so that they could develop interest in Pakistani nationalism.</p> <p>BARRIER: Students appearing in the board exams have limited and short time. Here students have focus on getting marks in science subjects and getting extra tuition for them and giving extra time to those subjects. But they start paying serious attention to Pakistan Studies just close to the board exams.</p>	<p>More on ideology of Pakistan.</p> <p>More on Pakistani nationalism in history part.</p> <p>“The syllabus should be shortened. Give events in bullet points and then adjust these things with them. They have too much syllabus. As a teacher, I feel that it is too much to do in one year. Students do not want it to study. I tell them it has same marks and importance.”</p>
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18.AF	<p>She does not see much difference. The only difference that she sees and appreciates is the inclusion of detailed present history (since 1947).</p>	<p>For this, she keeps her teaching unbiased. She gives them two different pictures of what she teaches so that they can assess. “I do not say to them this is right and you have to follow this. They should have their own thinking as well to assess different situations which I put in front of them.” “As far as exams are concerned, my guide line to the students is that we are not aware of the approach of the examiner and the political parties they favour. Therefore, I suggest to them whatever written in the textbook, follow that. It is also about the marks. Favouritism is there and because of his (examiner) liking and disliking, (he may give more or less marks).”</p>	<p>She is not in favour of more additions because it will increase burdens from from the examination point of view. For the cultivation of national identity, changing textbook is not the only sufficient, other resources should be used, and parents should be involved more.</p>
19.AF	<p>She appreciates “topics such as the Pakistan movement and the Indian animosity because these topics induce sudden responses from the students and promote Pakistani national identity and students are really involved in the discussions of the classroom.”</p>	<p>“I don’t think that sudden change in behaviour can happen and all of them cannot suddenly change into patriotic citizens. I cannot use lecture method all the time for this purpose as students do not have the habit of listening all the time. Sometimes we draw charts and maps in teaching geography of Pakistan.”</p>	<p>“With regard to adding, more topics related to Pakistan national identity, I would say, they have given enough space to Allama Iqbal and Quaid but add more related to Urdu language. Urdu has a long history with respect to Pakistan so it should be added.”</p>

20E.Pri	He appreciates the addition of post partition history and constitutional struggle in Pakistan. He thinks, “it is good that they have given references to various national web sites; e.g., Economic survey of Pakistan.”	He makes his students to compare the knowledge gained in class with ordinary life experiences. Mostly lecture method—explaining content knowledge of textbook with knowledge gained through diverse sources and experiences.	“It is better to put more emphasis on making students better human beings instead of focusing on regionalism or nationalism.”
21E.Pri	She appreciates the addition of post partition history and new touch to foreign relations. She believes that the treatment of ideology land, environment, climate, and cultures are same. She thinks that the activities and colourful pictures are good in enhancing the content on national identity.	She emphasises Islam while teaching content of national identity. She believes, “our religion Islam is the base. This is the reason for us to separate from Hindu. Otherwise, we have same environment, colour, and languages. Basically, it was religion we separated from them. While teaching I give the background of that and then I relate it to the wrong doings of leaders.”	More details on ideology of Pakistan.
22.Pri	She is a new teacher. She cannot comment on this aspect. (2-3 months)	She emphasises the importance of the resources so that they come to realise that they should not waste scarce resources of nation.	“Though there is certain importance of past, but while keeping present in our view we should work towards making our future better. (There is need for futuristic approach in the curriculum).”

23.Pri	She sees some changes in the history portion of the textbook.	She teaches historical events as a story. She reports that maps drawing also induce her students' interest. First, she just covers the whole book quickly so that administration or parents may not say to her that she has not covered the book. "Now in preparing students for board exams I am spending even 1 week for a page topic, Jinnah's 14 point, and they have memorised all the 14 point."	"I don't know" (this is not her subject).
24.Pri	He appreciates content related to Islamic values—justice, democracy, tolerance and constitutional matters.	He gives lessons regarding peace, importance of constitutional laws and regulations—knowledge and their application in daily life. "Justice, democracy, and tolerance are not only valuable for Muslim students but also for non-Muslim students because in this way they would be aware of their rights and duties—and then they can work towards the progress of this country."	He believes that when Islamic values are added in the constitution then they are same. They should be promoted more. Therefore, he thinks that it is necessary for his students to have the knowledge of the Islamic values.
25.Pri	He thinks that the topics are same but the previous book was more comprehensive and detailed one.	He reports that there is change in content so emphasis has also shifted during lectures. He mostly uses Islamic moral lectures. "Islam is necessary here for the cultivation of good Pakistani citizenship. Quoting from Quran and Hadith enhance the impact of the lectures. It makes our work easier."	Kashmir issue should have been given more attention.

26.M	<p>He thinks content related to Islamic beliefs has been reduced not removed totally because textbook writers want to please the Islamic pressure groups or because a textbook without Islamic content would not be approved by the textbook committee. Pakistan Studies should deal with topics relevant to Pakistan and Islamic content (beliefs) should be confined to the Islamic Studies.</p> <p>“I do not have the aim to make them religious scholars, my aim is to make them good citizens. The aim of Pakistan Studies is to make them patriotic citizens. If we start arguing about the preaching of religious beliefs and this would cause conflict.”</p>	<p>He guides students with ethical and moral lessons. School activities are arranged in way they can be more responsible and dutiful. He believes that when these become their habits and when they would be in their adult life they would be aware of their responsibilities. He believes that every religion provides lessons of good deeds. Using religion as a reference point in lectures makes lectures more effective. “Religious touch should be in the lecture: Since our religion says so, our government also say so. This gives a teacher a strong position.”</p> <p>“I do not see religion causes any conflict in the diverse religious community of students (Muslim & Christians). Ethical values that are given in Bible are same as they are given in Quran. These ethical values are also same in the curriculum. There is no conflict in them though the basic beliefs are different. If we do not interfere in the beliefs of our students and just stick to the actual aim of making them good citizens.”</p>	<p>“They have added more content related to Pakistan minorities—for example Christian minority—contributions of different Christian leaders...Now Christian minority can also say that our culture is also highlighted. But I think it is not enough—there should be more. Other minorities—Hindus are Parsis—should also be given some space.”</p>
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27.M	<p>He is concerned about content about Islamic beliefs.</p> <p>“We have sects (in Christianity) but if a student has Catholic faith, he will be taught only about Catholic faith. I was taught in government school and there I had to study Islamic Studies. I still remember your prayers and verses. How can we impose our faith on our student, when they are not comfortable with this?”</p>	<p>He teaches lessons on values, duties, responsibilities, and sacrifices of our ancestors.</p> <p>“Even if we relate Pakistan Studies with religion then there is no issue because in the struggle for the independence of Pakistan Muslim and Christians did work together. Now, we have good relationships in our country. The system is working well; we have brotherly relationships. There is no conflict among us and I am here to inculcate this message in our students. I am here to tell them about the lesson of equality and that the all human beings are equal; we are all the children of Hazrat Adam. Nobody is lesser. Just like in mosque or in church every one is equal.”</p> <p>“In my 18 years of teaching, I have never made my students realised that they are Christians and Muslims. I just believe in equal rights...I am religiously blind. I never give an opportunity to my students to feel that they are being discriminated against because of their faith.”</p>	<p>He suggests the addition of history before partition.</p> <p>“There are many who did work for Pakistan but we do not see their examples/mentioning in the book or official history. Neither in the 9th nor in 10th class book there is mentioning of the contribution of Christians. It should have been there. But it should not as he is Christian or Muslim, it should be included as Pakistanis. Their contribution should be appreciated. Every other community—Sikhs or Hindus –who has contributed to Pakistan—should be given space in the book.” Otherwise, other communities would feel isolated...”</p>
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Table 2: Role-Ordered Matrix of Participants’ Perceptions, Current Practice, and Suggestions Regarding Cultural Identity Theme of the Textbooks

	Perceptions of Cultural content	Practice Regarding Cultural content	Suggestions Regarding Cultural content
01.FG	He thinks that all provinces are being treated equally. He is concerned about the representation of GB, as he believes that they are being ignored in textbook. He is also concerned about the representation of Non-Muslim cultural groups. “They are also citizens of Pakistan—though they are in minority. They have that many rights as do others.”	He reports that his teaching schedule is too tight and he has to prepare students from the examination point of view so he cannot add extra content/lectures on cultural issues. To give students extra knowledge, he recommends extra books and tries to update the content of the textbook adding his own knowledge.	Balochis should be given more space. Textbooks should also talk about GB on equal footings with other provinces. I would not say that the representation of all should be on equal basis but non-Muslim cultural groups are free and independent citizens of this country so they should also be given some space.
02.FG	He thinks that there is information regarding culture of Pakistan and does not see large differences among the cultures of various provinces. He thinks that the textbook gives equal and fair attention to all the cultures but they are just mentioned here are there. He thinks that Balochi are given as much space as any other cultural groups such as Punjabi or Sindhis.	He reports that he cannot do anything to compensate for their lack of representation because he has to follow the topics in the curriculum but he does share with his students needed and related information to enhance students’ understanding.	“Pakistan Studies is about what is in Pakistan—either they are minorities or any other group. Representation of Christians and other religious minorities in this book not as it should be. If they have done something for the country, they should be given space in the textbook.”
03.PG	She thinks that all provinces are represented equally but since the book is	Remains bound to the curriculum. Teaching is mostly content driven because she has limited	“I think for this class level it is fine. Everything related to Pakistan is in it.”

	<p>from Punjab Textbook Board, there is more about Punjab.</p>	<p>time, the syllabus is huge, and then she has to cover Islamic Studies in the same period during the week. Week is divided into 3 days for Pakistan Studies and three days for Islamic Studies.</p>	
04.PG	<p>She thinks that all cultures of the four provinces are given equal attention. There is no representation of religious groups and justifies that this is an Islamic country.</p> <p>“Most of the students are Muslims and non-Muslims are few, therefore, it is ok.”</p>	<p>“Nothing. I teach only topics given in the textbook.”</p>	<p>She thinks that the cultures of four provinces are represented in book but people of Kalash Valley and Waziristan are also Pakistani and the have same Islamic values and their way of living is no very different so they should be given representations in this book. However, she thinks that non-Islamic minorities have values from the national values and their way of living is different so they should not be represented in the textbooks. “When they are studying in Pakistan they need to learn Pakistani culture.”</p>
05.PG	<p>She thinks that they have covered all and it is balanced. However, she is concerned about the less space given to the people of Gilgit, Baltistan, and FATA as compared to the people of provinces.</p>	<p>She tries to give awareness of the Pakistani cultures to the students such as through poster competition of different Pakistani cultures, their way of living, their dresses, their traditions, and their foods.</p> <p>She reports that when there are Christmas vacations or a non-Muslim event she just</p>	<p>More information on the people of Gilgit, Baltistan, and FATA. Christians and Hindus can be included. This can increase the knowledge of students.</p>

		<p>passes a little bit information on to the students regarding that but as such no organised lectures or activities are done. She believes it is because of shortage of time and a lot of syllabus.</p>	
06.PG	<p>“I have not read this book fully.”</p>	<p>“Short question-answer are available readymade and the students just learn them.”</p>	<p>“I have no idea of syllabus and what should it be. There should be good results; I have no concern with what the syllabus should be.”</p>
07.PG	<p>He thinks that the textbooks are not according to the standard. They are not giving information regarding international cultures, and other religious cultures such as Christians or Hindu. He believes that there is more emphasis on cultivating “liberty” than providing information about the cultural groups. “I don’t think there is a certain group being promoted in these textbooks.”</p>	<p>“I just have 40-50 minutes period. It is great if I could only carry out teaching and learning of the textbook in the class room.”</p>	<p>He thinks that not only sub-cultures of Pakistan but also international cultures should be part of this curriculum. However, he thinks, “Pakistani culture should be promoted more—more than the present textbook does. This should be done by highlighting those things that are common between Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Ismailis, and Parsis living here. They are all Pakistanis.”</p>

08.PG	<p>He thinks that they have covered all but it is not balanced. He thinks that Punjabis get the most attention in the new Pakistan textbooks because of the largest population. Other provinces or cultures have the importance but Punjab largest province.</p>	<p>He emphasises the point that though there is less attention in the new Pakistan textbooks to other provincial groups but they all are Pakistanis and equal. He teaches what is given.</p>	<p>“Non-Muslim groups should not be part of this curriculum because the majority is those of Muslim students; only their perspective should be in the textbooks.”</p>
09.PG	<p>He thinks that the book is more about Islamic culture and it is a positive thing.</p>	<p>He gives moral lessons on Islamic humanism but mostly teaches what is given in the textbooks.</p>	<p>“More information regarding Islamic humanism should be given as they are common and compatible with the non-Muslim cultural values in a way that the students feel the whole world as their home. Allah has considered human beings as His family.”</p>

10.PG	<p>He thinks, as such, there is equality in the depiction of the ethnic/cultural groups and no one is preferred; no one is given more attention. “I do not think there is over representation of Punjabis in this book. It is true that that if those who did sacrifices for Pakistan are more Punjab; it is not to blame Punjab. When we talk about political leaders, they are also from Punjab as well from Sindh so they do have equal representation in the textbook. If Zia was Punjabi, then ZA Bhutto was Sindhis they both are represented. But unfortunately, Pakhtunkhwa people have comparatively less because they are not more involved in Politics.”</p> <p>He thinks there is injustice in not representing non-Muslim groups of Pakistan though they have equal opportunities to do politics here in Pakistan rather they are given preference such as in service quota.”</p>	Addition is made during lecturing.	<p>“Balochis cannot be represented in this textbook because they are running separatist movement. Pakistan Studies should depict only those people as hero who is acknowledged by the whole Pakistan.”</p> <p>“If a Pakistani Christian has done something good, he should be mentioned here in this book.”</p>
11.PG	He thinks Punjabis are being promoted more and non-	When he is teaching a topic relevant to these groups, he adds some general	“If other cultures are given less attention then it is what it

	<p>Muslim groups are not being given proper attention.</p>	<p>information but he reports at school level, the level of engagement or interaction is not high because of the knowledge level of the students.</p>	<p>should be. I think students at this level should be given more information regarding Punjab and less information regarding other provinces. At the low level, I would suggest that students should be given more information regarding their own city.”</p>
12.PG	<p>He thinks that overall, it is a compact book and outline information of all about society, religion and culture are given but he thinks less information regarding other international cultures is given.</p>	<p>“Sometimes some information is given to the student for the cultural topics which are not in detail in the textbooks.”</p>	<p>He suggests, “more cultural content should not be included because students study these topics at lower levels, these topics do not belong to this level, and as such, it is not an important thing to include. But international cultures should be included so the students can make comparisons with other countries.”</p>
13.S.P G	<p>He believes that different cultures of Pakistan are presented in a balanced way. He thinks that Punjabis are not given the most attention. He is concerned about textbook clearly neglecting Balochis.</p>	<p>“Since I am teaching in Punjab and my students are all Punjabis, our focus remains only on Punjabis. Even if there were a single Balochis in my class, I will pay attention to issues of Balochis in my class. As I said earlier since I have few Christian students in my class I pay particular attention to them with the view that when they will be adult and they will be given preaching of Islam then they will listen to us attentively. I have neither Balochis nor Sindhis in my class; I never paid attention to their issues.</p>	<p>He suggests that more representation of Balochis should be ensured.</p>

		We never had any Balochis or Sindhis attending our school. In my service of 28 years, I have not seen a single Sindh or Hindu student in my classes.”	
14.PG	<p>He thinks that there is an equal treatment to various sub cultures of Pakistan in this book.</p> <p>He argues that since the majority is Muslim, they have given more attention to Islamic culture.</p>	He reports that he cannot add more content because of teachers’ extra assignments.	<p>“Content related to cultures of non-Muslim group should be added into these textbooks only with the consensus of all—having seen the figures of their population, if government feels that. Only through consensus because there can be a religious backlash. If all school of thoughts come to a consensus on certain content, then it is OK!”</p>
15.AF	<p>She thinks that it is balanced with regard to the depiction of all provincial cultures. However, she is concerned about the lacking richness of the details about different cultures. However, she is more concerned about national identity.</p>	<p>She just teaches what is given in the text but mostly similarities are discussed and emphasised. She thinks, “There are things that should not be argued upon, they are not negotiable—and national identity is one of those. It is enough to say that we have hybrid culture. To keep them all together, there is a need for national integrity. Differences do exist, they always do exist... You cannot settle them forever. We should focus on those things that can make us one. State can use it force (and it would be legitimate) to bind them together.”</p>	<p>“If you want to promote national integrity then you need to be balanced. If you pay more attention to certain ethnic group or a region, there is already chaos in Pakistan, it will add up to that. No special attention or space even to the deprived ethnic groups--such as Balochis--should be given.”</p> <p>“Of course, Non-Muslim groups are also Pakistani. Islam gives space to them. They have every right to be called Pakistanis and this</p>

			<p>cannot be snatched from them. Therefore, there is a need to conduct the business of the state by accepting this reality. There is no need to promote differences. Everyone should work within his or her own domain. Even if 96% Muslim majority wants to interfere in the affairs of 4% non-Muslim minority, it should be stopped.”</p> <p>“Yes, there is no harm in including them in the textbooks since they are a reality that cannot be denied. But it should be making sure that their representation is to the extent that there is no conflict among different groups--between us and them.”</p>
16.AF	<p>She thinks that it is balanced with regard to the depiction of all provincial cultures. From neutrality point of view, the curriculum is good.</p>	<p>She just teaches what is given in the text. “My point of view is that such kind of things should not be discussed at all. At these level students have narrow approach so involving them in the discussion of these issues would issues more controversial and make it hard to teach?”</p>	<p>“I think it should not be part of Pakistan Studies. Now it is neutral, it is neither discussing Muslims nor non-Muslim. If you add another chapter on Muslim and non-Muslim (cultures), it would become a topic of discussion (causing controversy).”</p> <p>“If you introduce a chapter on non-Muslim groups, it</p>

			would give a point of debate. The benefit of having Pakistan Studies at this level is that it gives students an opportunity to express their views and learn communication skills. The benefit of having a neutral chapter is that the students can easily talk about a particular topic. If we add a chapter on religious groups, it will not make them express their views fully.”
17.AF	She thinks that it is balanced. “In the chapter where languages are given, everyone is given equal representation but they have “only mentioned” Christians, Hindus and Parsis percentage of population.”	<p>“I ask my students to bring colours and dresses to display in school in order to show the cultural diversity of Pakistan.”</p> <p>“I Just tell them where non-Muslim groups have more population and why is that...”</p>	More could be added in the syllabus for the chapter on different cultures but with balanced focus on all the main cultures of Pakistan. If Balochis are given more space due to their long history of deprivation and not being in mainstream politics, they can be given extra coverage—so that some difference can be made in their life.”
18.AF	She thinks that enough, good information is given, and no specific culture is being promoted. Same weight is given to all the languages and to the provinces.	<p>She just teaches what is given in the text.</p> <p>“As far as minorities are concerned, I teach my students that they should respect other religions as well because our religion teaches us religious tolerance.”</p>	She thinks that there is no need of representation of religious groups because students follow their parents’ affiliations. However, she thinks that there should be topics regarding respect and religious tolerance.

19.AF	<p>“I don’t think there is more representation of any cultural groups. I think it is equal.”</p>	<p>“When I explain these topics they get elaborated.”</p>	<p>“They are enough; the students would get bogged down.”</p>
20E.Pri	<p>“There is a part related to languages, it promotes Brahvi and Saraiki. Before this, there was no mentioning of them in curriculum, only the four regional languages were given place in the previous curriculum. Now, Brahvi, Saraiki, and Hindko are given space now.</p> <p>If by chance, there is discussion or depiction of a leader who happens to Punjabi, then they have no fault. No leader is mentioned specifically that he is Punjabi or Sindhi. An affiliation of any leader is not given in the textbook.</p> <p>Northern, Gilgit, Hazara community are given less attention. It can be because of textbook’s focus on national identity or because of their less population or because they have not played a key role in our political system.”</p>	<p>“But I do give them this kind of information from my own knowledge.</p> <p>I do my best to add my knowledge—gained over the years through education and experience—I have visited some places and the personalities I have read about or the culture I have been through—to the textbook content to compensate for cultural groups that receive less attention in the new Pakistan Studies textbooks.</p> <p>It happens mostly through lecture method. It is hard to move to the AV aids or computers because the number of the periods is specified. We have 4 periods in a week. System has requirement that I should produce high grades for my students every year. I have constraint because of board exams; there they evaluate the knowledge of students through exam paper. You can say that it is the examination system failure that they do not evaluate extra knowledge of the students; no weightage is given to extra knowledge. Therefore, we are compelled to teach students only the content of the textbook and make them</p>	<p>Northern, Gilgit, Hazara community are given less attention. They should be promoted more.</p>

		memorise that textbook content.”	
21E.Pri	<p>“Students enjoy reading about Festivals and <i>Urs</i>. But there is more factual information (names)—but that is the part of game—students do have problem with memorising them.”</p> <p>“Obviously, this book is from Punjab textbook, therefore, Punjabi’s are being given more attention in the textbook. NS is also being promoted in it because they have been ruling Punjab from a long time. You will see their influences there in the textbook. They have touched other cultures.”</p>	<p>“Truly, being teacher we do not know much about other cultures. We live in Punjab We know Punjab so we keep on elaborating Punjabi culture. For other cultures when just remains stick to the content of the textbook.”</p> <p>“No, we have short time. I have to cover whole book--I need to prepare my students for short answer questions as well as long answer questions. I try to dictate every Question’s answer this is because I belief If they have written every Question’s answer, they will remain in their minds. The more a student is in touch with the book, the more he will have the learning of these concepts.”</p>	<p>“A more balanced approach is needed in the presentation of the leaders. If NS (a Punjabi leader) has done something wrong, it should be mentioned in the textbook.”</p>
22.Pri	<p>There is discussion with respect to overall culture of Pakistan. There is no discussion of Sindhi or Baluchi (I am Kashmir).</p>	<p>“No. the discussion on them comes only through the discussion of resources an relative less development of Balochistan and the reasons for that. It is because I have more knowledge of geography than political issues of these cultural groups. I also have very little experience of teaching.”</p>	<p>“More information regarding cultural groups can be added, it would give students an understanding of similarities/differences of cultures and the reasons for these. But this can harm the Pakistan identity, it will increase provincial prejudices—we should talk about overall Pakistan--not as Punjabi, Sindhi or Baluchi. If we discuss about hatred of others about Punjabi, it will</p>

			induce in them hatred for them...we should talk about overall Pakistan. Discussing Balochis deprivation should be limited. We all share a religion— Islam, we should talk more about Islam.”
23.Pri	“More on Punjab, maybe, because it is being taught in Punjab. Maybe in different provinces it is different...”	Teaches what is given but adds personal knowledge while teaching.	<p>“No, I do not think Balochis be given more space here. It would increase terrorism (laughingly). It is Pakistan Studies so a balanced approach should be taken to the representation of all cultures.”</p> <p>He suggests, “If minorities have done any contribution to the development of Pakistan, then they should be mentioned.”</p>
24.Pri	He believes that the textbooks are almost balanced. A little more positive promotion of Sindhis is being given in these books.	He teaches what is given but adds personal knowledge while teaching.	He suggests that the common values should be promoted but Balochis can be given more so that their sense of alienation can be removed and national integrity can be achieved.

25.Pri	<p>“Only culture of Pakistan is included. No, all are given representation in the textbook, but Punjabis are given more space because that they have more population. Balochis are given less space.”</p>	<p>“I just stick to the content of the textbook and add information if needed from other sources to teach these concepts.”</p>	<p>“Balochis are given less space. It would have been excellent thing to add detailed information related to them then student would have more awareness of the Balochi culture.”</p> <p>“I suggest that the book being taught in Punjab should have more focus on Punjabis and books taught in other province should have more representation of their respective cultures. This is not to suggest that the Punjabi students should not be given information regarding other culture of Pakistan. At least bits of information can be added related to other cultures.”</p>
26.M	<p>“In textbooks, the provincial cultures are discussed. As far as the representation of religious minorities are concerned, they are few—only 3% whereas Muslim are 97%. Pakistan is an Islamic country. It is not wrong to highlight Islamic culture...”</p>	<p>He teaches what is given but adds personal knowledge while teaching.</p>	<p>He suggests, “Since there are more Christians in Punjab, so in the Punjab textbooks more information should be added about Christians, there are more Hindus in Sindh, so in the Sindh textbooks more information should be added about Hindus.”</p>

27.M	<p>This syllabus talks about different language groups of Pakistan—especially provincial. This time they have also included Kashmiris.</p> <p>Punjabi culture gets the most attention in the new Pakistan/ social studies textbooks. Since we live here in Punjab, therefore book more talk about the Punjabis. Punjab is the largest province and has greater representation in the Federal government. Punjabis are dominant in politics. Baluchi culture is given less. Minorities are just mentioned but not elaborated.</p>	<p>We had our silver jubilee where we had display of various cultures of Pakistan so that students may have awareness of our cultures. Cultural dances and plays were included. Then the different (rural and urban) customs of our marriages were included.</p>	<p>He suggest addition of elaborated discussions on minorities.</p>
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Table 3: Role-Ordered Matrix of Participants' Perceptions, Current Practice, and Suggestions Regarding Global Identity Theme of the Textbooks.

	1. Perception	2. Practice	3. Suggestions
01.FG	<p>He thinks that the content is mostly on UNO and OIC.</p> <p>He thinks that the content is not sufficient.</p>	<p>He connects and correlates global issues and local issues while teaching: For example, the event of 9/11 and then its impact on Pakistan's foreign policy.</p> <p>“This country is the only country which came into being on the basis of Islamic ideology, I correlate Pakistan with <i>Ummah</i>. Pakistan is the only ray of light for the Muslim <i>Ummah</i>.”</p> <p>He motivates students to donate for national disaster affectees but has never done it for foreign affectees. “It all depends on administration but if I want to do it individually—no. I need permission from my principal or above. There is certain decorum which is followed.”</p>	<p>He suggests that more topics on global issues should be added. “If these topics are added, our students would be well-aware of the international concerns and issues. If they are not aware about these issues, how can they move in the International society and how will they be able to contribute to international politics?”</p> <p>“I try to project national issues more so that our national identity can be developed...No Punjabism. No provincialism. I always talk about Pakistan and promoting Pakistanism.”</p> <p>“We have a glorious past of Muslim <i>Ummah</i>. But as a nation when we see our past we do not have a glorious past. Basically, I want to tell them about the glorious past (of <i>Ummah</i>) so that we could move towards renaissance...so that we could become a self-reliant nation...All Muslims are like Jammata (one nation), therefore, it is necessary to tell them that wherever there are Muslims, they are part of <i>Jammata</i>.”</p>

02.FG	<p>He thinks that the textbooks only deals with basics and is not sufficient.</p> <p>He thinks that the content is mainly related to UNO, international humanitarian organisations, global health, or food issues.</p>	<p>He discusses global issues along with local For example, International humanitarian organisation helping in different countries and in Pakistan during flood. He gives moral lessons to his students to donate for national disaster affectees. However, he reports, “I have never seen an example of donation to other countries in all my service here in this institution.”</p>	<p>“I would pay more attention to national and international identifications. This would make them more civilised citizens.”</p> <p>However, he believes that more national identity topics should be given weight because “If we give more emphasis on cultural issues, this will promote provincialism and provincial prejudice.”</p>
03.PG	<p>She thinks that this is Pakistan studies-- and there are global topics only related to Pakistan.</p>	<p>Only discusses global issues when there is a linked global idea. For example, international terrorism. She encourages students to donate to the disasters- earthquake or flood. “This is done on national level and has never been done at international level. I do discuss the international tragedies in classrooms but do not act for them.”</p>	<p>Thinks there should be topics related to global issues. However, she argues, “Nationalism and the problems of Pakistan should be more. There is no need to balance these three.”</p>
04.PG	<p>She thinks that in textbooks, there are no global issues only foreign policy of Pakistan and the fair and unfair relations of other countries with Pakistan</p>	<p>“No, I do not think I should. No. never. Media is giving all this. I do not think I should do this.”</p>	<p>“We should put more emphasis on our own people—our own country. “I am against putting global issues in this. This is Pakistan Studies and more emphasis should be on Pakistan.” She thinks that more emphasis should be given on national issues because “paying more attention to Punjabi identity would move students away from national identity...”</p>

05.PG	She believes that as such there are no global issues discussed in the book. They have given information about UN and SAARC countries but they have given more attention to national issues.	“I do not discuss global issues in my class often. Sometimes, I do when I talk about rule and law and I give examples of developed countries to motivate students to follow the rules or law-- but not in detail.” However, she believes that developed countries are not ideals for comparisons as “these rules and laws are also given by Islam and if we follow them here, we can make this “setup” right. Islam has all the elements which can guide us. Global issues or global comparison is not important.”	At this level just national knowledge. Global knowledge can be added at 1st year (grade 11). Global issues are changing with time and it is hard to change the textbooks every year and add whatever the latest issues. Secondly, she thinks students get the global information from media so there is no need for incorporation of content related to global content in textbook. Give preference to national issues and not to local issues.
06.PG	“I have no idea.”	“I just focus on exams!”	“I have no idea.”
07.PG	He thinks that the textbook do not give a proper attention to the concept of foreign policy/relations of Pakistan, as it should be. Only there is description of our relations with the neighbour countries.	He discusses global issues in his class relevant to the curriculum. He acts nationally. “If government of Pakistan appeal for a disaster abroad, I will share information with students to donate. It is possible for neighbour country but not for countries too distant to arose empathy of our students for them.”	He suggests the inclusion of more content on foreign cultures. “British ruled here for hundred years. There is political history related to that but not the cultural issues in this textbook. Cultural issues--the real beauty of this Pakistan studies--are neglected here. Even we do not know about Arab culture from where our religion has origin.” He think that all aspects should be given equal emphasis. “Balancing three would be good.”

08.PG	He is concerned about the less attention given to the Kashmir & Palestine Issue and more attention to the relations with Europe.	<p>“I usually stick to the topic. If necessary connections between global issues and local issues but not very often. I try to remain within the textbook and teach only the textbook content to the students.”</p> <p>He reports that there has been no example of donations for international humanitarian efforts before. Donations have been done only for the local or national disasters so far.</p>	<p>“I will promote nationalism. I want to add global issues but priority is nation. I also want to add provincial issues but priority is nation. The integrity of the country is first than anything else.”</p>
09.PG	He thinks that UNO and its sub institutions, foreign policy and our relations with neighbours are given good coverage.	Yes...but mostly teach what is given in the textbook. He acts for national but not global causes!	<p>“I would emphasise more on the issues of Pakistan. Student should know more about the sacrifices of our ancestors. Punjabism would promote prejudice.”</p>

10.PG	<p>He thinks that the textbook only deals with UNO and countries with which we have good relationships. Global covers all but the countries with which we have no relationships—trade, imports, or exports are not covered or discussed.</p> <p>He believes that that the textbook writers do not do justice to this dimension of Pakistan Studies. He thinks that teachers are not provided resources to enhance global knowledge.</p>	<p>“I just teach the topics to the point. It is just a formality!”</p>	<p>“When we have given name to this course as Pakistan Studies, the content would be more relevant if it has something to do with Pakistan. Global concepts can be Pakistan relations with countries, trades, sports, and games. Global identity is given no attention at all. But I think for a 10th class student the global knowledge given is sufficient. He may gain it at upper levels. Punjabi cultural knowledge is given in the textbook and it is justifiable as they have more talent and icons, heroes and celebrities. But more national approach should be adopted.”</p>
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11.PG	<p>He thinks that textbook does not give any extensive discussion of global concepts such as global warming or global village.</p>	<p>“In Pakistan Studies, mostly we talk about Pakistan...But in lecture I also give references to different world cultures...But main focus remains on Pakistan.”</p> <p>National donations but not global.</p>	<p>“More emphasis on Punjabism... It does not mean that I want to promote provincial prejudice or tell my students that they are superiors. I just want to connect them to their cultures. If a person who is not attached to his culture he is not rooted, he loses his identity. Four provinces of Pakistan are the 4 different colours of Pakistani identity. First becomes true Punjabi, rest will be seen later. Punjabi culture is not out of Pakistan. I am emphasising Punjabi culture; I do so because it is another name of Pakistanism. Pakistan is nothing without these four provinces or cultures. If these provinces are separated, Pakistan will finish. Pakistan is hidden in Punjabism. When we focus on Punjabi culture, it does not mean we are anti-Pakistani. When we say we are Pakistani, it is a vague statement...it leads us to feel ashamed of our culture, language and celebrations of our festivals. Nobody should be considered illiterate just because he speaks a particular language. Why just an Urdu speaker is considered a literate and civilised person? First, Punjabi identity of the students is made strong, then Pakistani Identity is promoted, later, global identity.”</p>
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12.PG	<p>He thinks that the textbooks mainly deals with foreign policy and international relations of Pakistan but not in detail.</p> <p>He thinks that there are many things which are missing in this book. For example, developing countries their government systems and their economy. Global (current affairs). It is totally not touching on Globalism. This is more about nationalism.</p>	<p>While lecturing, he makes connections between global issues and local issues.</p> <p>National donations but not global.</p>	<p>“I think these aspects must be balanced...we must cultivate nationalism but we should also touch upon Globalism. It is utmost important to give them updated knowledge of global issues. Our country cannot remain isolated: What is happening here in Pakistan also influences other country. What is happening in other countries also influences Pakistan. However, global topics only related to Pakistan should be included. But there is no need to add a totally isolated topic related to any other country.”</p>
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13.S.P G	He thinks that a complete chapter is dedicated to international relations of Pakistan and is enough.	<p>“Not very often. It is usually done when I am teaching issues that have international dimension. I would explain that to my students. “He in his class collects and then donates to flood relief agency or some other humanitarian organisation.”</p> <p>Donations for foreign disasters. “No, never! I have full sympathies and respect for local Christian or Hindus but not with global one because they have evil design again Muslim. For locals it is because a model is presented to them. Seeing our good character, they would be attracted to Islam. Without this we say to them they would not listen to us.”</p>	<p>He suggests that there is a need to put more emphasis on nationalism.</p> <p>He argues “If we have been able to cultivate this, every problem of Pakistan would be solved especially terrorism.”</p>
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14.PG	<p>He thinks that the parameter for global concepts defined in the curriculum is mainly relevant to Pakistan: there is 1 chapter related to UNO and then the sub institutions of UNO.</p>	<p>He discusses only what is included in textbook. “No, we cannot do discussion on our own will. We are given a parameter and limit. We can talk about global topic generally while teaching the curriculum. But we cannot discuss a separate global topic. We are bound to follow national curriculum policy.”</p> <p>He reports that donations are made only for national community and not for any foreign country. Sometimes, we sell Red Crescent tickets and the money is given to Red Crescent, which they themselves send to other countries. In school, prayers for the victims of an international disaster – not particularly for Muslim <i>Ummah</i>—are done only if there is a national mourning to show sympathy.</p>	<p>He thinks global concepts and ideas which have connections to Pakistan should be included to broaden the vision of students.</p> <p>“I am against provincialism—prejudice, and intolerance. Nationalism is first. Pakistan is like bouquet and provinces are its beauty. For me, Pakistan First—and then peace of the world. First, there should be peace in home (Pakistan) and then world peace.”</p>
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15.AF	She thinks that very few global issues are discussed and are mainly related to international relations.	“Yes I do. Donations, morning assembly, and prayers. It is usually institution initiative. Whenever there is need institution asks for this.”	“Number one national, number two global but not provincial. I will promote only Pakistanism. Global issues will only be there if they are related to Pakistan. Yeah, it will be given space but not too much. I told you before; until your national integrity is you are surviving otherwise no.” “Even after 100 years of sufferings we have every right to let to be lived. We want this to happen, whatever difference we have. From the human rights point of view, we want to walk with them to the extent that our sovereignty is not undermined but if it is undermined, we are ready to fight. This is same for all other nations—even if it is Afghanistan.”
16.AF	She thinks that there are some topics related to international relations of Pakistan.	While lecturing, she makes connections between global issues and local issues. For example, “Comparison of sit-in in Islamabad with sit-in in other country where they used to clean the place every day but we never did it...it was done to create civic sense in students.” “Donations are done only at national level but even if there is some disaster in India, I will have positive approach. I believe in hating sins not human beings.”	“National and global. Not provincial because it promotes extremism and not promotes unity...I will not tell my students that all is good with humanity. I will tell my students, do good with all human beings. But it is also important to tell students that snake will bite so beware of them. If we say everyone is good, for this Islamic Studies is sufficient. In Pakistan Studies and Social Studies political matters are discussed.”

17.AF	<p>She thinks that the discussion of human rights in chapter: Pakistan as welfare state. Since all over the world emphasis is now given to human rights so it is good to have them there.” (She is not teaching PTB text)</p>	<p>While lecturing, she makes connections between global issues and local issues.</p> <p>“Whenever there is national disaster, everyone participate. We tell our students once. Alhamdulillah, we get many contributions voluntarily--even parents contribute.”</p> <p>“It is extremely difficult to get donations for affectees of foreign disaster. He has not been able to look outside of Pakistan as there is always some kind of disasters and majority of Pakistanis are poor. If it happens to Muslims in India or anywhere else, yes we do prayers for them in morning assemblies. Others are also human beings but it is just to show sympathies with our own Muslim <i>Ummah</i>. Prayers can be held also for the non-Muslims but there are no such routines in our institution--even not in all over Pakistan. If something happen to Pakistani Muslims, who from the international Christian community will pray for them. Rather, they will be happy.”</p>	<p>“I think they are sufficient. Students should be given as much as they can get hold of. In the time limit of 10 if try to give them 30, they will not be able to hold or understand even 10”</p> <p>“I will start with national. No global. First fix your own country, and then we will see about global. Inserting a chapter on Punjab would create diversions in students...it is Pakistan Studies so Pakistan’s national level issues be given attention which are same in all the provinces...the problem of water, sewerage etc.”</p>
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18.AF	She thinks that there is discussion only related IR of Pakistan.	<p>She focuses only on the requirement of the syllabus and adds global perspectives only to clear students' concepts otherwise she avoids.</p> <p>“Honestly speaking for India, no. Though Islam teaches us tolerance, Islam also teaches that if somebody breaks your promise you can also break the promise. Being a teacher I am not against anyone but If someone harms us we have to teach our students that these are the harms we have been receiving from these people.”</p>	<p>She suggests that more content can be added. First priority should be to national issues, second to global issues and third to provincial issues.</p> <p>“There should be relevance between provincialism and nationalism because I want to make my students not Balochi, Sindhi, Pathan, or Punjabi but Pakistani. We should correlate Pakistan Studies with Islamic Studies, Muslim <i>Ummah</i> as well as other countries.”</p>
19.AF	She thinks that there is discussion only related IR of Pakistan.	<p>Motivates students to do dentate for national disasters.</p> <p>“I will also ask students to donate for a disaster in India if administration asks me to do so. Just because of humanity. I am not against India. I am not against things, I am against acts. Being teacher, I am not a negative minded person. They have inflicted allot of miseries on our forefathers but being Muslim we have some duties regarding humanity.”</p>	<p>“Textbook should emphasise national and global identity. When you talk about national identity, provincial identity is automatically get added to it. If we cannot demonstrate the contribution of provinces, we cannot develop national identity. All provinces should be equally represented. Things start going wrong where there is inequality.”</p>

20E.P
Ri

He thinks that topics on UN and the affiliated institutions, global communication and ecological issues are improved.

“It depends on whether I have the information related to the topic being taught. The length of the topic matters and the required periods to teach the content to students.”

“Our national policy (as evident in our textbooks) do say that India is our arch rival, but being an honest human being, I give my students extra knowledge regarding economic benefits of having trade with India. When I am teaching textbook content with respects to wars with India, it emerges as enemy but I tell my students-when they ask about the winner of the war-that no one wins the war, there is always loss. The one who has more loss is called loser. There was a time when wars were needed but now there is no more need of war, there is a need of cooperation. We cannot change our neighbour but we can change our friends. If we turn them into friends, this will benefit us. Here in the textbooks, you learn about the wars and enmity... but our cultures are same; border is just a geographical line: on one side, there is Pakistan and on their side, there is India. See the people they are the same.

It is hard to teach students from the backward cities to teach at a level (to global perspective). To teach

“Global Sectarian issues among Muslims should be part of the textbook—and how can it we be resolved? This issues cause deaths of many Muslims, if a community which out of the mainstream it should be included so the concepts of the dominant is changed. These topics should focus on harmony and not on division and further conflict. The topic should also focus on equal worth and respect of the both communities. Then students can have the understanding that they are also part of us and in future, they have impartial views about them. If they leave with blank mind, they will be stamped by extremists since they have no knowledge at all.”

“I think the way globalisation is increasing. It is better to put more emphasis on making students better human beings instead of focusing on regionalism or nationalism. If we put more emphasis on regionalism, it will divide humanity. These are regional identities and are mere for our identifications and we do not need to emphasise them. I believe that the global identities should be given more attention in the curriculum...Our school policy also does not let promote regionalism. They demand from us to conduct all teaching and learning in English. Culture of the school is more global. It is impossible for me to promote Punjabism...in an institute where it is not

21E.Pr i	She thinks that global concepts are missing. Only IR, imports, and exports are discussed.	<p>“I am also teaching to O’ level classes and their curriculum is more global oriented. When I come to teach to matric classes that knowledge influences my teaching...local issues are usually discussed and compared with global issues for example Malala...free and equal education in Europe. To discuss terrorist act in Pakistan or anywhere else in the world is a natural thing in our class. I have students who have come back European countries to study here; they discuss and compare their experiences abroad with Pakistani experiences so automatically linkage is developed.”</p> <p>Donations are school’s initiative and done only on national level.</p>	<p>She suggests that this is Pakistan Studies so it should talk about Pakistan.</p> <p>“For the level of 9th & 10th, these are enough. Students are not going to stop their education here. They will definitely study in higher level. But as much as they should know at this level there is still some room to improvement.”</p>
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22.Pri	She thinks that only foreign relations of Pakistan are discussed in the textbook.	Being new teachers, she has no experience of motivating students for donations but she believes that “it can be done for a disaster in the country or any foreign country—even in India—for the human sake!—and if our pockets allow. First Pakistan, then any other country...”	She suggests that “there is a need of adding topics related to developed countries and reasons for their developments, their comparison with Pakistan and the reasons for the less development of Pakistan. She believes that this will give us with the knowledge of the reasons which can help us in making Pakistan good and developed.” “This is Pakistan Studies, so national issues are given more weightage: 60 % Pakistani identity, 30 % global identity and 10% cultural identity. She also suggests that adding more on provincial content would lead to provincial prejudices.”
23.Pri	(Could not comment on it because of the absence of book or the poor content knowledge.)	Makes connections between global issues and local issues during the lectures but not often. Motivates students to donate for national disasters and students contribute very generously! No. International donations. Believes that “students will be distracted from their real aim of exams and obtaining of good marks if they pay more attention to international affairs. 9th- 10th class is the base of their educational career.”	“If you give this course a name Pakistan studies then all topics should be related to Pakistan. I do not think global issues should be part of this course.”

24.Pri	<p>He thinks that UNO is the most discussed issue. Extremism. International health and Pakistan” contribution to these issues and involve in them are not discussed.</p>	<p>He makes connections between global issues and local issues during the lectures but not often.</p> <p>He reports that donations are made to national disasters but not for any international disaster.</p>	<p>He is not in favour of addition of more global content and suggests that they are important increase burden of the students at this level but can be added at the upper levels of Pakistan Studies. He thinks the book is sufficient and covers all the aspects.</p> <p>“National content cannot be reduced, as they are the base. Mere promotion of provincial units and their cultures may lead us to provincial prejudices but he suggested that a balanced approach to addition of cultural, national, and global content be adopted without increasing burden on a student.”</p>
25.Pri	<p>He thinks that topics are only related to International relations.</p>	<p>“Some links are made while teaching.”</p> <p>He reports that donations are done nationally, not internationally.</p> <p>“Our country itself is poor and people do not have resources to the extent to donate to the people caught in disaster in a foreign land.”</p>	<p>No need to add more it is sufficient. All should be the part of any future curriculum. 20% local, 40 % national and 40 % international.</p>

26.M	<p>He thinks that topics are mostly related to Pakistan relations with neighbouring country—for example, what kind of relation Pakistan has with India.</p> <p>The wars—all textbooks try to portray India as our arch enemy. This curriculum as well as previous one. The previous curriculum was more open in this regard but now only facts are given. UNO and activities of Pakistan in it for solving the problems of world.</p>	<p>“It depends on topic but mostly I just relate the textbook topic with it in order to show global interconnectedness--but positive things only--not with an aim of negative comparisons or negative mentality.”</p> <p>He reports that donations are made to national disasters but not for any international disaster.</p>	<p>“Pakistan Studies by definition is study of Pakistan and its aim is to make good patriotic citizens. Global issues cannot be focus of this. Main focus would be Pakistan and what kind of Pakistanis we want to produce...They should be religion loving. We want good person and a good person is the one who loves his religion and follows it. No religion gives lessons of sins...Christian students should be strong in their religion; Muslim students should be strong in their own religion. Since Islam is dominant, we need to produce students--even Christians who are aware of Islam so that they can perform well in this society.”</p> <p>He suggests that a minor portion of the global content/values can be added so that they can have a basic understanding of the issue. More elaborated or advanced content related to global values can be added at the college level.</p>
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27.M	<p>He believes that there are global topics where only Muslims are seen as victims such as Kashmir and Palestine issues.</p> <p>Palestine is too far away but the book talks about the our Muslim brother but does not talk about our Sikh brothers” or our Christian brothers” I see injustice here.</p>	<p>He reports that he cannot deviate from the syllabus (to add more global content) because all the questions in the matriculation exams are asked from the textbook and because there is lack of time (3 periods a week).</p> <p>He reports that donations are made to national disasters but not for any international disaster.</p>	<p>He suggests that more information can be added about the countries with which Pakistan enjoys friendly relations but believes that to make students patriotic Pakistani, there is need to inculcate nationalism more.</p> <p>“Emphasising provincial identity would promote provincial prejudice. We need to enhance their global identity but not at the expense of making them good patriotic Pakistanis.”</p>
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Appendix H: An Interview Transcript

How long have you been teaching the Pakistan Studies curriculum?

I have been teaching the Pakistan Studies and Social Studies curriculum for the last 16 years.

What are you generally hoping to achieve through your teaching of the Pakistan/social studies curriculum?

The first aim is to give awareness of the ideology of Pakistan—the base of Pakistan—the base of Pakistan on which this state has been created—so that new generation get the awareness of the ideology of Pakistan.

Any other aim?

Second purpose is to give awareness of the history of Pakistan to the students so that the new generation may come to know that the contribution of various people in the Pakistan movement.

So the question is if you think this history is important for the next generation, what is use of this to them in their practical life.

The biggest benefit in their practical lives is that the history itself is a lesson for human beings. When we leave past and do not teach history to our students—and they do not get an awareness of the history they will not be able to find their destiny. When they are aware of history, they will have this in mind the follies and mistakes of our ancestors and what were their consequences today. So stay away from their mistakes, which will have consequences at the national level—which can harm the country.

What do you know about the Pakistan/ social studies curriculum reforms implemented in the Musharraf era?

I have been part of curriculum committee at Rawalpindi Board related to Civics. Secondly, at teachers' union level—sometime in Lahore—we used to have meetings and conventions—then I came to know about the changes. This was our education minister's approach and thinking that the students of Pakistan if they want to compete with worldwide education—it is necessary to update our syllabus and we set a syllabus which is at par with other countries. In the light of this, they introduced new concepts—for example, population, environment, global village, that the world is global village. These are the new concepts they have introduced in the new syllabus. And they introduced such elements so that nation can go towards liberalism and go away from the extremeness which has grown in us.

You said you came to know about these changes during your interactions with Rawalpindi Board and teacher union. Can you please specify a date?

In Pakistan, for curriculum setting no consultation is done on the lowest level. Most of the time, curriculum is set on federal level committees and then the manuscripts are sent to provinces. Then there is some consultation. But it comes to us through newspapers or educational conventions—that in syllabus these are the changes which are being brought. I cannot tell a specific time.

So you knew that these the broader themes which were being brought but you came to know about particular changes in curriculum—this topic or that topic—only when textbooks came into market.

Yes!

What do you think were the effective and less effective aspects of the previous Pakistan Studies curriculum? Can you please compare?

If you compare, you will find numerous things: the previous Pakistan Studies curriculum was made keeping in consideration some interests. The history part had twisted facts. But the new updated curriculum—especially the 9th class and 10th class—is without any prejudice or without any interest. It is made keeping in the view--the way the history was or the way facts were or the ground reality. They have given the same status to the opponents as they have the status in history.

You said there was twisted history. Can you please give an example of that?

Yes! The example of our East Wing. We have been reading and teaching that it was wish of the people there to separate, but in truth, the ground reality that is now incorporated in this textbook—the majority part there was Awami League—they had majority—it was their right to make government. Now in the Pakistan Studies They have described the facts that—this party got that many seats. So in this way the many concepts which were ambiguous are now they have described—in both ways. They have left it to the new generation it to decide it itself who was right and who was wrong. It is a good thing that you have both aspects. They have not blamed--they have described--it is a good thing.

You were teaching the previous curriculum and you are also teaching the new curriculum for the last 2 years. Has the new curriculum altered the way that you teach or you are teaching it the same way?

No, there is a change. The paper pattern has changed. The examination system has changed. Now we emphasize short answers more—and then Multiple Choice Questions. Before this there was rote learning—mostly long answer questions—students were made to learn. These days the pattern has changed. The concept of short answer questions has arrived. Multiple Choice Questions have arrived.

So children have to learn more.

No, students do not have to learn long questions now.

Therefore, you mean emphasis is changed; now you pay more attention to objective type questions. Are you satisfied with this?

I think it is good.

Do you have aim to make your students to be a good Pakistani citizen?

Yes!

If you have such aim, what special you do in your teaching (to make your students to be a good Pakistani citizen)?

I believe that if they have introduced one or two chapters on civics in which there are principles of becoming good citizens, responsibilities of citizens, social problems and

inequalities in society that would have been better. My main stress is to make them aware of the country affairs. I usually say to them to read newspapers and listen to news so that they can become aware of current affairs and then in the light of that they can work for the betterment of the country.

Why don't you make them good Muslim? If they become good Muslim, they will become good citizens. Do you make efforts in this direction?

Good Muslims! Well—I always tell them in the classroom the ethics whatever the subject—even in English there are passages related to ethics—in Urdu, Islamiyat assembly and then debates and then *Bazm E Adab*. I do character building along the way.

Right! For the character building—you said you use ethics for the character building—ethical values which come from Islam?

Yes.

Do you have any student who is Christian, Hindu, or Parsi?

Yes!

To make such student a good Pakistani citizen, what kind of ethical values would you use—the one which is coming from his religion?

We have students here who belong to minorities. Often, personally, I use liberalism, tolerance and similar ethical points. Islam has also given us the same method: treat non-Muslims with tolerance, patience, and equality. When we deal them on the basis of equality and justice, these values are automatically get inculcated in them.

Do you provide them a good Muslims' role model?

In fact a teacher is always a role model. If a teacher's character is good, students will surely follow him. I say to them even if you want to become good engineer, become a good Muslim engineer—if you want to become pilot, become a good Muslim pilot—if you want to become good scientist—of international standard, become a good Muslim scientist.

What features of Pakistani national identity do you think are valuable and should be particularly promoted and preserved through the Pakistan Studies curriculum?

Constitution, I think. 1962 Constitution. They have described the Islamic provisions of the constitution. Similarly, 1973 Constitution—they have described some Islamic provisions of the Constitution. This show the good citizenship: if you accept the supremacy of law and constitution, then you can become a good citizen. If you are going on a road and you break a signal, you are not a good citizen. You implement supremacy of law and constitution on you and you tell it to students is necessary.

Right! You mean Constitutional matters which are included in this curriculum are necessary to enhance the civic sense?

Yes!

What features of Pakistani national identity do you think are given less attention in the Pakistan Studies curriculum?

Pakistan is country rich in natural resources. God has given it river, mountains and minerals in abundance. There should be a chapter on the resources so that students know which natural resource lies where and how they can be used. Here we have oil, gas and coal. I think there should be more awareness about these resources. We have areas—such as Skardu and Gilgit—very few people know about them. There should be more introductions on these areas. There should be more Introductions on FATA. Children know more about Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan—they think Pakistan consists of only these areas. More details should be there for the areas I mentioned before.

There is one chapter on it. However, if you think it is not enough what do you do to compensate it?

Teacher'' extra assignments have increased so much that it is hard even to cover the whole curriculum in the set time.

Would you please elaborate these extra assignments?

These days—Dengue Virus duties, Walks related to Environmental issues, Election Duties. Sometime, we are also busy on Sundays. Recently, duties related to floods.

And they don't compensate for these duties?

No!

We also check the prices in Sasta Ramzan Bazar (fair price shops in the holy month of Ramzan)--so we are also doing duty of magistrate. We are given orders from EDO (executive district officer (secondary education))--sometimes verbally--sometimes written. We have to obey that. After doing these duties, we have very short time to cover syllabus.

What multiethnic/multicultural concepts and ideas are taught in your Pakistan/ social studies classes?

In this book we have only one chapter on culture dealing with the languages of Pakistan—regional as well as national—for example, Punjabi, Sindhis, Pushto, Brahvi, Balochi and Hindko. Then there is information related to dresses in different areas, and then there is information related to food. What kind of food is eaten in different parts of Pakistan? Just surface level information. Then there is information related to *Urs* and *Meelas*—and then there is information related to entertainment. There is also information related to Sports in Pakistan.

Right! Do you think there is an equal treatment to various sub cultures of Pakistan in this book?

In curriculum, there is an equal treatment.

Do you think some cultural groups get the more attention than others in the new Pakistan Studies textbooks?

No, this is not the case! They are given equal representation.

What about the culture of religions other than Islam Christians or Hindu. Do you think they have their representations in the textbooks?

Since the majority is Muslim, they have given more attention to Islamic culture.

You don't think that students should be given awareness of these subcultures of Pakistan?

The main point here is Education was at the level of Federal Ministry. After the 18th amendments, education is at provincial level. Every province is autonomous in amending the curriculum according to the culture and according to the needs.

As far as I know there is enough population of Christians in this province. So what you think something related to them should have been added into these textbooks.

Yes, but with the consensus of all. Having seen the figures of their population, if government feels that. Only through consensus because there can be a religious backlash. If all school of thoughts come to a consensus on certain content, then it is ok!

What is wrong in teaching students about the non-Islamic subcultures of Pakistan?

There is some information related to Kalash culture about their customs, marriages and their way of life. I am surprised that there is no reaction related to this. I would again say—do teach students about the non-Islamic subcultures but with the consensus.

How do you discuss controversial issues in your Pakistan/ social studies classes? Do you encourage them to make decisions about controversial issues?

No, I don't discuss controversial issues. We are bound to the syllabus; we do what we are told to do through curriculum.

But if you are given a curriculum which is secular in nature, will you teach that?

I am a government servant. Obviously, what government sends curriculum, I will implement.

But where are your religious beliefs? What happened to your aim to make your students good Muslim?

Government knows it is an Islamic state. But Musharraf came and he introduced secular policies? I am giving you a hypothetical situation: if government is captured by a dictator and you are given a secular curriculum, will you teach that?

When a government servant signs a job contract with government, he is bound to follow the orders. And secular government--I do not see there is chance of it.

Coming back to the question, there are controversial issues related to politics—for example the current sit-in—did you discuss it?

No!

Children themselves do not ask questions regarding your opinion on such and such controversial issue?

No!

Why don't you discuss controversial issues in your Pakistan Studies classes and why do you remain bound to the syllabus? What's the reason?

Actually, in our government institutions, discussion of sectarianism, politics and religious controversies is not allowed.

Even Politics? But it is a part of your curriculum?

Yes, it is a part of our curriculum to discuss politics—but we just teach them and leave it to students to decide. In our history chapter, history is described—and both aspects are described. We leave it to students to analyse themselves who is right and who is wrong. Political science, Civics and Pakistan Studies are sensitive subjects—where politics pour in. Since we are bound to teach what we are given. We cannot impose our own opinion or ideology on students. We just deliver and it depends on children to take position.

Right! Again a hypothetical situation: let's say you are from PTI and you are teaching a content which is praising Nawaz Sharif. Would it not clash with your personal beliefs and likings?

I do not discuss my own feeling with students.

How do you encourage your students to respect other people, even if they differ with their own opinions, culture, religion, or background--caste?

I have 35 years of service and I have taught in rural schools. There you can feel the influences of caste system at some places but not here in city. I have been here in city for the last 16 years and this is main campus—my personal experience is in city nobody cares who is who—nobody is given preference just because of caste system. I tell my students that the importance of peace, unity and tolerance. Mostly, I tell them to tolerate each other, listen to each other, and respect each other's opinion.

But how do inculcate this in your students? Verbally?

Generally, we keep on telling these things to students. There was a time when Hindus used to study here—there was a time when Sikhs used to study here But now, by the grace of God, majority is that of Muslims and children of minorities also study here, but there never happened any clash and we never let it happen. Children are clean thoughts—whatever you teach whatever you guide they adopt. We celebrate *Eid Milad O Nabi* celebrated by both Muslim and non-Muslim alike but we have not seen any controversy or clash there.

Do you think that all human beings are entitled to universal human rights? If so, how do you cultivate this in your students?

Yes!

If you believe so what do think it is not violation of non-Muslim students' right of religious freedom when he is made to participate in Eid Milad O Nabi.

We do not force him. If that student happily participate and if he doesn't want to participate we do not force him to participate.

But he's got his own religious festivals and occasion, is there any facility for them to celebrate those.

No!

Since the majority is that of Muslims so only festivals relevant to Muslims are celebrated and school culture is Islamic.

Yes.

What treatment do women receive in the new Pakistan Studies textbooks? Please give some specific examples?

Islam has given equal right. This is Pakistan Studies you will find topic related to Pakistan. You will find discussion of women rights in Urdu or English (subjects). Not in here.

There is some discussion in the chapter related to Musharraf that he extended rights to women—for example, women were given jobs in Air force and traffic police

What global concepts and ideas do you usually teach in your Pakistan/ social studies classes?

The parameter for global concepts defined in the curriculum is mainly relevant to Pakistan: there is 1 chapter related to UNO and then the sub institutions of UNO. We discuss what is included in it.

Which global concepts and ideas do you think receive less attention in the textbooks and should be included?

To broaden the vision of students, I think global concepts and ideas which have connections to Pakistan should be included, for example, sports. Pakistan has an international reputation with regard to this. The sports in which Pakistan is ahead should be highlighted. Similarly, Pakistani students who are studying in foreign universities should be highlighted. If a student is bright and perform well there should be highlighted. There should be a chapter related to the life of best players.

Have you ever discussed global issues in your classroom?

No, we cannot do discussion on our own will. We are given a parameter and limit. We can talk about global topic generally while teaching the curriculum. But we cannot discuss a separate global topic.

You personally feel that global issues should not be discussed in classroom or it is a restriction on you from the institution?

No, no restriction from the institution. We are bound to follow national curriculum policy.

If there is a disaster or flood country, do you motivate students to contribute to relief fund?

Whenever there is disaster –Oct. Earthquake in Kashmir—children and we teachers both contributed to relief fund.

This is just because of your own initiative or you are told by institution to donate.

Most of the time Govt. tells us.

Suppose this disaster is in America or India, would there be any donation?

No, not in this institution. Sometime, Red Crescent—we sell their tickets and the money is given to Red Crescent. They themselves send to other countries.

What about organizing prayers for the victims of an international disaster ?

Yes, this can be done. If there is a national mourning to show sympathy.

With Muslim Ummah?

No. not necessarily!

If you are asked to write this curriculum/textbook again, what will you focus more: cultural issues, national issues or global issues?

All if they are related to Pakistan—which can enhance awareness about Pakistan, Pakistani culture, resources of Pakistan.

Let's put it differently, what would you promote, Punjabi identity, Pakistani identity or global identity.

I am against provincialism. For me Pakistan First—and then peace of the world. First there should be peace in home (Pakistan) and then world peace.

Why not start peace from Punjab?

No. I am against provincialism—prejudice, and intolerance.

Why not teach resident of this city about the city?

No, nationalism is first. Pakistan is like bouquet and provinces are its beauty.