

**DEFINING THE PAKISTANI NATION IN
HISTORY EDUCATION: AN EXAMINATION OF
PAKISTAN STUDIES TEXTBOOKS**

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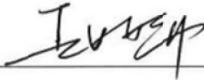
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and it has been written by me in its entirety. I have duly acknowledged all the sources of information which have been used in the thesis.

This thesis has also not been submitted for any degree in any university previously.



Wang Yaqian

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Summary

The main issue addressed by this thesis is the creation of national identity through history textbooks that are used for Pakistan's middle schools. History textbooks have been widely acknowledged as an important bastion for governments to build national images and identity among students. As a country with serious identity crisis, Pakistan laid great emphasis on transmitting the idea of the Pakistani nation through history teaching so that the young generation would identify with the nation.

The teaching of history in Pakistan has experienced a series of changes along with curricula reforms. Nowadays, history knowledge is mainly imparted in the textbooks of *Pakistan Studies* rather than taught as an independent subject. The *Pakistan Studies* textbooks thus became a very important source to investigate how the Pakistani nation was defined by successive governments.

The idea of the Pakistani nation was defined and promoted in the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks in a number of ways. The textbooks attempted to introduce some national symbols shared by all the Pakistanis. Such symbols included common ancestors, heroes and culture. In order to further consolidate the concept of the Pakistani nation, the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks also tried to differentiate the Pakistani nation from other nations to students. By reading the history sections from the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, students would have an idea of the Pakistani nation and other nations. The Pakistani nation consisted of the Muslims who strove for the benefit of the Muslim community and enjoyed the rich cultural legacy left by their great ancestors. In addition to many symbols delineating the image of the Pakistani nation, Islam was made a special symbol in the textbooks to unify the vast majority of

Pakistanis.

This research provides a detailed analysis on how *Pakistan Studies* textbooks imparted and promoted the idea of the Pakistani nation in history teaching. Although the construction of national identity requires efforts of many aspects, the history teachings in middle school, however, directly reflects the ideal image of the nation prescribed by the governments.

Introduction

The event of the 9/11 attacks brought about worldwide concern over the link between Islamic religious education and Islamic fundamentalism. Scholars and politicians around the world were gravitated to investigate how religious education moulded the extremist and terrorist mind-set in Muslim community. For a moment, researchers continuously brought forth evidence to show the connection between *madrasa*¹ education and the formation of fundamentalist and extremist minds. *Madrasa* in Pakistan was one focal point of such researches. Along with the increasing study on *madrasa* education in Pakistan, the teaching materials of Pakistan's public schools also attracted broad public attention for its biased and ideology-driven content. Many domestic and foreign experts began to pay attention to the problems in the textbooks prescribed by Pakistan's government. The criticism of Pakistan's textbooks have also been the topics of a number of newspapers and news websites in the past decade, including British Broadcasting Corporation, *The Hindu*, *Times of India*, *Dawn* and *Daily Times from Pakistan*, etc.² For instance, one article published on The Hindu website in 2004 reviewed the past scholarly works on criticising Pakistan's history textbooks; it described the distortion of history narratives in Pakistan's history textbooks as "even more tragic and traumatic" than India's history textbooks.³ All the above-mentioned media have reported the problems found from the textbooks of Pakistan, especially from the materials of history teaching. The major problems involved the indoctrination of Islamic extremism, hatred language towards the Hindus, glorification of Pakistan's military rule, and distortion of

¹ *Madrasa*, transliterated from Arabian. In Arabian, it refers to learning institutions regardless of religious or secular. However, when this word is transliterated in English, it usually refers to middle level Islamic education institution. It is also transliterated as "*madrakah*", "*madrassa*" or "*madrassah*", etc.

² See Bibliography for a selection of news published in the mentioned newspapers and news websites.

³ Refer to B. G. Verghese, "Myth and Hates as History", published on *The Hindu* website on Jun 23, 2004. <http://www.hinduonnet.com/2004/06/23/stories/2004062301721000.htm>

history and so on.

The criticism revealed that Pakistan's history teaching materials was full of biased presentation of history. However, it is always difficult to tell what a good history textbook is. The standard varies as the purpose of history teaching changes. If the purpose is to train students' critical thinking for history, a good history textbook may be the one which familiarises students with academic methodologies of history study. If the purpose is set to help students have an idea of what happened in the past, a good history textbook may be the one which carries as more factual information as possible. If the purpose is set to identify students with their nation and country through history learning, a good history textbook must be the one which inspires the feeling of patriotism and strengthens the ties between fellow countrymen, although the presentation of history may be subjective, biased and ideology-driven.

In the modern world, textbooks fulfil a number of tasks. Besides "transmitting knowledge, textbooks also seek to anchor the political and social norms of a society. Textbooks convey a global understanding of history and of the rules of society as well as norms of living with other people."⁴ Regarding Pakistan's case, the history textbooks are designed to cater to the particular political and social needs of Pakistan's society. The textbooks, which largely deviate from the mainstream historiography, are a satisfactory version of history in the eyes of Pakistan's government. What is presented, omitted and emphasised in the history textbooks reflects Pakistan's official views on what kind of past should be transmitted to the next generation. It has been pointed out by *UNESCO Guidebook*

⁴ Hanna Schissler, "Limitations and Priorities for International Social Studies Textbooks Research", *International Journal of Social Education* (4, 1989-1990), 81.

on *Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* that the aim of international textbook analysis lies in promoting international understanding.⁵ In this sense, an analysis of Pakistan's controversial history textbooks, instead of telling right from wrong, serves a more important purpose: understanding Pakistan from these textbooks.

1. Main Arguments

This thesis explores the construction of national identity through history teaching in Pakistan. It focuses on the analysis of Pakistan's history textbooks published in recent years. History textbooks have been employed by governments of many modern nation states as an important tool to build national identity among the young generation students. Pakistan's government also regards highly the role of history textbooks in identifying students with the country. However, it remains a question to properly define Pakistan's complex national identity. In this situation, how Pakistan's history textbooks transmit the complex definition of national identity becomes the central question which guides the research of this thesis.

This thesis argues that the modern education system makes it possible for governments to transmit uniform knowledge and information to students through history teaching. The history textbooks carry the official perspective and transmit it to students so that students could identify themselves with the nation defined in the textbooks. How is the Pakistan nation defined in the textbooks? This study deals with this question from the approach of content analysis. It argues that the promotion of national identity in the textbooks is embodied by building icons and symbols of a nation. Therefore an analysis of the textbooks on the presentation of these unifying symbols constitutes the major body of this thesis. This study

⁵ Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, 2nd revised and updated ed., (Paris: Braunschweig, 2010), 8.

selects four major national symbols promoted in the textbooks to analyse: the ancestors, heroes, cultures and Islam. It also analyses how the textbooks teach students to differentiate the Pakistani nation from other nations. By analysing the presentation of the unifying symbols and comparing the Pakistani nation with other nations in the textbooks, this study depicts the image of the Pakistani nation which is promoted in history textbooks.

2. Past research

There have been a number of research studies on Pakistan's history education, which approached this topic from different angles. Generally speaking, the research studies can be divided into the following three categories according to their approaches: education politics in Pakistan; curricula analysis and critique; and history textbook analysis. Some studies deal with this topic from only one approach; while others discuss the issues from multiple approaches.

The publications on education politics in Pakistan refer to those which mainly discuss the relations between education and power, e.g., how different political forces exert influence on the formulation of education policies in Pakistan and how education programmes are implemented. Some studies emphasise the education policies of a particular period. For example, Rubina Saigol's publication *Becoming A Modern Nation: Educational Discourse in the Early Years of Ayub Khan (1958-1964)* presents the major visions and perspectives on education in the early years of Ayub's regime.⁶ Some other studies are not limited to the discussion of one administration. There are also studies dealing with the research of school education politics, explaining the role of teachers, students and other education staff in daily

⁶ Refer to Rubina Saigol, *Becoming A Modern Nation: Educational Discourse in the Early Years of Ayub Khan (1958-1964)* (Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences, 2003).

educational activities. The article “Democracy and Education in Pakistan” written by Muhammad Nazir deals with the existence and development of democracy in everyday educational practices in schools.⁷ It reflects the change of power structures in education setting. Such works are precious in understanding the changes of how Pakistan’s schools run every day, but they are more inspiring for research of educational management other than national identity building. Studies on education politics in Pakistan usually do not include much analysis of the textbooks or particularly focus on history education; however, they provide an understanding of all the related participants in education activities, such as government, intellectuals, educators and students and so on.

Studies on curricula of Pakistan are an important source of references for this study. They are useful in understanding the process of developing curricula and evolution of education reforms in Pakistan. Tarqi Rahman’s research *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Survey of the Education System* and Matthew J. Nelson’s article “Religious Education in Non-Religious Schools: A Comparative Study of Pakistan and Bangladesh” provided a comprehensive introduction of Pakistan’s education system. The two publications answered some very basic questions about Pakistan’s education systems, e.g. who studied where and what. In 2004, an important report on Pakistan’s curricula was published by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI).⁸ The report, which is entitled as *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan*, gives a thorough and critical analysis on the curricula and textbooks of Pakistan. It critically evaluates the problems found in the

⁷ Refer to Muhammad Nazir, “Democracy and Education in Pakistan”, *Educational Review* (62:3, Aug 2010), 329-342.

⁸ A. H. Nayyar and A. Salim, ed., *The Subtle Subversion: the State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan* (Islamabad: SDPI, 2004).

curricula and textbooks, including the errors and distortion in history education, the ignorance of religious diversity, the promotion of militancy and religious intolerance, and omissions of important historical events and figures and so on. It is actually a combination of analysis of curricula and textbooks. The development of education reforms in Pakistan is also introduced in the book. Besides, a large number of problematic original content is highlighted and clearly listed for examination. The report “Curriculum Reforms in Pakistan—A Glass Half Full or Half Empty?” written by Baela Raza Jamil is another useful pieces of research on Pakistan’s curricula. Jamil’s work provides adequate information on Pakistan’s curriculum reforms in the past twenty years. This study does not deal with finding faults from textbooks, but focuses on the discussion of curricula. Some studies falling in this category are quite descriptive, but have their values in introducing the curricula system of which history education is a part.

The studies on the analysis of Pakistan’s history textbooks mostly have a focal point on the content of history textbooks, although most publications have a section introducing curricula or education politics. As early as 1985, the article “Rewriting the History of Pakistan”, written by Pervez Amirali Hoodbhoy and Adbul Hameed Nayyar, was published. This article presented the characteristics of Pakistan’s textbooks and evaluated the history textbooks rewritten during the Zia ul-Haq administration. It pointed out four typical problems of historical narratives found in Pakistan’s textbooks. Hoodbhoy and Nayyar argued in the article that the problems appeared in the rewritten history textbooks were deeply intertwined with the change of Pakistan’s politics. In this article, the text of history textbooks was used as evidence of how politics influenced Pakistan’s history education. Another very important

publication is the book *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan*⁹, written by K. K. Aziz. In this book, the author presented a long list of problematic narratives found in history textbooks and corrected them. It included large amount of quotations from history textbooks, which was the most valuable characteristic of the book. Unfortunately, the author simply corrected the errors he found from textbooks in chronological order of the historical incidents, rather than synthesize them to explain the relations between history education narratives and national identity building.

Besides the two early studies, there have been many other research studies published recently. Yvette C. Rosser, Marie Lall, Rubina Saigol, Krishna Kumar, Pervez A. Hoodbhoy and many other scholars have published their studies on various topics on the basis of analysing Pakistan's history textbooks, such as the Islamisation of textbooks, hate language towards other ethnic groups in textbooks and citizenship education and so on. However, the styles of presenting the content vary quite a lot between different studies. Some of the studies cite original texts from textbooks at a great length, e.g., K. K. Aziz's book mentioned above. The major analysis is separately given later. Some publications quote original texts in the middle of analysis, e.g., Rubina Saigol's article "Enemies Within and Enemies Without: The Besieged Self in Pakistani Textbooks"¹⁰ There are also studies which only summarised the general ideas presented in textbooks and made further analysis, like the above mentioned article "Rewriting the history of Pakistan".

It can be seen from the review of past research that many efforts have been done by

⁹ K. K. Aziz, *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan* (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1998)

¹⁰ Refer to Rubina Saigol, "Enemies Within and Enemies Without: The Besieged Self in Pakistani Textbooks", *Futures* (37, 2005).

scholars to examine the education systems or find faults from history textbooks. Some studies also criticised Pakistan's history textbooks as a brainwashing tool which completely ignored the academic rigour and historical truth. However, this study will find a tangible way to illustrate how Pakistan's history textbooks use the controversial content to serve its purpose, i.e. building national identity among the young generation. Meanwhile, the study will not focus on how erroneous the content is or automatically perceive the controversial content as wrong, but rather attempt to explain why the Pakistan's version of history is different from the mainstream one, and how the difference contributes to the building of national identity.

3. Methodologies

The body of this thesis can be divided into two parts: the first two chapters and the rest chapters. The first chapter aims to explain the importance of history education in building national identity in general cases. Meanwhile, it also provides background knowledge on Pakistan's national identity and the history textbooks in Pakistan. Therefore, some theories on identity and education have been employed for the explanation of the relations between history education and national identity construction. The background of Pakistan's national identity and history textbooks is introduced from historical perspective.

Chapter Three to Five give an analysis of Pakistan's history textbooks. The objective of the analysis lies in revealing the transmission of national identity in the textbooks. The idea of Pakistani nation is promoted in many places throughout the textbooks, which makes it difficult to be presented in an organised way. Since identity is too abstract, finding a proper way to analyse how the textbooks function in forming national identity has once been the biggest issue of the research. However, gradually I found that the idea of Pakistani nation is

embodied in the building of some symbols which can define and unify the nation. Therefore, in order to reveal the transmission of national identity in the textbooks, it is a good option to analyse how the unifying symbols are presented in the textbooks. This approach has its advantage in categorizing the text of history textbooks which is related to national identity building. It also illustrates the abstract idea of identity. In past research studies, scholars often anchored their analysis at correcting errors found from the textbooks. Many academic studies simply criticised how different the narratives in Pakistan's history textbooks are from the mainstream historiography, but they are less useful in answering how Pakistan's history textbooks contributed to the building of national identity among students. Therefore, the idea of analysing the text from its construction of certain national symbols caters to the purpose of the study best.

This study approaches the analysis of textbooks under the guidance of textbook analysis methodologies introduced in previous works.¹¹ Major techniques employed in this study are introduced in the following words.

The textbook samples selected for the study are the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, which are the history textbooks for students from grade nine (around 15 year old) to the first year of college (around 18 years old). The textbooks are extensively used in all the schools which follow the curricula designed by government. Six textbooks were selected as samples for this study. The six textbooks are published from 1997 to 2008 for the use of schools in Islamabad or Punjab.

¹¹ References of textbook analysis methodologies include Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, 2nd revised and updated ed., (Paris: Braunschweig, 2010); H. Bourdillon, *History and Social Studies—Methodologies of Textbook Analysis* (Amsterdam, Swets and Zeitlinger, 1992); Jason Nicholls, "Methods in School Textbook Research", <http://www.heirnet.org/IJHLTR/journal6/nichollsrev.pdf>.

It is introduced that “Quantitative methods are used to measure aspects of the text in terms of frequency and space.”¹² Quantitative methods are applied in this study to explain the space which is occupied by a particular term or topic. “How much space is used” is mentioned to show the emphasis of a term of topic.

The analysis of content involves revealing the meanings of a passage. Not only is it important to note the literal meanings, the explanation of hidden meanings is in need in many occasions. The method of hermeneutic analysis is used in this study to show the implications and dig the hidden meanings of the texts.

For the narratives of a particular period of history or historical figure, this study compares the narratives with the similar content existing in more acknowledged history books. A historiographical comparison and evaluation is employed for the examination of the narratives.

This study also seeks to analyse the content from the tones and the use of judgmental words. Some narratives in the textbooks are more like interpretation rather than the presentation of factual information. The interpretation implies the stance of the textbooks. The tones and judgmental words in the interpretation infuse the values contained in the textbooks. Students gradually receive the values as read the textbooks. From the analysis of languages, it shows what values are transmitted to students, i.e. what is highly valued, disparaged, encouraged and abandoned.

In addition, this study does not aim to criticise the values promoted by the textbooks. It only attempts to give as more information as possible so that readers could have a

¹² Jason Nicholls, “Methods in School Textbook Research”, 3, <http://www.heirnet.org/IJHLTR/journal6/nichollsrev.pdf>.

comprehensive understanding about how Pakistan's government defines the nation and how the definition of Pakistani nation is transmitted to students.

4. Chapter outlines

Chapter One introduces the role of history teaching in the formation of national identity. This issue is explained from three aspects. Primarily, this chapter introduces the concept of identity and the relations between identity and education. It describes the process of forming identity by receiving information and knowledge. The information and knowledge one receives decides his or her identity. Secondly, this chapter introduces the modern education and its influence on governments to transmit national identity. It reveals the phenomenon that governments of current nation states attempt to mould national identity through education. Meanwhile, the characteristics of modern education system is analysed to explain why modern education system facilitates the promotion of national identity. Thirdly, history course is given specially introduction among all the subjects in school, because of its important role in national identity formation and its close relation to this study. It shows that governments pay close attention to the design of history subject and writing of history textbooks, because history teaching to large extent affects students' perspectives on their nation. The biased nature of history textbooks is analysed to illustrate that governments are able to control the content of history textbooks; in converse, history textbooks are also a reflection of governments' ideas on the definition of nations.

Chapter Two presents the situation of national identity formation and history textbooks in Pakistan. This chapter attempts to provide an outlook on the national identity of Pakistan. The major problems of Pakistan in constructing clear and stable national identity are

presented. This chapter demonstrates the complexity of Pakistan's national identity through an examination of post partition history. The major disagreements and discrepancies between different social forces are analysed. After presenting the complexity of Pakistan's national identity, this chapter moves to comprehensively introduce Pakistan's history subject and textbooks. Pakistan's major education institutions, teaching materials used in different kinds of schools, the development of history course, the process of publishing textbooks and the outline of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks are all explained in detail. The last part of this chapter is devoted to the presentation of students' and teachers' perceptions on the subject of *Pakistan Studies* course and textbooks. The data is based on the answers of the questionnaires provided by students.

Chapter Three concentrates on the analysis of history textbooks. The major approach is the analysis of the content. This chapter explains how the Pakistani nation is defined in the textbooks. In order to answer this question, this chapter focuses on the analysis of three unifying national symbols promoted by the textbooks. The first symbol is the ancestors. This study analyses who were promoted as the ancestors of Pakistani nation and how they were promoted. The second symbol is the heroes. This study selected the narratives of three historical figures presented in the textbooks. By means of analysing the narratives from the textbooks, the study explains the official evaluation of the three figures. The evaluation of historical figures in the textbooks guided students to tell kind from evil and tell great from impuissant. Students were told that people who fought for the development and benefit of Muslims should be regarded as national heroes. The last symbol is the cultural elements. The promotion of national cultural elements was analysed, which revealed the purpose of building

monolithic cultural identification to prevent the emergence of local identities.

Chapter Four continues to analyse the construction of the national image by investigating how Pakistan's history textbooks describe other nations. This chapter is organised according to the different techniques applied to introduce other nations. In the beginning, the emphasis is how Pakistan's history textbooks present the difference of the Pakistanis and other nations, especially the Hindus. Then, it is introduced that the textbooks show inclination to highlight the conflicts between the Muslims and Hindus rather than the cooperation and harmonious co-existence. At last, the textbooks lead students to think about the superiority of the Muslims to the other nations so that students could generate a feeling of pride about their own nation.

Islam, as a specially promoted symbol, is analysed in the fifth chapter. This chapter reveals how *Pakistan Studies* textbooks popularises the understanding of adoption of Islamic ideology among students. Analysis of the content is made to demonstrate Islam's supreme role both in distinguishing Muslim nation and Pakistanis. This chapter presents the relations between the Islamic belief and Muslims; the relations between Islamic ideology and the Ideology of Pakistan.

5. Primary resources and limitations of research

In order to collect the materials used for the study of this research, I tried to get reach of the history textbooks used in Pakistan. Besides, two kinds of questionnaires were designed to investigate the perception of history course from local students and teachers. However, due to the security situation in Pakistan, I was suggested not to go to Pakistan for the collection of primary resources. The above mentioned two kinds of materials were collected by my Pakistani teachers and friends.

It turned out quite difficult to find out many past editions of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. Only six textbooks of Pakistan Studies published between 1997 and 2008 were collected as the sample textbooks for this study.¹³ The six textbooks were either used in Punjab Province or Islamabad. The textbooks used in the other provinces of Pakistan were not available for the scrutiny. Luckily, it was reported in some previous scholarly works that the textbooks of *Pakistan Studies* did not vary a lot between different regions and published years, which made it possible for the study to analyse *Pakistan Studies* textbooks on the basis of the six samples.¹⁴

There were two questionnaires designed for investigating the perception of students and teachers about the course of Pakistan Studies and the textbooks. The questionnaires were finally distributed to the students and teachers in college. 21 teachers' and 44 students' answers were able to be used. The small number of the samples determines that the questionnaires could only be taken as an extra reference rather than sound evidence of students' and teachers' feedback. In addition, since only college students and teachers were available to answer the questionnaires, students were asked to report their feeling about the course of Pakistan Studies taken in secondary and higher secondary schools. In this sense, the data collected may not truly reflect the perceptions of current *Pakistan Studies* textbooks and teachings. The original copy of the questionnaires is available in the Appendix.

As mentioned under the subheading of "Methodologies", there are many advantages to approach the research question from analysing how the four unifying national symbols were

¹³ See the "Works Cited" in the end of this thesis for the information of the six textbooks.

¹⁴ Refer to Marie Lall, "Educate to hate: the use of education in the creation of antagonistic national identities in India and Pakistan", *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* (38:1, Jan 2008), 103-119; Yvette C. Rosser, *Islamisation of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks* (New Delhi: Observer Research, 2003); and Pervez Amirali Hoodbhoy and A. H. Nayyar, "Rewriting the History of Pakistan", *Islam, Politics and the State*, ed., Asghar Khan. (London: Zed Books, 1985), 165.

presented in Pakistan's history textbooks. But this approach also has its limitations in analysing the building of national identity. First, the four symbols may not cover all the text that has a function in promoting national identity construction. Second, the selection of the symbols is an outcome of my personal analysis after reading the textbooks, but it is not proved to be an intention of Pakistan's government. Therefore, it is to some extent true that the study may just provide a simplified answer of how Pakistan's national identity is infused in history textbooks.

Chapter One: National Identity Construction and History Education

1. Identity and education

In many circumstances, controversies over a country's textbooks arise because there are different or even incompatible responses to a particular question: "who are we?" It is considered as an identity problem when a person does not have a positive answer to this question. Nowadays, more and more countries have been placed under examination for their intents and actions to manipulate young generations' answers to this question through education. This ascending tendency reflected in both academic research and political contest implies certain connections between education and identity.

Scholars from a number of research fields have provided various definitions of identity. The distinguished psychologist Erik Erikson (1902-1994) pointed out that identity is an observable quality which was found in a person as the person found in his or her communality,¹⁵ and a subjective sense of the shared quality. According to this definition, identity is a person's feeling that some of his or her qualities are shared by the community he or she belongs to. Another psychologist of women's identity and human relations, Ruthellen Josselson, generalised that identity was "a dynamic fitting together of parts of the personality with the realities of the social world so that a person has a sense both of internal coherence and meaningful relatedness to the real world".¹⁶ Similar to Erikson, Josselson also made the point that identity indicated the relations people perceived between their living environment and themselves. When people realise they

¹⁵ Erik Erikson (1902-1994), is a developmental psychologist and psychoanalyst. He is famous for his theory on social development of human beings and the theory about ego, self identity, and identity crisis.

¹⁶ Refer to R. Josselson, *Finding Herself: Pathways to Identity Development in Women*. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1987).

are related to a community in a coherent and a meaningful way, the sense of identity emerges. People then define who they are in light of sense of identity.

People relate themselves to the outer environment in a number of ways. The Pakistani linguist Tariq Rahman explained that “A person might define himself or herself in terms of sex (male or female); family role (son, daughter, wife); occupation (weaver, orjulaha); tribe or clan (Mughal, Pathan, Arain, Sheikh); economic class; or some other self-defining label.”¹⁷ Sometimes, people identify themselves with a number of social roles; while at other times, the acknowledgement of one role means giving up another role. For example, in some areas, people have to make a choice between their religious identity and national identity. In this sense, identity building is important for both individuals and the external environment. For individuals, the process of shaping identity decides the degree of their internal coherence. The better people construct their identity, the lesser anxiety they have when they are asked “who they are”. For the external environment or society, identity construction of young generation determines the vitality of a community. A community acquires more strength if more people identified with it.

Education has been widely acknowledged as an effective way of building identity, because it is by nature a transmitting process of information and knowledge.¹⁸ Knowledge imparted to children forms their perception of the world. Children realise their connection with society from the information they receive. The information and knowledge transmitted to children is thus very important in creating children’s sense of identity. Therefore, education was perceived as a decisive factor in determining

¹⁷ Tariq Rahman, “Language and Ethnicity in Pakistan”, *Asian Survey* (37: 9, Sep 1997), 833-839. 833.

¹⁸ Krishna Kumar, *Pride and Prejudice: School Histories of the Freedom Struggle in India and Pakistan* (New Delhi: Viking Penguin, 2003), 19.

children's identity.

2. Modern Education and Construction of National Identity

In many countries, education is usually under the control or surveillance of a nation state's government in different forms. Governments see importance of education for many reasons. First, the level of education decides the quality of population, which further affects a country's competitiveness in the world. Second, education is widely acknowledged as a part of human rights. The development of education is a criterion to measure the quality and capacity of a government. Third, in the world comprised of nation states, governments highly regard the identification of people with their nation states.

Today, "western models of the nation-state and schooling now dominate the global discussion of education".¹⁹ Western models of schooling have become a prevailing model of schooling around the world. One characteristic of this model is that the content and method of this mainstream education is under governments' supervision. Whether young people in a society identify with the nation state or not is greatly influenced by the knowledge which is prescribed by governments.

Governments in many countries have showed their enthusiasm and concern about domestic education. The changes in Hong Kong's education are a good example. "The Hong Kong education system has experienced dramatic changes in the periods before and since its return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997."²⁰ After the return of Hong Kong

¹⁹ Joel Spring, ed., *How Educational Ideologies are Shaping Global Society: Intergovernmental Organizations, NGOs and the Decline of the Nation-State*, (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 2.

²⁰ Wing On Lee, "The Development of Citizenship Education Curriculum in Hong Kong after 1997: Tensions between National Identity and Global Citizenship", *Citizenship Curriculum in Asia and the Pacific*, ed., David L. Grossman, Wing On Lee and Kerry J. Kennedy. (Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The

from Britain to China, Hong Kong government's goal "has been its gradual harnessing of the school curriculum to promote a far stronger sense of patriotism and national identity."

²¹ As Paul Morris recorded, "This initially has been pursued by a focus on fostering pride in a sense of a shared Chinese cultural and ethnic heritage." In Singapore, the Ministry of Education is also devoted to using education in national identity construction. The Minister of Education in Singapore, Teo Chee Hean emphasized in 1997 that "We will strengthen National Education to ensure the next generation remains resilient and cohesive."²² Education has been regarded as crucial power to help young people integrate into society and identify themselves with their nation state.

Along with the development of information technology, young people are actually exposed to large amounts of information. Family and school are no longer the only sources from which students learn "who they are". Besides the knowledge students learn from family and school, they have an accesses to diverse information, which might be dissimilar or even contradictory to what the parents and teachers say.²³ However, as the primary channel for knowledge transmission, school education sees its obvious advantage in constructing uniform national identity. The modern Western model of school education creates favourable conditions to realize this process of national identity formation now.

Firstly, since the compulsory education is usually funded and organised by the

Hong Kong University; [New York]: Springer, 2008), 29.

²¹ Paul Morris, "Education, Politics and the State in Hong Kong", *Education as a Political Tool in Asia*, ed., Marie Lall & Edward Vickers, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), 89.

²² Teo Chee Hean, "Addenda to President's Address at Opening of Parliament, 27 May 1997, Ministry of Education," <http://www.moe.gov.sg/media/press/1997/st00197.htm>

²³ Refer to Catherine Cornbleth, ed., *Curriculum Politics, Policy, Practice: Cases in Comparative Context*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 191.

government,²⁴ the government determines the selection of teaching materials, the arrangement of curriculum, the teaching mode and methods of examination. The prescribed content of teaching in school is in an advantageous position to build students' knowledge structure and further affects their identity construction. Secondly, it is written into law in many countries that children above a certain age have to be sent to school and receive certain years of education. Students of the same country or area are required to enrol in similar schools, sit in standardised classrooms, obey the common rules, pay attention to teachers who are supposed to teach in similar ways, and read the same textbooks as all the other students do. All day long staying at school, students gradually learn to build connections with each other. They then start identifying with their social world on the recognition of sameness.

“Consequently, public school systems serve the nation-state by creating a shared experience as students; developing a sense of nationhood and a common culture through teaching a national history and literature; instilling emotional loyalty to the nation-state through patriotic exercises, flag salutes, and nationalistic rhetoric and song; and education a citizenry that accepts the legitimacy of the government and their own political role within the system”²⁵

Thirdly, national tests and examinations preclude many opportunities for students to receive knowledge and values that is excluded from the state authorised curriculum.

Students are required to get better results in examinations than others for higher

²⁴ Joel Spring, ed. *How Educational Ideologies are Shaping Global Society: Intergovernmental Organizations, NGOS and the Decline of the Nation-State*, (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 2.

²⁵ Ibid, 3.

education, which to large extent means higher position in a society in the future.²⁶ In order to get higher marks in state held examinations, students must have a good command of knowledge taught in school. Accordingly, students spend more time understanding and remembering the content of the state designed curriculum. It then helps to facilitate the transmission of prescribed knowledge and government's will of constructing national identity.

3. History as a unique subject in school education

Among all the subjects taught in school, history has for a long time been considered a unique subject in forming children's national identity.²⁷ Governments of different countries are quite concerned with the design of history curriculum and the content of history textbooks. Discussions about history subject often bring about great controversies.²⁸ Why is the subject of history endowed with such important status among all other subjects in curriculum? Why does it deserve so much attention and concern? In order to better understand the significance of history as a subject, there is a need to get a general idea of what history subject teaches.

The major component in history subject is history textbooks, which usually involve historical narratives and comments on historical figures and events. In other words, the subject of history teaches students what happened in the past and how to evaluate it. One common cause of controversies about history textbooks is the distortion of the past in

²⁶ Joel Spring, ed. *How Educational Ideologies are Shaping Global Society: Intergovernmental Organizations, NGOs and the Decline of the Nation-State*, (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 165.

²⁷ Krishna Kumar, *Pride and Prejudice: School Histories of the Freedom Struggle in India and Pakistan* (New Delhi: Viking Penguin, 2003), 6.

²⁸ Take Britain as an example. The appeal of reforming primary and secondary school curriculum of history had aroused a nationwide great debate in 1970s-1980s among different parties, including scholars doing research on history education, school teachers who stood on the frontline of teaching history, politicians with the concern of children's identification with their motherland and also mass parents who have different wishes of what kind of people their children should become.

narrative. However, the past is too complicated to describe with absolute objectivity, there could hardly be historical facts or the whole of the past. Sometimes people consider some particular historical narrative as fact, because the historical narrative is consistent with what they read from other history books which are also a presentation of parts of the past.

It is rather difficult for history textbooks to maintain objectivity. It is impossible to present everything in the past with absolute objectivity. In modern nation states, the content of the history subject primarily includes the history of their own nation. Then governments further select materials from the history of their own nation. The selected content must be in accordance with the definition of nation promoted by state governments. Therefore, a number of historical events and figures are included in history textbooks for their positive influence in nation building. For example, in Pakistan's history textbooks, many pages are written on the struggle for Pakistan and the implementation of Islamic provisions in the Constitution of 1973.

Moreover, when children across the country sit in the classroom, learn similar content excerpted from the past of their country and try to remember the important days, figures and events; they automatically participate in the actual process of creating the common memory: the common memory about their nation, their nation's past and their nations' tradition. The common memory which is also shared by children's classmates, seniors, juniors, family members and fellow countrymen, helps them identify with their nation, i.e. the group of people who share the same past and tradition.

Therefore, the designs and changes of history curriculum have always attracted the

attention from governments to general public, from domestic people to international community. Each of the parties hopes to see their opinion reflected and implemented in history curriculum, so that the outcome of history curriculum on national identity building is favourable to them. Though nowadays educators, intellectuals, publishers, parents and international community actively express suggestions for history curriculum, still it is governments that lead the writing of history textbook or at least set the guidelines for history curriculum. Therefore, history curriculum and textbooks represent governments' ideas on how to help young people construct a sense of national identity. History curriculum and textbooks are also a reflection of governments' understanding of national identity.

History subject is so important that governments rely on it to mould a nation. History subject in school level serves the function of creating common memory about a nation's past. Such common memory inspires young people to identify with their nation's past and their fellow countrymen. The formation of the national identity brings about a sense of patriotism and loyalty to a nation, which is welcomed and encouraged by governments. As the supporter and manager of modern model of education in most areas, governments take charge of the design of history curriculum and the publication of history textbooks. Given the fact that history education has a unique advantage in constructing collective identity, history textbooks prescribed by government carry a task of defining and uniting a nation, which can be observed from the arrangement of content and the evaluation of the past.

4. Conclusion

The formation of identity to a large extent depends on the information and knowledge received by a person. Nowadays, governments of nation states thus make efforts to identify young people with their nation and state through education control. Meanwhile, modern education system facilitates the transmission of uniform information and knowledge. Governments lead the design of curricula and textbooks, which guarantees that students learn the uniform authorised knowledge.

The formation of national identity among students relies on the teaching materials. What is included in textbooks decides the ways students define and understand the nation. History learning is considered one of the most important processes in infusing students with an idea about their nation. The uniform history textbooks contribute to create a series of common memory among students. Students learn about the nation by reading history textbooks. Governments decide what is taught in history textbooks; thus, history textbooks reflect how governments define the nation and transmit the idea to the students.

Chapter Two: History Teaching and National Identity Building: The Case of Pakistan

The previous chapter provided a detailed analysis of the role of history textbooks in the formation of national identity among students. This chapter will shift the discussion of general introduction to the analysis of the case of Pakistan. Before presenting how Pakistan's history textbooks defined the Pakistani nation, this chapter will provide an analysis of Pakistan's national identity and give an introduction to Pakistan's history textbooks.

1. The complex national identity of Pakistan

The construction of national identity is highly valued for its importance in building a dynamic, competitive and cohesive nation. For newly established post-colonial states, it is especially imperative to devise a cohesive national identity, so that they can distinguish themselves from other states.²⁹ Pakistan, as a newly independent country since 1947, is not an exception. Affected by its shared history with India, struggles between different domestic political forces, and the controversial status of Islam, Pakistan has been facing difficulties in generating a sound and stable national identity. Indeed, many commentators on Pakistan's politics still perceive the issue of national identity as a chronic source of Pakistan's crisis.³⁰ This chapter will present the complexity of constructing Pakistan's national identity and analyse the ways of promoting national identity through Pakistan's history textbooks.

²⁹ Ishtiaq Ahmed, "Pakistan's National Identity", *International Review of Modern Sociology* (34: 1, Spring 2008) 47-59.

³⁰ Krishna Kumar, *Pride and Prejudice: School Histories of the Freedom Struggle in India and Pakistan* (New Delhi: Viking Penguin, 2003) 55.

When a dominant group in a society tries to educate the young people to identify themselves with society, the dominant group itself must have a clear and assured self-perception of society. However, in order to answer the question of “what is Pakistan”, Pakistan’s ruling elites have been struggling for many years.

The establishment of Pakistan was originally for the Muslims living in the Indian subcontinent to have a state of their own. For the Muslims living in the subcontinent, the identity problem arose when the Mughal Empire collapsed in the middle of eighteenth century.³¹ After the Mughal imperial rule ended, Indian Muslim community faced challenges from diverse aspects, and the community as a whole experienced a multi-dimensional decline. On the one hand, the Muslim community immersed itself in its past glory as a ruling class. This prevented the Muslim community from learning modern knowledge brought by British and adapting to the new social order. On the other hand, Hindus, Sikhs and some other communities actively participated in the social changes. Unlike Muslims, they did not refuse to learn the English language and they sent their children to modern schools established by British. As a result, they gradually held advantageous position in India’s economy and political arena compared to Muslims. The Muslims’ increasingly poor situation hastened the emergence of Muslims’ consciousness. “At the dawn of the twentieth century, a depressive perception of their status was the major reason that certain sections of the Muslim upper classes organized themselves in the All-India Muslim League, which became a conservative counterpart to the Indian

³¹ John P. Neelsen and Dipak Malik, ed., *Crisis of State and Nation: South Asian States between Nation-Building and Fragmentation* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2007), 88.

National Congress which dominated the Indian political scene.”³² The Muslim League later became the leader of Pakistan Movement, demanding a separate state for the Muslims. The Muslim League believed that Muslims were a totally different nation from Hindus and that Muslims could only enjoy justice and development in a country where Muslims were in the majority.

From the outset of conceiving a new country, the Muslim leaders tried to emphasise the necessity and establish the legitimacy of a separate state for Muslims by negating Indian Muslims’ identity as Indians. The question of “what is Pakistan?” was not an independent one; instead, the answer to the question was dependent on how to answer the question of “what is India?”. “Stressing again and again the distinctiveness of the Muslim community, this aimed to present the Indian Muslims as non-Indians....An anti-identity, the self-perception of being not Indians, is not suited to producing a constructive Pakistani self-image”.³³ This is the first important pivot for understanding the complexity of Pakistan’s national identity building. Even today it is easy to find the construction of anti-Indian identity as an important part of Pakistan’s national identity building in Pakistan’s history textbooks.

Leaders of the Muslim League, demanding for a separate Muslim state, had never given a clear explanation on the exact form and organisation of the new state. It remained vague whether the state would just be a secular home for Muslims or constructed under the Islamic law. Muslim theologians and religious leaders were concerned about their status and authority in the new state, since the leaders for Pakistan Movement did not

³² John P. Neelsen and Dipak Malik, ed., *Crisis of State and Nation: South Asian States between Nation-Building and Fragmentation* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2007), 88-89.

³³ Ibid, 90.

show any will to build a country exercising Islamic law. Therefore Muslim theologians and religious leaders expressed their indifference or even acted against the Pakistan Movement. As the famous Islamic theologian Syed Abul Ala Maududi asked, “If the intention was to create a secular state in Pakistan, then what was the harm in a united India? Why should Muslims pay a heavy price in terms of life and property for the establishment of another secular state?”³⁴

The Pakistan Movement was also not supported by Muslims living in the provinces where Muslims accounted for majority at the very first. The Muslim League mostly consisted of members from Uttar Pradesh, a province where Muslims were the minority and Hindus were the majority. Modern Muslim intellectuals in Uttar Pradesh, having received westernised education, were situated in a less advantageous position than their Hindu counterparts because of the less proportion of population. Nonetheless, Muslim elites in Muslim dominating provinces like Bengal, Punjab and North Western Frontier Province did not feel much inferiority or discrimination. In order to achieve their support, the Muslim League promised a quite high degree of provincial autonomy in future Pakistan.³⁵

In order to mobilise the general Muslim public, the leaders of Muslim League raised the flag of religion. Muslim League set Islam as the base of common characteristics for all Muslims. The unique belief, religious practice, culture and traditions of Islam were recognised by the general Muslim public. It was Islam and being a Muslim that united

³⁴ Syed Abul Ala Maududi, *The Islamic Law and Constitution* (Chicago: Kazi Pubns Inc, 1955), 5-6.

³⁵ For more details about the relations between Muslim League and Muslim elites from Muslim dominating provinces in the Pakistan Movement, see Omar Noman, *Pakistan: A Political and Economic History Since 1947* (London: Kegan Paul International Ltd, 1988), Chapter 1.

Muslims from various levels to support the Pakistan Movement. Muslims also expected that they would lead a better and richer life in the absence of Hindus.

When Pakistan was a young nation, Muslims fled from other areas of the Indian subcontinent to it with various expectations for the new life.

“Pakistan meant different things to different people. To the landlords it meant continued leadership; to the doctrinal-minded Muslims, a unique opportunity to create an Islamic state in the light of their ideas; to the Muslim intelligentsia and the poorer classes, a state where social and economic justice would prevail and their dignity established, according to Iqbalite teachings; to the peasants, freedom from the yoke of the Hindu money-lender; and to the military establishment it brought a central role in country where the civilian political process was dependent from the very beginning upon its support and active participation.”³⁶

Muslim League successfully mobilised people’s emotion to support for the Pakistan Movement, but it had not fully prepared to draw a detailed blueprint for the outlook of Pakistan. People supporting the Pakistan Movement imagined that Pakistan would implement a polity favourable to their interest, but they did not have a clear idea of how Pakistan leaders could realise their respective hopes.

After Pakistan was founded, the Muslim League became the dominant political forces in Pakistan. In the new government of Pakistan, Muslim League members held most of the important positions. In response to a variety of expectations from Muslims of

³⁶ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Concept of an Islamic State: An Analysis of the Ideological Controversy in Pakistan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 80-81.

all categories, the Muslim League had a responsibility to integrate various forces into the construction of the new born state. It was expected to promote the fusion of different ethnic groups who joined Pakistan, creating hope and space for the development of each of them. The Muslim League was also supposed to undertake the similar responsibility as the Congress Party in India, to form functional parliament institution and government, which encompassed a wide range of participants.³⁷

However, the Muslim League, with many leaders from North India, on the one hand compressed the political space of Pakistan's provincial political forces; and on the other hand continuously strengthened the power of the central government. As a consequence, the Pakistan central government had vast power on provincial affairs; the promise to give local governments more autonomy which was made by the Muslim League before the establishment of Pakistan was abandoned. The provincial political forces sought for the participation in Pakistan's central political arena, but they encountered strong and vigorous resistances from the leaders of Muslim League. Such measures also increased the concentration of central power held in the hand of the Muslim League, and accordingly excluded the opportunity of representing broader voices across the country. Besides the disappointed Muslim elites in different provinces, the general public also did not feel the changes towards a better life. Peasants were still subject to the landlords. Education and medical welfare were far below a satisfactory level. The unfulfilled hopes of the supporters of Pakistan Movement and unrepresented mass to large extent hindered

³⁷ Omar Noman, *Pakistan: A Political and Economic History Since 1947* (London: Kegan Paul International Ltd, 1988), 9.

the construction of a cohesive national identity.³⁸ Along with the promotion of Pakistani identity by the central government, local identity, tribal identity as well as different ethnic groups' identity also existed and continued growing.

Meanwhile, religious leaders and Islamic theologians had been actively expanding influence in politics since the establishment of Pakistan. The leader of the Muslim League Mohammad Ali Jinnah had once expressed his support for building a secular state for Muslims on August 11, 1947. There is an excerpt from Jinnah's speech, which has been cited by many scholars as an evidence of Jinnah's ideal for Pakistan. "You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State."³⁹ The Muslim religious leaders did not regard highly Jinnah's words. They drafted a proposal in 1948 in order to set up a Ministry of Religious Affairs. In the proposal, the religious leaders actually hoped to establish a complete Islamic state. Since the party had used Islam as the icon to promote the Pakistan Movement, the Muslim League declared the Objectives Resolution, as a response to the proposal. The Objectives Resolution was written in quite a vague way when solving the issue of making Pakistan an Islamic state. It acknowledged that God was the ultimate sovereign and the polity was supposed to be subject to Islamic principles, but no precise plan of practice was included. The Objectives Resolution was a start from which the influence of religious leaders on politics continuously developed. In the following adopted constitutions, Pakistan was then finally defined as an Islamic

³⁸ Omar Noman, *Pakistan: A Political and Economic History Since 1947* (London: Kegan Paul International Ltd, 1988), 9.

³⁹ C. M. Naim, *Iqbal, Jinnah and Pakistan: the Vision and Reality* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd, 1985), 212.

republic; meanwhile, more and more Islamic provisions were included.

Besides the participation in legislation, religious leaders also play a significant role in turning Pakistan's national citizenship education curriculum with an emphasis in promoting Islamic ideology.⁴⁰ The efforts of religious leaders to turn Pakistan into a complete Islamic state added the complexity in defining the national identity of Pakistan. It is true that the emphasis on Islam helped reinforce the distinctiveness of Pakistan citizens from Indians, but religious influence in society also strengthened people's religious emotions and identity. With Islam as an important part of Pakistan's national identity, it undoubtedly alienated non-Muslims living in Pakistan and also incited tensions between different Islamic sects.

In summary, the complexity of building national identity of Pakistan is attributed to a number of factors. In the first place, the theoretical foundation of Pakistan is the viewpoint that Muslims and Hindus are different nations and that Muslims are entitled to build a separate state. It determines that the construction of national identity in Pakistani people is inevitably based on the negation of Indian identity. The denial of being Hindus or Indians is of key importance in comprehending the idea of Pakistani nation. This situation is not conducive for the formation of an independent and stable national identity.

Secondly, the central government of Pakistan did not integrate people of all social strata successfully into the new born country. The failure of integration makes the formation of national identity rather complicated, because many local and ethnic

⁴⁰ David L. Grossman, Wing On Lee and Kerry J. Kennedy, ed., *Citizenship Curriculum in Asia and the Pacific* (Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The Hong Kong University; [New York]: Springer, 2008), 97.

identities are still considered equally or even more important than the Pakistani identity. Meanwhile, it leads to a problem to define the national identity when the local and ethnic identities are still strong.

Last but not least, the introduction and changing emphasis of Islam in nation building bring more confusion to the understanding of Pakistani identity. Pakistan governments have implemented different principles of the role of Islam in Pakistan. In the early years of Pakistan, the governments mostly attempted to follow the secular guideline; however, in Zia-ul-Haq's era, Pakistan experienced the largest scale of Islamisation; from Pervez Musharraf came to power, the governments started searching for the establishment of a modern and moderate Islamic state. Islam accounts for a continuously changing proportion in the construction of national identity. This phenomenon also further increases the complexity of Pakistan's national identity building.

2. Pakistan Studies

According to the statistics of 2005-2009 published by UNICEF, the primary school gross enrolment ratio of Pakistan is 93% for boys and 77% for girls; the secondary school gross enrolment ratio is 37% for boys and 28% for girls.⁴¹ Children who go to school are actually enrolled in various types of education institutions. Tariq Rahman generally divided Pakistan's education institutions into four categories in his report *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Survey of the Education System of Pakistan*.⁴² They are Urdu-vernacular medium schools, *madrasa*, English medium non-elite schools and

⁴¹ See the official website of UNICEF: http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/pakistan_pakistan_statistics.html.

⁴² Tariq Rahman, "Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Survey of the Education System of Pakistan", *University of Ontario Institute of Technology*. Web. <http://www.uoit.ca/sas/Articles/DAW.pdf>

English medium elite schools. Viewed from the socio-economic background of students' families, students who go to *madrasa* for education are mainly from very poor urban and rural working class families; Urdu-vernacular medium schools mainly enrol students from lower to middle class families; English medium non-elite schools cater to middle class; and English medium elite schools are for students from upper classes.⁴³ These four types cover almost all the schools Pakistan students attend.

The above four kinds of schools adopted different curricula. *Madrasa* use religious curricula which have some difference across *madrasa*.⁴⁴ Urdu-vernacular medium schools and English medium non-elite schools are usually subject to the government prescribed curricula and content. English medium elite schools use the curricula which help students prepare for a series of international standardised tests like General Certificate Education Ordinary or Advanced Level tests.⁴⁵ Therefore the curricula sanctioned by Pakistan government mostly take effect in the public schools and private schools which do not cater to upper class people.

The system of non-*madrasa* schools is divided into the following stages: primary, middle, secondary, higher secondary and tertiary levels. Generally, primary education refers to grade one to five; middle education refers to grades six to eight; secondary education, grades nine to ten; and higher secondary education covers intermediate grades

⁴³ Refer to Tariq Rahman, "Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Survey of the Education System of Pakistan", Web. <http://www.uoit.ca/sas/Articles/DAW.pdf>. A. Riaz provided an alternative way of categorising all the education institutions in Pakistan. The education institutions were divided into three groups: *madrasa*, Urdu-medium public schools and English-medium private schools. Riaz just combined the English medium non-elite schools and English medium elite schools together into one group. See A. Riaz, *Faithful Education: Madrassahs in South Asia* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 98.

⁴⁴ Most *madrasa* took the traditional curriculum *Dars-i-Nizami* as the foundation of teaching, which was developed in Lucknow, India in the eighteenth century. See Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

⁴⁵ Matthew J. Nelson, "Religious Education in Non-Religious Schools: A comparative Study of Pakistan and Bangladesh", *Commonwealth Comparative Politics* (46:3), 271-295.

eleven to twelve, which leads to two-year tertiary education with a bachelor's degree offered at the end.⁴⁶

History teaching in the curricula officially prescribed by Pakistan government experienced a number of big changes. In the early years after Pakistan was established, there was a course of history in the curricula, which was the main bastion of history teaching in the schools using government sanctioned curricula. History as an independent subject in Pakistan's curriculum was abolished during Ayub Khan's presidency from 1961.⁴⁷ The teaching materials of history was then incorporated into the content of the subject called *Mu'ashrati Ulum* or Social Studies, which was taught to students from one to eight grades.⁴⁸ When Zia ul-Haq came into power, he introduced a subject of Pakistan Studies in the curricula and initiated the task of rewriting history textbooks in 1981.⁴⁹ Pakistan Studies, a course including the teaching of history and geography, was then formally introduced to the curricula and was designed to be a compulsory course for students from the ninth grade to the students of the first year in college.⁵⁰ After the rewriting of history in Zia ul-Haq's time, the content of history in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks remained similar in the following two decades till the end of 20th century. After the 9/11 attack, the history teaching of Pakistan had attracted increasing attention from scholars around the world. The content taught in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks were

⁴⁶ Kevin R. McClure, "Madrasa and Pakistan's Education Agenda: Western Media Misrepresentation and Policy Recommendations", *International Journal of Educational Development* (29, 2009), 334-335.

⁴⁷ Mubarak Ali, "History, Ideology and Curriculum", *Economic and Political Weekly* (37: 44/45, Nov 2002), 4530-4531.

⁴⁸ See K. K. Aziz, *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan* (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1998), 2.

⁴⁹ See Pervez Amirali Hoodbhoy and A. H. Nayyar, "Rewriting the History of Pakistan", *Islam, Politics and the State*, ed., Asghar Khan. (London: Zed Books, 1985), 165.

⁵⁰ See Yvette C. Rosser, *Islamisation of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks* (New Delhi: Observer Research, 2003), 8.

accused of transmitting hatred attitudes toward Hindus and British, distorting history and badly printed and so on. In the face of criticism and revising suggestions, Pakistan government also made some revision on the basis of the existing version textbooks, but the general directive and structure of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks remained unchanged.

The production and dissemination of the government prescribed textbooks in Pakistan usually undergo the following process. The Ministry of Education is in charge of making education policies. Since the establishment of Pakistan, there have been a number of policies issued by Ministry of Education.⁵¹ Education policies set objectives and provide a directive of the development of education in next few years. The design of the new curricula is in the charge of a department under the Ministry of Education, the Curriculum Wing. “The Curriculum Wing, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, periodically revises the curricula at national level for Early childhood Education to grade 12, in consultation with its sister organizations in the provinces, which are then introduced through textbooks in schools for the entire country.”⁵² It is the Curriculum Wing that sets the principal guidelines and criteria of the writing of textbooks for the Textbook Boards of all the provinces. Then the Textbook Board in each province starts advertising and inviting authors for the writing of new textbooks according to the guidelines set by the Curriculum Wing. When the Textbook Boards receives the manuscripts from appointed authors, they review it and send it to the Curriculum Wing if there is no need for amendments. The Curriculum Wing

⁵¹ For details of the past education policies in Pakistan, see Javed Hasan Aly, *Education in Pakistan—A White Paper Revised: Document to Debate and Finalize the National Education Policy* (National Education Policy Review Team, 2007). For a summary of the major past education policies in Pakistan, see Shahida Parveen, “An Evaluative Study of Primary Education in the Light of Policies and Plans in Pakistan (1947-2006)”, *Journal of College Teaching & Learning* (5:7, Jul 2008), 17-26.

⁵² Khalid Mahmood, “Textbook Evaluation in Pakistan: Issue of Conformity to the National Curriculum Guidelines”, *Bulletin of Education and Research* (32:1, Jun 2010), 16.

will issue a No Objection Certificate after reviewing the manuscripts if the manuscripts accord with the guidelines. In the textbooks of *Pakistan Studies* scrutinised for the writing of this thesis, there is a sentence like this in the head page that “Approved by the Ministry of Education (C. W.) Islamabad. Vide NOC letter No. F-11-2/2002-SS. All rights reserved with the Punjab Textbook Board.”⁵³ After receiving the No Objection Certificate, the Textbook Boards start distributing publishing jobs to publishers. Then, the respective Textbook Boards will purchase textbooks from the publishers whose textbooks are selected. The publishers will obtain a print licence for a certain number of copies and a certain period of time for the government schools.⁵⁴ Private schools are supposed to buy approved textbooks directly from the private publishers.⁵⁵

Therefore the content of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks is a reflection of the educational ideology of Pakistan’s government. The textbooks are designed to build a government prescribed national identity among young generation students through the teaching of history, geography and society. The number of pages of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks varies from one hundred to around two hundred pages according to the different formats applied to the textbooks. The textbooks are usually divided into ten to eleven chapters. Although the content and language are different between textbooks published in different provinces and years; still there is a common ground in the arrangement and design of all the textbooks. In all the

⁵³ See Muhammad Hussain CH, et al., *Pakistan Studies Class 9-10* (Lahore: Goodwill Enterprises, 2007), head page. Also see Qais, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Class X* (Lahore: Punjab Textbook Board, 2005), cover page. C.W. stands for the Curriculum Wing; NOC stands for No Objection Certificate.

⁵⁴ Baela Raza Jamil, “Curriculum Reforms in Pakistan—A Glass Half Full or Half Empty?” <http://www.itacec.org/document/nep09/NCERT%20Pakistan%20paper%20BRJ.pdf>

⁵⁵ For information about the process of production, see Nayyar and A. Salim, ed., *The Subtle Subversion, the State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan* (Islamabad: SDPI, 2004), 5. Yvette C. Rosser, *Islamisation of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks* (New Delhi: Observer Research, 2003), 5. Baela Raza Jamil, “Curriculum Reforms in Pakistan—A Half Full or Half Empty?”, <http://www.itacec.org/document/nep09/NCERT%20Pakistan%20paper%20BRJ.pdf>.

Pakistan Studies textbooks, the first chapter was devoted to the introduction of ideological basis of Pakistan, in which the relations between Pakistan's Ideology and Islamic ideology is introduced in detail. The second and third chapters present the history of the struggle for Pakistan and post partition Pakistan. The history of the post partition Pakistan usually focuses on the making of several constitutions of Pakistan. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the geographical location, climate, and natural resources of Pakistan. The sixth and ninth chapters respectively deal with the introduction of industry and education of Pakistan. The seventh chapter is reserved for Pakistan's population. The eighth chapter discusses the ancient history and civilisation of Pakistan, the cultures and traditions of Pakistanis. The last one to two chapters discuss the development plans of Pakistan or envisage the future of Pakistan. This is a sample structure of many *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. The topics and themes focus on the historical and geographical knowledge intermingled with some discussions about other related knowledge on Pakistan.

The *Pakistan Studies* textbooks serve for the course of Pakistan Studies which was formulated under the directive of national policies in Zia ul-Haq's era. The textbooks are used for public and private schools which adopt the national curricula. The textbooks of Pakistan Studies are the only government sanctioned textbook materials for the teaching of history for students from secondary and higher secondary grades. The content of the textbooks is the reflection of Pakistan's official view on the history of the state and its people, because it is the government that actually controls what is written in the textbooks. The scrutiny of the textbooks is therefore a way to present how Pakistan's government manages the building of national identity. The textbooks are a demonstration of Pakistan's official perspective on both

the nature of the country and the operation of building national identity among students.

3. Perceiving the subject of Pakistan Studies and the textbooks

The above section has given a comprehensive presentation of the subject and textbooks of Pakistan Studies. In order to further reveal the situation and status of Pakistan Studies subject and textbooks, the following paragraphs will report how students and teachers in Pakistan perceive this course and its subjects. The data comes from the answers provided by students and teachers in Pakistan to two kinds of questionnaires.⁵⁶

1) Which class periods are given for instruction of Pakistan Studies?

Yvette C. Rosser has mentioned in her book *Islamisation of Pakistan: Social Studies Textbooks* that “A student at a women’s college in Lahore told me that ‘*Pakistan Studies*’ classes were usually scheduled at five or six in the afternoon’ and ‘hardly any students attend,’ choosing instead to spend their time studying for ‘important classes such as Math or Urdu or English’ which are held in the morning.”⁵⁷ If the schedule of a class to some extent implies its importance, it is necessary to pay attention to this issue. However, possibly due to the differences of samples, it indicates that 40% students questioned this time have Pakistan Studies in the morning, 38% in the early afternoon and 22% students reported having this class in the late afternoon.

Students’ activities in this class are also reported different from Rosser’s observation. According to the questionnaire, 67% students carefully listen to the teacher; 27% students talk with others in private; Students who do homework of other subjects account for 3% and the same percentage of students made noise in class.

⁵⁶ For the general introduction about the questionnaire, see the Introduction of this thesis. For the original copy of the questionnaires, see the Appendix.

⁵⁷ Yvette C. Rosser, *Islamisation of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks* (New Delhi: Observer Research, 2003), 5.

2) About the course

32% students think Pakistan Studies is very interesting but easy and they do not review the knowledge often but get good marks. 23% students think it easy but boring. 19% student reported it interesting and difficult and found that they have to work hard for good marks. Another 19% students hate the class, thinking it boring and annoying. Only 3% students find it interesting and inspiring and also look for extra class materials for reading. Answers from the teachers show their perception about students' attitudes towards this course. 43% teachers reported that they thought students considered the class important but easy to handle. A little less to the 43%, 38% teachers found students working very hard for this course. The teachers who do not think students cares about this course account for 14% and only 5% teachers find students feel boring about this class.

3) About the textbooks

Students were asked about their thoughts on the textbooks. They were given six choices to choose from: 1) good quality and inspiring in my study; 2) good, I know my country more after learning it; 3) good, I love my country more after learning it; 4) just telling me the basic knowledge of the country; 5) full of foolish mistakes; 6) too many biased words towards other races and countries.

Students' answers show quite a balanced distribution. It is shown that all the answers account for more than 10% on this question. The highest percentage is the fourth choice: 23% students consider the textbook telling them the basic knowledge of the country. The lowest percentage choice is the last one: 11% students think too many biased words towards other races and countries.

Teachers were given three choices on the perception of the textbooks: 1) of high quality and inspiring; 2) basically correct but boring 3) full of errors. The first two choices were selected by about half of the teachers: 48% teachers selected first answer and 52% selected the second one. No teacher found textbooks full of errors.

Teachers were also asked about the problems of the textbooks. The feedback shows that 43% teachers think that many mistakes could be corrected if more attention is paid. 33% teachers think that more exercises should be provided. 24% teachers think that there is too much overlap between textbooks used for different grades.

4) Teaching attitudes

Most teachers (71%) reported their teaching methods were taking the textbooks as the basis and also preparing other materials. However, 14% teachers just read the textbooks. It is interesting to note that about 10% teachers totally discarded the textbooks designed the lectures by themselves.

In another question, teachers were asked how to encourage or force students to spend more time on this course. More than half of the teachers (62%) selected “adding more reading material”; 19% teachers selected to give “more quizzes or tests in class”, and the same percentage as teachers who selected “asking students more challenging questions”.

4. Conclusion

Pakistan has not constructed a stable and clear national identity. Muslims in the subcontinent had been trying to define themselves as a nation since the late period of Mughal Empire, therefore the difference between Muslims and other communities like Hindus was emphasised. Muslims’ separate identity was defined on the basis to negate their relations with

Hindus. After Pakistan was established, the high degree centralised ruling of the state government failed to integrate all the people into the construction of Pakistan. Long term discrepancies between the religious and secular political forces kept exerting influence on the position of Islam in the national identity building.

It is the objective of this study to examine how Pakistani nation is defined in history textbooks. *Pakistan Studies* textbooks were selected as samples for the content analysis. The writing and publication of *Pakistan Studies* are under the guidance of Pakistan's government. The course of Pakistan Studies was used in all the schools which follow the national curriculum. *Pakistan Studies* textbooks are a composite of the teaching of history, geography and society. However, history teaching materials only exist in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks for the students in secondary and higher secondary schools; no separate history course is offered. According to the feedback from local students and teachers, the course of Pakistan Studies is an important course but not a very difficult one. Generally speaking, students and teachers in Pakistan perceive the textbooks as moderate in quality and sometimes problematic in content.

Chapter Three: Defining the Pakistani Nation

It has been analysed in the last chapter that governments actively participate in the design of history curriculum and the publication of history textbooks so that the presentation of history in the textbooks is conducive to constructing national identity among the young generation. However, it is never easy to select appropriate symbols that can unify all the people of a country. Language, religion, common ethnic origin, historical experience, cultural heritage or civilization, common location of residence and many other elements have been invoked as symbols of unifying national identity.⁵⁸ These factors and symbols are used for national identity construction, because they express the common characteristics shared by a nation. Different countries put emphasis on the presentation of some above-mentioned symbols in education according to their respective conditions.

The selection of unifying symbols is rather difficult for countries like Pakistan, the newly established countries after the colonial rule. It is also a complicated task to highlight as well as integrate the selected symbols in a new version of historical narratives. First of all, the formulation of “Pakistan’s history” came into being only after Pakistan was established; before Pakistan was founded, the past of Pakistan was recorded together with the past of other regions of the subcontinent. Second, Pakistan comprises of a number of ethnic groups which were not united as a monolithic nation before. Third, there have been controversies on defining Pakistanis within Pakistan’s domestic political forces. The discrepancies from internal political arena increase the complexity and difficulty in promoting the common symbols in history teaching.

⁵⁸ Ishtiaq Ahmed, “Pakistan’s National Identity”, *International Review of Modern Sociology* (34: 1, Spring 2008), 47-59.

After all, *Pakistan Studies*, as history textbooks in many countries, is designed to lead students to distinguish their nation from other nations and infuse them with the love of Pakistan. By teaching history, *Pakistan Studies* give prominence to some particular aspects of the evolution of Pakistan and Pakistanis. These aspects can be viewed as the officially selected common symbols for the self-definition. In order to understand how *Pakistan Studies* promotes the construction of the national identity, it is imperative to explore the content of *Pakistan Studies*. This chapter is grounded in the content analysis. It examines three shared symbols of Pakistani nation that are put forward by *Pakistan Studies* textbooks throughout the historical narratives. By analysing the common narratives observed from the original *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, this chapter also reveals the official viewpoints on the meaning of Pakistan and Pakistani nation.

1. Who are the ancestors?

For newly established nation states like Pakistan, it is very important to make full use of history education to create collective national memory, which “is designed to forge new national identities based on altered consciousness and shifts in the sense of collective belonging.”⁵⁹ As was written in one *Pakistan Studies* textbook, “Pakistan is a new country, it appeared on the map of the world on Aug. 14, 1947, but Pakistanis are an old nation”⁶⁰.

Pakistan, a new country, claimed the long history of its people as a nation in its history textbooks. In this sense, the common origin of the nation is a good symbol for nation building.

⁵⁹ Rubina. Saigol, “Enemies within and Enemies without: The Besieged Self in Pakistani Textbooks”, *Futures*, (37:9, 2005), 1005-1035.

For more analysis on the relations between newly established nation states and citizenship education including history, languages and citizenship curriculum, please refer to the Preface of Krishna Kumar’ book *Pride and Prejudice: School Histories of the freedom Struggle in India and Pakistan*, Viking, New Delhi, 2002, and Joel Spring’ edited book. *How Educational Ideologies are Shaping Global Society: Intergovernmental Organizations, NGOS and the Decline of the Nation-State*, Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004.

⁶⁰ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Intermediate Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 115.

Thus, this viewpoint led to the question of “who are the ancestors of Pakistanis”. What civilisations did Pakistanis’ ancestors create? How did the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks teach students about the common origin of the Pakistani nation?

In *Pakistan Studies*, the introduction of its ancient history had not always been treated in detail. The major part of the chapters about history in *Pakistan Studies* generally started from the advent of Muslims into the subcontinent in the eighth century. The textbooks devoted one to two pages to introducing the conquest of early Muslims from the west, the spread of Islam on the subcontinent in early years and the vicissitudes of Muslim empires, etc. Then most pages dealing with history were devoted to the history of Muslims’ freedom struggle after the Great Revolt of 1857 and the Pakistan Movement. Actually there left little room for the discussion of the ancient history in some *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. However, the content of the ancient history appeared in some other textbooks of *Pakistan Studies* in the chapter titled with “Culture of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan” or “Culture of Pakistan”.

Before giving further comments on the narratives about Pakistan’s ancient history, it is necessary to examine what was actually written in the textbooks regarding the ancient history. In a textbook for an intermediate class published in 2008 in Islamabad, eight pages were devoted to discuss the ancient history and cultural traditions of the people living in the land of Pakistan. In the eight pages, firstly the meaning and definition of culture was introduced. Secondly, the author gave a summary of the ancient people living in the area that now formed Pakistan. Then the heritage and some important ancient sites were presented as a list. In another *Pakistan Studies* textbook published by Punjab Text Book Board Lahore for students of Class 12, there were also eight pages for the presentation of the ancient history, which

included the topics of “Meaning of Culture” “Ancient Civilisation with Reference to Pakistan”, “Ancient Indus Valley Civilization” and the “Features of Ancient Indus Valley”.

The writing styles were quite similar and there were overlaps in many places between the two books. The above mentioned information offers a basic outlook to the structure of the narrative of the ancient history in *Pakistan Studies*.

In both textbooks, the opening words were given to the meaning and definition of “culture”, which placed the focus on the relations between culture and nation. For example, it was written that “A nation is recognized through its culture. When the people belonging to one nation live together for a long time on a particular soil, they develop common values, customs and traditions, rituals, life style, belief, laws, recreations, sports, arts and principles of their social life. These features develop the nation, and make it prominent among the nations.”⁶¹ In the other textbook, culture was defined as an all-encompassing term which is

“applied to the positive or negative characteristics on the basis of which a community or nation is identified and distinguished from other human groups....

Relationship between culture and nationality can be easily understood by the study of the Pakistan Movement. The Muslims of India wanted to establish a state, living under which they would safeguard and promote their culture and civilization. In other words, cultural aspirations of the Indian Muslims gave birth to Muslim nationalism in India, which later came to be known as ‘Pakistan Nationalism’ and the culture as ‘Pakistani Culture’.”⁶²

The discussion of culture’s definition finally serves the purpose of stressing on the relations

⁶¹ *Pakistan Studies for Class 12* (Lahore: Punjab Text Book Board, 2005), 146.

⁶² Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Intermediate Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 113-114.

between nation and culture; it also guided students to think that Pakistan was established because Muslims with a unique culture formed a nation and were entitled to a separate state.

After defining the term culture, the authors then settled down to the main subject: the ancient history and culture of the Pakistani nation. The writing on this theme was around a central idea that was mentioned at the beginning of this topic. This central idea was that Pakistan was a new country, but Pakistanis were an old nation who revealed their distinctiveness from very ancient times. The Indus Valley Civilization was introduced in one textbook that

“The excavations at Harrapa near the city of Sahiwal in the Punjab uncovered the ruins of an ancient civilisation that existed thousands of years ago. The excavations at Moenjodaro have produced the same results...The areas irrigated by the river Indus and its tributaries are called the Indus Valley. This land is known as Pakistan. More than 5000 years ago the ancient sophisticated civilization existed in the area, now called Pakistan. It is a matter of pride for the Pakistanis. The civilization of Iran and Egypt are also around 5000 years old.”⁶³

According to this quotation, the ancient people who created the Indus Valley Civilisation and other ancient civilisations within the boundaries of Pakistan were believed to be the ancestors of Pakistanis and having constituted a separate nation at that time. The Indus Valley Civilisation, located in today’s Pakistan, was thus considered as the glorious past of all the Pakistani people.

⁶³ *Pakistan Studies for Class 12* (Lahore: Punjab Text Book Board, 2005), 146.

In the other textbook, the author summarised from Arnold Toynbee's book *A Study of History* on the description of the Indus Valley Civilisation. "Sir John Marshall is the person who did pioneer work on the Indus Valley Civilization. According to him, there is complete uniformity of culture between Moenjodaro and Harappa, though the cities are located at a distance of nearly 650 km from each other."⁶⁴ Then the author further pointed out on the basis of Toynbee's description that "The area that now forms Pakistan had a distinct cultural identity, even in the remotest past."⁶⁵ The author's summary on Toynbee's description just showed a basic finding from the early archaeological works; however, his further suggestion shifted the focus from introducing the famous ancient civilisation to Pakistan's old and distinct cultural identity. The readers were led to observe that the ancient civilisation of the subcontinent was a demonstration of Pakistanis' old history as a nation.

Actually, although the ancient civilisation of the subcontinent developed within the territory of present day's Pakistan; still including it as a part of Pakistanis' history is not common in English scholarly works.⁶⁶ As the newly founded countries, India and Pakistan were treated quite differently in the scholarly writing of history. After the examination of the definitive history books on the subcontinent, it is found that most books on India's history started from the Indus Valley Civilisation and ended at India's current situation. In other words, the Indus Valley Civilisation was considered as a part of India's history more often than Pakistan's though it actually developed in the territory of Pakistan. Different from the books on India's history, however, books on Pakistan's history usually started from the

⁶⁴ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Intermediate Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 114-115. This was summarised from Arnold Toynbee's book *A Study of History Vol 1*, p. 170-180.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 115.

⁶⁶ The books enumerated in the next paragraph are taken as the same references for this contention.

establishment of Pakistan in 1947 without a mention of the history before the partition of India and Pakistan.

There is another problem in the history writing of the subcontinent. Books on India's history usually involve the ancient history of the land of today's Pakistan. Such arrangement may be due to the consideration that the term "India" actually refers to the centuries-old culture and civilisation of the subcontinent rather than the country of India today. If so, when the books move to discuss modern history, all the countries in the subcontinent are supposed to be included. However, most books on India's history only include India when they deal with modern history after 1947. This is quite common in books on the history of India. For example, In *A History of India*, written by Hermann Kulke, there are chapters introducing "early civilisations of the northwest"⁶⁷ and the history of medieval and colonial India. But when the book discusses post-partition period, only the history of India is included; while Pakistan is not mentioned. *The History of India* written by John Mcleod, follows the similar pattern as the foregoing book. It involves the Indus Valley Civilisation in the writing of the ancient time but only introduces India in the writing of post-partition period. Another book, *A New History of India* written by Stanley Wolpert also includes the Indus Valley Civilisation but leaves little room for the introduction of Pakistan when dealing with post-partition history. In these books, the term "India" is actually endowed with two meanings: one is the ancient civilisation and culture of the subcontinent named as "India"; and the other is the modern state in the subcontinent which has the same name. The two meanings are different, but the authors use a mixture of them in their books. It is then inferred from their books that the

⁶⁷ Here "early civilisation of the northwest" refers to the northwest of the subcontinent, which is located in today's Pakistan, rather than the northwest part of today's India.

ancient civilisation of the subcontinent is a legacy only for today's India rather than the whole area of the subcontinent.

Meanwhile, there are also a few other books regarding the pre-partition history and culture as the asset of both modern India and Pakistan. For example, the book *A History of India* written by Burton Stein uses "contemporary South Asia" to refer to the post-partition sub continental history. The book also leaves a place for the introduction of Pakistan. Another famous book on India's history written by John Keay, *India: A History*, also discusses the problems of India and Pakistan together when dealing with post-partition history. It considers the term "India" as the historical and cultural entity of the subcontinent.

Strictly speaking, after the partition both India and Pakistan are new-born states. Although both of them inherited the cultural legacy and civilisation, the scholarly narratives of history help build the impression that the state of India is a country with long history and brilliant ancient culture and that Pakistan is a country separated from India with a history of a few decades long. India is situated in a more advantageous position in claiming the ancient history and culture of the subcontinent by keeping the name "India", which was given during the colonial period. Pakistan, by using a newly created name, was considered as a country without much history. As is written in *India: A History*,

"No tussle over the word 'India' is reported because Jinnah preferred the newly coined and very Islamic-sounding acronym that is 'Pakistan'. Additionally, he was under the impression that neither state would want to adopt the British title of 'India'. He only discovered his mistake after Lord Mountbatten, the last British Viceroy, had already acceded to Nehru's demand that his state remains

‘India’. Jinnah, according to Mountbatten, ‘was absolutely furious when he found out that they [Nehru and the Congress Party] were going to call themselves ‘India’. The use of the word implied a sub continental primacy which Pakistan would never accept. It also flew in the face of history, since ‘India’ originally referred exclusively to territory in the vicinity of the Indus river (with which the word is cognate). Hence it was largely outside the republic India but largely within Pakistan.’⁶⁸

In this sense, the term “India” referred to the whole subcontinent by the British colonizers before it was adopted by the state of India. After India adopted the term “India” as the name of the newly independent country, India was endowed with a cultural continuity dating from ancient and medieval time. India was then entitled to claim all the history of the subcontinent, even though some part of the history was beyond the boundary of India’s territory. This phenomenon is reflected in the books on India’s history as analysed above.

The authors of *Pakistan Studies* wrote the ancient history from a different perspective. *Pakistan Studies* textbooks actually set a different standard when presenting the ancient history of the subcontinent. The standard was territory. *Pakistan Studies* did not introduce the Indus Valley Civilisation as a part of the brilliant culture of the subcontinent. It conversely focuses on presenting the idea that the Indus Valley Civilisation was a part of Pakistani culture because it was located in Pakistan. Accordingly, the Dravidians who created the civilisation were the ancestors of the people living within the boundary of Pakistan. *Pakistan Studies* textbooks in this way provided an alternative explanation for the ownership of the

⁶⁸ John Keay, *India: A History* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2000), 56-57.

brilliant Indus Valley Civilisation. It brought students to understand the civilisation from the perspective of countries rather than the cultural system. This arrangement encouraged students to be proud of the ancestors, who were believed to have created one of the most developed ancient civilisations in the world.

In addition to linking the national roots to the Indus Valley Civilisation, *Pakistan Studies* also highlighted the Middle Eastern ancestry of Pakistanis. One *Pakistan Studies* textbook introduced their Middle Eastern ancestry in the following way. It was written that

“Some Turks like some Aryas⁶⁹, crossed the Hind Kush and descended upon India, while other Turks like other Aryas made their way westward as far as Syria. (this incidence manifests the ethnic affinity between the Pakistani people and the races of the Middle East).”⁷⁰

The author here presented the connection between Pakistanis and the people from the Middle East. The words above implied three points. First, Aryans came to the subcontinent from Middle East. Second, the Aryans from the Middle East came to the subcontinent and they were also the ancestors of Pakistanis. Third, the author highlighted the affinity between the Pakistani people and the people of Middle East.

Actually, the narratives about Aryans in the textbooks were quite problematic from scholarly point of view. The origin of Aryan has long been a debate. Along with different archaeological discoveries in succession, ever developing theories on philology and the deciphering of the ancient letters, the issue of Aryans becomes increasingly complicated. The

⁶⁹ The term “Aryan” has the same meaning as “Arya”, referring to the people who firstly worshiped the *Deva*, which is a Sanskrit word for deity. “Arya” was the transliteration from the Sanskrit word, and “Aryan” is an accepted English word derived from “Arya”.

⁷⁰ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Intermediate Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 114-115.

research on the origin of Aryans is also affected by the changes of political climate. What was written in the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks about Aryans was far from accurate.

Firstly, the textbooks assumed the concept or the notion of Aryans is a racial one. As presented above, it was written in the textbook that the advent of Aryans “manifests the ethnic affinity between the Pakistani people and the races of the Middle East”.⁷¹ The author here considered Aryans as a race. In fact, Aryans were once regarded as a description of a specific race. With the development of physical anthropology and other related disciplines, Aryans are gradually not considered as a race. “It is now understood that there are no discrete races, clearly distinct from one another.... As the biological anthropologist Frank Livingstone has said ‘there are no races, there are only clines,’ that is, continuous gradations of bodily traits such as complexion without sharp discontinuities that could be taken as the boundaries between races.”⁷²

Secondly, even presuming that Aryans were a specific racial group, it is not confirmed now whether the Aryans came from outside India or not. There used to be a widely acknowledged opinion, considering that Aryan’s advent upon the subcontinent destroyed the Indus Valley Civilisation.⁷³ The disappearance of the Indus Valley Civilisation was also attributed to the advent of Aryans. However, this view on the origin of Aryans is challenged by more and more new discoveries and writings.

Some new works have offered a variety of alternative viewpoints very strongly, which

⁷¹ See the previous page.

⁷² Thomas R. Trautmann, ed., *The Aryan Debate* (New Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.), xxxvii. According to F. Livingstone’s research, some of the similarities and differences exhibited between different human groups do not correlate with races, therefore “clines” was considered a more accurate concept to group human beings.

⁷³ See for example Donald S. Lopez Jr., ed., *A Brief History of Religions in India* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 2002): Introduction.

contended that Aryans were indigenous people of the subcontinent and creators of the Indus Civilisation.⁷⁴ Besides, the idea of “indigenous Aryan” is demonstrated and supported in increasing number of books, “whose scholarly credentials entitle them to a respectful hearing.”⁷⁵ In this sense, it is not decided yet in academia whether the Aryans moved to the subcontinent or originated from it.

Thirdly, the author of *Pakistan Studies* underlined the linkage between the Middle Eastern people and Pakistanis, which makes the contention more like a farfetched theory than a result of logical reasoning. If the author accepted that the Aryans as a racial group were the ancestors of Pakistanis, it is not a serious matter to mention the intimate relations between the Indians and Pakistanis. The founder of Arya Samaj, Dayanand Sarasvati once stressed “the linguistic and racial purity of the Aryans”; and he also claimed that “the upper castes were the Aryans”⁷⁶. Besides, the Hindus regarded the four *Vedas* as the oldest sacred texts which were written in the Vedic language that is inferred to be the language of the Aryans in one period. If the Pakistanis identified themselves as the descendants of the Aryans who came upon the subcontinent, they would also realise their close relationship with the Hindus as well. However, what was presented in the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks specially emphasised Pakistan’s kinship with Aryans from Middle East; but it avoided mention that Aryans were also considered ancestors of a part of Indians.

The reason why the author highlighted Pakistanis’ kinship with Middle Eastern people was revealed in the author’s conclusive words. “History shows that the territory of Pakistan

⁷⁴ Thomas R. Trautmann, ed., *The Aryan Debate* (New Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.), xvii.

⁷⁵ Ibid, xvii.

⁷⁶ Thapar, Romila. Et al., *India: Historical Beginnings and the Concept of the Aryan* (New Delhi, National Book Trust, 2007), 18.

was culturally linked with the Middle East and not with the Ganges Valley (now a part of India)...The people of Pakistanis have closer ethnic affinity with the racial groups settled in the Middle East.⁷⁷

From this conclusion, the author laid the emphasis on Pakistanis' cultural and ethnic relations with people living in the Middle East. Meanwhile, the two sentences spotlighted the difference between Pakistanis and people from the Ganges Valley. This comment inspired students to think about the substantial similarities between themselves and people from Middle Eastern area. In this way, the author cued students to link themselves to the cradle of Islam. Meanwhile, the affinity with people from the cradle of Islam strengthened the uniqueness and distinctiveness of the Pakistani nation. Then the uniqueness and distinctiveness of the Pakistani nation in its turn reinforces the feeling of difference from Indian people.

Pakistan Studies textbooks introduced the ancestors of Pakistanis in the context of ancient history. In the above mentioned *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, Pakistanis were depicted as a monolithic nation with common ancestors. *Pakistan Studies* textbooks promoted the understanding of the Indus Valley Civilisation and the Aryans in order to construct the image of Pakistanis' ancestors. Different from the mainstream scholarly works, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks did not treat the Indus Valley Civilisation as a part of India's brilliant culture. The creators of the Indus Valley Civilisation were regarded as the great ancestors for the whole nation of Pakistan. The textbooks attempted to narrate the history of Pakistan on the basis of Pakistan's territory. Anything happening in the territory of Pakistan was accounted to be the

⁷⁷ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Intermediate Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 114-115.

legacy of Pakistan, no matter it happened before Pakistan was established or after. By providing an alternative description of the past, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks built up an image of the common ancestors of the whole nation. In addition, the authors of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks also intentionally incorporated Islamic elements in the constitution of Pakistanis' ancestry. They stressed again and again the ethnic and cultural affinity of Pakistanis and people from the cradle of Islam. Though a little lame and farfetched, such emphasis played a positive role in building up another icon of national common ground and distinctiveness. It implied that 1) because of the Middle Eastern ancestry, Pakistanis were more like Middle Eastern people than Indians in lineage and culture; 2) the mixture of Middle Eastern and local Dravidian ancestry made Pakistanis an old nation with unique characteristics; 3) Pakistanis were entitled to be proud of their great ancestors. Thus far, the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks set up the icon of common ancestors for the national identity building.

2. Who are the heroes?

History textbooks are usually bastions of making national heroes. It is quite common to see the biographies of some people specially presented under subheadings in history textbooks. For some especially respected people, their vignettes are placed along with the biographies. History textbooks select to include a number of historical figures, so do the examination papers. As a result, students do not only read their stories from history textbooks, but also remember them clearly to pass the examinations.

Setting heroes and heroines in history textbooks are so common that this happens everywhere around the world. In Britain, there had been a large scale debate over the phenomenon of hero making in history textbooks from 1970s. The Left criticized the

traditional history teaching which put too much emphasis on memorizing specific famous dates, a few so called national heroes and heroines and limited historical events. The Right considered that the opinion from the Left would result in a loss of common identity and patriotic feeling among new generations. They highly regarded the introduction of particular historical figures, because it is a way of transmitting common memory of the nation. The heroes included in history textbooks serve as an indispensable means of identifying the children with their British identity.⁷⁸

In United States, heroification exists widely in history textbooks. James W. Loewen in his famous book *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* has explained in detail how Helen Keller, Woodrow Wilson and Christopher Columbus were portrayed as heroes or heroine in history textbooks.

“The textbook critic Norma Gabler has testified that textbooks should ‘present our nation’s patriots in a way that would honor and respect them’; in her eyes, ‘admitting Keller's socialism and Wilson’s racism would hardly do that’, In the early 1920s the American Legion said that authors of textbooks ‘are at fault in placing before immature pupils the blunders, foibles and frailties of prominent heroes and patriots of our Nation.’”⁷⁹

Though some historical figures have accomplishments as well as shortage, they are still portrayed as heroes in history textbooks. The heroes’ shortcomings are dismissed, because their prominent and patriotic facets are in need for national identity building.

⁷⁸ For more details about the debate over education policies, see Robert Phillips, *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State: A Study in Educational Politics* (London [England]; Herndon, VA: Cassell, 1998).

⁷⁹ James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 23.

Some historical figures presented and glorified by history textbooks become popular among the young generation. Many years after leaving school, people are still excited when they find they know something about the a few household names. When those heroes enter into the mind of all the students, they all show respect to the heroes and they are proud of the heroes. The heroes belong to all the students who learn them from history textbooks. Then the heroes become symbols of a nation.

The *Pakistan Studies* textbooks also set heroic images. The heroes selected in *Pakistan Studies* are also the historical figures who were considered having made significant contributions to Pakistan. Who are selected and who are excluded show the stances of officials. The portraits and characteristics of the selected heroes reflect the values promoted by the authority, because their actions and spirits are supposed to transmit to students.

Pakistan Studies gave many historical figures quite positive evaluations. Most of them were mentioned with the narrative of a particular historical event. Only a few of them were placed under a subheading with more detailed information. The following paragraphs will give an introduction to a selection of people regarded as heroes in *Pakistan Studies*, analysing how *Pakistan Studies* built up their heroic image.⁸⁰

1) Shah Waliullah (1703-1762)

Among the six *Pakistan Studies* textbooks examined for this study, Shah Waliullah was introduced under a separate subheading in three textbooks. Half a page was devoted for the introduction of Shah Waliullah's biography in each textbook. There were many overlaps between the three books. The content was similar, introducing his main thoughts and

⁸⁰ Muhammad Ali Jinnah is not selected for the discussion here. For the analysis of the presentation of Jinnah in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, see Pervez Amirali Hoodbhoy and A. H. Nayyar, "Rewriting the History of Pakistan", *Islam, Politics and the State*, ed., Asghar Khan. (London: Zed Books, 1985)

contributions. Here is an example of how Shah Waliullah was presented in one *Pakistan Studies*.

“Shah Waliullah (RA) was born in 1703. His father Shah Abdur Raheem (RA) was a renowned scholar of his time. He was a man of letters and had a vast circle of students spread throughout India. Shah Waliullah (RA) received his early education at Madrasah Rahimiyah which was founded by his father. Later he served the Madrasah as a teacher and became its principal after his father’s death.

In Shah Waliullah’s (RA) opinion, moral degradation was the paramount cause of the plight Muslims were suffering. He found the remedy in spiritual consolidation of the Muslim society by imparting true knowledge of *Qur’an* and *Hadith* (the tradition of the Holy Prophet).

Revivalist movement started by Shah Waliullah (RA) did not end with his death. He had four sons.....”⁸¹

The rest of the paragraph then introduced his sons’ deeds. The textbook gave a very general introduction to the life of Shah Waliullah. In respect of his contributions, the textbook only mentioned his concern about Muslim community and his efforts for religious teachings. In another textbook, there was more emphasis on his religious and political thoughts. It mentioned that

“He started his Movement when there was frustration and hopelessness. He wrote a letter to Najib-ud-Daula to give support and help to the Muslims. He

⁸¹ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 15.

knew that the Sikhs, Marhattas were the enemies of Muslims. He requested Ahmad Shah Abdali to invade India. He urged the Muslims to strive for Allah because they had already suffered a lot by fighting with one another. He advised them to join the Islamic force. He not only tried to unite the Muslims politically, but he also rendered religious services. He translated the Holy Quran into Persian....⁸²

Shah Waliullah's contribution to Islamic philosophy was, however, not included in any textbook. For example, Shah Waliullah's views on *wahdat* were deeply influenced by Ibn Arabi and Ahmed Sirhindi, the latter is also known as Mujaddid Afi Sani. Waliullah successfully found a solution to the conflicting view of *wahdat* by the two scholars.

From these two excerpts, Shah Waliullah was portrayed as a hero for Muslims. The description of Shah Waliullah in these two *Pakistan Studies* textbooks was in accordance with other mainstream scholarly works. Shah Waliullah was born only four years before the Emperor of the Mughal Empire, Aurangzeb died. He studied in his father's *madrasa* for twelve years. Then he travelled to Arabian Peninsula for further studies. After he returned to Delhi, the Muslim community was declining quickly in both economic and political aspects. Shah Waliullah was very concerned with the Muslims' decline and future. He also realised that other non-Muslim communities like Sikhs and Hindus posed menace to Muslims. Muslims' ruling power and priority in society was threatened by other communities. Shah Waliullah attributed Muslims' decline to the internal sectarian division and abandonment of the Islamic principles. Therefore, Shah Waliullah launched a series of actions with the

⁸² Muhammad Hussain CH, et al., *Pakistan Studies Class 9-10* (Lahore: Goodwill Enterprises, 2007) 10.

purpose of reviving Muslim community. The interest of Muslim community had always been his foremost concern. He translated religious works of Islam and promoted the teaching of *Qur'an* and *Hadith* among people. He tried to unite all the Muslim sects for the revitalisation of Muslim power. He invited Ahmad Shah Abdali from Afghanistan to fight against the Marhattas. Shah Waliullah's thoughts on the revival of Muslims influenced many later Muslim scholars. His thoughts also shed light on the idea that Muslims in the subcontinent constituted a separate nation. He was regarded as a great Muslim thinker and activist.⁸³

It is worth noting that Shah Waliullah was born in Muzaffarnagar of Uttar Pradesh in Mughal India. After he returned home from studies in Arabian world, he devoted the rest of his life to work in Delhi. Shah Waliullah had not resided in the territory of Pakistan. However, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks this time did not select historical figures from the standard of territory. Shah Waliullah was born and worked in today's India; but he was still redeemed as a great person for the Pakistanis. Shah Waliullah was included into the history textbook for his great contribution for the Muslim community in the subcontinent. The selection of Shah Waliullah implied that the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks regarded the hero for Muslims of the subcontinent as the hero of Pakistanis. "Being Muslims" should be the national identity of all the Pakistanis.

2) Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898)

The introduction of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was distributed one to two pages in almost every *Pakistan Studies* textbook. *Pakistan Studies* textbooks usually did not devote much

⁸³ Refer to Aziz Ahmad, "Political and Religious Ideas Of Shāh Wali-Ullāh of Delhi", *The Muslim World* (52:1, Jan 1962), 22-30. For a general introduction of Shah Waliullah's political thought, see South Asia Analysis Group, *Shah Wali Ullah's Political Thought: Still A Major Obstacle Against Modernisation of Indian Muslims*, R.Upadhyay, Web, 10 Mar 2003 <http://www.saag.org/common/uploaded_files/paper629.html>. For Shah Waliullah's religious thoughts, see Ahmad Dallal, "The Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750-1850", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (113:3, Jun-Sep 1993), 341-359.

space separately to any historical figures; one to two pages were the upper limit.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was considered a great Muslim reformer and political leader in 19th century India. He devoted much effort removing the misunderstanding between the British and Muslim community thus improving their relations. He pioneered in promoting modern education amongst Indian Muslims. He persuaded Muslims to receive advanced scientific knowledge and to learn English. He also founded modern educational institutions, started progressive journals and made efforts to organize Muslim intellectuals.

The Indian Muslim community had been facing challenges from diverse aspects and the community as a whole experienced a multi-dimensional decline before 1857. During the Great Revolt of 1857, Syed did not support his fellow Muslims; he saved the lives of many English people. Since the British construed that the Great Revolt was a conspiracy conjured from the Indian Muslims, the Muslim community suffered much persecution from the British after the Great Revolt.⁸⁴ Sir Syed realised that it was no longer wise to harbour an antagonistic view towards the British and stir up further their hatred and suspicion on Muslims. He believed that only with the British's acceptance and support could the Muslims survive, which was the first and foremost premise of striving for progress. In his later years, Syed still reiterated the importance of absolute allegiance to the British in many occasions.

Sir Syed's thoughts on the relations between British and Muslims were introduced in *Pakistan Studies*,

“Sir Sayyid⁸⁵ (RA) had stood by the side of the British during the ‘War of

⁸⁴ Mohamed Abdulla Pasha, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: His Life and Times—A Historical Survey* (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., 1998), 44.

⁸⁵ “Sir Sayyid” is an alternative transliteration of Sir Syed, referring to the same person.

Independence⁸⁶ and saved the lives of many English gentlemen and their families. This had not happened accidentally, he had done all this with full commitment. In the changed circumstances, Sir Sayyid (RA) advised the Muslims to adopt a policy of conciliation and friendship towards the British, abstain from indulging into politics, acquire modern education, try to secure Maximum government services and be loyal to the British Government.”⁸⁷

The above excerpt did not distort the historical fact in order to build the image of bravery of Muslims community. The *Pakistan Studies* textbook did not shun the point that Sir Syed asked Muslims to become loyal to the British Government. Sir Syed’s appeal to be loyal to the British was valued as a wise idea to protect Muslims rather than a treachery of India. The textbook transmitted the value to students that any deed was commendable if it benefitted the Muslim community.

As a Muslim who was quite concerned about the destiny of his community, Sir Syed “deplored the fact that in a short period of only fifty or more years the Muslims had degenerated from a ruling class to almost a no-class status.”⁸⁸ Among all the factors that restricted the Muslims’ progress, as far as Sir Syed was concerned, the most crucial one was the stagnancy and uselessness of the traditional education of Muslims. Sir Syed fully realised the relation between modern education and progress accomplished by the British and Hindus. Therefore, Sir Syed took a series of measures to introduce modern education and advanced

⁸⁶ K. K. Aziz criticised that it was not proper to call the Great Revolt of 1857 as War of Independence. He thought that “what happened in 1857 certainly began as a mutiny, but later developed into something which may be called an insurrection....Leading Indian historians are not convinced that the revolt can be called national in any sense.” *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan* (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1998) 124. Here in *Pakistan Studies*, War of Independence referred to the Great Revolt of 1857.

⁸⁷ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Intermediate Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 8.

⁸⁸ Mohamed Abdulla Pasha, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: His Life and Times—A Historical Survey* (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., 1998), 152.

knowledge to his community. Such efforts included the establishment of the Scientific Society, the founding of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh and publishing magazines in which new social customs and knowledge were introduced. The reforms on education for Muslims were called Aligarh Movement.

The writing of introducing Sir Syed Ahmed Khan varied a lot between different textbooks, but Sir Syed's contribution to Aligarh Movement was such an important topic that it was introduced in every textbook. For example, it was written in one textbook that

“...Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan (RA)⁸⁹ realized that the modern education was the key solution for all the problems Muslims of India were facing. He himself established schools at Moradabad and Ghazipur while he was serving there. In 1863 he established ‘The Scientific Society’. The Society aimed at the spread of western scientific knowledge among Indian people through translation of standard English books into Urdu. The greatest contribution of Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan (RA) was the establishment of Mohammendan Anglo-Oriental (MAO) College at Aligarh in which the Muslims could acquire English education without prejudice to their religion...”⁹⁰

In other textbooks, there were also highlight on Sir Syed's efforts for promoting modern education among the Muslims. The following passage from another textbook illustrated Sir Syed's positive image in *Pakistan Studies*. “At that time Sir Syed Ahmed Khan appeared and took the responsibility of reforming the Muslims. He started Aligarh movement....He

⁸⁹ This is another version of transliteration of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's name.

⁹⁰ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 18.

launched the movement, which kept on saving the nation even after his death.”⁹¹ Sir Syed’s efforts to improve the education level of the Muslim community made him a hero to the whole Muslim community in the narrative of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks.

Besides, there were also some textbooks focusing on Sir Syed’s attitudes towards Indian National Congress and Hindus. For example,

“A. O. Hume formed an organization called Indian National Congress in 1885. The objective of this party was to provide a political platform for the Indians. Many Indians joined this organization but it became very clear to Sir Syed that it was an organization purely for the Hindus. Therefore, he advised the Muslims to keep themselves away from it.”⁹²

In another textbook, Sir Syed’ viewpoints on the relations between Muslims and Hindus were also included. It described how Sir Syed thought about the unity of Muslims and Hindus with more details:

“In the year 1867 the Hindus of Benaras launched a movement to demand that Urdu should be replaced by Hindi as official language. Sir Sayyid (RA) who was a great protagonist of Hindu-Muslim unity got utterly disappointed at this unfriendly gesture. His demand for separate electorate was a direct corollary of such Hindu overtures....”⁹³

Another author concluded that through Aligarh Movement “the Muslims emerged as a separate nation.”⁹⁴

⁹¹ Muhammad Hussain CH, et al., *Pakistan Studies Class 9-10* (Lahore: Goodwill Enterprises, 2007), 10-11.

⁹² Qais, et al, *Pakistan Studies for Class X* (Lahore: Punjab Textbook Board, 2005), 25.

⁹³ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Intermediate Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 10.

⁹⁴ Muhammad Hussain CH, et al., *Pakistan Studies Class 9-10* (Lahore: Goodwill Enterprises, 2007), 11.

Sir Syed's attitude towards the Hindus was actually one of the most controversial issues about his life. Syed neither hated the Hindus nor instigated his fellow religionists to fight against them. He hoped that all the communities living in British India could unite together for a mutual interest and prosperity. In a speech presented at Gurdaspur in 1884, Syed stated that

“Hindu and Musalman are words of religious significance; otherwise Hindus, Musalmans and Christians who live in this country constitute one nation. When all these groups are called one nation, then they should be one in the service of the country, which is the country of all.”⁹⁵

However, his only concern was that the unity of the Hindus and Muslims was realised at the expense of the Muslims' benefit. It was only on the premise of equal rights shared by Muslims with Hindus that Sir Syed agreed to develop friendship and upheld the unity of the two communities. He said that “India is like a bride whose two eyes are the Hindus and the Mohomedans. Her beauty consists in this—that here two eyes be of equal lustre.”⁹⁶ Sir Syed once believed that Muslims and Hindus were ought to unite with each other, but on the basis of sharing equal rights. When Sir Syed was disappointed with the Hindus' attempts to suppress the Muslims, he did not insist that Muslims and Hindus composed one nation as he stated in the above-mentioned speech at Ghazipur in 1884. Instead, he said that “...The second case is that of a country in which there are two nationalities which have become so united as to be practically one nation...But this is not the case with our country, which is

⁹⁵ Syed Ahmed Khan, Address (Gurdaspur, 1884).

⁹⁶ Mohamed Abdulla Pasha, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: His Life and Times—A Historical Survey* (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., 1998), 160.

peopled with different nations...’’⁹⁷ This implied that Sir Syed had considered the Muslims as a different nation from the Hindus. Therefore, Sir Syed’s attitude towards Hindu-Muslim unity was more complicated as *Pakistan Studies* textbooks narrated, which selectively highlighted Sir Syed’s thoughts on separating the Muslims from the Hindus rather than showing the full picture of his changing stance on this issue.

To sum up, Sir Syed identified himself first as a Muslim. Born in a Muslim family and educated in traditional Muslim way, he led a good Muslim’s life.⁹⁸ In his life time, he devoted his efforts to the revival of Muslim community. He asked Muslim to be loyal to the British, because he was struggling for a living space for Muslims. He promoted modern education among Muslims, because he believed only with advanced knowledge and technology could Muslims return to the track of development. He asked Muslims not to join the Indian National Congress, because he believed that Muslims should keep away from political activities, especially from a party for Hindus.

The *Pakistan Studies* textbooks gave a proper introduction to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Different textbooks selected different focuses, from his contribution to Aligarh Movement to his views on the Indian National Congress. His major deeds were not dismissed or written in a distorted way. The introduction of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan transmitted to Pakistani students that he was a great person, who was concerned primarily about Muslims’ interest and had made important contribution to the development of Muslims. Students learn that he was an important person they need to revere by reading the textbooks. Regardless of students’ religious beliefs, they will find out that a good Pakistani should be a person fighting for the

⁹⁷ Mohamed Abdulla Pasha, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: His Life and Times—A Historical Survey* (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., 1998), 160.

⁹⁸ Altaf Hussain Hali, *Hayat-e-Javed* (Lahore: Ishrat Publishing House, 1902), 297.

interest of Muslims. The image of Pakistani heroes was once again a pious Muslim, who had devoted his life to the Muslim community.

3) The omission of Akbar

The historical narrative about the Muslim rule in India did not exist in all the textbooks. In some textbooks, two to three pages were devoted to the description of the Muslim rule before the British governance; in others, there was no space for this period.

In the short introduction of the Muslim rule, the omission of Akbar in *Pakistan Studies* has attracted much attention of scholars who investigate the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. Akbar's name was hardly mentioned in *Pakistan Studies* even in the place where his proceeding and succeeding emperors were mentioned. Rosser had given an analysis on the writing of *Pakistan Studies* on the two significant emperors of the Mughal Empire, Akbar and Aurangzeb.⁹⁹ Generally speaking, Rosser's comment on this part in *Pakistan Studies* was quite negative and critical:

“This Mughul king, often redundantly called ‘Akbar the Great’, expanded his domain across a larger area of India than the Mauryan dynasty. However, in discussions of this seminal regime that firmly established the Mughul Empire on Indian soil, Pakistani textbooks, though necessarily brief in their presentation due to space limitations inherent in a chronological march through the millennia, are almost unanimously silent about Akbar. This omission is an amazing hick-up of historiography in which fifty-five very essential years are

⁹⁹ Refer to Yvette C. Rosser, *Islamisation of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks* (New Delhi: Observer Research, 2003), 19-27.

simple eliminated.”¹⁰⁰

Unlike Indian textbooks’ high praise on Akbar as an outstanding leader of the whole India, it was beyond people’s expectation that *Pakistan Studies* usually described him in a negative way, or even chose to stay silence. Rosser explained in her books that the omission of Akbar in *Pakistan Studies* to some extent was due to Akbar’s liberal policies of religious tolerance and hopes to unite the whole India. With respect to the way Akbar was presented, Rosser’s summary and analysis were sometimes still applicable to the textbooks examined for this thesis. It is true that Akbar, one of the greatest emperors in India and also Muslim’s history was not fully narrated.¹⁰¹ The only place he was mentioned was criticism that

“The Mughal rulers Akbar left no stone unturned to please the Hindus. He even sabotaged the interests of Muslims in trying to do so. He appointed them on high posts. These steps encouraged Hindus so much, so that they started conspiring against Muslims”¹⁰²

This paragraph is written under the title of “Downfall of Muslims in India” which analysed the factors that led to the decline of Muslim community in the subcontinent. The textbook did not regard Akbar highly as most Indian and western history books did when discussing Akbar, but it clearly pointed out the harm brought by Akbar to the whole Muslim community in the subcontinent. Most English scholarly books on India’s history portrayed Akbar as a great emperor. “Akbar was the true founder and organizer of the empire.”¹⁰³ He was also respected

¹⁰⁰ Yvette C. Rosser, *Islamisation of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks* (New Delhi: Observer Research, 2003), 21.

¹⁰¹ Akbar was regarded as a very great emperor of India in the mainstream English scholarly works. Many books on India’s history devoted a whole chapter to analyse his contributions. See more details from Stanley Lane-Poole and A.V. Williams Jackson, *History of India, in Nine Volumes: Vol. IV--Mediaeval India from the Mohammedan Conquest to the Reign of Akbar the Great* (New York: Cosimo Inc, 2008), Chapter One and Two.

¹⁰² Muhammad Hussain CH, et al., *Pakistan Studies Class 9-10* (Lahore: Goodwill Enterprises, 2007), 5.

¹⁰³ Stanley Lane-Poole and A.V. Williams Jackson, *History of India, in Nine Volumes: Vol. IV--Mediaeval India*

by Indians for his contribution to promote syncretic religious policy in India.

Before further conjecture on the reasons behind the ignorance of Akbar in *Pakistan Studies*, it is necessary to have an idea about Muslims' view on Akbar's religious policy. Here is a passage which can give an outlook to different sides' response and feeling to Akbar's religious policy.

“Akbar's policy of not discriminating against the non-Muslims and of deliberately laying down detailed rules of governance and administration without any reference to the shariat, was resented by a section of the orthodox Muslims... Well-known and influential orthodox Muslim saint, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, condemned this policy of Akbar in strong words and showed great relief when Akbar died.... The policy of Akbar created misgivings among a section of non-Muslims too... Not only was Akbar successful in winning the loyalty of a large section of the Hindus but also of getting them to accept the legitimacy of the Mughal emperor. ”¹⁰⁴

This passage implied that Akbar's policy favoured majority of the Hindus and helped consolidate the Mughal Empire. However, the policy received different responses from Muslim community. Some Muslims not only disliked but even hated Akbar's tolerant religious policy. Muslims' such judgement on Akbar is also noted in Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi's book,

“If the Muslims were to forget their uniqueness and come to absorb as Akbar did, contradictory tendencies and beliefs from other religions, could the Muslim nation continue to exist as a separate nation? Akbar's policies created

from the Mohammedan Conquest to the Reign of Akbar the Great (New York: Cosimo Inc, 2008), 1.
¹⁰⁴ Hasan, S. Nurul, *Religion, State, and Society in Medieval India: Collected Works of S. Nurul Hasan*. (New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2007), 74-75.

danger not only for the Muslim empire but also for the continued existence of the Muslim nation in the sub-continent.”¹⁰⁵

Both the feeling of happiness and resentment from the people towards Akbar’s religious policy represented part of history. From the perception of Muslims, more benefit given to the Hindus, the less privilege Muslims possessed. As for whether the loss of privilege helped or stunted the development of Muslims’ long term benefit and status, it was hard to discern. However, the known facts informed us that Muslims’ privilege was badly affected due to the implementation of Akbar’s religious policy. Meanwhile, Islamic values were also lost to some extent.

Pakistan Studies textbooks evaluated Akbar from the perspective of Muslim community. *Pakistan Studies* textbooks used their own particular manner to change the mainstream views about Akbar. It shifted the focus of the narrative of Akbar; and uttered the voice from the perspective of Muslims who accounted for the majority of Pakistan’s population. Though Akbar was highly valued by Indians and mainstream scholarly works, his religious policy was perceived as having brought negative influence on Muslim community. *Pakistan Studies* textbooks thus showed ignorance to the widely acknowledged Muslim emperor. The ignorance deviated from the track of mainstream scholarly works, but it reflected the official opinion on the building of Pakistani nation. Since the propaganda of Akbar’s story might not bring positive effect on Pakistan’s nation building, Akbar was considered by Pakistan government as a suitable person to be included in to textbooks. If India’s textbooks and other history books put an emphasis on Akbar’s achievement for his efforts to consolidate the unity

¹⁰⁵ Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, 610-1947: A Brief Historical Analysis* (s-Gravenhage, Mouton, 1962), 167.

of all the Indian communities, it was also reasonable for *Pakistan Studies* textbooks to put him in a low status for the purpose of building their own national identity and counteracting India's influence.

In the writings on Akbar in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, the ultimate guideline remained clear and unchanged. *Pakistan Studies* reinforced the contention that "Muslims living in the subcontinent constituted one nation" and this nation was distinctive from the Hindus who comprised a predominantly large proportion of India's population. When presenting the history of Muslim rule in India, efforts were made to dilute the impact of religious tolerance policies promoted by Akbar. Akbar was not mentioned or not highly regarded in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, so that students would not be impressed by Akbar's deeds. The textbooks discouraged students to know the significance of religious tolerance. By criticising Akbar's religious thought, the textbooks made students believe that Muslims' benefit took priority over the unity of different ethnic communities in a society. Those who strove for the benefit of Muslims were the real heroes for Pakistanis.

3. The common cultures

The idea of Pakistan was proposed out of the increasing consciousness of Muslims' self-identity. Muslims in British India struggled for Pakistan, because they believed that a separate state for Muslims was needed for the protection of development of Muslim community. It was the demand for a separate Muslim state that united the Sindhis, Punjabis, Pathans, Balochis and Muslims of other ethnic groups for the pursuit of Pakistan. The common religious identity of these peoples was the common ground shared by the different ethnic groups. .

However, observed from the cultural perspective, peoples who constituted Pakistan's population presented a strong diversity of cultural heritages and traditions.

“The heritage of the geographical area of modern-day Pakistan is epitomised by the confluence of cultures. Graves excavated at prehistoric Indus Valley sites dating from the second millennia BC produced skulls of peoples from diverse racial origins including Mediterranean, Proto-Australoid, Dravidian, and Mongoloid.... Influences left by the Maurya Dynasty, the Guptas, the Huns, Arabs, Turks, Moghuls, Rajputs, the British, all impacted vast areas of South and Southwest Asia with elements of their traditions and languages. The regions now comprising the provinces of Pakistan have long been cultural crossroads....”¹⁰⁶

Pakistan Studies textbooks, aiming at making students “useful and peaceful citizens”¹⁰⁷, shouldered the important mission to integrate people with diverse cultural backgrounds and strengthen their identification with Pakistani nation. The previous two parts presented how *Pakistan Studies* built up the images of common ancestors and national heroes. Despite these two icons, the textbooks were also devoted to promulgating the cultures of Pakistan. In every textbook of *Pakistan Studies*, there was a separate chapter for the discussion of culture. The titles of the chapter in different textbooks were “Pakistani Culture”, “Culture of Pakistan”, or “The People of Pakistan and Their Culture”. In this chapter, the presentation of languages and other cultural elements in the textbooks will be analysed.

¹⁰⁶ Yvette C. Rosser, *Islamisation of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks* (New Delhi: Observer Research, 2003), 27-28.

¹⁰⁷ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), Preface.

1) Urdu language

The discussion of languages of Pakistan accounted for half of the space used for the chapter of culture in every *Pakistan Studies* textbook. For example, seven pages were devoted for the topic of languages in Pakistan in the chapter with twelve pages in total.¹⁰⁸ In another textbook produced in 2008, five out of eleven pages of the chapter discussed Pakistan's languages.¹⁰⁹ Generally speaking, there were three themes for the introduction of Pakistan's languages. First, the national language of Urdu was introduced; second, local languages like Sindhi, Punjabi, Pushto and Balochi were included; finally, the meaning of the national language for national unity was again emphasised under a separate subheading. The discussion of the languages in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks showed the following characteristics.

In the first place, it was worth noting that Urdu was treated as a language with exaggerated advantages in *Pakistan Studies*. The authors of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks often described language with strong emotions. For example, it was written that

“Urdu is a vast and beautiful language; it has assimilated many beautiful words from other languages....With the adoption of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish words, Urdu has developed a close affinity with other languages of the Muslim world. Urdu has also developed a very rich vocabulary due to its unique quality of absorbing and adopting words and phrases from other languages.”¹¹⁰

The ability of absorbing words from other languages was presented in many other textbooks.

¹⁰⁸ Qais, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Class X* (Lahore: Punjab Textbook Board, 2005), Chapter 8.

¹⁰⁹ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), Chapter 8.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 132-133.

“Urdu is a progressive living language. It has the distinct quality of absorbing the words of different languages. In addition to words of Arabic Persian, Turkish and local languages of south [sic] Asia many words of European languages have become a permanent part of Urdu vocabulary.”¹¹¹

The usage of words like “beautiful language” showed a quite subjective emotion of the author. Besides, the stress on Urdu’s absorbing ability was not necessary from scholarly perspective. Almost all the languages were capable of incorporating foreign words. The authors did not give further evidence to illustrate that Urdu had exceptional ability in this aspect. K. K. Aziz has criticised this problem “Urdu’s ability to make borrowed vocabulary ‘its own’ is not only an inane statement but also an absurd one. Every language of the world can do it and does it. In English alone there are words from Arabic, Persian, Hindi and other oriental languages which it has made its own...”¹¹² The author used beautiful but subjective words to describe the language to the students, which attempted to inspire students’ love for the national language. Urdu was not the mother tongue for most of Pakistanis.¹¹³ By focusing on the exaggerated advantage of Urdu, it promoted the advanced image of Urdu so that students would love to learn it.

Secondly, the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks actively highlighted the importance of using Urdu in Pakistan. The textbooks repeatedly stressed the important role of the national language in promoting national unity and integration. For instance, Urdu was defined as a symbol of national unity, a medium of national cohesion, a vehicle of inter-regional

¹¹¹ Hassan Askri Rizvi, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Lahore: Imtiaz Book Depot, 1997), 174.

¹¹² K. K. Aziz, *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan* (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1998), 172.

¹¹³ According to the introduction in previous chapters, Urdu was reported only spoken by 7.6 % of total population. See Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 147.

communication, an instrument of national integration, a promoter of cultural unity transcending diversity and a means of promoting patriotism. The author admitted that the disadvantage of Urdu was that it was not the mother tongue of any major ethnic group in Pakistan; however, he also clearly pointed out that “Urdu has always been a paramount factor in promoting a sense of national identity in our people and inculcating feelings of patriotism in them.”¹¹⁴ Similar words also appeared in all the other textbooks introducing the significant meaning of the national language. In the face of students with various cultural backgrounds, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks selected the national language of Urdu as the major cultural symbol to identify students with the Pakistani nation. Students were encouraged to learn the “beautiful” and “advanced” Muslim language. The language transcended the difference of their respective local languages and represented an identity of being Pakistanis.

Thirdly, local languages were given much space in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. In every *Pakistan Studies* textbook, there was a separate section with one to two pages left for the introduction of Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi and Pushto languages. Such arrangement in the textbooks showed the respect to local cultures. “In addition to the national language the four provincial languages are also important because these contain and reflect the cultural heritage of their respective areas.”¹¹⁵ Meanwhile, the presentation of local languages was also selective. No local language movement after the founding of Pakistan was mentioned in the textbooks.¹¹⁶ However, giving separate space for the introduction of local languages simplified the presentation of local cultures. Actually, rich and diverse cultures flourished in

¹¹⁴ See Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 162-163.

¹¹⁵ Hassan Askri Rizvi, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Lahore: Imtiaz Book Depot, 1997), 174.

¹¹⁶ See an introduction of the language movements launched by local languages speaker from Tariq Rahman, “Language and Ethnicity in Pakistan”, *Asian Survey* (37: 9, Sep 1997), 833-839.

the areas of Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan and North Western Frontier Province¹¹⁷ (NWFP). Languages were merely a part of the respective local cultures. Instead of presenting different local cultures, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks only left space for the introduction of local languages. In this sense, the difference between local cultures was only presented as difference between languages. In this way, students would not be encouraged to develop local identity.

In conclusion, the national language Urdu was given priority in the introduction of Pakistan's languages; while other local languages were also presented in the textbooks. "Urdu was the mother-tongue of no more than four per cent of the Pakistani population in 1947....Language issues continue to trouble the country today.... Nonetheless, Pakistan has achieved remarkable success in making Urdu its *lingua franca*"¹¹⁸ In order to build national identity, there was a need to reinforce the status of Urdu among young generations. Therefore, Urdu was regarded as a symbol of Pakistan's national identity in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. Students were supposed to have an idea that there are a number of local languages though; but the presentation of more local cultures besides languages was not given in the textbooks.

2) National dress

Besides setting the icon of national language, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks also attempt to set a symbol in terms of dress. Usually the introduction of the dresses of Pakistanis was divided into two parts. In the first part, it was acknowledged that the selection of dresses depends on the different characteristics of local climate. It was written that "Climatic conditions profoundly affect the choice and selection of dress. The areas having cold or hot

¹¹⁷ NWFP was changed into the new name Khybar-Pakhtunkhwa in 2010.

¹¹⁸ Ather Farouqui, ed., *Redefining Urdu Politics in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 66.

climate require different kinds of dress. In the north western region which has a cold climate dress made of thick cloth is used.”¹¹⁹ The second part then mentioned the concept of the national dress. “On the whole the national dress of Pakistan consists of *Shalwar* and *Qamees*.”¹²⁰ “The Jinnah cap is a part of our official national dress.”¹²¹ Although the textbooks gave an introduction of some other local dresses; the concept and formulation of “national dress” is undoubtedly an invented symbol.

The standard of setting national dress was not clear. “If by national dress is meant a very special dress worn on very formal and official functions and ceremonial occasions, then the first part about men will pass muster. If the everyday attire is meant, it is very misleading.”¹²² People from different regions wear many other kinds of dresses in their daily life. However, when discussing the dresses, the textbooks did not give a convincing explanation on the selection of the national dress. It implied that there was a need to point out the national dress, but the issue of “what dresses should be set as the national dress” was not carefully considered. It seemed that setting a national symbol was perceived more important than providing correct knowledge by textbooks authors and examiners.

4. Conclusion

In the content of history knowledge, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks drew the outline of the image of Pakistani nation. This abstract image was embodied in the presentation of a number of national symbols. By means of telling students the common ancestors, heroes and cultural legacies, the history textbooks guided students to define the Pakistani nation, i.e. to answer

¹¹⁹ Hassan Askri Rizvi, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Lahore: Imtiaz Book Depot, 1997), 182.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 182.

¹²¹ Muhammad Hussain CH, et al., *Pakistan Studies Class 9-10* (Lahore: Goodwill Enterprises, 2007), 77.

¹²² K. K. Aziz, *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan* (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1998), 170.

the question of “who are the Pakistanis”.

The criteria of “being national” varies. Territory could be the line to distinguish people living in Pakistan from those living outside Pakistan. When the textbooks attempted to establish the image of ancestors, the territory standard was applied. Civilisations were considered being created by the ancestors of Pakistanis if the civilisations were located in the territory of Pakistan. By dating the roots of Pakistani nation to several thousand years ago, the textbooks endowed the Pakistani nation with an old and proud past.

However, the territory standard was not adopted when setting the heroic images. Both Shah Waliullah and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan were not from any place within the territory of Pakistan. They were from India, but they were considered heroes of Pakistan. A different standard from territory was applied to define the heroes of Pakistanis. Shah Waliullah and Sir Syed were highly regarded as the great man of Pakistani nation because both of them had fought for the interest and benefit of Muslims in the subcontinent. In this situation, whether they were from Pakistan became less important. If one strove for the good of Muslims, he or she should be regarded as a great person by Pakistanis. Akbar implemented syncretic religious policies to promote the peace between different communities. Akbar’s policies were thus considered as having reduced the distinctiveness of Muslim nation as well as the interest of Muslims. Therefore, even though Akbar was a Muslim; he was still not a hero of Pakistanis. The promotion of Muslim heroes in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks also implied that non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan needed to regard Muslim heroes as heroes as well.

Pakistan Studies textbooks also use cultural elements to unite the nation. The textbooks encouraged students to recognize Urdu as the national language; and recognize *Shalwar*,

Qamees and the Jinnah cap as the national dress. Students were thus exposed to the promotion of something national. They had to have an idea about what is the national language and what are the national dresses; however, they were allowed and even encouraged not to have an idea of their local language, dress and identity. Setting national cultural images represented an emphasis on the building of a monolithic cultural identity on the basis of weakening the awareness of various local cultural identities.

Thus far, how is the Pakistani nation defined from these symbols? According to the descriptions of these unifying symbols, the Pakistani nation 1) had a long history which could date from thousands of years ago; 2) are a nation revering those who devoted life to working for the development of Muslims; and 3) is a nation speaking Urdu, wearing *Shalwar*, *Qamees* and the Jinnah cap.

Chapter Four: Distinguishing the Pakistani Nation from Others

In order to infuse students with a sense of national identity, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks not only paid attention to answering the question “who are the Pakistanis” from positive approach by establishing national icons; they also devoted much efforts from contrary approach by analysing “who are not Pakistanis”. In other words, it is equally important to define self-nation and other nations. Devising national symbols helps students have an idea of their nations’ characteristics; while teaching students to distinguish between their nation and other nations is no less meaningful.

The ways of defining other nations adopted by Pakistan’s textbooks have been examined and severely criticised by some scholars. K. K. Aziz pointed out that India and Hindus were presented in the textbooks to create a feeling of hatred on the ground of numerous incorrect narratives.¹²³ Rubina Saigol described the narrative of other nations as a process of conjuring enemies through ideological manipulation.¹²⁴ According to the observation of the textbooks examined for this thesis, many accusations brought by Aziz and Saigol are not applicable anymore, because the narratives in these textbooks appear to be filled with less biased narrative and comment. The textbooks, however, did not totally discard the strategy of writing other nations as a contrast for the better understanding of national identity. In many places of the textbooks, there were substantial narratives which directed students to differentiate the Pakistanis and other nations. This chapter will present and analyse the content in the textbooks, which functions for the above-mentioned purpose.

¹²³ K. K. Aziz, *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan* (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1998), 193.

¹²⁴ Rubina. Saigol, “Enemies within and Enemies without: The Besieged Self in Pakistani Textbooks”, *Futures*, (37:9, 2005), 1005-1035.

This chapter focuses on the analysis of how other nations were introduced and presented for the construction of Pakistan's national identity in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. Depending on their different functions, the narratives on other nations in *Pakistan Studies* were categorised into the following three aspects: narratives that highlight the difference between the Pakistanis and other nations, emphasise the conflicts and show the superiority of the Pakistanis to other nations.

1. Highlighting the difference

As analysed in the second chapter, the national identity of Pakistan was to a large extent constructed on the ground of negating the Muslims in the subcontinent as Indians or fellows of the Hindus. For this reason, all the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks devoted much space to highlighting the difference between the Muslims and the Hindus.

Students were supposed to understand that the Hindus and Muslims were totally different two nations rather than just two communities sharing one national identity. The difference between Hindus and Muslims were fully highlighted in the textbooks. "The two-nation theory means that two large nations live in the Indo Pakistan sub-continent, i.e., the Muslims and the Hindus. Although both these nations have been living together for centuries yet they could not merge with each other."¹²⁵ "In the historical perspective of the sub-continent, Two-nation theory means that despite living together in the same country the Hindus and the Muslims are two separate nations."¹²⁶

The textbooks outlined the contours of the image of an independent Muslim nation by negating the shared points Muslims and Hindus had. Having resided in the sub-continent

¹²⁵ Hassan Askri Rizvi, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Lahore: Imtiaz Book Depot, 1997), 28.

¹²⁶ Muhammad Hussain CH, et al., *Pakistan Studies Class 9-10* (Lahore: Goodwill Enterprises, 2007), 9.

together with Hindus for centuries, Muslims were not mentioned to share anything in common with Hindus.

“The Muslims of the sub-continent considered themselves a nation which possesses its own civilization, culture, history, philosophy of life, morality, politics and economy....The principles governing the life of Muslims are entirely different from those followed by the Hindus. This is the reason why a common society or a common nationality could not be formed or developed despite a close association between these two nations for a period of hundreds of years.”¹²⁷

All the impression the text left to readers was that Hindus and Muslims by any means could not be considered as a monolithic nation, because no common point could be found between the two nations.

2. Emphasis on the conflicts

In the long history of interaction between the Muslims and other communities in the subcontinent, there had been harmony, cooperation and conflicts. When the history was put into the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, the story of inter-community cooperation had been omitted to the maximum; while the conflicts were given a detailed description and fully evaluated.

When presenting the history after 1857 when Mughal Empire collapsed, the authors of the textbooks paid attention to highlight the discrepancies between Muslims and other communities. For example, when presenting the establishment of Muslim League, it was written that “the Muslims who had been oppressed by the British-Hindu cooperation became

¹²⁷ Hassan Askri Rizvi, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Lahore: Imtiaz Book Depot, 1997), 28.

active and gathered around a common forum.”¹²⁸ When a textbook discussed the aftermath of the Great Revolt of 1857, it was written that

“After 1857 this was the first constitutional government in India without a king. At this [sic] wise and educated Muslims realised that under this form of government where power was more important than values, a Muslim government cannot be established. This gave rise to movements with the object of liberating the Muslims from the English rule as well as from the domination of Hindu majority. As a result of these efforts a separate independent country came into being.”¹²⁹

When the role of East Bengal in the establishment of Pakistan was discussed, the author wrote that “The Muslims of Bengal were greatly victimized by the Hindus and the British.”¹³⁰ Similarly in another textbook, it was recorded that “The Muslims were greatly disappointed when they saw that the Congress, notwithstanding all its claims of neutrality, was supporting the Hindu extremists openly.”¹³¹ The authors tended to write the history with an emphasis on the bitter ties between Hindus and Muslim community. Actually, “The essentialist use of the all-encompassing categories ‘Hindus’ and ‘Muslims’ obfuscates the awareness of internal differences within each group.”¹³² The authors did not provide any other possible perspectives to observe the history of freedom struggle, e.g. the economic discrepancies between different classes, the different opinions between urban and rural people, and the

¹²⁸ Qais, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Class X* (Lahore: Punjab Textbook Board, 2005), 26.

¹²⁹ Hassan Askri Rizvi, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Lahore: Imtiaz Book Depot, 1997), 24.

¹³⁰ Qais, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Class X* (Lahore: Punjab Textbook Board, 2005), 39.

¹³¹ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Intermediate Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 11.

¹³² Rubina Saigol, “Enemies Within and Enemies Without: The Besieged Self in Pakistani Textbooks”, *Futures* (37, 2005), 1010.

diverse situation of people from different regions. The complex history of freedom struggle was in this way simplified as the history of Muslims' struggle for better political and economic situation against Hindus. Students were then guided to know Hindus primarily as the unkind rival or even enemy of Muslims.

All the historical events were analysed under the strategy that highlight the conflicts and minimise interaction or cooperation between Muslims and Hindus. Take the narrative of Khilafat Movement as an instance. In the Khilafat Movement, the Hindus stood by the Muslims to exert pressure on the British government to protect the Ottoman Empire. Khilafat Movement marked an important time when the Muslims and Hindus cooperated for the same goal of fighting. When *Pakistan Studies* textbooks introduced this event, the Hindus and Muslims unity was mentioned in one sentence and immediately followed by the emphasis on the impossibility of co-existing with the Hindus. For example,

“Khalafat movement, Migration movement and Non-Cooperation movement are remarkable for the fact that the Muslims and Hindus worked jointly for their success. This Hindu Muslim unity could not be maintained for long. The hostile attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims became evident. The publication of Nehru Report (1928) proved the prejudiced attitude of the Congress....”¹³³

This quotation was then followed by a number of examples, which implied that the Hindus treated the Muslims in a very hostile way, and that the two communities were two separate nations in nature. Similar narrative included “The Khilafat Movement developed political awareness among the Muslims. The Hindus showed their narrow mindedness and betrayed

¹³³ Hassan Askri Rizvi, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Lahore: Imtiaz Book Depot, 1997), 33.

the Muslims. The Hindu Muslim unity could not be maintained for long. The Nehru Report showed the prejudiced attitude of the Congress....»¹³⁴

The above mentioned examples were just a small selection of the narratives which highlighted the discordance and conflicts between the two communities. In *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, such narratives were quite common. In order to negate that the Muslims and Hindus could constitute one nation, the textbooks highly regarded the extensive highlight of the inter-community discrepancies. Students then were encouraged to realise that the Hindus were even not a reliable cooperation partner, and thus impossible to be fellows of the Muslims.

3. Demonstration of the superiority

The third way to distinguish the Pakistanis from other nations in the Pakistan's textbooks was to demonstrate the superiority of the Pakistanis in terms of culture, ideology and art and so on. The thoughts, culture and living code of Muslims were highly praised with a comparison with the other nations, whose national culture was usually described in a derogative tone. Previous works had shown much evidence for this observation. Saigol presented how the Muslim' architecture was introduced compared to the Hindus'. In her quotation from a *Social Studies* textbook, the Muslims' architecture was described as open, spacious, airy and showing external glory; meanwhile, the Hindus' buildings exhibited darkness, narrowness, and labyrinthine structure.¹³⁵

In *Pakistan Studies* textbooks published in recent years, there were still narratives emphasising the Muslim' superiority towards other communities especially towards the

¹³⁴ *Pakistan Studies for Class 12* (Lahore: Punjab Text Book Board, 2005), 30.

¹³⁵ Rubina Saigol, "Enemies Within and Enemies Without: The Besieged Self in Pakistani Textbooks", *Futures* (37, 2005), 1014.

Hindus, even though the frequency of such narratives showing a decreasing tendency. For example, in a textbook published in 2008 for students in Islamabad, there were a few sentences discussing the gender equality. It was said that “Before the advent of Islam women were not treated as human individuals, they were rather, treated as articles of property. Islam gave them honour and endowed them with human status....Old Hindu scriptures are full of derogatory remarks about women.” The authors were inclined to put the Islamic and Hindu cultural elements together and then stressed how advanced Islamic culture was. Portraying Muslims as more advanced and superior than the Hindus, the textbooks showed the government’s expectation to make students proud of their cultural identity. The sense of cultural superiority would help students fully realise their difference with other nations and identify with their own nation.

4. Conclusion

The strategy of distinguishing the Pakistanis from other nations was implemented in the writing of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks in various ways. First of all, showing difference in a straight forward way was found in many textbooks. Students were told directly that the Muslims and Hindus constituted two totally different nations. Residing with each other in the same region did not make two nations merge into one as time passed. Secondly, more conflicts between the two communities were emphasised to further show the impossibility of co-existence. Even though there was happiness and sorrows, cooperation and discordance in the history of interaction, students would ignore the positive aspect of the Muslim-Hindu relations if only conflicts and discordance were highlighted in the textbooks. Thirdly, the textbooks endowed the students with a sense of superiority by showing their advanced culture

in a biased way of narratives.

All these three writing methods contributed to enhance the students' sense of how different they were from other nations. Having a clear understanding of their uniqueness, incompatibility with other nations and superiority towards other nations, students would have a deeper understanding of what means to them by being a Muslim and Pakistani.

Chapter Five: Islam: the “Best Unifying Symbol”

Content around the topic of Islam was the most frequently presented theme in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. “Discourses about Islam and its relationship to the Ideology of Pakistan comprise the majority of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks....”¹³⁶ The discussion of Islam appeared not only as a section specially designed for it; rather, it also pervaded into the discussion of many other topics. Islam-related content was endowed with such important status that it occupied considerable pages in the textbooks.

The high density of presentation of Islam was a main feature of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. Pakistan Studies was a module formally introduced to the educational system under Zia ul-Haq’s rule. Before Zia ul-Haq assumed power, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had already started redirecting Pakistan’s education to aim at building up a distinct and unifying national identity.¹³⁷ The redirection of education’s goal resulted in the deployment of more compulsory Islamic teachings in education. The Islamisation of education was also contained in the 1973 constitution, which required that the state should “make the teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiat compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language...to promote unity and observance of the Islamic moral standards”.¹³⁸ After Zia ul-Haq overthrew the rule of Z. A. Bhutto through a coup, “Religion was the justification given by Zia ul-Haq to legitimize his dictatorship.”¹³⁹ Zia launched a thorough Islamic campaign in the arenas of politics, legislation, society, economy and education and so on. Zia

¹³⁶ Yvette C. Rosser, *Islamisation of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks* (New Delhi: Observer Research, 2003).

¹³⁷ See Marie Lall, “Educate to hate: the use of education in the creation of antagonistic national identities in India and Pakistan”, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* (38:1, Jan 2008), 103-119. A. H. Nayyar and A. Salim, ed., *The Subtle Subversion, the State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan* (Islamabad: SDPI, 2004), 3, 68.

¹³⁸ See Makhdoom Ali Khan, ed., *The Constitution of Pakistan* (Karachi, 1989), 21.

¹³⁹ Nasim Ashraf, “The Islamization of Pakistan’s Educational System: 1979-1989”, *The Islamization of Pakistan, 1979-2009*, ed., The Middle East Institute, (Washington D. C.: The Middle East Institute), 25-27.

required legislative, political and social activities to follow the Islamic principles and values. Accordingly, “The education sector experienced a dramatic shift in emphasis to Islamic education, through both a revised national curriculum and governmental financial support to *madrasas*.”¹⁴⁰ Under the new education policies and curricula, Pakistan Studies was introduced as a compulsory course. The authors of the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks were given the directives to demonstrate that the shared religious belief of Pakistanis was the basis of Pakistan. At the starting point, the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks were supposed to be written under strong and clear ideological directives; and the history part of the textbooks were requested to be discussed from religious perspectives.

Zia’s Islamisation reform on education had a lasting influence on the course of Pakistan Studies. In the following several decades after Zia’s regime ended, the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks remained the similar arrangement of topics and emphasis as those published in Zia’s time. The teachings around the topics of Islam and Muslims still accounted for a large part of the textbooks. From the analysis of the content of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, this chapter will give a panoptic presentation on how the religious theme ran through the textbooks and helped contribute to the national identity building.

1. Exposure to the Islamic knowledge

As a subject imparting knowledge of history, geography and society, Pakistan Studies surprisingly reserved much space for the teaching of religious knowledge in its textbooks. For example, one textbook devoted only one page to introducing the Muslim rule in the subcontinent from Delhi Sultanate to the collapse of Mughal Empire; meanwhile, the authors

¹⁴⁰ Refer to International Crisis Group, *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector* ICG Asia Report no. 84 (Islamabad, ICG), 5.

spent more than eleven pages at the start of the textbook to propagate some basic principles of Islamic religion.¹⁴¹ In the eleven pages, students were exposed to the explanation of the concepts like Islamic society, oneness of God, fasting, Zakat, Haj, justice, equality, fraternity, tolerance and the concept of sovereignty in Islam. Without giving any explanation on the relations between Islam and Pakistan, the authors started writing about the above-mentioned characteristics of Islamic society.

In the opening page, the authors wrote that “Islamic society is a society based on the principles of Islam. It has a stamp of teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. The thought and action as well as beliefs and customs of its individuals are in accordance with Islamic principles....”¹⁴² In the following ten pages, all the concepts mentioned above were explained from religious perspective. The textbook led students to understand the world from Islamic way: “The first and fundamental principle of Islamic way of life is Oneness of God. It means that the creator and sovereign of this universe is Allah....”¹⁴³ When teaching the concept of tolerance, the textbook still laid stress on the Islamic way of understanding. It was written in the textbook that “The Holy Quran has given us the golden principle of tolerance in the saying ‘There is no coercion in religion’....Islam has instructed to treat the non-Muslims with tolerance. Under Islam they enjoy legal protection and they are allowed to follow their own beliefs.”¹⁴⁴

The main body of the textbook started from an eleven-page introduction of Islamic principles. The first pages conveyed the impression that it was not a textbook of history,

¹⁴¹ Hassan Askri Rizvi, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Lahore: Imtiaz Book Depot, 1997), 7-17.

¹⁴² Ibid, 7-8.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 8.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 15.

geography and society but a textbook of Islamic knowledge. Before getting access to any knowledge of Pakistan's history, geography and society, students were firstly exposed to a quite a long presentation of Islamic principles. Students were thus subject to learning the religious content. The textbooks attempted to devote the space here to influencing students' religious beliefs. Moreover, observed from the content and tone of the textbook, it postulated that Pakistan society was distinguished by its Islamic nature. It also presumed that all the readers were Muslims. For example, one of the above citations taught students to treat the non-Muslims with tolerance; it used "they" to address non-Muslims. It implied that its readers were all Muslims. It guided students to assume themselves as Muslims unconsciously.

In the textbooks published in 2008, there had been some changes in the content of first few pages. Religious knowledge did not take as much space as the textbook analysed in the last paragraph, but it still occupied the opening pages. The textbooks were inclined to firstly instruct Islamic ideology to students before they were exposed to other knowledge, like history, geography or society. In other words, knowledge on Islamic ideology took priority over all other kinds of knowledge in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, even though the textbooks were devised to combine teachings of history, geography and society. In a textbook published in 2008, the first page dealt with the meaning of ideology.¹⁴⁵ In the first page, the author explained the contents of ideology primarily from Muslims' point of view. It was written that

“‘What course a community would like to take?’ is the most fundamental question. This is the most difficult and perplexing question for those who venture to chalk out their course all by themselves. For a Muslim this is the

¹⁴⁵ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 1.

easiest question to answer, this has rather been answered long ago by Allah Almighty Himself. Allah says: ‘Have we not shown the two clear paths of right and wrong to man?’ (90:10) A Muslim individual and a Muslim community are bound to follow the path of Allah....When a community of Muslims joins hands to march in unison on the way of Allah it is called a *community of the faithful* or the Muslim nation or the *Muslim Ummah*.¹⁴⁶

This textbook answered the question by quoting from *Qur’an*. Then it explained the answer by taking Muslims as example. Following the answer to the question, the textbook then moved on to use the next whole page to explain the Islamic norms and principles. It introduced the meaning of “sovereignty of Allah based on the concept of *Tauheed*¹⁴⁷ (Oneness of Allah)” and “*Risalat*¹⁴⁸ (Finality of the Prophet Muhammad)”.¹⁴⁹ Some other concepts of Islamic context, e.g., justice, equality, fraternity, democracy and equal rights for non-Muslim citizens, were condensed to one page to be introduced.

The textbook to some extent reduced the pages that impart Islamic knowledge; however, its attempt to impose an Islamic way of thinking remained unchanged. The introduction of Islamic knowledge in the first pages of the textbook reinforced the identity of being Muslims among the students. Non-Muslims were treated as others tolerated by the mainstream society.

Governments all over the world use education to facilitate and further the process of national identity construction.¹⁵⁰ Accordingly, textbooks are designed to use one major

¹⁴⁶ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 1.

¹⁴⁷ Tauheed, transliterated from Arabic language, means the monotheism in Islam. It can also be explained as the oneness of God, as written in the brackets in this textbook.

¹⁴⁸ Risalat, transliterated from Arabic language, means “being sent” and message sent through prophets.

¹⁴⁹ Refer to Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 2.

¹⁵⁰ Nayyar and A. Salim, ed., *The Subtle Subversion, the State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan* (Islamabad: SDPI, 2004), 2.

ideology to guide students' perception about their identity. The *Pakistan Studies* textbooks selected Islamic ideology as the guiding ideology. It is obviously revealed that the textbooks try to infuse Islamic belief to students instead of taking it as personal matter. By exposing students to Islamic religious knowledge, Pakistan's government intends to identify students with this religion. By presuming all the readers as Muslims, the government students are expected to unconsciously consider themselves as Muslims. The textbooks thus facilitate the process of generating consciousness of being Muslims among students.

2. Muslim, a separate nation

The *Pakistan Studies* textbooks promoted the contention that Muslims in the subcontinent constituted a separate nation. All the people who believed in Islam belonged to one community which did not include any non-Muslim. Believing in Islam was considered a decisive trait to define a nation. The textbooks promoted such ideas in many places directly or indirectly. Almost every textbook included a passage under a separate subheading which introduced the contention that people who believe in Islam constitute a nation.

For instance, it was introduced in the first few pages of a textbook that "Muslims believe that the people of the world are divided into two major communities or *millat* on the basis of faith. Followers of Islamic creed are a separate and distinct nation from the rest of the mankind."¹⁵¹ The similar contention was presented also in all the other textbooks, e.g., "The Muslims believe that by virtue of their faith, they have an identity, separate and distinct from other nations of the world. This feeling of oneness among themselves combined with the consciousness of being separate from others is called 'Two-nation theory'."¹⁵² The textbooks

¹⁵¹ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 3.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 1.

guided students to observe peoples in the world basically from their difference in religious beliefs. Students were supposed to realise that people in the world were divided into two nations, Muslims and non-Muslims.

The “Two-nation theory” was further expounded in the context of the subcontinent. Indian Muslims “did not form a part of the wider Indian nationhood, as some people had mistaken. They had a separate national identity which they wanted to preserve, maintain and express by exercising their right of self-determination.”¹⁵³ “The Muslims claimed separate nationhood for themselves and they were determined to maintain a separate entity for all times to come.”¹⁵⁴ In many other textbooks, similar explanation could also be found in the opening chapter.

In addition, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks narrated the history from the perspective of Muslims all through the textbooks. The textbooks depicted a picture presenting Muslims’ arrival to the subcontinent, the establishment of different Muslim regimes, Muslims’ rule on the subcontinent, the fall of Muslims rule, the struggle with Hindus in the late Mughal Empire and Muslims’ pursuit for a separate state. Strictly speaking, the history of the subcontinent before the establishment of Pakistan was presented more like a history of Muslims on the subcontinent. Muslims were set as the main subjects in history. By organising history from Muslims’ perspective, the textbooks reinforced the consciousness of being Muslims among students. Students would be trained to identify themselves with the main subjects presented in the history.

The emphasis on Muslims’ separate national identity was also laid on the presentation of

¹⁵³ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 3.

¹⁵⁴ *Pakistan Studies for Class 12* (Lahore: Punjab Text Book Board, 2005), 23.

the independence of Bangladesh. In the earlier version of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, there was little introduction of the emergence of Bangladesh. This phenomenon was observed by some scholars before. For example, it was pointed out that one of the most worth noting aspect of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks was the complete elimination of cause and effect on the introduction of Bangladesh's establishment.¹⁵⁵ However, the part introducing the fall of East Pakistan experienced big changes in the writing of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks published in recent years. In a textbook published in 1997, there was no mention about the establishment of Bangladesh. In another textbook published in 2008, the author devoted nine pages to introduce the fall of East Pakistan.¹⁵⁶ The major historical events were presented. The textbook also provided an analysis to the reasons which caused the emergence of Bangladesh; all the judicial, political and cultural problems were evaluated. It was worth noting that the author devoted the last three pages to the analysis of the relations between the Two-nation theory and the East Pakistan tragedy. The author admitted the existence of an opinion that "the separation of East Pakistan meant a great blow to Pakistan ideology or the Two-nation theory."¹⁵⁷ However, he also gave a defence to the validity of the Two-nation theory. His defence could be summed up in the following three points. First, all the Muslims in the world shared a distinctive identity because they were Muslims. Second, Muslims, having a separate identity, did not definitely live in one state. Due to cultural and geographical diversity, Muslims had established many different countries in the world. Third, the Two-nation theory implied that Muslims living in the subcontinent were entitled to found separate states where

¹⁵⁵ Yvette C. Rosser, *Islamisation of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks* (New Delhi: Observer Research, 2003), 64.

¹⁵⁶ Refer to Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008), 56-64.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

Muslims accounted for majority, so that the Muslims could realise self-governance and self-determination. In this sense, the emergence of Bangladesh, though a quite tragic incidence, still did not overthrow the validity of the Two-nation theory. The defence for the Two-nation theory in the textbook demonstrated the important status of the Two-nation theory in the teaching of Pakistan's history. The textbook attempted to eradicate students' doubt on the validity of the Two-nation theory. The textbook helped guide students to still associate with the ideas that Islamic belief alone could distinguish Muslims from other non-Muslim community and that Pakistan was founded on this legitimate theoretical basis.

In conclusion, students were encouraged to perceive Islamic belief and lifestyle as a distinct national identity. The *Pakistan Studies* textbooks attached much importance to the transmission of the Two-nation theory to students. In order to realise this goal, the textbooks on the one hand paid attention to the teaching of theory. The introduction of the Two-nation theory was placed in the opening pages. Besides, the theory was further elaborated and defended when discussing the emergence of Bangladesh. On the other hand, the textbooks repeatedly implied Muslims' separate national identity between the lines of narrating many historical events. This reminded students of the distinct Muslim identity. The history of the subcontinent was presented from the perspective of Muslims; the image of Pakistan's heroes was a Muslim who strove for the better of Muslims; the discrepancies between Muslims and other communities were highlighted as the major problem in the struggle for independent states.

3. Islam and the state of Pakistan

In *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, Islam was promoted as the national guiding ideology to

build up the mind-set of young generation students. Meanwhile, Islamic belief was extensively propagated as the crucial characteristic to distinguish Pakistani nation from other ethnic groups. In addition to such efforts, the textbooks also oriented students towards the understanding of the relations between Islam and the state. Students were educated not only to perceive Islam as the essence of their nation, but also realise Islam's fundamental role in defining the essence of their country.

After Pakistan Studies was designated by Zia ul-Haq as a compulsory course, the University Grants Commission issued a directive of objectives to request the textbook authors "to get students to know and appreciate the Ideology of Pakistan and to popularize it with slogans."¹⁵⁸ The directive set more than twenty years ago still remains unchanged in the writing of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks today. In the preface of a *Pakistan Studies* textbook which was approved by the government in 2005 and published in 2008, it was written clearly that "The book has been written with a view to giving the students ideological orientation they require and conceptual clarifications they need as young citizens of the state of Pakistan."¹⁵⁹ Moreover, "the book further seeks to follow the objectives set by the National Education Policy that demands that the textbooks should be made more 'representative and responsive to the Ideology of Pakistan and social needs'."¹⁶⁰ The Ideology of Pakistan played the role as the soul of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, which had been stated in the directive and reflected from the content of the textbooks.

In the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, what was the Ideology of Pakistan? How was the

¹⁵⁸ University Grants Commission directive, quoted in Pervez Amirali Hoodbhoy and A. H. Nayyar, "Rewriting the History of Pakistan", *Islam, Politics and the State*, ed., Asghar Khan. (London: Zed Books, 1985), 165.

¹⁵⁹ Abdul Qadir Khan, *Pakistan Studies for Intermediate Classes* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2008) Preface.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

Ideology of Pakistan reflected and infused through history knowledge teaching? The word “ideology” was explained from its translation in Urdu. The textbooks noted that “In Urdu, the word ‘Nazria’ is used for ideology. The same word is used for theory and philosophy....”¹⁶¹ In Urdu, “Nazria-e-Pakistan” was the exact translation of the Ideology of Pakistan, which could be defined as a set of concepts, theories and ideas of Pakistan. In other words, it meant a systematically organised knowledge structure explaining the founding and existence of Pakistan. For a better comprehension of the Ideology of Pakistan, it is necessary to see how it was described in the *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. In a textbook published in 2005, it was clarified that

“Pakistan came into being on the basis of a strong ideology. The basis of Pakistan’s ideology is Islam. Islam is a complete code of life that guides Muslims in all fields of life....This system became the base of Pakistan. Muslims like other peoples of the subcontinent were living like slaves. They wanted an independent sovereign state.”¹⁶²

The above words implied that Islamic code and ideology were the basis of Pakistan’s ideology. Muslims who practiced according to Islamic code wanted a separate state, which was the theoretical basis of Pakistan’s existence. The relations between the Ideology of Pakistan and Islamic ideology were more clearly expounded in another textbook. It was written that,

“Normally the ideology of Pakistan and the Islamic ideology are supposed to be having the same meaning. No doubt, the Islamic ideology is the foundation of

¹⁶¹ Muhammad Hussain CH, et al., *Pakistan Studies Class 9-10* (Lahore: Goodwill Enterprises, 2007), 1.

¹⁶² *Pakistan Studies for Class 12* (Lahore: Punjab Text Book Board, 2005), 1.

the ideology of Pakistan, but both should not be taken as synonyms....we can say that the ideology of Pakistan was the consciousness of the Muslims in the historical perspective of the South Asian sub-continent that they were a separate nation on the basis of the Islamic ideology.”¹⁶³

Since Islamic ideology might also be the ideology of the countries where Muslims accounted for the majority, it was not proper to equate Islamic ideology with the Ideology of Pakistan. However, the Ideology of Pakistan was based on the identification with Islamic ideology. The above words demonstrated that the ideology of Pakistan was Muslims’ awareness of themselves being a nation. It also represented Muslims’ demand for a separate state where they were allowed to lead lives according to Islamic principle. Besides, many *Pakistan Studies* textbooks provided a list of the components of the Ideology of Pakistan, which involved the Islamic beliefs and values like oneness of God, Jihad, *Qur’an* as the foundation of law, Islamic fraternity and equality and justice under Islamic context and so on.

Thus far, Islam was not only a distinctive characteristic to distinguish Muslims from other nations, but also further promoted as the theoretical foundation of the country. Islam was defined the principle and code of all the citizens of Pakistan, regardless of their religious beliefs. Islam was not only the identity symbol of Muslim nation, but also the identity of all the Pakistanis.

The textbooks also devoted to providing a support with historical evidences to the Ideology of Pakistan. The textbooks traced the Ideology of Pakistan to the thoughts of Jinnah and the Pakistan Movement. However, “the Quaid-i-Azam never used the words ‘Ideology of

¹⁶³ Qais, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Class X* (Lahore: Punjab Textbook Board, 2005), 7-8.

Pakistan'the Ideology of Pakistan was not known to anybody until in 1962 a solitary member of the *Jama'at-i-Islami*¹⁶⁴ used these words for the first time....”¹⁶⁵ Moreover, it was not fair to understand the Pakistan Movement as a justification of religious enthusiasm of Muslims. Firstly, although Muslim League did not clearly negate the idea of founding an Islamic state which was promoted by religious leaders, it kept holding a secular stance on the whole when leading the Pakistan Movement. Secondly, the regions which decided to join Pakistan were not actually inspired by religious dedication, but by the desire of or better economic and political status.¹⁶⁶ In fact, “no textbook written prior to 1977 contains mention of the ‘Ideology of Pakistan’.”¹⁶⁷ The newly invented term, which did not have deep historical roots, was greatly promoted both in the directive of writing *Pakistan Studies* textbooks and the content of the textbooks. The textbooks endowed the Ideology of Pakistan with historical evidences so that the legitimacy of this notion was consolidated. This phenomenon revealed in the textbooks demonstrated the determination of Pakistan’s government to infuse the religious ideology to the national identification among students.

There is another interesting phenomenon in the content of *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. The post-independence history was simplified to the record of the update of Pakistan’s constitutions. For example, there was a chapter entitled as “Constitution of Pakistan” in some textbooks. The process of giving birth to the several versions of constitutions was introduced. Meanwhile, the major body of this chapter was devoted to the introduction of main articles

¹⁶⁴ *Jama'at-i-Islami*, a religious political party founded by Maulana Abul Ala Maududi in 1941. After Pakistan was established, it promoted the establishment of an Islamic state under the *Shariah*. For more details, see its official website, www.jamaat.org.

¹⁶⁵ Mohammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd., 1980), 26.

¹⁶⁶ Refer to Omar Noman, *Pakistan: A Political and Economic History Since 1947* (London: Kegan Paul International Ltd, 1990) Chapter 1. Also see Hamza Alavi, “Social Forces and Ideology in the Making of Pakistan”, *Economic and Political Weekly* (37:51, Dec 2002), 5119-5124.

¹⁶⁷ Pervez Amirali Hoodbhoy and A. H. Nayyar, “Rewriting the History of Pakistan”, *Islam, Politics and the State*, ed., Asghar Khan. (London: Zed Books, 1985), 166.

and features of the constitutions. This chapter played the role of presenting Pakistan's post partition history. However, the political or economic history was not presented in further detail. Many important historical incidents were not included, e.g., there was no mention about the three wars fought between Pakistan and India, and there was not a sufficient presentation of Pakistan's governments since independence. "From the year 1947, the establishment of Pakistan, through the year 1977, the start of the *Nizam-i-Mustafa* Movement¹⁶⁸, all recent Pakistan studies texts maintain total, or almost total, silence on political events of this period."¹⁶⁹ The constitutions seemed to be the only legacies of the post partition history, which were allowed to be introduced to students. The emphasis of this chapter was also laid on the presentation of Islamic features and articles of the constitutions. In a textbook which devoted seventeen pages to this chapter, the author introduced Islamic features or provisions in eight pages.¹⁷⁰ The notion that Pakistan was an Islamic state had been mentioned as the feature of every constitution. Besides, various Islamic provisions were listed with short explanations, e.g., sovereignty belonged to Allah, Muslims' belief in Islamic principles, promotion of Islamic values, Islamic social systems. Students were exposed to large amount of Islamic discourses when they were trying to understand the constitutions. The textbooks repeatedly manifested the important status occupied by Islam in the operation of the state.

The textbooks also described the future vision of Pakistan under the context of Islam.

For example,

¹⁶⁸ *Nizam-e-Mustafa* Movements referred to the transformation of Pakistan to a society of Islamic system, which was implemented by Zia ul-Haq.

¹⁶⁹ Pervez Amiralii Hoodbhoy and A. H. Nayyar, "Rewriting the History of Pakistan", *Islam, Politics and the State*, ed., Asghar Khan. (London: Zed Books, 1985), 173.

¹⁷⁰ Qais, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Class X* (Lahore: Punjab Textbook Board, 2005), 48-64.

“An Islamic state provides equal opportunities to all its citizens so that every member of society may get chance to flourish and develop his faculties to become useful....It is considered the foremost duty of an Islamic state to provide quick and cheap justice to the people....It is the basic duty of an Islamic state that it makes no compromise as for supremacy of law is concerned. Everyone is treated equally before law.”¹⁷¹

The above words were quoted from a chapter entitled as “Pakistan-A Future Welfare State.”

The whole chapter was devoted to envisage the picture of Pakistan’s future. It was depicted as a very happy society under the guidance of Islamic principles. When picturing the future of Pakistan, the textbooks usually listed out a few points regarding the development of society, including economics, education, social justice and democracy and so on. Then the textbook presented Islamic principles under each point, implying that Pakistan society would develop to reach the ideal stage as it was described in Islamic context. For instance, when discussing the economic and social development, a textbook introduced that

“A struggle against ignorance, poverty and economic exploitation is one of our main national objectives. We wish to establish an Islamic society in Pakistan which is an embodiment of equality, social justice, mutual respect and cooperation. No one should fall a prey to ignorance, poverty and exploitation.”¹⁷²

A society following the Islamic principles was presented to have a very bright future. Though

¹⁷¹ Qais, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Class X* (Lahore: Punjab Textbook Board, 2005), 168-175.

¹⁷² Hassan Askri Rizvi, et al., *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Lahore: Imtiaz Book Depot, 1997), 255.

Pakistan was still backward in human development,¹⁷³ the textbooks tried to give students a hope and belief in Islamic state. It led students to have a positive feeling about a state operated under Islamic ideology.

To sum up, students were infused with the idea that Islam was the main feature of Pakistan. Islam was a symbol of the state, whose foundation was the Islamic ideology. The textbooks attempted to make all the students united under the flag of Islam, since the textbooks taught students to equate the ideology of the state with the Islamic ideology. It cannot be observed from the textbook any “distinction between religious education and citizenship education.”¹⁷⁴ The textbooks also beautify the picture of an Islamic state. Therefore, as a Pakistani, one needed to identify him or herself with Islamic ideology, which was no longer an ideology of any ethnic group but a common characteristic shared by all the Pakistanis.

4. Conclusion: Islam— A Solution

The *Pakistan Studies* textbooks gave large amount of space to the introduction of Islam-related content. Anyone who reads the textbooks would have a deep impression of the strong religious teachings. The textbooks assumed that Islam could be promoted as a panacea which dispelled all the factors that obstructed the formation of national identity. Pakistan has been struggling for building a convincing national identity to negate their identity of being Indians; Islam, however, provided a good and distinctive characteristic to define an independent Muslim identity. Pakistan consists of regions with old and diverse cultures; Islam,

¹⁷³ In the recent published Human Development Index Rankings of 2010, Pakistan ranked 125 from the top out of the 169 countries investigated. See Human Development Index (HDI)- 2010 Rankings, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>

¹⁷⁴ Iftikar Ahmad, “Islam, Democracy and Citizenship Education: An Examination of the Social Studies Curriculum in Pakistan” *Current Issues in Comparative Education* (07: 01, 2004), 39-49.

the common belief shared by people from all the regions, was especially emphasised in the textbooks to minimize the possibility of fostering local identity. Students are from all social classes with diverse family backgrounds; Islam was promoted in the textbooks to unify their world view about their nation and country. Students with different religious beliefs may identify themselves with respective religious communities; Islam, defined as the basic ideology of Pakistan, was supposed to be perceived as the symbol of not only Muslims but also all the other Pakistanis who were not Muslims.

In the textbooks of *Pakistan Studies*, Islam was a special and universal symbol from the perspective of national identity building. The textbooks promoted the teaching of Islamic knowledge and ideology in order to help every student find a niche under the flag of Islam, whether the student considered it as a symbol of his or her nation, or a symbol of all the country fellows. As long as Islam was conceived as a common characteristic shared by all the Pakistanis, the promotion of Islam in the textbooks would be successful in moulding a unifying national identity.

Conclusion

Pakistan has been in trouble with forming a clear and stable national identity in the past few decades. It could be attributed to a variety of historical, economic and political problems. Discrepancies between secular and religious forces, struggles between national and local interests, and confusions of understanding Indian and Pakistani differences all increase the difficulty of building a unifying national identity. However, the history textbooks of Pakistan are a good approach to understand how Pakistani nation should be defined from the perspective of the government.

By analysing the content of one kind of history textbooks in Pakistan, *Pakistan Studies* textbooks, the image of Pakistani nation promoted by Pakistan government is revealed. From the sufficient presentation of primary resources, this study provides a grounded platform to look into the ways that Pakistan's history textbooks educate children to identify with the nation. Four national symbols, "history, hero, culture and Islam", were extracted from the text as sensors of national education content which is drowned with all the other knowledge in the textbooks. Students are told that although Pakistan is a new country, the Pakistani nation have a long history. There have been a series of unique characteristics which distinguished the Pakistani nation from others since thousands of years ago. The ancestors of Pakistani nation created the great Indus Valley Civilisation. Nowadays, Pakistani nation are also an independent and distinctive nation. Urdu is promoted as the national language for all the Pakistanis; there is also the national dress and other common features in terms of culture. The Pakistani nation is also defined as same as a Muslim nation. People who strove for the interest of Muslims should be highly regarded by Pakistanis. Islam is believed the unifying

ideology for the nation. All the students are exposed to learning Islamic principles and knowledge. Believing in Islam is the symbol of being Pakistanis. It is emphasised in the textbooks that Pakistan was established for the Muslim nation and exist for Muslims also. Islamic ideology is not only the common ground of Muslims, but also the foundation of the Ideology of Pakistan. Thus being Pakistanis means to identify with the Islamic ideology. All the above are ideas of Pakistani nation promoted by *Pakistan Studies* textbooks

The textbooks guided students to identify with the nation by indoctrinating the uniform ideologies. The textbooks promoted the reception of Islamic ideology, which was regarded not only as a symbol of Muslims but also a symbol of all the Pakistanis. Islamic ideology and lifestyle were put forward as the very distinctiveness which differentiated Pakistanis from other nations. The textbooks also attempted to emphasise on the presentation of old and proud history of the nation, although the narratives and approaches deviated from the mainstream works and remained controversial. The job of defining Pakistani nation did not only lie in stressing on the uniqueness of this nation, but also in promoting of common characteristics among all the ethnic groups in Pakistan. The establishment of national ancestors, heroes, cultural icons and promotion of Islamic ideology was also the effort to minimise the difference and disagreement existing between the ethnic groups. In this process, Islam had always been highly regarded as the most important national symbol rather than a personal belief and lifestyle.

This study provides a detailed analysis around the theme of four unifying symbols promoted in *Pakistan Studies* textbooks. However, the analysis of the promotion of national identity in the textbooks is not limited to this approach. Meanwhile, the selection of the

sample textbooks in this study may not represent all the situations. Different textbooks published in different areas could be taken as evidence for further analysis of identity construction in textbooks. In addition, the study of national identity of Pakistan also deserves further investigation. Besides textbook analysis, there have been other perspectives to research the constitution of Pakistan's national identity, such as historical perspective and political perspective and so on. The approach of history education adopted in this essay only presents one possible method to research this topic.

Governments everywhere understand the importance of history education in the formation of national identity. The design and writing of history textbooks have always been a big concern for many governments. They make use of this bastion to transmit the officially prescribed knowledge about the past and present of a nation. Students who learn history from the history textbooks of respective countries obtained an idea of the nation. Students' perceptions about their nation do not vary much because of reading the uniform history textbooks. The definition of a nation in history textbooks was made under the guidance of a government. All the presentation of historical events and figures is the outcome of a careful selection from vast materials about the nation's past, which guarantees that the presentation helps mould a desirable national identity.

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Appendix: Original Copy of the Questionnaires for Local Students and Teachers

For Students

1. How many classes of Pakistan Studies do you have every week?
2. What time do you usually have the class of Pakistan Studies?
 - A. Morning
 - B. Early afternoon
 - C. Late afternoon
3. What do you do in Pakistan Studies' class?
 - A. Carefully listening to the teacher and taking part in it
 - B. Doing homework of other subjects
 - C. Talking with others in private
 - D. Making noise
4. Which of the following best describes your feeling about this course (Pakistan Studies)?
 - A. Very easy and interesting, I do not make special time for this course but get good marks.
 - B. Interesting but difficult, I have to work hard for good marks.
 - C. Easy and boring, I have no interest in it.
 - D. Boring and difficult, I have to spend much time in it.
 - E. Interesting and inspiring, I also find related readings after class.
 - F. Boring and annoying, I hate it.
 - G. Others...please note
5. What do you think of the textbooks of Pakistan Studies?

- A. Good quality and inspiring in my study.
 - B. Good, I know my country more after learning it
 - C. Good, I love my country more after learning it.
 - D. Just telling me the basic knowledge of the country
 - E. Full of foolish mistakes
 - F. Too many biased words towards other races and countries
6. What do you think of the teachers' teaching of this course?
- A. Good and inspiring.
 - B. They themselves are not interested in this course and do not prepare well.
 - C. They just read what the textbooks say.
 - D. They leave too much home work
 - E. The tests they make are very difficult.

For Teachers

1. In your opinion, what are the main aims and objects of Pakistan Studies?
 - A. Helping students identify themselves with the country and promoting patriotism among students
 - B. Teaching the basic knowledge about this country
 - C. Introducing basic research methodologies about history research or country research
 - D. Others...please note...
2. What do you think of the content of the textbook of Pakistan Studies?
 - A. Of high quality and inspiring
 - B. Basically correct but boring
 - C. Full of errors
3. What do you think is the problem of the textbook?
 - A. Too many mistakes which could be corrected if more attention was paid
 - B. Not enough exercise in the book
 - C. Too much overlap between books for different grades
 - D. Existing hatred words towards Hindus and western countries
4. How much time do you spare in preparing for the teaching of one class?
5. How do you teach usually?
 - A. Basically read the textbook
 - B. Basically not use the textbook and give lectures designed by yourself
 - C. Take the textbook as a basis and prepare the teaching with other materials also
 - D. Others...please note...

6. What is students' attitude towards this course?
 - A. Think it very important and spend much time reading and doing exercise
 - B. Think it important but easy to handle
 - C. Think it boring and with a strong color of preaching
 - D. Pay no or very little attention to this course
7. How do you encourage/force students to spend some time learning this course?
 - A. Adding more reading material
 - B. Taking more quiz or tests in class
 - C. Asking them more challenging questions
 - D. Never do anything besides basic teaching
8. How many editions of Pakistan Studies textbooks have you used in the teaching until now?
9. What do you think of the newest edition produced in 2008?
 - A. Basically no big change in content and exercise
 - B. Words against India/Hindus/Western world are deleted in some places
 - C. Previous mistakes have been corrected
 - D. More mistakes than before
 - E. Others...please note.
10. What is your main difficulty or problem in teaching this course?