What Produces a History Textbook?

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What Produces a History Textbook?

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Education of Harvard University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education

2015
For my father
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A reminder – celebrating transformation, freedom, struggle, new beauty. You have come a long way. Congratulations. – Dr. P. (March 9th, 2006)
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Abstract

In this dissertation, I undertake a sequential analysis of an elaborate system of forces that contribute to the production of history textbooks in Pakistan. I review longitudinal series of data on education policies and history textbooks from 1938-2012, and examine the decision-making processes, which inform said policies and textbooks, at the federal, provincial and local levels of government in Pakistan. My analysis is grounded in a particular understanding of religious nationalism and identity politics which is essential in conceptualizing religious political extremism and its role in defining what it means to be “Islamic” in context of history education in Pakistan.

Findings suggest that a history textbook in Pakistan is produced by seven highly influential and complex variables: (1) Religious ideology: religious ideological direction set through federal education policy, and the international pressures and domestic political events that inform this policy; (2) Identity politics: the scope of identity that the state mandates for its citizens, including the resistance to that scope as captured by student interaction with textbook content; (3) Military revisionism: war narratives and the state’s reconciliation with its past; (4) Political power: perceptions, leadership, and exclusionary tactics; (5) Financial vulnerabilities; (6) Systemic inefficiencies; and (7) Past history textbooks, in how they empower certain interest groups that inhibit curriculum development and revised conceptions of history.

My analysis reveals that while state sponsored curriculum material is used for the purpose of solidifying the relationship between religion and state, the content, the process, and the constantly shifting narrative of religious nationalism, selected from a multitude of narratives, are products of strategic choices that may well employ religion but are not entirely religiously motivated. Consequently, I propose the possibility that history education in Pakistan does not foster religious nationalism for the sake of religion, but uses religion as one tool amongst many, to further secular, political, and nationalistic objectives.
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Day by day and almost minute by minute the past was brought up to date. … All history was a palimpsest, scraped clean and reinscribed exactly as often as was necessary.

—George Orwell, 1984, 1961

In this dissertation, I undertake a sequential analysis of an elaborate system of forces that contribute to the production of history textbooks in Pakistan. In trying to ascertain what drives their production, I review longitudinal data on education policies and history textbooks from 1938-2012 and examine the decision-making processes that inform said policies and textbooks at the federal, provincial and local levels of government in Pakistan. My analysis is grounded in a particular understanding of religious nationalism and identity politics, which is essential in conceptualizing religious political extremism and its role in defining what it means to be Islamic in the context of history education in Pakistan.

Findings suggest that a history textbook in Pakistan is produced by seven highly influential and complex variables: (1) “Religious ideology”: religious ideological direction set through federal education policy and the international pressures and domestic political events that inform this policy; (2) “Identity politics”: the scope of identity that the state prescribes for its citizens, including the resistance to that scope as captured by student interaction with textbook content; (3) “Military revisionism”: war narratives and the state’s reconciliation with its past; (4) “Political power”: perceptions, leadership, and exclusionary
History as an Instrument of Government Power

This study identifies how religious and nationalist ideologies are expressed in history textbooks in Pakistan. There are two aspects to this issue. The first deals with content: What does the actual text in history textbooks say that promotes ideals of religion and state for school-going children? The second deals with process: How do actors and stakeholders interact with one another to promote particular narratives of religious nationalism? In either case, I examine how Islamic political extremism plays out in the production of history textbooks.

My analysis reveals that while state-sponsored curriculum material is used for the purpose of solidifying the relationship between religion and state, the content, the process, and the constantly shifting narrative of religious nationalism, selected from a multitude of narratives, are products of strategic choices that may well employ religion but are not religiously motivated. Consequently, I propose the possibility that history education in Pakistan does not foster religious nationalism for the sake of religion, but uses religion as one tool amongst many to further secular, political and nationalistic objectives.
Research Question

What produces a history textbook in Pakistan? By asking this research question and embarking on a step-by-step analysis of the various elements that impact the creation of history textbooks, I aim to test the hypothesis of Pakistan’s resistance to Islamic political extremism in context of the production of history textbooks.

Religious Political Extremism and Religious Fundamentalism

It is important to understand the distinction between religious fundamentalism and religious political extremism. According to (Ben-dor & Pedahzur, 2004), “Fundamentalism refers to scripturalism, and strict adherence to written commandments and interpretations, as well as a return to the fundamentals of religion” (pp. 81-82). As (Barkun, 2004) points out, religious fundamentalism does not inherently have a politically extremist component to it, nor is the link “self-evidently true” (p. 56). In this sense, there is undoubtedly religious fundamentalism prevalent in the culture of Pakistan. But how is it different from political extremism?

According to Beit-Hallahmi (2004), “The ideology of fundamentalism becomes of importance for politics when it is transformed from a religious belief system into a political ideology embodied in a political movement, and when this movement gains political power or mass support” (p. 29). In countries where democratic values are not yet prevalent or where economic institutions have not
matured, fundamentalists can take on the role of “world conquerors” through mass movements and political organizing (Almond, Appleby & Sivan as cited in Ben-dor & Pedahzur, 2004). This is where political extremists and religious fundamentalists can potentially overlap to form the phenomenon I call “religious political extremism” where the political extremist’s worldview is inscribed with the text and terms of religious fundamentalism (see Figure 1). I argue in this dissertation, that while religious fundamentalism, which is culture based, is literally written all over the curriculum in Pakistan, the production of history textbooks is not motivated by religious political extremism.

   Religious political extremism requires a “reference to religious authorities who can legitimate action and an ‘other’ against whom violence can be directed” (Barkun, 2004, p. 168). Neither one of these is necessary for the Islamic religious fundamentalist who does not engage in politics but may flourish in the cultural and social domains of society.
Hypothesis

Islamic religious fundamentalism manifests in Pakistan as profound cultural and social devotion to Islamic scripture and its basic tenets. When an aspiration for religious political domination of devotees becomes an ambition with a political agenda, plan and movement, Islamic religious fundamentalism becomes Islamic political extremism.

My hypothesis in this dissertation is that while political extremism has consistently employed the narrative of Islamic religious fundamentalism in the pursuit of Islamic political extremism, the latter never gained universal currency despite the preponderance of Islamic religious fundamentalism in Pakistan (see Figure 2).
There is a tension between the politics and culture of Pakistan whereby in the arena of the former, attempts are occasionally made to incorporate Islamic political extremism, while in the realm of the latter people persist in guarding against it. Religion is met with low uptake in the political landscape of Pakistan, in that no religious political party has ever won the majority in parliament or even a substantial minority at the national or provincial levels of government. At the same time, religion maintains strong roots in the social and cultural domains of Pakistan. It seems, therefore, that the Pakistani political sphere is not conducive to cultural extremism, even if the people themselves as private citizens and in communities may be religious fundamentalists.
Religious fundamentalists have a commitment to the inerrancy of texts; however, the meaning that they derive from the same text can vary over time and depend upon context. The ultimate conviction of religious fundamentalists is that truth and the “final meaning” remain “encoded in the text” (Barkun, 2004, p. 66). Meaning making is dependent upon political, cultural and social events that fill the space to which believers apply the text and derive interpretations (Barkun, 2004). In Pakistan, meaning making of Islam is infused with its cultural traditions, inspired mostly by Sufism and metaphysical concerns. Periods of extensive Islamic political extremism, when Islamic fundamentalism overlapped greatly with political extremism, were not able to take root in Pakistani society. In the context of textbooks, this is visible in the myriad factors that go into producing history, where religious ideology is used and discarded with equal ease for varying positions.

Roadmap

This dissertation is based on five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the topic, hypothesis, research question and the theoretical themes guiding the research. The next three chapters comprise a three-step data analysis section; each chapter brings forth important variables in the process of making history textbooks, collectively covering all seven factors. In Chapter 2, I trace the history of Pakistan’s national policy within its political context. The political context is the independent variable against which the dependent variable of textbook content is
measured in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I analyze the politics of making history textbooks as they play out on federal, provincial and local levels. Chapter 5 presents a discussion of the implications of this study, which showcases that typical characterizations for understanding Pakistan do not hold when examined in light of the data.

**Three Bodies of Data: A Multidimensional Picture**

Each of the three chapters in the data analysis section deals with variables in the process of making history textbooks. Collectively, they tell the story of where and how religion plays a role in Pakistan’s national education policies, the correlation of these policies with history textbook content in Punjab, and the multidimensional process behind the making of textbooks.

Chapter 2 charts the role of religious ideology in education policies and the extent to which religious ideology manifests as Islamic political extremism, starting with the first national conference on education in 1947, up to 2012. I divide this time period into four distinct policy phases, and for each phase, I provide a brief political context, specific citations of religious ideology used by the policies and supporting documents in each phase, and a subsequent assessment of each phase along three dimensions: 1) centralized versus decentralized, 2) authoritarian versus pluralist, and 3) religious versus secular.

In Chapter 3, I study a second body of data based on a longitudinal series of history textbooks from the province of Punjab, ranging from 1938 to 2012. I
examine these textbooks along the same three dimensions as in Chapter 2, and
document the correlation of religious content in history textbooks with the
changing religious ideological direction at the national education policy. We
cannot tell whether textbooks cause policy shifts, as the data do not address this aspect, but we may assume that shifts in national political tides, as reflected in national education policy, do affect the religious ideological direction that these history textbooks take.

These effects are captured in two additional variables that have a significant effect on what makes a history textbook in Pakistan. The first is identity politics, which is the scope of identity that the state mandates for its citizens, including the resistance to that scope as captured by student interaction with textbook content. The second is military revisionism, which includes war narratives that the state authorizes and the state's reconciliation with its past.

The story of history textbook making in Pakistan may be considered simple enough with political context being the independent variable, as laid out in Chapter 2, and textbook content being the dependent variable, as discussed in Chapter 3. History textbook content does indeed stay responsive to the shifting religious ideological direction of national policy through much of Pakistan’s history. Specifically, of the four phases I demarcate as part of education policy analysis in this chapter, history textbook content is responsive throughout the first three (1947-1998).

There is, however, a break in this correlation in the fourth phase (1999-
2012) of the longitudinal series, where the national education policy mandates a stark shift away from Islamic political extremism, but textbook content oddly revives it. Thus, without a study of the politics behind the scenes, one cannot fully understand the complex machinery, understood via four additional variables, which drive the making of history textbooks in Pakistan.

These additional variables are: political power, which includes the impact of perceptions, leadership ability, and exclusionary tactics on the part of decision makers; financial vulnerabilities, representing a system where large amounts of profit are at stake and can easily be maneuvered from one stakeholder to another; systemic inefficiencies, capturing those processes that are unrelated to religious or political ideology but entirely driven by competence of, and coordination between, decision makers; and lastly, past history textbooks, which politically empower certain religious factions with a vested interest in inhibiting change and revised conceptions of religious ideology.

Location in Current Research

Current research on Pakistan has, to some extent, pointed out that history textbooks in Pakistan are biased (Nayyar & Salim, 2002). Some authors have also highlighted the nature of biased content in Pakistani textbooks (Aziz, 1993). This study hopes to take that work forward by saying something beyond the fact that there are biases in Pakistani history textbooks.

Through this research, I hope to document the factors that influence
history textbooks and the ways in which the dynamics of creating bias manifest in
the complex ecosystem in which textbooks and education policies are made. Pakistan provides an excellent forum for exploring the factors that produce a
history textbook, particularly textbooks that are biased and fluctuating in their content.

Although by the metrics of achieving high levels of literacy, Pakistan has failed on many accounts. In an Education For All Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2012), Pakistan ranks amongst the lowest in the world in terms of performance on education indicators and lies at position 113 out of 120 countries globally on the Education Development Index.

However, in terms of shaping the narrative of a nation, Pakistan has been quite successful in molding and changing the identity of its citizens through education and textbooks. For this reason, Pakistan is a particularly interesting case study, if not a formative one, in terms of exploring the variables that go into the production of a history textbook.

Furthermore, the politics of history textbooks is one of universal relevance given that the teaching of history is subjective. Pakistan provides an extreme case of these politics playing out with competing political agendas in a relatively short period of its existence. A study on Pakistan, therefore, provides a good point of departure into developing a larger study that incorporates many other countries where history textbooks have been used for political purposes.
CHAPTER II. EDUCATION POLICIES

Beginning the analysis with an examination of data at the federal level allows access to the larger context within which history textbook content has been written. National education policy provides direction for the education system at large and for textbooks in particular. Secondly, the federal level, being the highest level of government, is the appropriate arena to ascertain the government’s approach to religion within the context of education.

Variable 1: Religious ideology

While there is much debate about the definition of the term “religion,” particularly in the context of religious ideology, in this chapter, I focus entirely on when the term or the subject appears in the data. In this sense, arriving at a specific definition of the term is less relevant to my thesis than highlighting the ways in which it appears in the data.

A longitudinal series of Pakistan’s national education policies (1947-2012) represents a large bulk of the data. The 62-year period is delineated into four distinct phases, based on the ideological direction of the national education policy within the context of religion. In each phase, I evaluate the role of religious ideology along three dimensions: 1) centralized versus decentralized, 2) authoritarian versus permissive, and 3) religious versus secular. The characterization of each phase in each of these three dimensions has
implications for the extent of Islamic political extremism in that phase.

A summary of the analysis is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1

*History of Pakistan’s National Education Policies Delineated Into Four Phases, With Columns Representing the Three Dimensions – Centralized Versus Decentralized, Authoritarian Versus Permissive, and Religious Versus Secular – Along Which National Education Policy Appears to be Changing*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Phase</th>
<th>Centralized vs. Decentralized</th>
<th>Authoritarian vs. Permissive</th>
<th>Religious vs. Secular</th>
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<tr>
<td>Policy Phase 1 (1947-1958)</td>
<td>Centralized</td>
<td>Permissive</td>
<td>Secular</td>
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*Note. vs. = versus*

This chapter concludes that religion in general—and Islamic political extremism in particular—has over time been consistently experimented with as a political tool, but Islamic political extremism does not appear as an enduring pattern in national education policies of Pakistan.
Methodology

The data for this chapter comprise all national education policies and government-issued education commission reports since Pakistan’s independence in 1947. Additionally, I looked at various other policy-related documents, such as government reports, drafts of education policies under review, national education conference reports, and scholarly reviews of said policies, to cover a time period of 65 years (1947-2012). Combined, I reviewed 10 education policies and 11 policy-related, mostly government documents.

I coded data for the mention of religion in general, a particular emphasis on Islam, rights of minorities, a description of what is or should be Pakistan’s culture in terms of religion, etc. As I read through the materials, I noted new themes that emerged, such as the importance of science education and research, women’s education, etc., and created additional codes for them.

The analysis came together by examining two aspects of the codes: first, the number of times each code appeared in every document and throughout the data, and second, the ways in which the content of each code changed over time through different periods in Pakistan’s history.

A detailed overview of the different aspects of each document revealed distinct characteristics in policies in different eras. I classified the history of Pakistan’s national education policy into four separate chronological phases. There is fluidity and overlap in features between one phase and the next, but the demarcation is particularly evident in how religion plays out over time through
three dimensions: centralized versus decentralized, authoritarian versus permissive, and religious versus secular. These three dimensions, explained below, informed the variable religious ideology and represented the extent of Islamic political extremism in a particular phase.

The first dimension, centralized versus decentralized, captured not just the government structure in that era but also the extent to which, irrespective of the government structure, i.e., democracy or dictatorship, the federal government took on the role of defining political Islam for the country. When federal government structure allowed for a rapid translation of national political agendas into grassroots-level impact, I coded that phase as centralized.

Second, authoritarian versus permissive signified the extent to which the state took on the attributes of a theocracy, as opposed to promoting the values of tolerance and inclusion. These characteristics existed irrespective of whether the country was officially governed by a democratic or dictatorial regime. The policy on madrasa education through different phases is an effective measure for this dimension. At times, madrasas are considered a forum for religious education as long as mainstream subjects remain an essential part of their curriculum. I consider this permissive in character. At other times, madrasa expansion projects, with a strictly exclusive curriculum, lead the way in implementing

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1 See Appendix A for a list of abbreviations and an glossary of terms
2 “A Muslim school, college, or university that is often part of a mosque” (“Madrassa I Definition of madrassa by Merriam-Webster,” 2015). Deviations in spelling appear in quotes from official documents. I spell the word as madrasa, unless quoting from a source where I retain the original spelling.
theocratic agendas for greater Islamic political extremism. These eras I classify as authoritarian in terms of religious ideology.

Finally, the third dimension, religious versus secular, measures the degree to which the state mandates a particular interpretation of political Islam in the curriculum. “Secular” in this sense does not mean non-religious but rather inclusive of minority religions— and minority sects within Islam—in the curriculum. For example, when the Pakistani state prioritizes national cohesion above religious difference, I characterize that phase as secular. However, when the state’s education policy excludes those who fall outside its mainstream interpretation of Islam, I classify the era as religious.

Analysis

Detailed below is a discussion on each of the four policy phases that I demarcated based on shifts in the variable religious ideology, as reflected in national education policies of Pakistan over time. Each section lays out data based upon which I make conclusions about the characterization of a phase along the three dimensions described above.

In summary, as visually displayed in Table 1, Policy Phase 1 (1947-1958), wherein Pakistan seeks Islam as a tool for social democracy, is classified as one of centralized, permissive, and secular religious ideology. Policy Phase 2 (1959-1976), wherein the religious emphasis changes from Islamic socialism to Islam as a means of promoting national cohesion, is classified as centralized,
authoritarian, and secular. In Policy Phase 3 (1977-1998), Islam enters the political space in an unprecedented way during which education policies dictate an allegiance to universal Muslim brotherhood, beyond the political boundaries of Pakistan. This phase is characterized as centralized, authoritarian, and religious.

Finally, Policy Phase 4 (1999-2010) takes a sharp turn away from the expansive Islamic political extremist agenda of the previous phase and frames Islam as a means to a tolerant and inclusive society open to Muslims and non-Muslims alike. This phase is characterized as decentralized, permissive, and secular.

**Policy Phase 1: Islam for social democracy in Pakistan.**

**Political context.** This policy phase (1947-1958) includes two important policy documents. The first is Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of the Interior - Education Division [GOP], 1947) based on a conference held in December 1947, within months of Pakistan’s independence in August 1947. The second policy document is the Proceedings of the Educational Conference (Government of Pakistan, Education Division [GOP], 1951), from a conference held soon after the death of the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1948), the halting of a Pakistan-India war on the issue of Kashmir after the United Nations’ intervention (1948), and the passage of The Objectives Resolution that emphasized the role of Islam in Pakistan (1949). The Proceedings of the Educational Conference (GOP, 1951)
also came in the wake of the assassination of the first prime minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan (October, 1951). The next education policy, the Report of the Commission on National Education (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 1959), would not be issued for another eight years. This policy (GOP, 1959) marks the beginning of Phase 2.

The salient features of Policy Phase 1 are discussed in subsections below, entitled “The case for religion,” “Pakistan not a theocratic state,” “Democracy an Islamic value,” and “Inclusion of minorities.”

_The case for religion_. The first noticeable feature of the two policies comprising this phase is the interchangeability with which Islam and religion are used on many occasions. The policies make the case for religion in education by arguing in favor of the civilizational effect of religion in general. For example, the document on the Pakistan Conference on Education (GOP, 1947) begins by stating the agenda of the proceedings. The agenda asks, “Whether instruction in the fundamentals of religion should be imparted in schools?” (GOP, 1947, p. 1). Here, the word “religion” is used, not “Islam” in particular.

Pakistan’s founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah wrote a message to the Pakistan Conference on Education that was read by the education minister at the conference and is copied at the beginning of the policy document (GOP, 1947). It emphasizes the importance of religion in order for Pakistan to be better off than its Western counterparts who have suffered “more than thirteen centuries of
human misery, strife, and bloodshed" (GOP, 1947, p. 5). Jinnah’s message further states (GOP, 1947):

To arrest this process, to purge men’s minds of barbarism and turn them to humanitarian purposes is the great task which our education must attempt if we are to help mankind to survive. The provision for instruction in the fundamentals of religion in schools is, therefore, a paramount necessity for without such knowledge we cannot hope to build character or lay the foundations for an adequate philosophy of life. (p. 5)

Committees on primary, secondary, university, and women’s education at the Pakistan Educational Conference (GOP, 1947) echo similar sentiments over the need for religion in education, noting that “many western countries which had been experimenting with new educational ideas, had realized the importance of religious instruction and introduced it as a compulsory subject in the School syllabus” (p. 40). The approach continues into the next policy, Proceedings of the Educational Conference (GOP, 1951), which states the need for “our religion and culture” (p. 13) in an education system that had been based entirely on Western values until now.

The Proceedings of the Educational Conference (GOP, 1951), which came after the passing of The Objectives Resolution in 1949, specifies Islam as state ideology:

Prior to the Objectives Resolution [1949], however, is the resolution of Pakistan Educational Conference [1947] recommending the adoption of Islamic Ideology as the basis of education. Implicit in this resolution is recognition that education cannot exist in a vacuum and that it must be an instrument of the kind of ideological transformation which Pakistan stands for. (GOP, 1951, p. 360)
Pakistan not a theocratic state. Islamic ideology, as the foundation of the state and as a fundamental vision for education, appears consistently through all education policies of Pakistan, but what is meant by “Islamic ideology” varies in each policy phase. The education policies of 1947 and 1951 emphasize that Islamic socialism should characterize the ideology of Pakistan. In this, there is a categorical distancing from any notion of Pakistan as a theocracy. Instead, Islamic principles and history are invoked to establish rule of law and a welfare state. In his inaugural address to the first Pakistan Educational Conference (GOP, 1947), the education minister of Pakistan, Fazlur Rahman, said:

The Impression that Pakistan, being an Islamic State, is a theocratic State is being sedulously fostered in certain quarters with the sole object of discrediting it in the eyes of the world. To anyone who is conversant with the basic principles of Islam, it should be obvious that in the fields of civics Islam has stood for complete social democracy and social justice as the history of the early Caliphs will show and has not sanctioned government by a sacerdotal class deriving its authority from God. The ruler and the ruled alike are equal before Islamic law and the ruler far from being a vice-regent of God on earth is but a representative of the people who have chosen him to serve them. (p. 6)

The Proceedings of the Educational Conference (GOP, 1951) also asserts that Islamic socialism assures democratic values of political, social, and economic equality (p. 14). In this policy phase, Islam seems to have been perceived as the best way to accomplish a certain political ideal.

Democracy as an Islamic value. The ideals of inclusion, democracy, and minority rights were understood to be Islamic values in Policy Phase 1. The
first education minister of Pakistan, in his address to the education conference (GOP, 1947), framed Islam in terms of democratic values to be inculcated through education:

Where but in Islam could we find the democratic virtues of tolerance, self-help, self-sacrifice, human kindliness, the protection and succour of the weak and the oppressed? And what better ideals could we postulate for our educational theory than these? (p. 6)

Conference committees (GOP, 1947) described Pakistan’s overarching character in terms of a “conception of Islam as a humanitarian philosophy of life, divorced from any racial or geographical bias, giving due regard to the claims of minorities living within Pakistan” (p. 40).

The inclusive character of Pakistan’s Islamic foundation is carried into the education policy of 1951, where the conference report Proceedings of the Educational Conference (GOP, 1951) positions religion in Pakistan as distinct from “reaction, obscurantism and intolerance” (p. 13). Further, it (GOP, 1951) states, “Pakistan has not been established with the object of adding yet one more state to the congeries of warring and competing states but that it stands for a distinct way of life based on Islamic principles” (p. 359), implying that the Islamic ideology of Pakistan is incongruent with war and intolerance. Here, we see Islam being used to promote tolerance and peace.

**Inclusion of minorities.** The education minister’s statement in the Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference (GOP, 1947) invokes Islam
to emphasize the rights of non-Muslims. He also places greater emphasis on citizenship status than religious status. This fact alone is noteworthy in terms of how policy makers reckoned with Islam and political ideals within this phase. He adds, “There cannot be a greater source of pride and better object of undivided loyalty than the citizenship of Pakistan, no matter what political, religious or provincial label one may possess (GOP, 1947, p. 8).

Committee members making this policy (GOP, 1947) summarized the education ideology of Pakistan in three guiding principles: an Islamic conception of universal brotherhood, justice, and social democracy; an essential requirement to understand the fundamentals of one’s religion for every student; and the assimilation of spiritual, social, and vocational aspects of education (p. 21).

Thus, we can conclude that in Policy Phase 1, Islam is invoked philosophically, politically, and within a larger framework of religion in general. Islam is also invoked broadly; its label is attached to contemporary political experiments as well as a global view of humanity. In this sense, Islam is being employed for a secular objective of universal citizenship and participation. Based on these findings, I code Policy Phase 1 as centralized, permissive, and secular.

**Policy Phase 2: Islam for national cohesion in Pakistan.**

**Political context.** In the previous phase, Islam meant Islamic socialism representing values of inclusion and democracy. In what I consider to be a
distinct next policy phase (1959-1976), the purpose of Islam changes to one of national cohesion. In both phases, the emphasis on Islamic ideology as the foundation of the country remains intact.

There are three education policies that mark this phase, along with three additional documents that help us understand the nature of the emphasis on Islam. First, an education policy, The Report of the Commission on National Education (GOP, 1959), was released after General Ayub Khan’s military rule was established (1958). After Pakistan fought a second war with India (1965), two more documents were released, which are not education policies but are of particular interest to this research: the Report of the Commission on Student Problems and Welfare (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 1966) and Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference (Haq, 1968). General Ayub Khan handed over military rule to Pakistan’s second dictator, Yahya Khan (1969), under whom The New Education Policy of the Government of Pakistan (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education and Scientific Research [GOP], 1970) was released.

A further document of interest is Proposals for a New Educational Policy (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education and Scientific Research [GOP], 1969) which informed the education policy (GOP, 1970) that followed. East Pakistan seceded from West Pakistan to become Bangladesh (1971) after Pakistan’s third war with India and a gruesome civil war in the eastern wing. The Education Policy 1972-1980 (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education,
[GOP] 1972) is the third and final education policy for this phase. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became prime minister (1973) and formed a democratic government after 14 years of military rule.

The features that define this phase are explored in subsections below, entitled “National unity through religion,” “Faith-specific religious education for minorities,” “National unity above religious differences,” “Pakistan as a member of the international community,” “Disappearance of Islamic socialism,” “Emphasis on research,” “Essential but limited space to Islamic education,” and “Progressive curriculum for madrasas.”

**National unity through religion.** The first defining feature of this phase is the shift from employing Islam to promote the development of a socialist democracy in the previous phase to invoking Islam for national cohesion. This is the first, although minor, step taken by the establishment to integrate a Muslim identity and citizenship, in sharp contrast to the first phase, in which policy makers explicitly placed Pakistani citizenship over and above an individual’s religious affiliation.

Criticizing the colonial education system as inadequate the document Proposals for a New Education Policy (GOP, 1969), makes recommendations for a radical change in educational policies that not only invoked Islam for the purposes of national cohesion but also specified that the new unified system of education was to be made more Islamic. The document says:
It has already been stated that a major unifying factor for Pakistan, as a nation, can be the belief of its people in Islamic cultural values. To argue, therefore, that the set of cultural values to be imparted to the education system should be only secular in character is unrealistic. It must be recognized therefore that the unified system of education in Pakistan should be an Islamic one. (GOP, 1969, p. 13)

The New Education Policy of the Government of Pakistan (GOP, 1970) consolidates these recommendations into an official government stance. The primary reform area mentioned in this document is the “role of education in the preservation and inculcation of Islamic values as an instrument of national unity and progress” (GOP, 1970, p. 1).

After the 1971 separation of East Pakistan (that became an independent country, Bangladesh), the emphasis on the need for national unity intensified. This can be seen in The Education Policy 1972-1980 (GOP, 1972), which proposed launching radio and TV channels for broadcasting educational programs and the recitation of the Holy Quran “so as to saturate the air with the message of God and further forge the bond of national cohesion amongst the Muslims in different parts of the country” (GOP, 1972, p. 20).

**Faith-specific religious education for minorities.** As part of a grander attempt at creating national cohesion, the inclusion of religious minorities amidst this emphasis on Islam in education is addressed on a few occasions as the right of religious minorities to learn about their own religion. The Report of the Commission on National Education (GOP, 1959) maintains the importance and
the right of religious minorities to learn about their religion while asserting that Islam must be the predominant religious faith for the country’s education system.

The Report of the Commission on Student Problems and Welfare (GOP, 1966) speaks with somewhat greater concern for minorities, quoting the constitutional right of citizens to refuse instruction in a language not their own:

… our Constitution by the First Amendment Act of 1963 provides it is a fundamental right under paragraph 12 (2) of Right No. IV that “no religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in any educational institution maintained wholly by that community or denomination.” (p. 17)

The report (GOP, 1966) refers to the protection that Pakistan’s constitution gives against religious instruction about a faith or sect that is not one’s own. For the “large numbers of non-Muslims residing in our country who cannot, under the constitutional guarantee given by our Constitution, be compelled to receive religious instruction … which relates to a religion other than their own” (p. 27), the report suggests, “No matter what their religion or the sect of the religion to which the child may belong, it should not be too difficult for providing suitable religious education to every child according to his own religion” (p. 27).

**National unity above religious differences.** While The Report of the Commission on National Education (GOP, 1959) asserts that Pakistan was, in
fact, created out of a need for Muslims on the subcontinent to preserve the Islamic way of life, this phase emphasized national unity over religious divisions. In this regard, the policy is explicit about the specific purpose of religious education.

The policy is also conscious of how such instruction can be potentially detrimental when it states, “Religious education should do nothing which would impair social and political unity in the country” (GOP, 1959, p. 209). It further elaborates, keeping in mind differences within Islam, “Religion is not to be presented as a dogma, superstition, or ritual. Sectional and sectarian differences which are likely to impair national unity should find no place in the teaching of religion in schools” (p. 209).

The New Education Policy of the Government of Pakistan (GOP, 1970) emphasizes the creation of a just society in Pakistan, with every Muslim man and woman forming an educated and “informed citizenry” (p. 3). It concludes, “The curricula should be re-designed to reflect the teachings of Islam as a dynamic force of unity and progress and as inspiration for building a democratic, tolerant and just society as envisaged in the concept of Pakistan” (p. 15).

Thus, a tolerant and unified society is considered an Islamic ideal that permits national unity above religious differences.

**Pakistan as a member of the international community.** In contrast to the next phase, Policy Phase 3 locates Pakistan as a citizen in the global
community, and not of the Muslim world alone. The policy (GOP, 1959) explicitly, and somewhat proudly, asserts Pakistan’s place in the international community by claiming “cultural, historical, and spiritual ties” to the Middle East, Asia, Europe, and the U.S., where this multinational heritage is viewed as a national asset (p. 114). The policy (GOP, 1959) emphasizes the role of education in fostering Islamic values for Pakistani nationhood, making men and women “good neighbours, good citizens, and true patriots” (p. 114).

The report (GOP, 1959) emphasizes an introspective approach, whereby students are expected to develop “a deep appreciation of [the country’s] history, aspirations and cultural and social patterns, and a determination to correct its weaknesses and social injustices and contribute to its development as a free, progressive and prosperous nation” (p. 114).

In this sense, this phase guards not only against the potential hazards of religious education while emphasizing its need but also against jingoism while promoting national cohesion.

**Disappearance of Islamic socialism.** An obvious shift in Policy Phase 2, away from the thrust of the previous phase, is the disappearance of Islamic socialism as an ideal. The first education policy of this phase, The Report of the Commission on National Education (GOP, 1959) states,

The 12th year of independence, 1958, started amid widespread dissatisfaction with what has been accomplished. … The people looked to government for everything. If they wanted a school, they petitioned
government to build one. When the streets were dirty, they expected government to clean them. (p. 7)

On the expectation of the provision of education by a welfare state, the government (GOP, 1959) asks people to make a mental shift away from easy and affordable access to good education:

... the traditional views toward education that have been held by the people must be altered. They must rapidly set aside the erroneous belief that education can be had “on the cheap”. In education, as in every other sphere, it is impossible to escape the economic reality that one receives what one pays for. Good education is expensive, and educational expansion means more expense. The people must accept the fact that since it is they and their children who benefit most from education, the sacrifices required must be borne primarily by them. (p. 9)

After this policy of 1959, no other policy or government document in Policy Phase 2 mentions Islamic socialism or the welfare state values of Islam, while Islamic socialism was one of the main characteristics of Policy Phase 1 before it.

**Emphasis on research.** An aspect of Policy Phase 2 similar to the earlier phase is that it continues to emphasize the need for research on Islam to demonstrate its compatibility with modern times. A “knowledge of comparative religion and world history” and research on the “original liberal and rational Islam” are considered essential to demonstrate the critical place of religion in various domains of progress in human society (GOP, 1959, p. 210).

Proposals for a New Education Policy (GOP, 1969), 10 years later, also emphasizes research on Islam as an important component of education:
What are Islamic cultural values? … if a unified system of education seeking to impart a common set of cultural values which are Islamic in character, is to succeed … Muslim thought has to be revived through increased emphasis on Islamic research at the University level and other specialized institutions. No amount of encouragement, however, will be enough unless it is consciously made a part of the educational policy that the results of such research would progressively be incorporated into the curricula of the faculties of law, economics, politics and other social sciences. (p. 13)

The New Education Policy of the Government of Pakistan (GOP, 1970) considers “the spirit of research and enquiry enjoined by Islam” (p. 2) an inherently Islamic value, to encapsulate both the religious and national identity of the people of Pakistan:

The study of Islam should reflect its inherent creativity and dynamism…. The cultural system should also emphasize attitudes of social responsibility and commitment as the cornerstone of the Islamic way of life. It should also inform and educate our people in our distinct national heritage. This aim should, therefore, inspire the educational system. (p. 2)

**Essential but limited space to Islamic education.** The Report of the Commission on National Education (GOP, 1959) speaks to the need for instruction about the Holy Quran, the Prophet Muhammad and his life, and the history of the Muslim world. However, it limits the spread of this content to the curriculum of the subject *Islamiyat*³ (Islamic Studies). This position is defended in

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³ Islamiyat is a subject taught in Pakistani schools and colleges. It focuses on teaching Islamic studies. As an example, the Cambridge International Examinations syllabus for Pakistani students taking the O/ A levels exam for this subject states as its goal, to “develop an understanding the importance of the major beliefs of Islam, and of the early history of the Islamic community (“Cambridge IGCSE Islamiyat (0493),” 2015). Deviations in spelling Islamiyat appear in quotes from official documents. I use the term

The commission (GOP, 1966) responds to the students’ demands by considering a system any more Islamic than the current one as diminishing the purpose of education and being counter to the values of truth and accuracy in Islam:

The complaint of the students with regard to the syllabi is that they are neither balanced nor suitable for the achievement of our national needs and aspirations. ... we must confess that the demand for an Islamized system of education is based on some misconception. While we would very much like Muslim contribution to the various branches of knowledge to be appropriately imparted at every stage of education as a significant element in the continuous process of expanding knowledge, we fail to appreciate how mathematics, physics or chemistry or for that matter any technological discipline or professional skill are to be Islamized. ... Our students cannot also be taught to distort historical facts, for truth is the cardinal principle of our faith. There can be no question, therefore, of our scrapping the entire system for education. (GOP, 1966, pp. 55-56)

It is worthwhile to note here that the demands to Islamize the education system, beyond the subject of Islamic studies, was fully honored in the next Islamic studies for this subject, unless quoting from a source where I retain the original spelling.
policy phase. The fact that the 1966 commission encountered such a demand sheds some light on the growing roots of a perspective about Islamic political extremism that took a stronger hold over education policy from 1979 onwards, as discussed in the section on Policy Phase 3.

In the earlier phase, instead of accepting the demand to expand religious ideological content to other subject areas, the report (GOP, 1966) recommended incorporating material on Muslim scholars and their contributions to the curricula of various disciplines in order to compare them with their Western counterparts:

We feel that our syllabi may usefully incorporate knowledge of Muslim contributions in each field so that the student can have a basis of comparison and, if inquisitive enough, may be inspired to go deeper into the subject and find out the limitations, if any, of western thought. (p. 57)

The Pakistan Historical Society, in its report on the 16th session of the Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference (Haq, 1968), supports a similar stance on studying Islam, along with disciplines from other parts of the world, so as to maintain a reflective attitude toward history and a commitment to historical accuracy:

We have tremendous amount of historical literature on the various countries and peoples belonging to the Muslim world. The study of the history of Hind-Pakistan [India-Pakistan] has also a special claim on us. We have to secure it from inaccuracies and prejudices. While we should feel proud of the glories of our past we should also be prepared to accept the shortcomings and failings of our ancestors. If history is to guide and inspire us it must reflect the correct pictures of the past. ... Nor can we minimize the study of the history of early Islam, for Islamic traditions' are the basis of our ideology. We have to build up a new and suitable structure of Society and for this difficult task a scientific study of history is indispensable. (Haq, 1968, p. 11)
Interestingly, the Pakistan Historical Society applies the standard of historical accuracy in particular to Pakistan’s claim to the shared history of pre-partition India and Pakistan. The idea of claiming history is referred to again in the next chapter, in light of an example from a history textbook used at the time of the partition of British India in 1947. With this report (Haq, 1968), it is evident that even 21 years after the creation of Pakistan, the study of Islam has an essential but partial space in education.

The limited nature of curriculum on Islam is evident also at the highest university level in this policy phase. The New Education Policy of the Government of Pakistan (GOP, 1970) mandates the study of contemporary society even for those students looking to become scholars of religion. The policy states that the "Islamic Studies Departments of the universities should be strengthened to produce men who are not only well-versed in religion but also fully responsive to the challenges of the contemporary world" (p. 15).

The focus on comparative and contemporary studies begins to change toward the end of this phase. The Education Policy 1972-1980 (GOP, 1972) spreads Islamic content to areas of the curriculum beyond just the subject of Islamic studies. The policy states,

It will also be ensured that the study of Islamiyat does not remain an isolated item in the school curriculum but that the values and the spirit of Islam are woven into the entire warp and woof of our educational fabric. (p. 23)
The heightened emphasis on Islam in education at large is fully adopted in the next policy phase, beginning with the education policy of 1979. However, it is interesting to note the beginnings of this ideological shift in 1972, soon after Pakistan’s third war with India and the secession of East Pakistan.

**Progressive curriculum for madrasas.** Policy Phase 2 gives priority to reform the curriculum of madrasas, which, as the GOP, 1959 policy describes, “is overloaded with courses in religion and allied subjects, without any regard to the needs of such studies of mathematics, science, social studies and humanities” (p. 279). The summary recommendations of the same policy, the Report of the Commission on National Education (GOP, 1959), state,

> At the elementary stage, [madrasa] education must be broad based … [to] give their students some training for the vocational or professional courses they may later choose to follow. At the higher levels these institutions must present Islam as a dynamic and progressive movement which can endure to changing times. The dynamic spirit of Islam can be imbibed only if Islam is presented in every age in the light of the latest advances of science, philosophy, economics and contemporary history. (p. 279)

Madrasas are not considered a viable option for primary schooling (GOP, 1966), although this stance changes drastically in the next policy phase. In this phase, schooling at madrasas is an option only at the secondary and higher levels of education and only for those students who particularly want to pursue religious studies. Even for this subgroup of students, learning the national language (Urdu) is considered essential (p. 142), perhaps to maintain an
assimilation of these students with society, as well as a focus on contemporary studies for a non-dogmatic, modern education. A government report (GOP, 1966) suggests,

For primary education, therefore, there should be no Madrassah or Maktab⁴. It is only after this stage that the Madrassah/ Maktab should take over the pupils who chose this type of education.... Some acquaintance with significant developments in the contemporary, particularly the Islamic world should also be furnished. ... Our men of religion must have a broad vision and a knowledge of the world and the advances that have been made in various fields most likely affecting human life. Unless they have this understanding their education would be incomplete and dogma related. A knowledge of doctrines without the capacity to apply them intelligently to the complex situations of life will frustrate an essential object of this mode of education. (p. 142)

However, the emphasis on modern education in madrasas begins to change toward the end of Policy Phase 2. The Education Policy 1972-1980 (GOP, 1972) directs that the exclusively religious curriculum at madrasas should not be changed. It states, “Status quo will be maintained in respect of institutions imparting exclusively religious instruction such as Maktabs, Madrassahs, Darul-Ulooms, etc., run by Muslims and similar institutions run by any other religious denomination” (p. 24).

Thus, Policy Phase 2 displays a religious ideological thrust toward being centralized, authoritarian, and secular. This characterization factors in the shifting trend toward Islamic political extremism by the end of Policy Phase 2. Islamic

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⁴ Maktab means school in Arabic. In Pakistan’s context, as in this policy, it is used interchangeably with the word madrasa.
political extremism gained the highest level of national policy support in Pakistan's history in the next policy phase.

**Policy Phase 3: Islam for Muslim universal brotherhood.**

**Political context.** In Policy Phase 3 (1977-1998), the reason for an emphasis on Islam changes from the perception of religion as a source of national cohesion to religion providing Muslim universal brotherhood, internationally and across national borders. The phrase "Muslim *Ummah*" referring to the nation of Islam, appears several times in national policy documents of this phase.

Comparing the three government policies of this phase reveals patterns of religious ideological similarity. It also uncovers ways in which these policies build upon one another over time. The emphasis on Islamic political extremism intensifies with each subsequent policy, leading to curricular integration of madrasas with mainstream public schools. By the end of the phase, the content of the subject of Islamic studies has permeated across the rest of the curriculum.

Policy Phase 3 starts when, after almost 14 years of military rule in Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto formed a democratic government and became prime minister (1973). His government lasted five years, during which no new education

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5 Ummah is an Arabic word meaning community. The Muslim Ummah refers to "the diaspora or 'Community of the Believers' (ummat al-mu'minin), and thus the whole Muslim world" ("Islamic Terminology: Ummah," 2011).
policy was released; however, toward the end of his tenure, his policy decisions tended to favor political parties that had an agenda of Islamic political extremism. For example, it was under his regime that a minority sect within Islam was constitutionally declared non-Muslim. General Zia-ul-Haq took this trend further after carrying out a military coup (1977) and becoming the third military dictator of Pakistan (1978). The Soviet-Afghan war stated in 1979, in which Pakistan was deeply implicated, by channeling military and financial support, indigenous and from foreign countries such as United States and Saudi Arabia, and by having to deal with the influx of millions of Afghan refugees. General Zia, during his military regime, launched a comprehensive plan to Islamize Pakistan.

The National Education Policy and Implementation Programme (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 1979), released under General Zia, is the first of three education policies I characterize as part of this phase. Following 11 years of military dictatorship under General Zia, the military ruler died in a mysterious airplane crash (1988). Elections held soon afterwards ushered in Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, as prime minister (1988). Her government released no new education policy in its brief tenure that was cut short (1990) before completing its five-year term. The next elected government headed by prime minister Nawaz Sharif (1993), released The National Education Policy ’92 (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 1992). This is the second education policy of this phase.
Sharif’s government was also intercepted prematurely (1999), and Benazir Bhutto became the prime minister for a second time. Again, no new policy was released under Benazir Bhutto’s parliament. Her government was again dismissed early (1996), and Sharif became the prime minister for a second time. Sharif’s government conducted nuclear tests (1998) in response to India’s testing of nuclear missiles.

Sharif’s second government, like his first, released another policy, the National Education Policy 1998-2010 (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 1998), which is the third and final education policy of this policy phase.

Like every democratic government of this decade of democracy, Sharif’s second government too was ousted early, this time not by a presidential ordinance like the earlier three governments, but by another military coup. General Pervez Musharraf staged a military coup (1999), becoming the fourth military dictator of Pakistan and marking the end of what I consider Policy Phase 3 for my analysis.

These three education policies interact in unique ways compared to policies in other phases. They build upon one another as though bringing together a long-term vision for the Islamization of Pakistan. Specifically, the trajectory seems to be that, through the first policy (GOP, 1979), madrasas were set up on a mass scale and given official public school status. The second policy (GOP, 1992) mandated that public schools make their curriculum more Islamic by
introducing subjects such as Islamic social studies. In doing so, the curriculum of public schools, which had been progressive and inclusive thus far, was brought closer to the new madrasa curriculum that promoted political and extremist Islam.

The last policy of this phase (GOP, 1998) brought these two networks, the expansive madrasa network on the one hand and the increasingly Islamized public schools on the other, closer together in such a way that students could easily transfer from one system to the other. Moreover, degrees from the two systems were given equal standing. Throughout, the drive to Islamize the curricula focused on looking toward an Arabized version of Islam and culture, with an emphasis on ideological and associational solidarity with Arab Muslims of the Middle East.

The data supporting these patterns and characterizing features of this policy phase are discussed below in subsections, entitled “Education Policy, 1979 – Islamizing history curriculum,” “Mosques as public schools,” “Education of the Female’ at private residences,” “Education Policy, 1992 – Islamization at large,” and “Education Policy, 1998 – an integrated system of Islamic political extremism.”

**Education Policy, 1979 – Islamizing history curriculum.** The National Education Policy and Implementation Programme (GOP, 1979) is the first policy of this phase, pivoting the purpose of Islam in Pakistan’s education system away from the creation of national cohesion and toward the development of solidarity
with the international Muslim community and Muslim universal brotherhood. The “National Aims of Education and their Realization” section in the first policy (GOP, 1979) of this phase states,

To create awareness in every student that he, as a member of Pakistani nation is also a part of the universal Muslim Ummah and that it is expected of him to make a contribution towards the welfare of fellow Muslims inhabiting the globe on the one hand and to help spread the message of Islam throughout the world on the other. (p. 1)

The policy (GOP, 1979) brings religion into the classroom in unprecedented ways. It mandates a revision of Islamic studies curricula under the supervision of *Ulema* (Islamic scholars) “so as to inculcate among the students greater sense of commitment towards Islam” (p. 48). It further decrees that “[r]eligious leaders will be invited to deliver lectures in the educational institutions to increase students’ motivations towards Islam and Islamic ideology” (p. 48).

However, an attention outward toward the global Muslim community remains primarily focused on an Arab version of Islam. The policy (GOP, 1979) makes the Arabic language a part of the religious identity of the curriculum in Pakistan. It is important to note here that the Quran is written in classical Arabic, which is distinct from modern-day Arabic. However, the policy (GOP, 1979) does not make this distinction, nor does it attempt to teach classical Arabic to make the Quran more accessible. Instead, it (GOP, 1979) brings Arabic as a modern-day
language to Pakistani classrooms where students predominantly have a South Asian or Persian heritage, not an Arab one.

The National Education Policy is mainly concerned with the promotion of Islamic values among the individuals and the society. Inculcation of deep and abiding faith in Islam, development of Muslim nationhood and integration and cohesion of the society can be achieved by propagating the message of Islam and proper emphasis on the teaching of Islamiyat and Arabic. (p. 48)

Most critically, this policy (GOP, 1979) is the first one to specifically mention the need to change the history curriculum in order to align it with Islamic teachings. In the past, as discussed in the Report of the Commission on Student Problems and Welfare (GOP, 1966), the idea of Islamizing subjects unrelated to religion had faced resistance by the government.

However, the first policy in this phase (GOP, 1979) not only puts the content of the subject of Islamic studies under greater scrutiny, to have it “evolved through the consensus of the Ulema and the Council of Islamic Ideology” (p. 49), but also asks that “curriculum offerings in general and courses in history, languages and social studies in particular, reflect the basic principles of Islam” (p. 48).

In the realm of higher education, the policy (GOP, 1979) makes similar decisions: “A full-fledged Faculty of Shariah will be established at the Quaid-e-Azam University. The programme of this Faculty will be developed in consultation with the Council of Islamic Ideology” (p. 48). Furthermore, a process of
curriculum revision for all subjects is initiated to further and guard the state's concept of Islamic ideology:

The entire curricula and textbooks will be reviewed to ensure that adequate content on Islam and Islamic ideology is included … Textbooks of all levels will also be revised to ensure that Islamic ideology is protected and high academic standards are maintained. (GOP, 1979, p. 56)

**Mosques as public schools.** Another prominent feature of this phase is the status and recognition that mosque schools, or madrasas, gain in the larger education system. The policy (GOP, 1979) considers mosques as “an ideal setting” for a primary school, given that they require no additional upkeep or staff and are present even in rural parts of the country (p. 8). Additionally, the rationale behind this decision is that a mosque has been the traditional “centre of learning in a Muslim society” (p. 8) and has suffered “suppression and mutation” for centuries under “colonial rulers who intended to strangulate our indigenous educational system which drew its strength from the genius of the people” (p. 8).

By counting mosques as primary schools, the Pakistan government suddenly increased the official number of schools in the country without incurring costs of new buildings or staff. As these mosque school madrasas were being set up on a mass scale, other far-reaching policy decisions were made mainstreaming them into society along with the public school system. Madrasa boards were set up “to bring these two parallel streams of education closer together … with the ultimate aim of integrating the two systems” (GOP, 1979, p. 44). Madrasas expanded manifold in these years, as per the directive: “[T]he
Government has decided to establish mosque schools to enroll maximum number of school age children” (Ghafoor, 1984, p. 93).

In the policy (GOP, 1979), madrasa curriculum is to be “the same as for other schools,” with the addition of a “daily period on Holy Quran Nazira” (p. 9), which means reading and memorizing Quranic text in Arabic without translation. In addition, the policy directs that madrasas be given copies of textbooks and the Holy Quran “so students use them daily for learning their lessons” (p. 10). To reduce costs, policy instructions mandate the bulk printing of select books of Fiqh, Hadith, and Tafsir (religious books) and the distribution of these books to madrasas as an immediate measure (p. 45).

The policy (GOP, 1979) dictates a whole new setup of teachers for madrasas. Not only is the mosque cleric given the primary responsibility of teaching at the mosque, the one additional teacher, who is to work in this two-teacher primary school, also must be a man who is ideologically compatible with the state’s conception of political Islam:

The mosque school will be provided with a trained PTC teacher in addition to the Imam [cleric] of the mosque, who will share most of the burden of teaching. The Imam will teach the Quran nazira and Islamiyat lessons. Thus, it will function as a two teacher primary school which is also the case with a normal primary school programme in the villages. Special care will be taken to select those teachers who are ideologically committed and religion oriented, who have missionary zeal.

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6 As an example, an online Islamic school defines Quran Nazira as, “to read the Holy Quran verbally, without translation and memorization” (“School Of Quran,” 2015).
7 Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) was the required certification at the time to qualify as a primary school teacher in public schools (“Pakistan - Teaching Profession,” 2015).
8 An Imam is the “prayer leader of a mosque” (“Imam I Definition of imam by Merriam-Webster,” 2015)
and who would not mind working extra hours or living in the mosque or so if the need be. (pp. 9-10)

A primary school that has two teachers, both of whom are male, and is located in the gender-segregated environment of a mosque has implications for the kind of public education options that are available to girls. The co-teaching setup, of the cleric with a male teacher, eliminates the possibility of a female teacher in a madrasa.

“Education of the Female” at private residences. A detailed chapter entitled “Education of the Female” in the policy document (GOP, 1979) invokes a number of Islamic teachings to emphasize girls’ education, for example, “a State created in the name of Islam cannot remain oblivious to its duties towards the education of females” (p. 20). Similarly, education is said to have the “highest priority” in Islam and that it is “obligatory for each man and woman [of] faith to seek knowledge” (p. 20).

The policy (GOP, 1979) proposes mohalla (neighborhood) schools for girls’ education. Mohalla schools, similar to mosque schools, are recommended because no additional setup of school buildings or teachers would be necessary. The policy authorizes a small stipend for “[p]urdah observing respectable ladies” (p. 13), where “purdah-observing” means those women who observe gender segregation and are protected from the public gaze.
These women, in return for the government stipend, would use their private residences as girls’ schools, where they would impart “literacy skills to the students in addition to teaching the Holy Quran, Islamic studies, and selected home management skills” (p. 14). The policy (GOP, 1979) backs this decision with a narrative of foreign conspiracy against local culture and educational progress:

The foreign rulers deliberately disregarded the contribution of this community effort in educating the children. Instead, an alien structure was imposed to demolish this simple symbol of social action in Muslim communities. Even after Independence, this unique arrangement has, unfortunately, not found the desired recognition in our general scheme of educational development.

The National Education Policy intends to recognize, institutionalize and strengthen the Mohalla schools. The potential of such schools will be gradually developed to provide educational facilities to female children, youth and adults in each community. (p. 13)

**Education Policy, 1992 – Islamization at large.** The Islamization of textbooks is frequently discussed in terms of the changes to curriculum made under General Zia’s military regime (1979-1988). However, an examination of policy documents from democratic regimes after General Zia’s military rule reveals that the trend continued until much later. Both education policies that followed (GOP, 1992 and GOP, 1998), not only continued General Zia’s legacy of Islamic political extremism but also intensified and expanded the influence of political Islam in the curriculum at large.

The 1992 Education Policy (GOP, 1992) begins by saying that, “The curriculum reforms introduced in the seventies have outlived their utility” (p. 7)
and that past initiatives using the “loose term ‘Islamization of Education’, in an attempt to mould the system, have not yielded the desired results” (p. 3). In a section on Religious and Moral Education, the policy (GOP, 1992) clarifies why the previous policy of 1979 is inadequate for the goals of Islamization. It (GOP, 1992) states,

… in the 1979 Education Policy an educational framework was introduced for inculcating Islamic values in students for improving the quality of Islamic education in Deeni Madaris\(^9\), and for creating Pakistani nationhood. As a result, any material which was considered repugnant to the teachings of Islam was removed from some 551 titles used as textbooks, completion of Quran Nazira was made compulsory for passing the matriculation examination. Pakistan Studies and Islamiyat were introduced as compulsory subjects from classes I-XIV and in professional colleges. … All students in classes VI-VIII received compulsory education in the Arabic language. The condition of Deeni Madaris was improved through financial assistance, provision of library books, and equating the prestigious degrees of these Madaris with M A. degree in Islamiyat or Arabic. The Education Policy proposes to pursue these initiatives with increased avidity; yet it considers these initiatives insufficient for a fuller intellectual and moral development of youth in the face of increasing challenges from free competitive societies built on the edifice of a worldview presented by science and technology [emphasis added]. (p. 13)

The mention of science and technology at first glance appears to be a move toward a contemporary or balanced curriculum, as opposed to an overall religious one. However, the very next paragraph in this policy (GOP, 1992) clarifies the relative insignificance of science and technology in comparison to an Islamic outlook on the world.

Knowledge of the phenomenal world which the senses yield, is not an illusion but a blessing for which man should be thankful. So is the worldview

\(^9\) “Deeni Madaris” means religious seminaries or mosque schools.
of Islam, based on the message of the Quran. No other worldview, certainly not of science and technology, would stand up to the social organization designed by the worldview of Islam. (p. 13)

In the following next paragraph, a somewhat circular logic is employed. The policy (GOP, 1992) makes a case for teaching science and technology because the “youth must be prepared to confront the worldview of science and technology” (p. 14) with confidence. Here, the policy also highlights the reasons why there is a need for greater Islamic content than before:

It is in this area that the Policy intends to go beyond the Islamic content of present education. The design of the Education Policy is such that the youth is released from the self-created myth of apologetic psyche, and of inferiority complex in the presence of western political, social, economic, and cultural onslaught. ... the values emerging from the worldview (more expanded) of Islam must be allowed to permeate into the society through reconstructed curricula. This would also call for a major change in the training programmes of teachers, diverting part of their training to study the basis on which the Islamic worldview stands. ... Science and technology is another matter, but certainly, in the field of moral philosophy we have not much to learn from the West. (pp. 13-14)

A several-point agenda is laid out in the policy (GOP, 1992) to provide “moral education,” which requires an Islamization of the education system overall. The “Policy Statement” following the agenda prescribes that the “existing provision of Islamic education will form the basis for the development of a new curricula which, apart from religious content, will have moral content drawn from the worldview of Islam” (p. 14). To be clear, “Islamic curricula” no longer refers only to subjects dealing with religion, such as Islamic studies, but rather to all subject areas across grade levels, which are to be made Islamic going forward. More specifically, the policy proposes the following strategy:
• Moral education based on Islamic values will be the main theme of the Islamic curricula. Curricula will be revised accordingly, and new books with lucid presentation on Islamic thought will be prepared for use by students.
• The work and contribution of Muslim philosophers will form a compulsory part of the teaching of Islamic curricula at appropriate levels of education.
• Schools and colleges, during morning assemblies and during the periods set aside for religious and moral education, will emphasize character building, high moral values, and societal development, based on the injunctions of the Quran and Sunnah.
• Second channel of TV will be used to disseminate information about the worldview of Islam and Islamic values.
• Institutes of Education and Research will open separate centres for undertaking research on the contents of Islamic education for inclusion in the courses at various levels, and on methods of teaching Islamic ideology.
• Video cassettes of special lectures of high ranking Islamic scholars and scientists will be prepared and broadcast through electronic media. (GOP, 1992, p. 15)

One stark example of “Islamic curricula” in the National Education Policy (GOP, 1992) is the introduction of a subject called “Islamic Social Sciences” (p. 41). In the past, social studies had included chapters on history, geography, and civics. The purpose of Islamic social studies, as the policy (GOP, 1992) states, is to “enable the students to understand the Islamic worldview and to strengthen their cultural moorings as members of the Muslim Ummah” (p. 11).

Thus, this policy (GOP, 1992) illustrates that not only a military dictator but also a democratic regime promoted the confounding of Pakistan’s culture with that of a supposed singular culture of the Muslim Ummah. I discuss this finding in greater detail in the last chapter, entitled “Implications.”
Education Policy, 1998 – an integrated system of Islamic political extremism. The National Education Policy 1998-2010 (GOP, 1998) is the third and final policy that I categorize as part of Policy Phase 3. Compared to the two policies before it (GOP, 1979 and GOP, 1992), this policy (GOP, 1998) goes the furthest in Islamizing the curriculum overall and in normalizing solidarity with an Arabized version of Islam. It (GOP, 1998) emphasizes greater Islamic ideology at a systemic level and argues for its penetration across all subject areas in the education curriculum.

The cover page of the 1998 policy says “Iqra” (GOP, 1998), the first word of revelation to the Prophet Muhammad, literally meaning “Read.” Past education policies have occasionally begun with a verse from the Quran. However, this policy (GOP, 1998) is unique due to several invocations of Quranic verses throughout the policy document, along with references to figures such as Iblis (Satan) and Abu Jahal (p. 12), who feature in religious texts, to make policy arguments.

The foreword of the policy (GOP, 1998), written by the minister of education, says, “Today, we must resolve to be Muslims and Pakistanis and nothing else” (p. vii). Similarly, the conceptual framework provided under the section “Islamic Education” states, “Pakistan has a unique position on the map of the world. We are not a country founded on its territorial, linguistic, ethnic or racial identity. The only justification for our existence is our total commitment to Islam as our sole identity” (p. 9).
The introduction to the policy sets the tone for an even greater emphasis on Islam, as an essential component of the education system, if the state of Pakistan is to survive:

The country cannot survive and advance without placing the entire system of education on a sound Islamic foundations [sic]. The policy has adequate provisions for this transformation, such as integration of society; upgrading the quality of education in Deeni Madaris. Nazira Qur'an has been introduced as a compulsory component from grade I-VIII while at the secondary level translation of the selected verses from the Holy Qur'an will be offered. (p. 2)

Much like the 1992 policy viewed 1979’s policy initiatives on political Islam as inadequate, the 1998 policy similarly terms past initiatives as secular and insufficient to make the curricula Islamic enough. It (GOP, 1998) argues for an all-inclusive emphasis on the Islamic way of life in all subjects of education, such that the citizens of the state live a life that is visibly Islamic and morally in line with the state’s conception of Islam:

Pakistan is not a secular country, nevertheless, during the past fifty years, we did not dissociate ourselves from the colonial and secular concepts of education, in which religious subjects were incorporated in the curricula. However, moral, ethical and religious vision is not allowed to penetrate and get fully reflected in the total educational system. While we talk about religious dimension of the new policy, this aspect cannot be overlooked. The missing relationship between our Islamic vision, ideology and educational system, will only defeat the purpose of even including Islamiat or Pakistan studies in our curricula. (pp. 9-10)

The 1998 policy is also unique in its commentary on the public religiosity of citizens, discouraging a secular lifestyle and highlighting the role of education in remedying the situation. The state’s bringing Islam into the observable cultural
and social life of citizens is a clear indication of the expansion of Islamic political extremism as described in the theoretical framework in Chapter 1 (Figure 2).

[T]his system encourages a secular approach where a man does not mind visiting [the] Masjid [mosque] once a week or sometimes five times in a day, but his religious commitment is not reflected in his life style, economic, social, and cultural activities. The other world view is that of a traditional sectarian believer who regards his interpretation of religious doctrines as the only valid practice. Consequently, we have not been able to build the nation with an integrated vision and a clear direction for the future. It is high time that new educational policy should take into consideration the development of an integrated educational system in which our Islamic values, principles and objectives must be reflected not only in the syllabi of Islamic studies but also in all the disciplines. (GOP, 1998, p. 10)

Finally, the policy (GOP, 1998) lays out provisions that base the public school system significantly on religious nationalism. These clauses also highlight the policy bias toward an Arab of Middle Eastern version of Islam, as opposed to that of other non-Arab Muslim countries with Muslim majorities, such as Indonesia, Malaysia or Turkey, which feature greater inclusion and modernity in their education systems. Finally, the following clauses reflect the mainstreaming of madrasas and the bringing together of the two systems, public schools and religious seminaries, enabling students to transfer easily from one to the other easily. The policy provisions (GOP, 1998) are as follows:

- The basic teachings of the Holy Qur’an shall be included in all the courses of studies.
- Pre-service and in-service training programs for Islamiat and Arabic teachers will be ensured. They shall be given due respect and status among the teaching community.
- To bridge the existing gulf between the formal education system and Deeni Madaris system and to eradicate sectarianism, the curricula of
Deeni Madaris shall be upgraded and improved to enhance prospects of employment.

- Degrees/asnad awarded by Deeni Madaris shall be equated with the formal degrees/certificates at all levels.
- Recognition shall be given to these institutions by the Government.
- In terms of Article No. 31 of the Constitution, the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan, making Islam as an integral part of individual and national life with the purpose of reformation and development of society on the principles of the Qur’an and Sunnah shall be ensured.
- Valuable and rare books on Islam shall be reprinted and distributed among Deeni Madaris for research and reference. (pp. 12-13)

Most importantly, the following provision specifically mentions the altering of history content in textbooks to reinforce the thrust of Islamic political extremism characterizing this policy phase.

- Curricula and textbooks of all the subjects shall be revised so as to exclude and expunge any material repugnant to Islamic teachings and values, and include sufficient material on Qur’an and Islamic teachings, information, history, heroes, moral values etc. relevant to the subject and level of education concerned. (GOP, 1998, p. 13)

Thus, given the above findings of an intensifying and lasting agenda of religious political extremism, as evidenced through national education policy, I classify Policy Phase 3 as centralized, authoritarian, and religious (see Table 1).

**Policy Phase 4: Islam for a tolerant Pakistan.**

**Political context.** Policy Phase 4 (1999-2012) begins with the military coup of General Musharraf’s military coup (1999) that toppled Sharif’s second elected government, which had issued the last education policy (GOP, 1998).
in policy phases 2 and 3, Policy Phase 4 includes both military and democratic regimes. General Musharraf’s military rule (1999-2007) ended with the historic Lawyers’ Movement in Pakistan, championing the independence of the judiciary. During this period, the United States engaged in a second war in Pakistan’s neighboring Afghanistan (2001), in the wake of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2011. General Musharraf was a key ally for the United States, particularly in the initial years of the War on Terror.

General Musharraf was forced to step aside after national elections in the wake of Benazir Bhutto’s assassination (2007). The polls held in early 2008 led to the Pakistan Peoples Party forming government – the first elected government in Pakistan’s history that was able to complete its five-year tenure (2008-2013) and transfer power to another elected government.

Policies and documents included in the analysis of Policy Phase 4 are: the Delegate Brief of the National Education Conference 2006 (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 2006a), National Education Policy Draft (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 2007a), and National Education Policy (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 2009). Two additional government policies from this phase are discussed in Chapter 4: the 2006 curriculum for history (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 2006b) and National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 2007b). Pakistan’s 18th constitutional amendment (2010) is also relevant to this policy phase as it
decentralized the national curriculum and allowed the provinces greater flexibility in producing textbooks independently of a religious nationalist agenda.

The main characteristic of Policy Phase 4 is a marked change from the previous phase’s narrative of Islam as a means to Muslim brotherhood toward Islam as a means to inclusivity, tolerance, and universal brotherhood. General Musharraf, who ushered in this change, coined the term “enlightened moderation” (Musharraf, 2004) to focus on de-radicalizing society away from Islamic political extremism. Features of this phase are discussed in the following subsections, entitled “Removal of political Islam,” and “Problematizing religious extremism and reforming madrasahs.”

**Removal of political Islam.** A glaring feature of policies in Phase 4, as compared with those in Phase 3, is the dearth of any discussion on political Islam and its role in Pakistan’s education system. The stark shift away from political Islam is also evident in the policy (GOP, 2009) issued under the democratic government of this phase, as well as in documents developed under the preceding military government.

The National Education Conference 2006 Delegate Brief (GOP, 2006a) is a compilation of a long list of 22 “Green Papers”—preparatory essays written on a variety of areas of relevance to policy and commissioned by the government to inform policy makers. In the Delegate Brief (GOP, 2006a), the Green Papers speak to a wide range of topics on education, such as access, textbooks, gender,
information technology, and school financing, in dedicated chapters. However, there is no chapter or even a subsection on religious instruction or Islamic education. Evident here is a stark contrast with the previous phases in which the narrative on Islam and education, if not woven throughout the policy document as in Policy Phase 3, was often at least mentioned early on in policy documents.

Moreover, even in the first Green Paper, titled “Vision and Objectives” (GOP, 2006a), there is no specific mention of Islam aside from generalized quotes from the Constitution of Pakistan. The vision carries a shift toward a global outlook, as illustrated by the replacement of terms such as Muslim Ummah and Muslim brotherhood with “universal brotherhood” in the document. Specifically, the state (GOP, 2006a) now prioritizes an examination of how “the elements like Ethics, Globalization, Universal brotherhood, Moderation, Citizenship, Minorities, Poverty, Economic Prosperity could combine to lead to a vision that is in consonance with an enlightened Islamic Republic of Pakistan” (GOP, 2006a, Attachment III, p. 1).

The shift towards secular morality, as opposed to one mandated by political Islam, is evident from the key discussion points outlined for the session. None of the 20 key issues mentions religious education (GOP, 2006a, Attachment III, pp. 1-2). The objectives of the conference mention morality but not in an Islamic context: “The objectives of the entire education system which would include Access, Equity, Quality, Moral and Social aspects and accountability” (Attachment III, p. 1).
The education policy draft (GOP, 2007a) swaps the word “Muslim” with “citizen” in talking about policy plans. A section titled “The Results: Vision 2030” lists the various qualities of citizens that the education system seeks to inculcate over upcoming years (pp. 54-55). These include creative thinking, lifelong learning, contributing to global knowledge economies, and morally sound participation in a stable, democratic, and vibrant society. The rest of the document is concerned with several areas of reform in the education sector, streamlining textbook writing, revision and production processes, and the underlying values of learning, efficiency, equity, and affordability. None of these is mentioned in the context of Islam, something that is unique to government materials of Policy Phase 4 only.

The documents in this phase do, like all other policy phases, do maintain a basic allegiance to Islam. These policy phases vary in the extent and nature of allegiance to Islam in the political sphere. For example, the keynote address at the National Education Conference, 2006 was given by Javed Ghamidi (GOP, 2006a), then a member of the Islamic Ideology Council who is well known for his tolerant and progressive teachings of Islam. Similarly, the education policy of 2009 stating the importance of abiding by the Islamic nature of Pakistan’s constitution, and through it lays an emphasizes religion in general rather than Islam exclusively:

The Policy recognizes the importance of Islamic values and adheres to the agreed principles in this regard. All policy interventions shall fall within the parameters identified in the Principles of Policy as laid down in Articles 29,
30, 31, 33, 36, 37 and 40 of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan. These include the need for developing Pakistani children as proud Pakistani citizens having strong faith in religion and religious teachings as well as the cultural values and traditions of the Pakistani society. (GOP, 2009, p. 3)

Unlike the Green Papers in the Delegate Brief for the National Education Conference (GOP, 2006a), the National Education Policy (GOP, 2009) does include a chapter titled, “Islamic Education: Duty of the Society and the State,” that includes quotes from the Constitution of Pakistan. Even in that section, the policy (GOP, 2009) clarifies the shift toward a more pluralistic, tolerant society in the ongoing process of textbook reform.

Pakistan is currently engaged in the process of reviewing, updating and reforming school curriculum from Early Childhood Education up to Higher Secondary School levels keeping in view the Islamic teachings and ideology of Pakistan, cultural and religious sensitivities in the country and modern emerging trends to make the whole education purposeful and to create a just civil society that respects diversity of views, beliefs and faiths [emphasis added]. (p. 23)

For the subject of Islamic studies, the National Education Policy (GOP, 2009) requires that additional components besides an exclusive study of Quran Naqira and Muslim personalities be added. The policy (GOP, 2009) adds components of Islam that are inclusive to the curriculum, such as the emphasis on Huqooq-ul-Ibad (the rights of others).

Unlike Policy Phase 3, in which the education of non-Muslim citizens was not a matter of priority, this policy (GOP, 2009) provides the subject of “ethics/moral education” (p. 24) for non-Muslim students as a substitute to the subject of Islamic studies. In the previous phase, mosque schools and a rampant
Islamization of the education system left little space for non-Muslim students to get religious education specific to their faith, as guaranteed by the Constitution of Pakistan.

**Problematizing religious extremism and reforming madrasas.** The National Education Policy Draft (GOP, 2007a) and the National Education Policy (GOP, 2009), even though they came under different governments, one military and one democratic, respectively, both name extremism as a problem and commit to eliminating bias in society. Talking about madrasas, the National Education Policy Draft (GOP, 2007a) states,

> Increased levels of social exclusion express itself in different forms like ethnic strife, sectarianism and extremism, etc. Social exclusion or extremism is not exclusively a function of the curriculum but a host of factors like poverty, inequity and identity crisis contribute to it and it becomes such a huge challenge that calls for a comprehensive response on urgent basis. (p. 9)

Similarly, the National Education Policy (GOP, 2009) considers gender biases in the education system and textbooks as problematic. In contrast to the previous phase, where girls’ education was confined to private residences and curriculum limited to learning the Quran and “selected skills of home management” (GOP, 1979, p. 13), policy (GOP, 2009) in this phase seeks to reduce gender discrimination in the education system. It states that, the “Curriculum Wing of Ministry of Education and provincial textbook boards shall
ensure elimination of all types of gender biases from textbooks. Also adequate representation of females shall be ensured in all curriculum and textbooks review committees” (p. 38).

Policies in this phase also prioritize the de-radicalization of madrasa curriculum as well. In the previous phase, a vast madrasa system was set up, degrees and students from this system were considered transferable, and the curriculum for public education was Islamized to such a degree that there was a “single curriculum for the entire country” (GOP, 1998 as cited in GOP, 2007a) – a curriculum that leaned heavily towards promoting extremist political Islam. In Policy Phase 4, the National Education Policy Draft (GOP, 2007a) acknowledges “the historical contexts which favored the emergence of these parallel systems” (p. 7) and takes on the responsibility to help madrasas “blend in the national educational system” (p. 7) undergoing major shifts in curricular ideology. It (GOP, 2007a) states,

The students of madrassahs at Secondary School Certificate level shall have to qualify in General Mathematics, Urdu, English and Pakistan Studies for equivalence. For Higher Secondary School Certificate, two elective subjects approved by HSSC scheme of Studies 2006 made mandatory for madrassahs in place of Pakistan Studies for equivalence, shall be implemented. The federal government shall provide necessary support to the madrassahs to teach these subjects. (p. 8)

Similarly, the Islamic education section in the National Education Policy (GOP, 2009) states,

Deeni Madaris shall be mainstreamed by introducing contemporary studies alongside the curricula of Deeni Madaris to enhance prospects of
their students to pursue higher studies, research and excellence and to ensure employment, recognition and equivalence. (p. 25)

The inclusive thrust of Policy Phase 4 is evidenced by a policy agenda to include material relevant across “ethnic, religious, sectarian, and cultural differences” (GOP, 2007a, p. 23) and by deciding to remove from textbooks “controversial material against any sect or religious/ethnic minority” (GOP, 2009, p. 24).

The 18th constitutional amendment (2010) gave the provinces autonomy over various subjects including education. Thus, the national curriculum was decentralized to provincial governments and the federal education ministry dissolved. This move by the federal government gave provinces autonomy and unprecedented flexibility in adding secular and inclusive content to textbooks if they so chose, unrestricted by a federal religious nationalist agenda.

Thus, Policy Phase 4 leans away from Islamic political extremism on all three dimensions – centralized versus decentralized, authoritarian versus permissive, and religious versus secular – used to measure the variable religious ideology. Policies and government documents of this phase are decentralized, permissive, and secular (see Table 1) in sharp contrast to the previous policy phase.
Conclusion

In my analysis, Pakistan’s education policies fall within one of four phases, each one with a somewhat unique direction and vision for what it means to be an Islamic state. These findings are summarized in Table 1.

I hypothesize that the evolution of the country’s national education policies, as understood through the variable religious ideology, will correlate with changes in history textbook content, as captured by variables described in the next chapter.

What these changes in textbook content are, how well they correspond with education policy, and additional patterns that emerge from the correlation between policy and textbooks will uncover important additional analytic findings for this research.
CHAPTER III. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

The previous chapter looked at the evolution of national education policies along the variable religious ideology in four distinct policy phases since Pakistan’s founding. Findings illustrated the extent of Islamic political extremism permeating national policy at different points in time, as measured by three dimensions along which policy shifts occurred: 1) centralized versus decentralized, 2) authoritarian versus permissive, and 3) religious versus secular. Phases that were centralized, authoritarian, and religious were categorized as times of increased Islamic political extremism, depending upon the extent to which they tilted toward these traits.

The purpose of this chapter is to document the correlation, if any, between the changing content in history textbooks, produced at the provincial level, and the changing religious ideological direction of national education policies.

Variables 2 and 3: Identity Politics and Military Revisionism

In this chapter, I study the second of three bodies of data on which this research is based. The data include a longitudinal series of history textbooks from the province of Punjab, dating from 1938 to 2012. A longitudinal series of textbooks is essential in order to map the impact of policies on the evolution of history textbook content. I examine the responsiveness of history textbook content to shifting religious ideology in terms of two variables: identity politics,
meaning the scope of identity that the state mandates for the student to consider as part of his or her history, and military revisionism, examining the ways in which war history is revised for students’ consumption.

The variable identity politics addresses the scope of history covered in textbooks by looking at the number of essays, chapters or sections\(^{10}\) dedicated to the histories of the world, the region, religion, and the country. Content related to religion in a history textbook may speak to important Muslim personalities or those from other religions. A textbook that gives coverage to religious figures who have been influential in the subcontinent would qualify that history content to be inclusive of both religious and regional history. Content on the history of the country refers to sections on founding fathers and other personalities who played an instrumental role in the independence movement of Pakistan.

The language and scope of history content reflect the priorities of those who write and approve these textbooks for public use. Studying history textbooks from any period in Pakistan’s history is valuable in making assertions about that time period. However, to understand the larger and more complex system behind the production of history textbooks, particularly in terms of how a state’s agenda of religious nationalism manifests itself in textbooks, it is important to capture patterns and interactions that emerge over time.

\(^{10}\) Some textbooks had a clear demarcation of chapters, while others were divided into sections without a central thesis to each part. Where textbooks were unclear, I refer to distinct parts of a textbook as a section or sub-section. In some textbooks, however, sections were clearly marked as chapters. I used the term chapter to discuss content from those textbooks.
Methodology

A focus on Punjab. I focus only on the province of Punjab because of three reasons. Firstly, it is the most populous province of the country, with more than half of the country’s population. Secondly, Punjab leads the other three provinces in terms of resources and capacity within the education sector and has the highest literacy rate. Textbook boards from other provinces have in the past relied on the Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) to produce textbooks and materials, which are used in other provinces as well. Finally, the PTB was the West Pakistan textbook board for many years with all current provinces of Pakistan falling within its domain. Thus, using textbooks from Punjab allows for maximum depth in the textbook history of Pakistan and the greatest representation across other provinces as well. This study, however, does not claim that the findings of data collected at the provincial and local levels in Punjab are representative of provinces not included in the dataset.

Data collection. History as a separate subject was eliminated from the national curriculum in 1959, as per the directive of the national education policy Report of the Commission on National Education (GOP, 1959). The policy states:

The introduction of a subject does not mean that it should be taught throughout the five years from classes\textsuperscript{11} VI to X. The essential thing is to

\textsuperscript{11} Grade levels are referred to as classes in Pakistan. I use the word grade in my discussion and retain the word class when quoting from a source or title of a book.
ensure that at least a basic knowledge is imparted of the subjects needed by an educated citizen.

... history, geography and civics are commonly grouped together and taught at this stage [grades 6-8] as one subject under the heading “social studies[.]”

The application of [this curriculum will enable a child to have acquired a preliminary understanding of some 10 to 12 subjects by the time he has completed high school .... (GOP, 1959, p. 119)

For 47 years, until the curriculum of 2006 reintroduced history as its own subject (GOP, 2006b), it was taught as part of subjects such as social studies, Pakistan studies, Islamic studies, and Urdu. To collect textbooks with material on history, I needed to search for it in all the other subjects through which history content was made available to students. Therefore, a “history textbook” in this study typically means a textbook with chapters on history.

A range of methods was used to collect enough old and new textbooks so that a meaningful longitudinal textbook series could be created. The PTB library has a sporadic collection of old textbooks, and none predate the 1970s. The institution had not published many textbooks until 1971, when it was officially changed from the West Pakistan Textbook Board to the Punjab Textbook Board. The librarian at PTB, Aurangzeb Malik, has meticulously organized many PTB textbooks from the 1970s. He shared, with much sadness, that some years back, a senior staff member at PTB ordered a cleaning out of library materials and many of the PTB’s collections of old textbooks were destroyed or given away for recycling in the scrap market. He tried to reacquire the PTB’s historical textbook collection but was only marginally successful.
In order to acquire textbooks from before 1970, I worked with a team of research assistants to comb through the stock of used booksellers, university and government libraries, individuals with private collections of old books, bookstores in the Urdu Bazaar, and *raddi walas*, who pull carts around neighborhoods and buy and sell old books as recyclable scrap.

My goal was to build a collection of old and new textbooks in several subject areas, particularly social studies, Pakistan studies, Islamic studies, and Urdu, from grades 1 through 14. Having done a preliminary review of textbooks from these subjects, I understood all of them to carry at least some history content.

I was able to secure a total of 86 textbooks, old and new, from the PTB and 63 textbooks on my own. Of these 149 textbooks, I selected 123 textbooks that had at least some material on history. There were 43 textbooks that could be part of a meaningful longitudinal textbook series in different subject areas. Of these longitudinal series options, I selected five sets, comprising 20 textbooks. These five sets, when compared together, tell the most comprehensive story of the evolution of history content through Pakistan’s history because they all belong to the same subject, social studies, and build on one another’s grade-level content.

The selected longitudinal series are as follows and represented in Table 2 below:

1. Early textbooks (1938, 1940, 1955)


Table 2

*Longitudinal Series of Textbooks, Covering Each of the Four National Education Policy Phases*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Phase</th>
<th>Textbook Year</th>
<th>Early Textbooks</th>
<th>Grade 3</th>
<th>Grade 4</th>
<th>Grade 5</th>
<th>Teacher Manuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1940</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 2</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
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<td></td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>Phase 3</td>
<td>1981</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1986</td>
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<td>Phase 4</td>
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</table>

*Note.* An “x” indicates a textbook, as per the year of publication and the analytic longitudinal series to which it belongs.
There are additional longitudinal series on other subjects, such as Pakistan studies, that can be analyzed with the collection of textbooks I have. However, in order to keep the analysis focused on, and comparable within, a single subject, I selected only threads with social studies textbooks.

The choice of grade levels is deliberate. Selecting three primary grade levels—grades 3, 4, and 5—allows me to capture the progression in content over subsequent grade levels. Also, these grade levels include both a qualifying grade level (Grade 5) and those that have automatic promotion (grades 3 and 4), in case there are any differences in content.

While there have been history textbooks published in recent years, as I mentioned, I did not include them in the final dataset because they do not have predecessors in the form of past textbooks with which they can be compared without compromising analytic consistency in grade-wise and subject-wise comparison.

**Impression numbers.** The PTB assigns a new edition number to a textbook if it is edited or replaced with a new textbook. A new impression number is assigned each time the same unchanged textbook is submitted for additional prints. The reprinting of a previous year’s textbook for many upcoming years seems to be typical, as there are some impression numbers that go as high as 20 over a span of many years. There can be multiple impressions within a year
as well, in case demand for a textbook is high and additional copies need to be printed to meet market demand. Textbook data potentially also capture many additional years beyond than the ones included in the textbook citation.

The impression number stated behind a textbook is important because in a longitudinal series, especially one in which textbooks for all years are not available in an unbroken chain, this number can suggest the approximate number of years the same textbook was in use.

There is, however, no way to know for sure if a new impression number was assigned once a year, multiple times a year, or both over the span of many years. For example, a textbook that is marked “Edition 1, Impression 6” was sent in for additional prints six times, which may include only one print per year for six years, multiple prints per year in any single year, or a combination of both. The textbook was printed for at least one year and for no more than 6 years, but there is no way to confirm the range.

Although, I do not use information from impression numbers as part of my main conclusions, given the incomplete nature of this aspect of data. However, I do note that some of these textbooks were in use for multiple years and represent more than just the year listed in the citation. Similarly, the years in which a first edition of a textbook is released indicate the pace of textbook content responsiveness to policy change. These elements of textbook data are displayed in Table 3 below.
Table 3

*Five Longitudinal Series of Textbooks, Covering Each of the Four National Education Policy Phases, With Edition and Impression Numbers*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Phase</th>
<th>Textbook Year</th>
<th>Early Textbooks</th>
<th>Grade 3</th>
<th>Grade 4</th>
<th>Grade 5</th>
<th>Teacher Manuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1933-1938</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>pre-71</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1940-1948*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1947-1955</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phase 2</td>
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<td>1976</td>
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<td>Phase 3</td>
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<td>1986</td>
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<td>6th Imp</td>
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<td>1st Ed 1st Ed</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* An “x” indicates a textbook, as per the year of publication and the analytic longitudinal series to which it belongs. An "x" is not included when additional notes for a textbook are indicated in the cell. There were two textbooks from 1971: one from a pre-1971 edition and one updated post-1971.

*An asterisk indicates the probable, but not definitive, nature of the span of time a textbook was in use, based on notes in the textbook by the publisher or students.*

*“1st Ed” indicates that the textbook was new, i.e., in its first edition, while “__ Imp” indicates an older textbook’s impression number. Impression numbers document the number of times the same textbook edition has been submitted for print. Multiple impressions indicate the textbook has been in use for multiple years, continuing to be printed every year, without updates to the content.*
Data analytic strategy. I code history textbooks in terms of two variables along which history textbook content appears to change. The first variable, identity politics, looks at the scope of identity that textbooks convey as a requisite to being a Pakistani citizen. Identity politics manifests such that, during certain eras of Pakistan’s history, a Pakistani schoolgoing child is a universal citizen of the world, while during others, he or she is primarily Muslim and secondarily Pakistani. Thus, I code textbooks to see whether the scope of identity includes world history, regional history, religious history, national history, or selective combinations of these four, as measured by the amount of textbook content on these topics.

There is one fascinating case in which an old textbook’s cover illustrates a student’s interaction with his textbook, capturing his response to the ambiguity of identity that the 1947 Partition of India left him with. Resistance from a student to what the state may mandate for a student’s identity is another aspect of this variable, explored, through this example, in this chapter.

The second variable in this chapter is military revisionism, which includes the treatment of war in history textbooks. It also includes a study of how narratives of wars evolve over time, whether this evolution is different depending upon the war, and the reasons why that may be the case. Through these complex variables, I seek to understand how history is treated over time and how, if at all, the vision of history changes over time.
Analysis

Longitudinal series 1: Early history textbooks. Textbooks in this longitudinal series indicate that there was a correlation with the national education policy of the time. The finding is based primarily on the second textbook in this series, which was used at the time of the partition, as well as the third textbook in this series, used eight years after the partition.

History as civics in 1938. Textbooks were published privately for many years after Pakistan’s independence in 1947. It was not until 1972 that the government instituted the PTB, which very gradually started publishing its own books. Therefore, the PTB had no record of textbooks that were printed and used in the early decades of Pakistan’s education system. However, by tapping into used book markets and contacting sellers of used books, I was able to get a few books from the partition era. Three of these are related to history and help in getting a sense of the history curriculum of the time. They are Elementary Civics for Intermediate Students of Punjab University (Prasad, 1938), Tareekh-e-Hind (History of India) (Widwyas, 1940), and Model Tareekh-e-Englistan (History of England) (Hakeem, 1955).

Even though Elementary Civics for Intermediate Students of Punjab University (Prasad, 1938) is a civics textbook, I included it in the study because of its relevance for pre-partition history curriculum. The preface states, “This
elementary sketch of administration is intended for history students preparing for the Intermediate examination of the Punjab University. It was originally published in 1933 as a part of the history course” (Prasad, 1938). Though this textbook does not fall into any of the policy phases, which begin at the partition in 1947, it gives us a glimpse into the teaching of history under British rule, nine years before the partition.

Interestingly, there is no element of history in the 1938 textbook’s chapters, but rather a comprehensive discussion on how the government works, its different levels, their respective functions, and the relationship with the British government. An inclusion of civics curriculum in a history textbook is a curious artifact. Even if all history content from the original 1933 textbook was taken out in 1938 to make a textbook exclusively about civics, it is still telling that a 1933 history textbook carried civics material. Nonetheless, the current dataset does not give further information about the context of either of these two textbooks—or other textbooks that were used in conjunction with them—to draw definitive analytic conclusions.

1947 Partition: Claiming history. Tareekh-e-Hind (History of India) (Widwyas, 1940) is another textbook used before and after the partition, as indicated by student notes on its pages. Overall, this textbook is quite exhaustive in its coverage of the history of the subcontinent and seems to be covering varying perspectives as well. There are separate sections about the Hindu era,
the Muslim era, and British era, with a subsection on India under British rule. The textbook is in Urdu, though the questions at the end are in English. This may have been because the examination was in English under British rule, something that a later textbook (1955) confirms.

The scope of history content is quite diverse in the 488-page textbook (Widwyas, 1940), and it provides a summary at the end of each substantial section. The Hindu era comprises 12 chapters, including topics such as the early Hindus, the arrival of Aryans to the subcontinent, Buddhism, and the sultanates before the Muslims arrived in the subcontinent. The section on the Muslim era has 11 chapters on the different Muslim dynasties, the Mughal kings, and the fall of the Mughal Empire. Part two of the book is devoted to the British era and has 22 chapters, including a subsection on India under British rule. This section contains a chronological description of battles in the subcontinent, information on British India’s first governor general and all the British lords who succeeded him, and a concluding chapter on the government structure in British India.

Thus, a history textbook post-partition did not have a religious nationalist lens in editing out parts of history. Instead, there is equal representation of all aspects of the regional history of Pakistan, including the history of the region under Muslim and non-Muslim rulers.

However, this textbook (Widwyas, 1940) illustrates another aspect of how the variable identity politics plays out in history textbooks. Handwritten notes on the textbook indicate that there were at least two users of this textbook and that it
was used over a period of time. A student named Kishore, a Hindu name, indicates using this book while residing at Lohari Gate, a neighborhood that became a part of Pakistan after 1947. Another student, Mohammad Khurshid Chisti, a Muslim name, notes his name on the front page and on a few other pages as well. It is likely that a Hindu student used this book before the partition and later, in the same neighborhood but after the partition, a Pakistani Muslim student used the same textbook.

I make the above conclusion about which student used this textbook (Widwyas, 1940) first based on the Pakistani student’s edits to the front cover of the book, right next to where he notes his name (see Illustration 1). The textbook title, *Tareekh-e-Hind*, meaning “The History of India,” has been hand-edited to include “and Pakistan” in Urdu so that the new title, “Tareekh-e-Hind-o-Pak,” means “The History of India and Pakistan.”

Before the partition, India referred to British India or united India and included what became India and Pakistan. The term “history of India” meant the history of the people of united India. However, the partition in 1947 divided India such that one part retained the original name “India,” while another part took on a new name, “Pakistan.” Thus, while the history of united India belonged both to India and Pakistan, the name “India” was politically representative of only one part after the partition.

Included below is the book cover on which a student is claiming his history, demonstrating resistance to the scope of his identity that the politics of
partition has rendered clear in some domains, such as political identity, but abstract in others, such as that of one’s history.

Illustration 1. Cover page of history textbook published in 1940. The book seems to have been used by a student after 1947’s partition as well, as indicated by the hand-edit to the title, which is changed from the “Tareekh-e-Hind” (History of India) to “Tareekh-e-Hind-o-Pak” (History of India and Pakistan).

History post-partition. The 1955 textbook Model Tareekh-e-Englistan (History of England) (Hakeem, 1955) is a telling example of the inclusive nature of history in the policy phase immediately after Pakistan’s independence in
August 1947. This textbook was first printed in December 1947, as indicated by the author’s signature at the end of the foreword, and continued to be in print for many years. The copy I used was printed in 1955, as the 13th impression, and had the author’s note from 1947 inside it. Therefore, this textbook continued to be in use over a span of at least eight years, during which both education policies of Phase 1, Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference (GOP, 1947) and Proceedings of the Educational Conference (GOP, 1951), were issued. Though this is the only textbook written post-partition in the dataset for Phase 1, it still conveys important information on the variable identity politics in textbooks at the time.

The textbook (Hakeem, 1955) had widespread appeal and circulation. The author lists his affiliation as a headmaster at Islamia High School, Lahore and a fellow at Punjab University. He wrote this textbook in Urdu for “high classes,” as the cover indicated. This textbook was published in Peshawar and Lahore, two large cities. The acknowledgements section in this textbook states in Urdu that this is the fourth edition of the textbook and that the printing of more than 25,000 copies of this book within a short span of two years is testament to its popularity. For this, there is a note of thanks, expressing gratitude to Pakistani students and respected teachers in the hope that Pakistani youth prove to be true patriots (Hakeem, 1955).

This textbook (Hakeem, 1955) illustrates the inclusive nature of history content being taught at the time, which included important world events and
particularly British history. The scope of the textbook is comprehensive, with 29 chapters and over 488 pages. It begins in the year 1485 with the Tudor dynasty, chronologically covering the reign of several kings all the way up to George VI, including chapters on the French and Industrial revolutions and a final section on World War II.

It is clear that students were being tested on this content even eight years after the partition. The author (Hakeem, 1955) states in his opening note that examination questions are kept in close consideration and that translations of exam questions from English to Urdu are also provided. The book also explicitly says that the content has been prepared so as to meet every need of a student preparing to take an exam.

Finally, the justification for teaching the history of England to Pakistani students lends insights into the way identity and patriotism were conceptualized at the time. The author (Hakeem, 1955) states in Urdu in the foreword that in England, people are willing to give up individual gains for the greater good and that this is the key characteristic that must be imparted to children.

**Correlation with policy.** The textbooks of this phase, in particular the one from 1955 (Hakeem, 1955), demonstrate that the scope of history was not limited to the region, the country, or religion, in that they included a history of world events. Additionally, a textbook on British history was widely used in Pakistani
universities. The general thrust of inclusion, both of people from different faiths in society and of the history of the subcontinent at large, seems to be a feature that coincides with the policy orientation of the time. Textbooks researched for this period do not portray aspects of Islamic political extremism.

There are no other textbooks from this time to compare and get additional information from, which poses a limitation to the research. Moreover, the content of the history textbook (Hakeem, 1955) is for higher grade levels, not primary school, the focus of the rest of the phases. Thus implications on the politics of identity are limited by these two factors.

In particular, we are unable to see from these textbooks how the partition of 1947 and the first Indo-Pakistani War of 1947-1948 were discussed in Policy Phase 1 textbooks. As the sections below will show, this war was not brought up explicitly as a military conflict until several decades later. Based on that, I make the assumption that the variable military revisionism did not surface in the first policy phase.

**Longitudinal series 2: Textbooks for social studies teachers.** The second longitudinal textbook series I studied is comprised of social studies teacher certification textbooks. These textbooks are from years 1972, 1990, 1998, and 2001, which cover policy phases 2, 3, and 4.

These textbooks are entitled *Asool-e-Tadrees Muasharti Aloom* (Social Studies Rules of Instruction) (Saquib, 1972), *Muasharti Aloom wa Tariqa hay*
Relevance of teacher textbooks. These teacher textbooks were used for preparing instructors for teacher certification exams in Pakistan and as instruction manuals for different subject areas. The Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) was offered as a one-year program, beginning in the early 1990s, for people who had at least 10 years of schooling and wanted to become teachers. By doing this one-year course at any of the 87 elementary teacher-training institutions or by distance learning through Allama Iqbal Open University, students could qualify to become primary school teachers for grades 1 through 5. For middle school, grades 6 through 8, a Certificate of Teaching (CT) exam was required, along with 12 years of schooling (“Pakistan -Teaching Profession,” 2015).

The PTB, as a government institution, published all teacher textbooks in this series except for Asool-e-Tadrees Muasharti Aloom (Social Studies Rules of Instruction) (Saquib, 1972). The 1972 teacher certification textbook is privately published, most likely because the PTB was formed in 1962 and only gradually brought all official textbook publishing under its ambit. Nonetheless, the 1972 teacher textbook explicitly identifies its association with the official PTC exam.
The textbook states, the explanation of social studies teaching guidelines and rules for primary classes are followed by the guiding principles of the social studies curriculum that the ministry of education has elaborated for the teaching of primary grade levels (Saquib, 1972).

**Correlation of religious ideology and military revisionism.** The first teacher textbook (Saquib, 1972) in this series falls within Policy Phase 2 (1959-1976), and was printed in the wake of the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, in which East Pakistan separated from West Pakistan. However, this teacher textbook seems to be an older version from before 1971 that was not yet updated but was still being used after the war. It includes terms such as “West Pakistan” and has a section on Pakistani children that includes Bengali children, along with others from different parts of Pakistan. This teacher textbook provides an interesting comparison on the treatment of war, as coded through the variable military revisionism in this study.

Comparing the 1972 teacher textbook (Saquib, 1972) with the second teacher textbook (Q. Z. Ahmad, 1990) in this series is fascinating. History

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12 While all education policies and government documents analyzed in the previous chapter were in English, several textbooks in this chapter were in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. Unless noted otherwise, I use my own translations of Urdu text into English to discuss textbook content. I retain the original text for textbook names and titles where translations are provided in parenthesis. Details on the translation strategy for this study are discussed in Chapter 3 as well, where I translated interview data from Urdu and Punjab (regional language) into English. Though I am fluent in all three, I consulted with a language and translation expert for Urdu and English to confirm my translations.
curriculum for Grade 4, as stated in the teacher textbook, in both 1972 and 1990, covers almost the same historic personalities, including religious figures and founding fathers such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Muhammad Iqbal. The 1972 curriculum includes a couple of extra sections on war heroes from the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965. However, the 1990 curriculum includes only one section on a war hero from 1965, even though by this time Pakistan had fought three wars, the Indo-Pakistani War of 1947-1948 on the issue of Kashmir, the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965, and the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971.

Similarly, the curriculum for Grade 5, as stated in these teacher instruction manuals, shows a stark editing of war history by 1990. In the 1972 teacher textbook (Saquib, 1972), there are many historical sections on war heroes, religious figures, and Pakistan’s founding fathers, and there is additional discussion of the different aspects of the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965, such as national cohesion, civil-military cooperation, the courage of soldiers, India’s sudden attack on unarmed civilians, and the numayan kamyabi (clear victory) of the Pakistan military forces (Saquib, 1972, p. 99).

In the teacher textbook for 1990 (Q. Z. Ahmad, 1990, p. 9), history sections in the Grade 5 curriculum include religious figures and founding fathers, but not a single section on a war hero of 1965 or 1971. There are quite a few new names of personalities who helped organize Muslims in the subcontinent and played a key role in the independence movement of Pakistan, confirming a shift
toward Islam in Phase 3 but also showcasing the revising of war narratives over time.

There may be many reasons why the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 is talked about at great length while the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 is not even mentioned. Textbook data do not help identify the reasons behind the fact that one war was not mentioned, while the other one was. However, there is an explanation when we look at the correlation between the military revisionism variable in textbooks and the shifting religious ideology variable in policies.

Policy phases 2 and 3 saw an increased emphasis on political Islam, with Policy Phase 2 asking for national cohesion of all Muslims in Pakistan and Phase 3 extending that identity to universal brotherhood beyond Pakistan to the Muslim Ummah and exclusively the Muslim world. While the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 could be simplified in terms of a continuing conflict of Indians against Muslims since the partition, the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 challenged the narrative of Muslim cohesion against non-Muslims. The separation of East Pakistan was not rooted in a religious conflict, but one of economic and political marginalization over time and it was driven by the separate linguistic and ethnic identity of a Muslim majority within a country of other Muslims (Toor, 2011)\textsuperscript{13}. This might explain why the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 appears more readily than the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, though there may be other reasons as well.

\textsuperscript{13} See Chapter 2 in particular, titled “Consolidating the nation-state: East Bengal and the politics of national culture” (Toor, 2011, pp. 18-51).
Correlation of religious ideology and identity politics. History textbook content acquired an increasingly Islamic bent and an emphasis on universal Muslim brotherhood in Policy Phase 3, much like the national education policies of the time. Teacher textbooks from 1990 and 1998 were issued during Policy Phase 3, during the two terms that Nawaz Sharif’s democratic government was in power (1990-1993 and 1997-1999). History content in these teacher textbooks correlates strongly with the religious ideological direction that was being communicated through national education policy, particularly in the 1998 teacher textbook (Akhtar, 1998).

This trend is further evidenced by the teacher textbook from 2001 (Iqbal et al., 2001), which was issued in Phase 4 (1999-2012). However, this is the ninth impression or reprint of an older teacher textbook, meaning it was written a few years before 2001 and was still being printed for use.

The overall shift toward a religious political identity is first reflected in the 1998 textbook foreword, in which the editor writes, in Urdu, that he makes an effort to present information on all aspects of social studies such that the students are able to lead successful lives in society as courageous and complete Muslim youth (Akhtar, 1998).

A section on the Grade 5 curriculum (Akhtar, 1998, p. 112-113) lists the following history content goals: understanding Hindu-Muslim differences and the need for Pakistan, learning about the important personalities who made Pakistan,
knowing about those forces that were working against Pakistan, knowledge of Pakistan’s independence struggle, fear of God, patriotism, humanitarian work, and the need to defend Pakistan’s ideology.

The column next to these goals provides the following curricular content to meet these goals: the need for an independent Muslim state; the ideology of Pakistan; the militant objectives of India against Pakistan, which are reflected in the three wars; the Kashmir issue; and the need for Pakistan’s safety and survival (Akhtar, 1998, p. 112-113).

In a general overview (Akhtar, 1998), there is an ongoing narrative about the constant efforts of the Hindus to make things difficult for Muslims and for Pakistan. A section on Pakistan’s relationship with Muslim countries puts special emphasis on Saudi Arabia and how it helped Pakistan in hard times. This confirms an Arab-oriented shift among Muslim countries. The section mentions other Muslim countries and agreements as well as the Islamic Conference.

Finally, in the section of exam questions on history content, the following are provided as sample fill-in-the-blank test prompts (Akhtar, 1998, p. 130):

1. The foundational element of a nation is not country, but ______. (Correct answer: religion)

2. Muslims of South Asia considered themselves a separate _____ due to religion. (Correct answer: nation)

3. Hindus differed from Muslims in religion, which is why Hindus were a different _____ than Muslims. (Correct answer: nation)
Even though the teacher textbook of 2001 (Iqbal et al., 2001) came in Policy Phase 4, this textbook continues to focus on a Muslim political identity similar to the one described in 1998 textbooks.

The 2001 textbook is much longer than its 1998 counterpart, with additional sections such as “Islami Muashra” (Islamic Society), “Quaidin-e-Bedari-wa-Azadi-e-Millat-e-Islamia” (Leaders of the Awakening and Freedom of the Muslim Nation), and “Alam-e-Islam” (The Muslim World) (Iqbal et al., 2001).

An increase in emphasis on political Islam in this textbook could be attributed to the grade level. This textbook is for grades 6 through 8, as opposed to the other three that were for primary grades 1 through 5. Even so, the history being taught is that of the Arab region and of Islam in Arabia, with topics such as the state of Arabs before the dawn of Islam; their religious, economic, trade, and political conditions; and conditions after Arabs accepted Islam, including their educational, religious, moral, political, social, and economic conditions (Iqbal et al., 2001, p. 91-97).

The next chapter speaks about leaders in the awakening of freedom of the Muslim nation, followed by a chapter on the Muslim world that lists all the Muslim countries of the world. A section on international conflicts devotes 10 of its 11 pages to the plight of Muslims in the Israel-Palestine conflict and the issue of Kashmir (Iqbal et al., 2001, pp. 114-125).

Thus, a longitudinal series of teacher textbooks also illustrates a strong
correlation between history textbook content and national education policies’ religious ideological direction.

Longitudinal series 3: Social studies, Grade 3 textbooks. There are four textbooks that I compared in the Grade 3 social studies longitudinal series, including one from 1965, two from 1973, and one from 1999. They are entitled Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 3 (A Practical Atlas for Social Studies Grade 3) (1965), Muasharti Aloom Zila Gujrat Tesri Jamaat kay liay (Social Studies District Gujrat for Grade 3) (Baig & Mansoor, 1973), Muasharti Aloom Tesri Jamaat kay liay (Social Studies for Grade 3) (Yasmin et al., 1973), and Muasharti Aloom Zila Lahore Tesri Jamaat kay liay (Social Studies District Lahore for Grade 3) (Shams, 1999).

These textbooks were compared in sets of two for analytic reasons. First, a comparative study of history textbooks from 1965 and 1999 allowed for an understanding in the shifts of variable identity politics between phases 2 and 3 and illustrated the strong correlation of each textbook with the messaging in its national education policies. The second comparison was between the two textbooks from 1973, where one was written before the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 but remained in use in 1973, and the other, from a different district in Punjab, was updated after the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 and was being used in 1973. This comparison captures the immediate shift in the variable military revisionism as the state grapples with war history and makes decisions on what
to teach as part of history and what to leave out. However, even as the textbook that was revised after the 1971 war leaves out any mention of this war, while talking about many others, it maintains its correlation with the policy narrative of the time, which was one of national unity above religious difference.

**No place for history in a Muslim identity.** The number and nature of history chapters across these two textbooks are of particular comparative relevance. While the 1999 textbook (Shams, 1999) takes out all history content, *Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 3 (A Practical Atlas for Social Studies Grade 3)* (1965) covers a wide range of history content. These trends conform to the policy directions in the phases that these two textbooks represent, where Phase 2 put national cohesion above religious difference and Phase 3 put the entire emphasis on a Muslim identity. The variable identity politics as illustrated below shows how in Phase 2, textbooks had a more inclusive and secular, meaning pluralistic, thrust and Phase 3 had an authoritarian and religious essence.

Out of a total of 11 chapters in the book, the textbook from 1999 does not have any chapters on history. The first chapter, “Humara Watan” (Our Country), mentions the partition, but that, too, in order to make the connection between Pakistan and political Islam clear. It says, in Urdu, that Pakistan is the first country in the world created in the name of Islam, that people worked very hard
and gave many sacrifices for Pakistan, and that it was created so people could freely live their lives in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah (Shams, 1999, p 4).

There are 10 additional chapters in this textbook (Shams, 1999), the last of which is a chapter on an important personality from the district for which the textbook was prepared. It is about a Sufi saint, Data Ganj Baksh, who was a bastion of the devotional culture of Islam in Pakistan. The rest of the chapters speak about topics in a non-historical manner, such as the province of Punjab, District Lahore, historic sites as tourist destinations, and agricultural production.

In contrast, the textbook for the same grade level in 1965 (Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 3 [A Practical Atlas for Social Studies Grade 3], 1965) has 12 chapters in a dedicated part of the textbook for history content. There are two other parts of this textbook, geography and civics, which have an additional 14 chapters covering content in these subject areas as well. Chapters on history include historic figures from different religions and ethnicities. The first chapter talks about ancient times when people lived in caves. The next one tells the story of Adam and Eve and states that all of humanity comes from them united as brothers (p. 9). A chapter on Jesus as the prophet for the poor and of many virtues says that Jews believe Jesus was killed but that his followers, Christians, believe he was crucified. Thus, different perspectives on religion and history are narrated without granting greater credibility to either one.
The chapter on the Prophet Muhammad comes after the one on Jesus, which is interesting because in later textbooks, chapters on the Prophet Muhammad always come first. A chapter on Ram Chandar Ji and his link to the festival of Divali does not have any negative commentary on Hindus. Similarly, the chapter on Buddha lays out his teachings and states that his followers live in East Pakistan and other countries. There are drawings showing Buddha and Gandhara ruins, among other Buddhist illustrations. There is a chapter on a Sufi poet from Sindh, Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, and Pashto poet Khushal Khan Khattak, who led a Pathan revivalist movement.

Furthermore, there are differences in the way the same topic is talked about between 1965 and 1999. In the 1965 textbook, a chapter on Muhammad Bin Qasim, an Arab warrior who made the first conquest into the subcontinent, tells the story of his war with the ruler of Sindh without framing it in terms of Islam versus Hinduism. Similarly, it does not say that the conquest was carried out to spread Islam to the subcontinent, a defining feature of this war’s narrative in later textbooks.

Instead, the 1965 textbook speaks about the Arabian Sea pirates who looted his ships and took passengers as prisoners. Muhammad Bin Qasim attacked the subcontinent as a result of these circumstances. Similarly, a section on Allama Iqbal, a founding father whose poetry invigorated the Pakistan independence movement, does not mention Hindus at all. Instead it speaks to his role in uniting Muslims, leaving out any mention of Hindus, and examines other
aspects of his life, such as his hometown, where he got his education, and where he later practiced law. Finally, the section on Jinnah speaks about his life as a lawyer, cities where he obtained his education, and his title as founder of Pakistan.

**The omission of 1971 war history.** The second comparison in this series is not between textbooks from different decades or phases, but rather from the same year, 1973. The Grade 3 social studies textbook for District Lahore from April 1973 (Baig & Mansoor, 1973) is very different from the Grade 3 social studies textbook for District Gujrat from December 1973 (Yasmin et al., 1973). While they are from different districts within Punjab, analytic conclusions are still significant given they capture the differences in history content before and after a conflict of fundamental significance.

The April 1973 textbook talks about East Pakistan as part of the country, and a section on Pakistani children speaks fondly of the intelligence and charm of Bengali children, among other ethnicities, within Pakistan. A story-based narrative on means of transportation speaks about students in a classroom discussing ways of getting from West Pakistan to East Pakistan, by boat or by air. It adds that travel by train would be possible, but that due to animosity with India, that route is closed. In the chapter “Humara Watan” (Our Country), while talking about East Pakistan, there is a subsection on Chakma children, who are
described as belonging to the very beautiful Chatgaam region, where Buddhists also live.

A chapter titled “Humari Masjidain” (Our Mosques) says, that a mosque is the house of God where Muslims worship Allah and that the place of worship for Christians is called a church. Similarly, the place of worship for Hindus is called a temple, and the place of worship for Sikhs is called a gurdwara (Baig & Mansoor, 1973, p. 68). In the three questions posed at the end of chapter, the third one asks, what the places of worship for Muslims, Hindus, and Christians are called (p. 71).

Thus, the April 1973 (Baig & Mansoor, 1973) textbook continues the trend of the 1965 textbook described in the previous section, in that this textbook is also pluralistic and inclusive of minorities and other religions as part of Pakistan.

Comparing the April 1973 (Yasmin et al., 1973) textbook with the one updated after the 1971 war (Baig & Mansoor, 1973), there are significant changes. The “Humara Watan” (Our Country) chapter in the pre-secession book is the second-to-last chapter. However, it is 10 pages and features a foldout map of West Pakistan and several pictures of Pakistani ethnic groups. A four-page final chapter on East Pakistan also features a map and a picture of a Bengali child. In the latter textbook, the chapter is moved to the front. It is a very brief, one-page chapter with large images of Jinnah and the Pakistani flag. The three brief paragraphs speak about the Pakistani flag and how its colors symbolize the nation as a place for Muslims and non-Muslims. Thus, in spite of the editing of
history, this textbook still maintains a correlation with the secular thrust of the policy of this phase.

Selective war history is most obvious in the post-war updated textbook (Baig & Mansoor, 1973). A chapter on the history of District Gujrat talks about many wars in the near and distant past, such as the conflict between Alexander and a local king, Muslim conquests of India, the two places in Gujrat where people fought the British, and the uniting of Gujrati people under Jinnah in the war of independence against the British. The chapter even mentions the bravery of people from Gujrat in the 1965 Pakistan-India war, but there is no mention of the 1971 war.

Longitudinal series 4: Social studies, Grade 4 textbooks. There are five Grade 4 social studies textbooks that I compared in this longitudinal series. They cover policy phases 2, 3, and 4 by representing textbooks from years 1965, 1981, 1986, 2002, and 2012. I compare them across themes of scope of history covered; nature of coverage of wars; narratives on others, especially non-Muslims; and correlation with policy phases.

These textbooks are titled Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 4 (A Practical Atlas for Social Studies Grade 4) (1965), Social Studies for Class 4 (Yasmin, Hamid, Malik, & Ahmad, 1981), Muasharti Aloom Chothi Jamat kay liay (Social Studies for Grade 4) (Yasmin, Hamid, Malik, & Ahmad, 1986), Muasharti
Scope of history. The 1965 textbook (Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 4 [A Practical Atlas for Social Studies Grade 4], 1965) has chapters on all four seminal caliphs of Islam (Abu Bakar, Omar, Usman, and Ali), four Mughal emperors (Babar, Akbar, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb), another Muslim king of the subcontinent (Sher Shah Suri), and a woman ruler and warrior of the subcontinent (Razia Sultana). It also has a chapter on the ancient Indus Valley Civilization and the Aryans who came to the region 4,000 years ago (p. 3).

Compare this textbook with the one in English version of the textbook from 1981 (Yasmin et al., 1981), which has a chapter on the history of the Punjab, explaining the history of the subcontinent, in about two paragraphs, without any specifics on rulers, wars, or sultanates. Instead, the narrative alleges historic religious differences between Muslims and Hindus since when Muslims first arrived to the subcontinent. It states that the “inhabitants of these areas were impressed by the teachings of Islam and started to join its fold. … Although the Muslim rulers had allowed complete religious freedom to all non-Muslims, yet the Hindus were inimical to Muslims” (Yasmin et al., 1981, p. 6). The chapter transitions abruptly from the arrival of Muslims to the subcontinent without mentioning the 7th century A.D. date, to the Pakistan Movement in 1940. It
speaks of the merits of the partition from a Muslim perspective only. The additional eight chapters on history cover historic personalities, including five religious figures (the Prophet Muhammad and the four Muslim caliphs), two founding fathers (Jinnah and Iqbal), and one war hero (Major Aziz Bhatti) from the 1965 war with India. The textbook did not mention any war hero from the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971.

The textbook from 1986 (Yasmin et al., 1986) is identical to the one from 1981 (Yasmin et al., 1981), except the 1981 textbook is in English and this one its Urdu version. The closeness in content between these two textbooks means that the narrative was not distinct for English-medium or Urdu-medium public schools. Policy priorities on religious nationalism and identity politics seem to have translated about the same into textbooks of either of the two languages of instruction in Punjab.

The textbook from 2002\textsuperscript{14} (Muasharti Aloom Chothi Jamat kay liay [Social Studies for Grade 4], 2002), though it comes much later, is quite similar to the textbooks from the 1980s in terms of scope of history. The textbook has a chapter on the Prophet Muhammad and chapters on only three of the four caliphs. The fourth caliph is a seminal figure for Shia Muslims. Though it is

\textsuperscript{14}The year of the 2002 textbook was verified and noted upon physical examination of the textbook, before the textbook was returned to the Punjab Textbook Board archives. In a final review, I re-confirmed the publication year of every textbook by comparing the notes made upon physical verification with the electronic scans of textbooks that I have for my records. I was not able to re-confirm the year of the 2002 textbook because of a scanning error that partially cut off the back cover of this textbook where publishing data is typically printed. Overall, all textbooks in the dataset match consistently in the information noted upon physical examinations and the textbook electronic scans.
speculative, the increase in Saudi references in Pakistani textbooks seems to coincide with the disappearance of the caliph who is revered by Shia Muslims in particular. There is also a chapter on the Prophet Muhammad’s wife, Khadeja. There are two chapters on two people who helped in the Pakistan Movement, a Punjabi man, Molana Zafar Ali Khan, and a Punjabi woman, Begum Salma Tassaduq Husain.

It is not until 2012 that we see a new edition and first impression, i.e., a new textbook altogether, for social studies (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012). This textbook is in English. It has a drastically different scope of history than its predecessors of three decades. A page entitled “Time Lines of Important Historical Events of the Province” (p. 22) lists a range of important personalities and time periods covering a history of the region and different religions. The 2012 textbook then proceeds to devote sections on: “Harappa Civilization; Aryan Civilization,” “Mahatama Gautam Buddha,” “Attack of Alexander, the Great,” “Ashoka’s Period,” “Arrival of Mohammad Bin Qasim in Sindh and Multan,” “Establishment of Ghaznavid’s Regime,” “Ghauri Regime,” “Salateen-e-Delhi Regime,” “Birth of Baba Guru Nanak and the Beginning of Sikhism,” “Mughal Regime,” “Suri Regime,” “British Empire,” “Establishment of Pakistan and Partition of Punjab,” “Abolishment of the Status of Province,” and “Restoration of the Status of Province” (pp. 23-31).

Conspicuously missing in these chapters is the history of Islam and Muslim religious personalities, such as the Prophet Muhammad or any of the four
caliphs. Not only does the textbook (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012) leave out Islam, it also specifically covers religious figures of other faith traditions, such as Buddhism and Sikhism.

The history of the region is a lot more comprehensive in this textbook (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012), showing continuity in the historic timeline as opposed to skipping centuries in between events. The partition and the creation of Pakistan make up one of many sections, rather than the most important and central one, and a discussion of Punjab is included in a way that brings the province’s social, cultural, and historic identity to the student’s mind unlike textbooks of the past.

**War narratives.** The textbook *Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 4* (A Practical Atlas for Social Studies Grade 4) (1965) does not cover the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965. It may be that the textbook was written earlier in the year, before war broke out in September, or that the textbook was printed after the war without being updated. Although this textbook does not mention the 1965 war, it does speak to other wars from a religious and regional history standpoint. These narratives document aspects of the variable military revisionism in how the state speaks about norms of state and military aggression and how they change over time.

In the 1965 textbook, a chapter on the first Muslim caliph narrates norms of aggression by Islamic religious leaders. It states that war instructions were to
not damage any crops, elderly, children, women and refugees. There is also a chapter on and a picture illustration (p. 14) of Razia Sultana, who was the daughter King Altamash, the founder of the Delhi Sultunate. She is described as the most intelligent of all of Altamash’s children, as someone with high military acumen who gave slaves the status of top military advisors (p. 14). The chapter on the Mughal emperor Babar describes his victory in the war and his promise to God that he would give up alcohol if victorious (p. 15). There are many other rulers mentioned, but not much discussion on the wars they fought, particularly in terms of Hindus as a standard enemy of the Muslims.

The 1981 textbook (Yasmin et al., 1981), which is in English, does not speak about any regional wars related to the subcontinent. However, it talks about two of the three wars Pakistan had fought with India by then. The conflict in Kashmir in 1948 is not narrated as a war, as in later textbooks, but rather as a freedom struggle:

In 1947, when Pakistan came into being, the Hindu Raja of the State of Jammu and Kashmir manoeuvred to accede to Bharat [India], in spite of the fact that majority of the inhabitants of the State were Muslims and they wanted to join Pakistan. When they came to know of accession, they started armed struggle against the Hindu Raja and his dogra army for their freedom. Freedom fighters of Pakistan crossed the border into the State to help their brethren, and liberated some areas of the State. (p. 9)

The section (Yasmin et al., 1981) goes on to talk about the 1965 war in similar terms. A paraphrased version of that paragraph (p. 9) appears later in the textbook, in a chapter on war hero Major Aziz Bhatti.
Bharat [India] has always been an enemy of Pakistan and has always been on the look out for opportunity to do harm to our beloved country. Without declaring war, Bharat attacked Lahore on September 6, 1965. Our brave army faced the enemy. Major Aziz Bhatti and his handful of jawans [soldiers] stood like a rock in the face of the large Bharati [Indian] battalion. (p. 76)

There is no mention of the 1971 war, even though this textbook (Yasmin et al., 1981) was published 10 years after it broke Pakistan into two. As previously mentioned, the 1986 textbook (Yasmin et al., 1986) is the same as the 1981 textbook, only a later impression, which means that the 1971 war was not taught from 1981 through 1986, either.

There is no mention of the 1971 war in the textbook *Muasharti Aloom Chothi Jamat kay liay* (Social Studies for Grade 4) (2002), and chapters on war heroes are also removed. There are two new chapters on important personalities that discuss instrumental independence movement leaders Molana Zafar Ali Khan and Begum Salma Tassaduq.

In talking about the 1947 Partition of India, the 2002 textbook says that Muslims in Pakistan gave every kind of support to the people leaving for India, while the Indians were very cruel to the Muslims leaving for Pakistan (p. 85). The part on the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 describes Pakistan as handing a clear defeat to India (p. 86). Thus, the 2002 textbook, even though in Policy Phase 4, continues the narrative of Policy Phase 3, which could be attributed to a lag in textbooks being updated.
The 2012 textbook (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012) is a new textbook and not a reprint or impression of a previous edition. Content on wars and war heroes is entirely removed in this edition, except for a small image showing 10 soldiers without any explanation as to which soldiers fought in which war (p. 43).

This textbook (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012) demonstrates a high correlation with the ideological thrust of Policy Phase 4, with entire sections devoted to peace and inclusion. The chapter on culture has sections such as “Getting Along with Others,” “Definition of Peace,” “Definition of Conflict,” “Possible Results of Peace and Possible Consequences of Conflict,” “Attitudes That Give Birth to Conflicts and Peace,” “Ways to Establish Peace,” and “Ways of Resolving Conflict” (pp. 111-115).

This textbook (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012) provides a good illustration of how Islam remains a constant through the policy phases in the narrative of Pakistan, but what it means to be Islamic changes with every phase. The definition of peace in this textbook frames inclusivity, peace, and tolerance as values of Islam. It says, “Islam, our religion, teaches us peace. All other religions give the message of peace too” (p. 111).

A stark shift in military revisionism and the norms of war as discussed in textbooks is illustrated in the section on ways of resolving conflict. The four methods listed are dialogue, cooperation, arbitration, and compromise (p. 114-115). However, even in this section, war or military intervention is not mentioned as a means of settling conflict.
The chapters on important personalities include a Sufi saint, Hazrat Baba Farid Ganj Shakkar, and two leaders, a man and a woman, from the independence movement, namely Dr. Allama Iqbal and Begam Jahan Ara Nawaz. These choices indicate inclusivity of gender and religious diversity in history textbook content.

The first time a history textbook mentions civil war is in this textbook (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012), even though the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, in which people in East Pakistan rebelled against the government, is not discussed in civil war terms. Six aspects are listed in the section on the “Possible Consequences of Conflict” (p. 113): mental stress, destabilization, bloodshed, civil war, revolution, and war. The last bullet point on war acknowledges that Pakistan has fought three wars, even though it does not provide the years. It also frames all three wars as a conflict about Kashmir, whereas the 1971 war was a result of other, unrelated issues of language and ethnicity, between East and West Pakistan (Toor, 2011).

Thus, in terms of military revisionism, the longitudinal series of Grade 4 social studies illustrates high textbook responsiveness to national policy directions. However, the strong correlation comes with a lag during which textbooks were not updated up until at least 2002, three years into Policy Phase 4.
Narratives on others. The textbook *Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 4 (A Practical Atlas for Social Studies Grade 4)* (1965) does not discuss non-Muslims in any special context. In the chapter on Aryans, the textbook traces the origins of people in India and Pakistan to the same people, the Aryans, who came to the subcontinent some 4,000 years ago. This narrative is distinct from later versions of history in which Muslims are framed as outsiders who arrived in the subcontinent. In describing Aryans, the textbook (1965) states, “They were fair and tall, and their descendants are Pakistani, Indians, Iranians, Afghans, English, French, and German” (p. 6).

In a chapter on Mughal emperor Jalal ud Din Muhammad Akbar, the textbook (1965) mentions that Akbar married Hindu women to make allies of Hindus in his kingdom. Further, to eliminate Hindu Muslim divisions, Akbar started a new religion called *Deen-e-Ilahi* (Religion of God) (p. 19). In talking about the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, the textbook says that he was known as the Darvesh King, who led a simple life and forgave all un-Islamic taxes (p. 22).

The 1981 textbook (Yasmin et al., 1981), however, begins by positioning Muslims and Hindus as inherently at odds with one another since the beginning of their interaction in the subcontinent. A chapter called, “History of the Punjab,” states,

> When the Muslims came to these areas, the Hindus fought against them. Hindu Rajas were defeated in these battles. The Muslims treated the people of this area very nicely. ... Although the Muslim rulers had allowed
complete religious freedom to all non-Muslims, yet the Hindus were inimical to Muslims.

When the British attacked the area, Hindus sided with them in their opposition to the Muslims, which helped the British occupy the subcontinent. The Hindus started creating more difficulties for the Muslims with the connivance of the British. (p. 6)

In speaking about the mass migration that took place from both sides of the new border between India and Pakistan, the textbook states,

At the time of the establishment of Pakistan, the Muslims residing in India started migrating to Pakistan and Hindus residing in Pakistan to India. Muslims allowed the Hindus and Sikhs to leave Pakistan peacefully, but the Hindus and Sikhs committed untold atrocities on the Muslims leaving India. They killed children, men and women, old and young alike, mercilessly, and looted their properties. The Muslims of the Punjab were grieved over this mass killing. (p. 8)

At another point, the chapter almost repeats itself from another part of the textbook (1981), saying:

Bharat [India] has always been inimical to Pakistan. It tries to bring harm to Pakistan whenever it finds an opportunity to do so. In September, 1965, Indian armed forces crossed the border into Pakistan at Wagah without a formal declaration of war. But Pakistan army repulsed the attack. People of the Punjab manifested unprecedented passion for their country. Those living in the border areas did not give way to fight. (p. 9)

The clear alignment of history textbook content with national policy directives is visible in this textbook (1981). A special mention of Saudi Arabia appears in textbook content as the policy pivots toward an Arabized version of Islam in Pakistan. The chapter on the Prophet Muhammad, in the first paragraph,
gives a special mention to the modern state of Saudi Arabia in speaking about
the ancient link of the Prophet Muhammad to the city of Mecca:

We live in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. There are many Muslim States
in the world. Famous among these is the State of Saudi Arabia. This
country is situated to the west of Pakistan. In this country is the city of
MECCA where Muslims from all over the world go every year to perform
Hajj, Our dear Prophet MUHAMMAD (may God bless him and peace be
upon him) was born in this Holy city in the year 571 A.D. (p. 65)

The 1986 textbook is a reprint of the 1981 textbook and remained
unchanged in the years in between. Thus, the above analysis is true of the 1986
textbook (Yasmin et al., 1986) as well.

The 2002 textbook (Muasharti Aloom Chothi Jamat kay liay (Social
Studies for Grade 4), 2002) continues the narrative from the 1980s and simplifies
it further. It speaks to the rule of Ranjeet Singh in Punjab in terms of the
discrimination and cruelty Muslims were facing at the hands of the Sikh rulers (p.
82). This textbook also states that Muslims were very kind to the refugees leaving
for India at the partition but that India was cruel to Muslims leaving for Pakistan
(p. 85). Thus, this textbook continues the narrative from Policy Phase 3, even
though it falls three years into Policy Phase 4. No new national education policy
had been released, which might explain the reason for the lag in textbook content
alignment with the ideological thrust of the policy phase.

The 2012 textbook (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012) lists student learning outcomes
at the beginning, taken from the National Curriculum of 2006. They include a
student’s ability to “recognize the viewpoints of the historians” (p. 20) and
comprehend diversity in perspectives on history. In a section on the “Concept of
a Hero,” the textbook says, “A person may be [a] hero for his nation or the
followers of his religion but it is not necessary that the persons belonging to some
other nation or religion also consider him as their hero” (p. 44).

Different sections of the textbook (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012) speak of people
other than Pakistanis and Muslims in favorable terms, illustrating a departure
from previous textbooks that spoke of non-Muslims as the hostile “other.” A
section on Buddha talks about him as someone who was disturbed by injustice in
society, searched for truth, and was popular among the people (p. 24). Textbooks
in past years claimed that Hindus ruined Buddhism with idolatry. However, this
textbook does not bring up Hindus in talking about Buddhism. The 2002 textbook
is also the first to talk favorably of the British. In a section titled “British Regime
1894-1947 A.D.,” the historical content lends itself to greater complexity than a
one-sided good-versus-evil account of history. The textbooks says,

The British defeated the local people and thus the entire country went into
the hands of the British. The British carried out many reforms in the
Punjab. They established the department of Police to maintain law and
order situation. They set up Education department to educate the people.
They improved the transportation system and set up the Railway system.
Many movements started in this period against the British. The famous
Pakistan Resolution of 23rd March 1940 was also passed in Lahore
(Punjab). (p. 30)

Thus, there are many examples in the 2012 textbook demonstrating a
strong correlation between the religious ideological thrust of Policy Phase 4 and
history textbook content.
Correlation with policy. We find that the longitudinal series of Grade 4 social studies textbooks correlate well with policy phases 2 and 3 and somewhat with Policy Phase 4. The textbook from 1965 was focused on Islam for national cohesion, and inclusion was given importance in textbook content. The textbooks from the 1980s were exclusive toward non-Muslims and maintained an Arab-Islamic focus in the curriculum, indicating a strong alignment with policy direction.

The correlation for Policy Phase 4 is mixed. The influence of policies from Policy Phase 3 extends into the textbook of 2002, three years into Policy Phase 4. The 2012 textbook is, however, updated and in complete alignment with the national policy directive of inclusivity and religious tolerance. The next and last longitudinal series will shed further light on textbook responsiveness, particularly as the results seem mixed in Policy Phase 4.

Longitudinal series 5: Social studies, Grade 5 textbooks. The four textbooks I compare for Grade 5 are from 1965, 1976, 2003, and 2012, covering policy phases 2 and 4. I compare these textbooks in two subsections below, analyzing them in terms of the variables identity politics and military revisionism, respectively.

These textbooks are titled Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 5 (A Practical Atlas for Social Studies Grade 5) (1965), Muasharti Aloom Panchvi Jamaat kay liay (Social Studies for Grade 5) (Yasmin, Ashraf, & Malik, 1976),


The scope of history content in the *Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 5* (A Practical Atlas for Social Studies Grade 5) (1965) includes both region and country, while the histories of the world and religion are largely missing. The four chapters on history are “Arrival and Take-Over of the British of the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent,” “Struggle for Freedom,” “Muslim League and the Formation of Pakistan,” and “A Brief History of West Pakistan” (pp. 1-23).

For example, the first chapter gives an account of different wars in different parts of the subcontinent and the eventual takeover of the British (pp. 4-8). The second chapter speaks of the movement against the Sikh rulers of Sindh and Punjab, who discriminated against Muslims (pp. 9-11). The third talks about the Pakistan Movement and the violation of Muslims’ rights at the hands of Hindus and the British (pp.13-16). The fourth chapter provides a history of West Pakistan only (pp. 18-23), not Pakistan overall, even though this textbook was printed many years before the separation of East Pakistan in 1971. In this chapter, the textbook speaks about ancient civilizations and kings who ruled the subcontinent before the Muslims. It also gives a history of various Muslim rulers and important personalities, such as the Pashto poet Khushal Khan Khattak.
Only one event from Pakistan’s history is mentioned, the agricultural reforms of 1959. Though much of the history covered is shared with East Pakistan as well, the chapter is entitled “History of West Pakistan.” Geography chapters, however, include East Pakistan, in text and in illustrations.

In 1976, when the second textbook (Yasmin et al., 1976) of this series was published, the emphasis of identity clearly shifts to religion. While this shift does not correlate with the overall inclusive thrust of Policy Phase 2, it does correlate strongly with individual policies that came later in the phase that took on a greater religious emphasis.

In the first chapter, Pakistan – Historic Background, the timeline of history begins from the cruelty of the Hindus, who came to the subcontinent as the primary descendants of Aryans, toward the indigenous people. Next, the textbook speaks about the arrival of the Muslims to the subcontinent and the continuous discrimination of Hindus against Muslims, which led to the formation of Pakistan (pp.1-5). It states that, Hindus and Muslims had lived as distinct communities, in spite of a thousand years of living in the same geographical space, during which time Hindus had tried to harm Muslims at every opportunity they got. Yet, the textbook continues, when Hindus saw the possibility of the British leaving the sub-continent, they claimed that Hindus and Muslims were one nation and could live peacefully together in united country (p. 4). Thus, this chapter clearly argues for a distinct religious identity of the people of Pakistan and reframes regional history to make that argument.
All the remaining history chapters (Yasmin et al., 1976) are on prominent historical personalities, which are either religious figures like the Prophet Muhammad’s relatives or leaders from the Pakistan Movement.

The narration of ancient wars in this textbook (Yasmin et al., 1976), such as those wars when the Aryans first arrived to the subcontinent, portray the Hindus as having an inherent backstabbing nature. The textbook claims that, when the Hindus arrived to this part of the world 2500 years ago, they treated the ancient indigenous people very poorly. They confiscated their lands. They set their homes on fire and started bloodshed. They made slaves out of those who survived and started calling them *Shudras* [the untouchables]. When they had defeated these ancient indigenous people, Hindus started fighting amongst themselves (pp. 1-2).

This narrative on Hindus is immediately followed by content that juxtaposes the lifestyle of the Muslims and how they taught the Hindus the oneness of God, culture, brotherhood, and living in peace with one another (Yasmin et al., 1976, pp. 2-3). The revisionism to history is apparent to the extent that at all points in history, whether it is the arrival of Muslims to the subcontinent or the struggle for Pakistan, Hindus are portrayed as intrinsically opposed to and hateful of Muslims.

The 2003 textbook (Yasmin et al., 2003) maintains the scope of identity on country, though the content on religious difference is removed. A chapter on the history of Pakistan includes the arrival of the Aryans to the subcontinent, and the
timeline is similar to the textbook from 1976. However, Hindu-Muslim differences are not discussed in terms of an inherent animosity of the Hindus toward Muslims. For example, a section on the state of affairs under British rule speaks in neutral language about the preference in hiring given to locals who could speak English. Since Muslims were against Angrezi Taleem (an education in English) but Hindus, on the contrary, sought an education and secured many senior posts, Muslims kept regressing (pp. 108-109).

Another example of a reduction in content based on a religious identity is evident from the decrease in the number of chapters on religious historic figures in this textbook (Yasmin et al., 2003) and the 1976 textbook (Yasmin et al., 1976). The number of chapters is reduced from three to one for religious figures and seven to three for leaders from the Pakistan Movement. Thus, even though this textbook does not fully correlate with the inclusive and secular thrust of Policy Phase 4, it certainly demonstrates a shift in textbook content even in the absence of a new national policy, giving a new religious ideological direction.

**Negative correlation.** In the previous longitudinal series of Grade 4 social studies textbooks, the weak correlation of the 2002 textbook with Policy Phase 4 changed to a strong correlation in the 2012 textbook (Z. Ahmad et al., 2012). However, in this longitudinal series of Grade 5 social studies textbooks, the weak correlation of the 2003 textbook becomes a negative correlation in the 2012 textbook (Hussain et al., 2012).
There are two chapters on history out of a total of 11 chapters in the 2012 textbook (Hussain et al., 2012). Both history chapters frame the narrative in terms of religious differences with non-Muslims. The emphasis on religion is reflected in the chapter titles as well, where Chapter 1 is called “Islamic Republic of Pakistan” (p. 1) and Chapter 11 is called “Important Personalities Who Contributed Towards the Spread of Islam and the Freedom Movement” (p. 83).

In Chapter 1, there are only two paragraphs on Pakistan’s regional history. These paragraphs cover history from 712 A.D., when the first Muslim warriors arrived to the subcontinent, to 1947, when Pakistan was created (p. 2). The immediate next section in this chapter is based on six paragraphs and is called “Religious, Political, Social and Economic Differences Between Hindus and the Muslims.” It states, “The Religious beliefs of the Muslims and the Hindus are absolutely different…. They have many gods and goddesses. The Muslims believe in one Allah who is Almighty. ... In Hindu religion the women are given a low status. Whereas Islam teaches to give due respect to the women” (p. 2).

Chapter 11 has essays on the Prophet Muhammad; the first Muslim warriors, Muhammad Bin Qasim and Mahmood of Ghaznavi; and four founding fathers.

The following excerpt illustrates the negative correlation of the 2012 Grade 5 textbook as compared with the positive correlation of Grade 4 textbooks from the same policy phase. While the Grade 4 2003 textbook considered Muslim choices against an English education as the cause of their poor socio-economic
conditions in British India, the 2012 Grade 5 textbook gives a different narrative to the same course of events:

Hindus joined hands with the British and started behaving against the Muslims. They started proving that it were [sic] the Muslims who provoked for war against the British. In this way, they succeeded in making the British rulers against the Muslim population. As a result of this the Hindus started grappling the Muslim properties, taking jobs in the Government service of the British and dominating the business field. They even did not allow the Muslims to get higher education. As a result of all this, the socio-economic conditions of the Muslims became very low. (p. 95)

**War narratives.** Textbooks in the Grade 5 longitudinal series display similar patterns of correlation in terms of military revisionism and narratives on wars.

The 1965 textbook has no mention of war, perhaps because it was written in the same year as when Pakistan and India fought their second war in September 1965. However, there is also no mention of the 1948 war with India on the issue of Kashmir. This war does not appear in any of the history textbooks until much later. The lack of coverage of military aggression is in line with the national unity messaging in the policies of Phase 2.

Keeping with the trend in Policy Phase 2, which gains a religious color toward the end, the 1976 textbook covers all three wars with India. Although the 1948 war is not called a war, but rather *Masla-e-Kashmir* (the Kashmir issue), all three conflicts are discussed in terms of India being an unfair aggressor and schemer (pp. 5-7) whose Hindus conspired and caused the separation of East Pakistan in 1971 (p 7). A section called “Bharat ka Ravaiya” (India’s Attitude)
distinguishes Pakistan from India in the following terms: Islam teaches us to live in love and peace. But Islam also tells us to beware of enemies and infidels. Pakistan has never been unfair to any country. But our neighboring country India has tried to harm us in every possible way. India has done many unfair deeds against us. Not only does India bother the Muslims that live within its country, but it often keeps fighting with us too. Because of this both countries have gone to war many times. (p. 5)

The 2003 textbook (Yasmin et al., 2003) is the first time the 1948 conflict is named as a war with India, and it is discussed in some detail in regard to the role the United Nations played. Though the narrative is still anti-India, the sense of an inherent bias that Hindus have against Muslims is removed from the war narrative. In fact, all three wars in this textbook are discussed in terms of the national identity, not a religious one, whereby they are framed as India’s failed attempt at gaining territory in 1965 and the successful conspiracy of breaking off East Pakistan from West Pakistan in 1971 (pp. 110-113).

The break in correlation of the 2012 textbook and policy direction is evident in war narratives as well. Instead of going further away from the narrative of religion, as seemed to be the trend in the 2003 textbook, the 2012 textbook frames the discussion of war in terms of “Islam and the Necessities of Pakistan’s Security” (p. 6). The very title of the section indicates a return to the narrative of Muslim Ummah that characterized the religious political extremism of Policy Phase 2. That section states,
On an international level, the Islamic countries have special and clear power. To keep the Islamic identity and existence it is necessary for our country to defend and safeguard religion and its values. Pakistan is the only country which came into being in the name of Islam. It has a high status for this reason in the Islamic world. It has always played an important role to solve the problems of the Islamic world and to get disputes settled. To keep up this position and to lead the Islamic world, the safety and existence of Pakistan is very essential. (p. 7)

**Correlation with policy.** The ideological content of the Grade 5 2012 textbook, instead of shifting away from religion toward inclusivity and secularism, as it does in the policy of this phase, goes back to religious political extremism similar to textbooks from Policy Phase 3. Had there been no change in the narrative of the 2003 textbook, one could attribute the religious political extremism in the 2012 textbook as part of a continuing lag. However, the 2003 textbook is updated to reflect some of the changes in the religious nationalist agenda that came with Policy Phase 4.

Thus, a return of the 2012 textbook narrative to that of a previous policy phase is an intentional regression, not a lag. A confirmation of this intentional reversion is evidenced by the fact that this textbook was published as the first impression of a new edition in March 2012 and is not an older textbook that continued to be in print.

The three kinds of correlation on Policy Phase 4—namely weak but positive, strong positive, and strong negative—are visually represented in Table 4 below.
In this chapter, I examined a second longitudinal dataset: history textbooks from the province of Punjab dating from 1938 to 2012. To test the correlation between evolving education policies and textbook content, I analyzed the history textbooks in terms of two variables.

### Table 4

*The Variance in Correlation Between Textbook Content and Policy Directives of Policy Phase 4 (1999-2012)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Phase</th>
<th>Textbook Year</th>
<th>Early Textbooks</th>
<th>Grade 3</th>
<th>Grade 4</th>
<th>Grade 5</th>
<th>Teacher Manuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1947-1958]</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Phase 2</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1959-1976]</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1973</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 3</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1990</td>
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<td>1998</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1999</td>
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<td>[1999-2012]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2002</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2003</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined a second longitudinal dataset: history textbooks from the province of Punjab dating from 1938 to 2012. To test the correlation between evolving education policies and textbook content, I analyzed the history textbooks in terms of two variables.
The first variable, identity politics, spoke to the scope of identity that history textbooks conveyed to their readers of primary grade levels. This variable also documented an instance of student resistance to the scope that political events impose on readers and the desire to claim one’s history.

The second variable, military revisionism, documented the disparate ways in which wars were discussed, particularly in terms of the shifting nature of the “other” and the time lapse before a war became an explicit part of history textbook content.

Findings suggested a strong correlation between history textbook content and the religious ideological direction of national education policies for policy phases 1, 2, and 3, i.e., three of the total four phases. In Policy Phase 4, however, textbooks display a variance in correlation with policy directives. Some textbooks correlate positively and go along with the shifting policy messaging of secularism. Whereas, another textbook takes the opposite direction and increases content on religious political extremism.

To understand the reasons why the correlation between textbooks and policy breaks and to document the non-ideological variables that impact decision-making in regards to history textbooks, I look at behind-the-scenes political processes as a third body of data in this study. In the next chapter, I examine the politics between the federal, provincial, and local levels of government in terms of four additional variables.
CHAPTER IV. THE POLITICS OF MAKING TEXTBOOKS

The research question for this study is “What produces a history textbook in Pakistan?” So far, in answering this question, I have identified three variables: (1) religious ideology, based on the study of education policies, examined in chapter 2, (2) identity politics, and (3) military revisionism, based on the study of history textbooks, discussed in chapter 3. I now explore the politics and processes of policymaking that go in the making of history textbooks, and identify an additional four variables: (4) political power, (5) financial vulnerabilities, (6) systemic inefficiencies, and (7) past history textbooks.

This chapter looks at the network of secular elements that play into the making of a textbook. These include limitations, economic factors like financial vulnerabilities of the system, and political power. These factors collectively reveal that while religion plays an important role in the making of a history textbook in Pakistan, ground realities, like publishers’ mafias and lethargic bureaucracies, end up calling the shots on what kind of textbook is produced, down to the kind of paper it is bound in, and why the age of the student is inversely proportional to the value of a textbook’s publication.

Methodology

Data collection. In order to understand how stakeholders interact to impact history textbooks, I created a third and final dataset for this research
based on interviews, focus groups, and document analysis. Interviewing as a method of data collection allowed me to understand how participants from different institutions make sense of their individual experiences (Seidman, 2006). I conducted interviews of stakeholders and decision makers involved in textbook development at federal, provincial and local levels of government.

**Federal level data.** Federal level interview data comprised one-hour, semi-structured individual interviews with ten participants, covering the perspectives of policymakers, donors, and academics.

For the policy maker perspective, I interviewed people who had held high positions in government, such as the Federal Minister of Education, General Javed Ashraf Qazi, who was the force behind the 2006 curriculum reform, and Senator Raza Rabbani, the architect of the 18th Amendment of the Constitution of Pakistan that devolved the Federal Ministry of Education to the provinces in 2010. Additionally, I interviewed senior bureaucrats in the provincial Education Department of Punjab who worked closely with donor agencies for education reform.

The role of foreign aid and international donor agencies has increased in Pakistan’s education reform sector over the past decade, in particular as Pakistan has joined the United States as an ally in the War on Terror. I

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15 While these interviews were interactive, an interview protocol is provided in Appendix B.
interviewed the 2006 curriculum reform coordinator, Nighat Lone, who was tasked with facilitating academics in writing a new curriculum. Her salary was paid by the donor agency German Technical Corporation (GTZ), which also provided funding and office space, along with training for curriculum writers recruited from the academic community. I also interviewed Baela Jamil, the head of a non-profit education organization, who worked closely with Zubaida Jalal, General Qazi’s predecessor as the Federal Minister of Education; the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) paid Jamil’s salary.

Academics and professionals wrote the content of the 2006 curriculum. I interviewed those who led the development of the history curriculum in particular, since history was being reintroduced as a subject after 47 years and that too as a comprehensive, secular and inclusive subject. Others who were active in the overall curriculum reform and write-up process were included in the interview data. I also interviewed former chairperson of the Punjab Textbook Board (PTB), Dr. Fouzia Saleemi, who was the lead force behind the 2002 curriculum reform.

These participants are identified by name in this study because they gave explicit consent to use their name. Furthermore, identifiers such as their institutional affiliations and roles in the policy process are not confidential. Any information that these participants shared off-the-record is not included in any part of this dissertation.
These data sources informed the analysis of variable 4 political power, which examines the curriculum reforms of 2002 and 2006 in light of John Kingdon’s (2003) theory of federal agenda formation.

**Provincial and local level data.** To understand the politics of decision-making for history textbooks at the provincial and local levels of government, I collected data during my two-month research internship at PTB in the summer of 2012. Based on what I found after examining the first round of data analysis, I went back the following summer to participants whom I had already interviewed, along with additional participants, for clarity on specific thematic areas of relevance.

During these periods, I interviewed employees at PTB at all levels as well as external stakeholders such as private publishers, content developers, former heads of PTB and other interested parties who interact with PTB. I interviewed the chairperson of PTB who had recently been ousted by the chief minister of Punjab, the then PTB chairman, PTB senior staff members, including one who had worked under former chairperson, and PTB staff across departments in senior and junior positions in the PTB job hierarchy. Finally, I also interviewed peons and personal assistants at PTB who were perhaps most valuable and candid in sharing institutional history and political dynamics.

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16 Interviews conducted in these sessions were mostly informal and at times conducted over multiple sessions and informal conversations.
I have withheld the names of most of these participants due to the sensitive nature of information they shared on the politics of money and power that happen behind-the-scenes. For example, some participants who spoke to me only on the condition on anonymity, shared inside information about the 2002 curriculum reform that differed from the versions in the official documents and newspaper articles. It is imperative to keep participant identifiers, even gender and age, anonymous given many of them continue to work in close-knit staff communities at government institutions. Other participants, however, whose position and title were an intrinsic part of the story they told, and who participated in the interview without concern for anonymity, are explicitly named.

I conducted focus groups with every department in PTB, as a summer intern who was developing a training-needs-assessment program for the government institution. The project, given to me by the chairman of PTB, allowed me to interface with every department and understand the mechanics of how textbooks are prepared as well as the technicalities at each stage. It also allowed me to go to the office every day and attend a range of meetings. This enabled me to conduct informal conversations and build trust over a period of time, so people could share their experiences candidly. I was also a silent observer in a

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17 Trust was a crucial component of data collection. It took me over a one month of working at PTB as an intern and regularly interacting with several members of the staff before they began to share their knowledge and experience candidly with me. For quite a while, staff members were suspicious that I was either from a foreign donor agency, and thus not to be trusted, or from a bank looking to shut down their institution. These doubts were explicitly communicated to me later, once staff members began to develop trust and support my research which they understood to be of benefit to education reform in Pakistan.
meeting of the Provincial Review Committee where textbook manuscripts were being evaluated.

During my time at PTB, I held several conversations, interviews in informal and formal settings, and focus groups, and was a participant observer when meetings were in progress. While it is difficult to enumerate the exact number of interviews and interactions I was a part of, I made notes on about a hundred conversations, of which approximately fifty were held in one-on-one or small group meetings. Notes from approximately 20 sessions were particularly informative for the analysis of dynamics at the provincial and local levels of government.

Illustration 2. Office space at Punjab Textbook Board (PTB)
Finally, I conducted document analyses of the 2006 curriculum, parliamentary debates that led to the approval of this curriculum, and newspaper reports on pushback when textbooks were developed based on this curriculum. I accessed the parliamentary debates at the National Assembly Library, located in the Parliament building in Islamabad. I could only review these documents at the library so I made photocopies of relevant pages and coded them later. I reviewed newspaper clippings based on a particular textbook controversy that led to the removal of a PTB chairman. The Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) Media Cell keeps copies of all newspaper articles related to the government institution.

Two local research assistants helped me prepare initial transliterated versions of audio interview data, preserving the original bilingual form of the conversation. As a second step, I translated Urdu and Punjabi quotes from audio recordings of the interviews to English and conducted an initial round of coding for emerging themes. I made a note of these themes as memos in the Atlas.ti for Mac software capturing initial impressions from the data. For some parts of the data, I consulted a professional Urdu-English translator for greater accuracy.

**Data analytic strategy.** All interviews were transcribed and analyzed using thematic analysis. I used ETIC codes associated with agenda formation theory and also developed EMIC codes to ensure that I captured new themes potentially emerging from the data (Boyatzis, 1998). In the first round of coding, I identified parts of data that seemed relevant to themes around the politics of
government decision-making and Kingdon’s (2003) model on agenda formation. However, during the first round, new themes emerged from the data that needed additional coding. Hence, I did a second round of coding, identifying threads and aspects not covered by existing theories. Finally, I looked for ways in which the ETIC and EMIC codes could be thematically categorized together.

**Validity.** A study of this nature could have four potential threats to validity. First, there is a risk of selective coding of data given my personal familiarity with Pakistan; I might have missed something important or coded extra due to a personal bias.

Secondly, because I grew up in Pakistan, I have personal experience and views on Pakistan’s curriculum and what it should be. Therefore, there is a risk of biased interpretation of coded data on my part.

In order to mitigate both these risks, I engaged fellow doctoral students to code and interpret a section of the data. Through discussions with my peers, I identified assumptions I was making in applying thematic coding or in my interpretation strategy. I also wrote reflective memos throughout the research process to detect assumptions I might be making.

Third, there is a risk of mistranslating interviews that were conducted with multi-lingual participants. Some participants preferred speaking in English, Urdu, or Punjabi, or a combination of two or three of these languages. All quotes in the analysis are my paraphrased translations of the original multi-lingual
transcriptions. Quotation marks are used when a participant used a particular term in English that carried meaningful implications for the argument being made. Although I am proficient in all three languages myself, I worked with a creative writer, fluent in several languages of Pakistan as well as in English, to translate and accurately paraphrase quotes into English.

Finally, there is a threat of generalization beyond the context of curriculum reform in Pakistan. Insights from this research cannot be generalized to other areas of public policy reform or to other parts of the world. However, as a case study, my research does offer new insights and themes on agenda formation that can be explored through further research in other contexts.

**Limitations.** A potential limitation of the data generated from PTB is that it does not, for the most part, speak to history textbooks in particular. The process of finalizing and printing is the same for all textbooks. Wherever I was able to find information specific to history textbooks, I noted it and continued to confirm along the way that the data I was obtaining from PTB was not different for history textbooks, as compared with other subjects. Those differences and dynamics are discussed in detail below in the analysis section.

**Roadmap**

The rest of the chapter engages in a step-by-step analysis of the various factors in addition to the previous three that I found to be of consequence in the
making of a history textbook. They are: (4) political power, (5) financial vulnerabilities, (6) systemic inefficiencies, and (7) past history textbooks.

Before I enter a detailed discussion in light of data on each one of these, I lay out the basic structure of the textbook development system outlining the official roles of different stakeholders in the process. I call this description the textbook beltway; in it, I exclude the social, political and economic dynamics that are covered in subsequent sections.

Textbook Beltway

This beltway is based on textbook production that took place after the National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action (2007), that allowed private publishers into the system, and prior to 2010, when this process was devolved and moved entirely into the provincial domain.
Figure 3. The process of textbook replacement after the National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action (GOP, 2007b) that allowed private publishers into the system of textbook production.

Below is the seven-step process by which textbooks in Pakistan were produced after the National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action (GOP, 2007b), allowing private publishers into this domain.

• Step 1: PTB solicits draft manuscripts of textbooks for specific subjects through newspaper advertisements. The 30-day deadline in the advertisement is frequently extended.

• Step 2: The PTB chairman calls an internal review of manuscripts and gives publishers feedback on their submitted drafts.
• Step 3: Draft manuscripts are sent to a Provincial Review Committee (PRC) for evaluation of content; the committee sits in the PTB office. Publishers pay travel and accommodation expenses of PRC members who review the manuscripts. During the review process, the publishers and reviewers remain in direct contact. Manuscripts approved by the PRC are sent to the National Review Committee (NRC) housed in the Federal Curriculum Wing, Ministry of Education in Islamabad.

• Step 4: The NRC reviews manuscripts for alignment with the national curriculum. Publishers cover NRC members’ travel and accommodation expenses. Manuscripts that pass both PRC and NRC reviews are issued a No Objection Certificate (NOC) and sent to the provinces with their respective NOCs. All manuscripts with NOCs are candidates for the final textbook to be used in all public schools in Punjab and other provinces respectively.

• Step 5: Manuscripts with NOCs are then sent from the federal level to a Provincial Select Committee (PSC) distinct from the Provincial Review Committee (PRC). The PSC selects a single and final textbook from all approved manuscripts for use in Punjab’s public schools. This textbook is then used for state-administered qualifying exams at the end of grades 5, 8, 10 and 12. Private schools are allowed to use any textbook with an NOC, but they typically use the textbook the PSC selects for public schools because the government-administered exam is typically based on the textbook used in government schools. Public schools’ textbooks are distributed without charge.
as per a World Bank loan that pays for “free” textbooks for government schools

- Step 6: PTB solicits contracts from printers for printing textbooks for government schools. PTB allocates a specific number of textbooks for private schools based on market demand. Each textbook is pasted with a PTB sticker to avoid piracy. Printers print books according to market demand and are required to give a 7.5% royalty of all sales in the market to PTB.

- Step 7: PTB distributes textbooks in public schools across the province. Private publishers manage distribution to private schools through wholesalers.

**Changes After the 18th Amendment to the Constitution**

The 18th constitutional amendment devolved the Federal Ministry of Education, along with the Federal Curriculum Wing that until then housed the NRC and mandated the national curriculum that all approved textbooks had to abide by. With devolution, not only was there no longer any official organization playing the role of NRC but the national curriculum had also lost its authority. As a result, in 2011, books that had already gone through the NRC but were still in the pipeline were being printed. Others were waiting for the government to make a provincial equivalent of the NRC so the books could be approved and printed.

The latest development and changes in the PTB structure contain the inclusion of a curriculum authority within PTB, which has taken up the task of having a curriculum at the provincial level under its own wing as well. Although the
constitutional amendment was passed in 2010, it has taken until 2015 to find a provincial level solution.

The dynamics I studied are based on data from 2010-2012, with an emphasis on 2012. The structure of the textbook beltway laid out above is based on 2011-12. Even though the mechanics of the system are changing, the factors I picked up in my data from 2011-12 continue to be applied in the same way through different channels of influence in the system.

Variable 4: Political Power

The focus of this section is to understand the processes that led to the formation of the 2002 and 2006 national curricula. This paper explores the reasons that precipitated curricular change and why the 2006 curriculum change was successful in incorporating secular and inclusive content. The subsidiary research question informing this variable is, how were Pakistan’s curriculum reform agendas of 2002 and 2006 set, and in what ways does Kingdon’s theory of agenda formation (2003) help explain these phenomena?

What is a national curriculum? Prior to 2010, “national curriculum” in Pakistan referred to a series of documents with guidelines and student learning outcomes that were mandated by the Federal Government at each grade-level across different subject areas. Provincial departments of education developed
textbooks in conformance with the requirements of the national curriculum as directed by the Federal Ministry of Education.

After a constitutional amendment in 2010, the Federal Ministry of Education was dissolved and the authority of making the curriculum was transferred from the Federal Government to individual provinces. However, the last curriculum, issued by the Federal Curriculum Wing in 2006, became a foundational guideline to provinces. For example, Punjab with more than half of Pakistan’s population, adopted the 2006 curriculum in its entirety as its own.

The 2006 curriculum is an official set of documents and a collection of syllabi for all subjects taught in grades 1-12. For each grade and subject area, these syllabi indicate student learning outcomes and topics that the federal government approves for instruction in classrooms, upon which textbooks and state examinations are to be based.

Until the devolution of 2010, the national curriculum was developed by the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education, in consultation with representatives from all provinces. The 2010 constitutional amendment decentralized several federal ministries, including the Federal Ministry of Education. Thus Pakistan no longer has a national curriculum binding all four provinces under one federal curriculum policy. However, the processes by which the 2002 and 2006 national curricula were prepared are significant to understand the politics of education policy-making in the country. Post-devolution the four provincial departments of education have had complete autonomy over writing,
approving and implementing their own curricula, however distinct these may be from each other. However, the 2006 national curriculum serves as a recommendation to provinces.

**Researching curriculum reform.** Agenda formation is an important area of research for it makes the case that politics and policy making are not chaotic, unpredictable and haphazard processes. Instead we can make sense of them by understanding underlying themes and patterns and thus manipulate them for more effective policy-making. John Kingdon (2003), a foundational theorist on government policy agenda formation, discusses how ideas emerge on policy reform agendas in the United States, which policy solutions are prioritized, and why. Theorists have built upon Kingdon’s model to add to current research on the politics and processes behind policy change in the Western world.

However, developing countries are under-represented in contemporary agenda formation research. This is not to say that current models of agenda are wrong or incomplete for not having universal application across socio-political and cultural differences around the world. On the contrary, the robust nature of foundational research on government agenda formation allows us to extend present-day theory to additional contexts where such research would be beneficial as well.

Current literature also over-emphasizes institutional relationships in policy formation processes while the impact of personal characteristics and individual
ideologies remains to be examined more deeply. This research is unique in being extensive and inclusive of both systemic and individual-level factors of policy agenda processes. Finally, research on government policy for curriculum change will add to our understanding of education reform, a complex and important policy arena.

History of curriculum reform in Pakistan. Policy shifts in religious ideology of national policy were discussed in Chapter 2. In this chapter, I showcase the shift in national policy, and accordingly the associated curricula, that took place in the period between the military rule of General Zia (Policy Phase 3) and the military rule of General Musharraf (Policy Phase 4). In sum, Policy Phase 3 was characterized by Islamic political extremism, which Policy Phase 4 marked a shift away from it. There were two curriculum reforms during Policy Phase 4, in 2002 and 2006. The former predominantly addressed textbook quality, while the latter explicitly reduced religious political extremism content. Both form interesting case studies for agenda formation in federal policy.

The National Education Policy and Implementation Programme (1979) ushered in an era of religiously conservative content in education, promoting an exclusionary Islamic ideology for students across government schools, high schools and universities. Under his military rule (1977-88), General Zia-ul-Haq changed the national curriculum such that militant Islam and a dictator’s political aspirations became indistinguishable from each other. Rahman (2004) writes,
Islam was used to support the state’s own militaristic policies in such a way that it appeared to the reader that Pakistan, the Pakistan movement, Pakistan’s wars with India, the Kashmir issue were all connected not only with Pakistani nationalism but with Islam itself… [the purpose of a] garrison state is to persuade the citizenry to support militant policies and a costly defense establishment. This is done by glorifying the military and making people accept all nationalistic wars as religious struggles for righteousness (jihad). (pp. 73-90, of *Pakistan Perspectives*)

The architects of the 1984-85 national curriculum under General Zia sought to enforce a conservative, Islamic ideology and an Arab-Muslim identity for Pakistani citizens through all subject areas. In his book, “The Murder of History: A Critique of Textbooks Used in Pakistan,” K. K. Aziz (1993) gives several examples from many textbooks. He discusses how subjects of natural sciences had chapters on Muslim chemists and physicists, who lived centuries ago and how verses from the Quran were inserted in every subject area, even those teaching languages. Further, he affirms that the subject world history was replaced by teaching a history of the Muslim world alone, and history as a subject for studying a post-independence Pakistan was eliminated altogether (Aziz, 1993)

The curriculum under General Zia, carried forward through the two Sharif governments, promoted militancy and Islamic orthodoxy in many ways, for example, by glorifying the military and religious warfare against non-Muslims (Nayyar and Salim, 2002). Textbooks, particularly speaking to history, misled students with false assertions such as, Muslims and Hindus had no commonality
of culture during British rule (Sindh province Grade 5 textbook, as cited in Aziz, 1993). Additional aspects of religious political extremism in textbooks are illustrated in Chapter 3.

The 2006 curriculum carried several changes in content and ideological orientation. The government reintroduced history as a required subject for multiple grade-levels, removed Islamic political extremist content from all subject areas, except Islamic studies, and in general attempted to steer the identity of young Pakistanis towards a South Asian, rather than an Arab Muslim one (Ghauri, 2006). This section explores reasons that precipitated such change in the curriculum and why this change took the direction towards secular, inclusive content as opposed to some other alternative.

General Pervez Musharraf, the dictator head of state (1999-2008), was inclined towards a liberal interpretation of Islam for Pakistan that he termed as “enlightened moderation” (Musharraf, 2004). The new curriculum, approved and issued in 2006, embodied a stark shift in the type of ideology promoted through education, steering students away from religious political extremism and towards an inclusive and tolerant version of Islam. It is interesting that the 2002 curriculum focused on changes to quality of content rather than ideological shifts, although that too was under General Musharraf.

This section analyzes the agenda setting and policy-making processes behind the 2002 and 2006 national curricula, when small groups of handpicked individuals were engaged to change the content and ideological inclination of the
federal-level national curriculum in significant ways. Considering that many efforts to change the curriculum away from General Zia’s conservative ideology had failed in the past, these changes were particularly successful and expedient. Within a relatively short period of time spanning two years (2004-2006) a new national curriculum covering 12 grade-levels and 108 subjects was developed. The 2002 curriculum was developed and approved even faster, within a few months.

**Kingdon’s Model of Agenda Formation**

What causes federal government to change policy? Kingdon’s (2003) model of agenda formation is concerned with understanding this foundational question. He identifies three “families of processes” which interact to create change in federal government agendas and lead to policy change. These processes, called “streams” in Kingdon’s (2003) framework, are: “problem recognition,” “formulation of policy solutions,” and “politics.”

The focus of Kingdon’s (2003) theory is confluence between these streams. He argues that these streams are not sequential and that each stream follows an evolutionary cycle of its own (see Figure 4). For example, a problem can be placed on the government’s agenda for resolution without a particular solution to go with it. Similarly, the government can propose or formulate policies without a particular problem in mind.
Figure 4. Three sets of independent processes or streams in Kingdon’s (2003) model of agenda formation. The confluence of these processes creates government policy change.

Following is a detailed discussion of the three streams and their overlap as described in Kingdon’s (2003) model of agenda formation.

**Three streams in agenda formation.** According to Kingdon (2003), the stream problem recognition is the process by which not only is an issue perceived as a matter of concern for the government but also considered urgent
enough for action. There are several public policy issues competing for government’s attention at any given time, relating to existing problems or new ones. However, the government does not notice all issues either because they are not considered problems or because they do not qualify as urgent (Kingdon, 2003). Baumgartner (2009) notes that new data or information can also lead to an issue being identified as problematic. One example is a crisis or a focusing event that can help draw the government’s attention to an otherwise ignored issue (Kingdon, 2003). It is also important for policymakers to have prior interest or experience with an issue for it to be recognized as problematic (Kingdon, 2003).

Problems need to be perceived as urgent to be prioritized over other problems waiting in line (Kingdon, 2003). He further explains that problem prioritization is a complex process, affected by institutional costs that limit the number of issues the government can efficiently address at one time. Moreover, with many institutions involved in government policy making, lack of consensus about whether an issue is a problem or urgent enough may cause the system to gridlock and trigger delays (Kingdon, 2003). Similarly, differences of opinion on the best policy solution for solving the problem can also lead to gridlocks in the system.

The second stream in Kingdon’s (2003) model, called formulation and refining of policy proposals focuses on where ideas for solving problems come from and what dynamics lead to the creation of policy proposals. This stream is
also concerned with understanding how many policy alternatives are developed, the methods by which proposals are altered and at times even discarded, and the allocation of this work amongst actors in the government policy-making system.

Policy proposals can be developed in different ways (Kingdon, 2003). One would expect policy proposals to be suggested as solutions to existing problems, especially those already prioritized by the government. On the contrary, solutions are sometimes generated independent of a specific problem needing to be solved. In Figure 1, I illustrate the non-sequential nature of the three streams in Kingdon’s model. Kingdon (2003) argues that “policy entrepreneurs” are actors within the system who develop and propose policy completely independent of recognized problems. Personal values or interests usually motivate the development of self-standing policy proposals. Policy entrepreneurs hope that their proposals will be included in the set of solutions considered by the government when the time is right politically to solve a problem that has captured their attention (Kingdon, 2003).

Politics, the third stream in Kingdon’s (2003) model, encompasses dynamics related to the larger political environment in which governmental agendas evolve and play out. Political circumstances include a range of variables, such as public opinion, changes in administration, and changes in government policies. National mood is another important indicator of political circumstances being ripe for policy change. Interest groups play an important role
in this stream since they exercise significant influence over politicians and their decisions (Kingdon, 2003).

Politics may be seemingly chaotic but in Kingdon’s (2003) framing of agenda formation it is a carefully maneuvered and highly influential process affecting the entire system. Power dynamics within the politics stream influence decisions around which problems to place on the government’s agenda and how solutions are to be developed, evaluated, or selected. If a policy proposal is not considered politically viable, it may be altered or discarded altogether. When politically controversial policy proposals are under development, they need someone in the system to drive them and ensure their protection through the policy formation process. This stream encompasses the nature and extent of influence of different actors in the government policy-making system, their decision-making powers, and the extent to which these factors are public information (Kingdon, 2003).

**Policy window.** Changes in the federal government’s agenda come about when there is confluence of all three of Kingdon’s (2003) streams: problem recognition, formulation and refining of policy proposals, and politics. A “policy window” is the center region of overlap representing an opportune moment when policy change takes place. It is when the government has prioritized a problem, and a viable policy proposal is available, and the political climate is also
conducive to policy change, that all three streams come together at the same time (Kingdon, 2003). I illustrate this dynamic in Figure 2.

Figure 5. The interaction of three sets of processes or “streams” in Kingdon’s (2003) model of agenda formation. The central area of confluence is called a policy window, where all three streams overlap for policy change to take place.

2002 Curriculum: A Case Study in Agenda Formation

Evolution of the politics stream: Top-down decision-making. As Kingdon’s (2003) theory suggests, it is not necessary for a problem to be on the government agenda for the policies stream to evolve. Similarly, if the political
environment becomes conducive to policy change, the other two streams can be adjusted and policy proposals summoned for an existing or new problem.

The role of individual players and personal politics is particularly relevant in a case study of agenda formation in Pakistan. The streams for a policy window to create change began taking shape almost three decades before the 2002 curriculum came about. Dr. Fouzia Saleemi, who spearheaded the reform, was a close family friend of a bureaucrat Akhtar Saeed since the beginning of their professional careers. Saleemi’s husband was a bureaucrat like Saeed, and Saeed’s wife was Saleemi’s colleague as they both taught at the same university.

The friendship spilled over to work-related collaborations. For example, around 1988-89, when Saeed became Secretary of Education, he appointed Saleemi as head of a large project, an Excellence Center at a college where she was then the principal. A participant in this study shared that the entire project, resources and expense, were wasted in the end when the next bureaucrat replaced Saeed as secretary of education and took no interest in taking the project further.

When General Musharraf, as part of his military government (1999-2008), appointed General Khalid Maqbool as governor of the province of Punjab (2001).

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18 As noted in the Methods section of this chapter, participant names and identifiers are removed as certain data was shared on the condition of anonymity. Interviewees are identified by name only in cases where participants gave explicit consent for their name to be mentioned in the research write-up.

19 As noted in the Validity section of this chapter, all quotes are my paraphrased translations of the original multi-lingual participant quotes of Urdu, Punjabi and English. Quotation marks are used when a participant used a particular term, in English, and it carries meaningful implications for the argument being made.
Gen. Maqbool appointed Saeed, now a retired bureaucrat, as the education minister for Punjab. Saeed served in this role for two years. Soon after his appointment, Minister Saeed called on Saleemi again for another project: developing a new curriculum for Pakistan.

To illustrate the power of influence, I quote an interview participant’s narration of how the collaboration came about:

They did not consider that there is a federal institution to make the national curriculum, that there are government institutions in all four provinces for making the curriculum. There are people whose job this is, who are sitting there. Hundreds of thousands goes in their salaries. There is infrastructure. She [Saleemi] was just a principal of an education college. But she had the minister in her pocket. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

The concentrated power structure of a military regime allowed for quick decision-making without regard for due process. For example, the political environment of top-down decision-making allowed the well-connected Saeed to handpick the person who would write a curriculum for the entire country. Moreover, the concentrated power setup allowed Saeed to self-supervise the process, without a democratic process of independent evaluation or feedback.

The interview participant further described,

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20 The same interview participant is quoted through this section wherever a critique of the 2002 curriculum reform is presented.
21 Paraphrased translations of shorter quotes are presented within paragraphs. For translations longer than 40 words or more, I present them as block quotes to maintain flow of the participant’s expression and experience. Block quotes in this chapter, however, are also paraphrased translations, not verbatim quotes from participants, unless noted otherwise.
For this new curriculum (2002), every subject was allocated a separate committee. The government issued an order and these committees were to begin meeting. New curriculum documents for each subject were to be developed at this poorly resourced all-girls college with broken furniture. The minister [Saeed] would routinely stop over on his way to the secretariat and sit and have a cup of tea with Madam [Saleemi] at the college. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

Saleemi has a different perspective on the way the idea of curriculum reform came to maturation and the political dynamics that made it possible. She shared with me that she was invited to take up this project as an expert after many years of wanting to improve quality in curricula and waiting for the right political environment. Her narration of the background is as follows:

When General Zia took over, I had just come from Glasgow where I was doing my PhD. He was making a speech on television. This is the time the zakat system was being put in place, Shariat law was being enforced, and he (Zia) was saying from today onwards not even a dog will sleep hungry. Then I saw women being confined to the four walls of the house. There should be no indecency! The principal before me at my college had the prospectus specify what an Islamic neckline and an Islamic length trousers are. Now tell me, which Quranic verse gives information on these two? Is it that those who do not pray will not be blessed?

Now Gen. Zia said, bring Pakistan ideology to the curriculum and Islamiyat was made the second subject of importance. The same content, and an incorrect history on how Pakistan was created, was repeated over and over for the student in 17 grade-levels. The quality of textbooks was abysmal. For 20 years, Dark, unclear photocopies of the same biology book that had come from abroad had been used in F.Sc. (pre-med) classes.

In 1983 the curriculum was changed but no new subject was added. In 1988 (after Gen. Zia died) we changed the curriculum and within a year wrote new textbooks for grades 1, 6, 9 and 11, and trained 150 people. Though we tried to change the curriculum at our (provincial) level, the authority for forming an official curriculum of the state fell in the federal government's domain. The chief Minister of Punjab at the time (Nawaz Sharif) was against it, and the issue went into hibernation.
Then, in 1999 under the Musharraf government, we started the work again. We got the people together, coordinated, and removed the gaps and overlap to make a new (2002) curriculum. (F. Saleemi, personal communication, August 2012)

**Evolution of the policies stream: An idea whose time had come.** As the political environment changed and became more favorable, Saleemi’s grievances about poor quality textbooks, particularly of science given that was her subject, were reinstated on the government agenda. It was an idea whose time had come. With the backing of Saeed, former bureaucrat and now a senior politician, Saleemi started working diligently on developing the high-quality curriculum she had long envisioned for Pakistan.

Here, a new curriculum is a policy proposal that evolved on its own, pushed by individuals, without an explicit problem for which the government was soliciting a policy solution. There was no parliamentary debate or government policy discussion to indicate that curriculum reform for quality was an important and urgent problem for the federal government. Kingdon’s (2003) framework of independent policy streams is well illustrated in how Saleemi put together her team to write the new curriculum on her own initiative.

As narrated by the interview participant, who saw Saleemi’s team come together, of the 62 people on Saleemi’s team 61 were from the city of Lahore. He further shared,

You are making the curriculum for eight divisions and 36 districts of Punjab. What about Dera Ghazi Khan, Potohar, Saraiki, Bhakkar, and other districts of Punjab? Who will represent these regions and their
culture? The one person who had come from outside Lahore, from Daska, was only posted there and he too was from Lahore.

In fact these 62 people from Lahore were not representing all of Punjab, they were representing all of Pakistan. The curriculum was meant to be for the people of Gawadar, Quetta, and Turbat as well, made by people who had never in their lives travelled outside of Lahore. The person who had never been to Sindh was making the curriculum for Tando Adam, Tando Jam, and Dadu.

Even for Punjab, they had made a curriculum from the perspective of Lahore. Now someone sitting in rural areas of Punjab or the villages of Baluchistan, his level and the level of a student in Lahore are centuries apart. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

The composition of this team is an interesting element to the agenda formation process. It has implications for how the problems stream would later need to be maneuvered, as discussed in the next two sub-sections.

**Politics and policies combine.** Although Saleemi’s team had prepared a new curriculum, the federal government of Pakistan needed to issue it through its federal ministry of education, in order to formally notify the curriculum (2002) to all four provinces as the official curriculum of Pakistan. The curriculum was sent to Islamabad where the federal ministry expressed concern. The same interviewee reported the clash between other provinces and the federal government as such:

Now the Federal Curriculum Wing had to take the other provinces on board for their comments and follow some process before approving the curriculum as a federal document. The other provinces took a lot of issue with this, saying that curriculum making is the task of the Federal Ministry of Education.

As you know, there is already a lot of prejudice and suspicion towards Punjab amidst people of Baluchistan and Sindh. Here was a
national curriculum made by a Punjabi woman, or even by a team of Punjabis. Why should they adopt it? And they (Punjab) had not “adhered to criteria, decorum, modalities.” Other provinces felt they were brought in as a rubber stamp after all was finalized.

The Federal Curriculum Wing could see these grievances as legitimate, but could not say anything. Governor Khalid Maqbool was sitting there supported by Gen. Musharraf. Whoever would have spoken up would not have survived. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

Backing Saeed, the Punjab education minister, was Gen. Maqbool, the governor of Punjab and a retired general whom General Musharraf had himself appointed to the position. Saeed and Gen. Maqbool were old friends as well. Thus, the policy stream and the politics stream came together to overlap (see Figure 6, Region C). However, to open a Policy Window (Kingdon, 2003), the problem stream still had to be maneuvered.

Framing of the problem. There were two issues here. One was the exclusion of other provinces in the process of making a national curriculum, and the other was Saleemi’s lack of any institutional authority to suggest a proposal for a national curriculum.

Illustrative of Kingdon’s (2003) framework, the government defined the problem depending upon the solution that was available, and solved it. The government engaged with the lack of Saleemi’s institutional authority as the first

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22 Quotation marks represent the exact term used by interviewee in English, within a larger quote in paraphrased translation.
problem. As for the second problem, of provincial grievances and outrage at the lack of due process, the government simply ignored it.

First, the chairman of the PTB, a senior bureaucrat Athar Tahir, was replaced and Saleemi appointed (Punjab Textbook Board Government of Pakistan, 2014). However, PTB was a provincial government institution with mandate over the writing and printing of textbooks, not of the curriculum. As a second step, the provincial Curriculum Research and Development Center (CRDC) of Punjab was merged with PTB, even though CRDC was a separate provincial institution set up for monitoring PTB, its counterpart provincial textbook board. No one was informed at PTB or CRDC why the merger was taking place (Dawn Newspaper, 2002), or how the job status of people already working at CRDC would change. *Dawn* (2002) further reported:

> The CRDC officials, on the other hand, believe that the merger will be devastating for education in the province as there will be no checks and balances on the curricula. They believe that the merger will also affect the curricula development and research work in the province. (para. 3)

Saleemi, now as the chairperson of PTB, with curriculum functions under her domain as well, could no longer be challenged about the official capacity under which she was proposing a national curriculum.

The government disregarded, however, that incorporating Punjab’s CRDC under PTB meant that Punjab as a province had only one vote in federal education issues, while the other provinces had two votes: one for their independent provincial CRDC and the other for their independent textbook board.
Two votes, as opposed to one, made a difference at the Inter-Board Committee of Chairmen (IBCC) at the time.

As mentioned above, the other, more problematic issue of having sidelined provinces other than Punjab was ignored entirely. The interview participant who shared his perspective on the 2002 reform as an insider, described the final phase as,

The last act was when it was broadcast on the nightly news on television for the world to see that Governor Khalid Maqbool and Fouzia Saleemi were presenting curriculum documents to General Musharraf, that this is the new (2002) curriculum that has been prepared, and Gen. Musharraf is there signing off on it, accepting it. It was for the Federal Ministry to make, for the Federal Curriculum Wing to make. When General Musharraf is accepting it, who can object to anything? (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

After the curriculum was approved, Saleemi started the process of re-writing textbooks “on war footing” -- her original purpose, as the interviewee commented. The same people who were involved in writing the 2002 curriculum were now engaged to write textbooks, in many instances a chapter a day.

Thus, the case study of the 2002 curricular reforms confirms many aspects of Kingdon’s (2003) federal agenda formation theory. One by one, each of the three streams of policies, politics, and problems, were aligned to create a Policy Window (Kingdon, 2003).
2006 Curriculum: Additional aspects to Agenda Formation

Here, I explore particular factors that can either prevent or promote complete alignment. When only two of the three streams overlap, three distinct conditions can be observed when querying Kingdon (2003) in this way (see Figure 6). I describe these conditions, and through the case of the 2006 curriculum reform in Pakistan, highlight the ways in which they influence agenda formation. The 2002 curriculum reform changed the quality of textbooks. The more contentious 2006 curriculum reform sought to remove religious political extremism from textbooks. It is here that one can observe the dynamics of policy making, as captured in additional areas of confluence (regions A, B and C in Figure 6), since they help illustrate the comparative effect of removing one stream at a time from agenda formation processes.
In this section, I test the robustness of Kingdon’s (2003) theory in the different institutional context of Pakistan’s curriculum reform of 2006. The first main feature of analysis is the role of perceptions. The next two are leadership ability, and the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion.

**Role of perceptions.** I explore gaps in Kingdon’s (2003) theory in the context of Pakistan using the case study of how the 2006 curriculum was envisioned and put into place. The case reveals two particular aspects of agenda
formation processes Kingdon’s (2003) model does not consider with regards to the role of perceptions. First, different individuals in the system may disagree on what they consider problematic. Second, the same individuals may change their opinions over time. Finally, a group of individuals may change their views about an issue over time. The second related complexity is the question of whose perception takes precedence when there is difference of opinion on what needs to be on the agenda. While Kingdon’s (2003) model is useful for understanding many aspects of federal policy agenda formation, it does not explicitly capture the influence of personal inclinations and individual agency on the processes behind policy change.

The role of perceptions in the agenda formation process can be a valuable addition to Kingdon’s (2003) framework. Exposure to a problematic and urgent issue may not be sufficient for a policymaker to perceive it as such. In fact, an issue perceived by one policymaker as problematic might be another policymaker’s solution. Similarly, a problem perceived by one as urgent or solvable does not necessarily mean that other decision makers will agree with that opinion. Policymakers may potentially place an issue on the government’s agenda even if it is not problematic, urgent or solvable.

Kingdon (2003) argues that a crisis or focusing event can trigger the transition of an issue to be viewed as problematic and urgent enough for the government to address. Prior the 2006 curriculum, a crisis had been brewing in northern Pakistan, triggered by discriminatory curriculum content against
minorities in the country (Stöber, 2007). Sectarian violence claimed many lives and riots caused schools to remain shut for a year. The sources of this controversy were Islamic studies and Urdu textbooks that de-legitimized the beliefs of Shia Muslims, a minority sect in Pakistan (Dawn Newspaper, 2005; J. A. Qazi, personal communication, June 2010). Applying Kingdon’s theory (2003) one could consider this incident as the focusing event that made discriminatory curriculum an issue that was both problematic and urgent for the federal government.

However, when President General Musharraf called General Qazi, the then federal minister of education (2004-07), to intervene by, he responded that in his perception the crisis was one of security not education even though schools in the area of conflict had been shut down for nine months already. General Qazi believed that the federal interior minister should intervene. However, as President General Musharraf perceived the matter differently, his view prevailed at a time of difference of perceptions between two important decision makers: the head of state General Musharraf and the Education Minister General Qazi. This hints towards an important addition to Kingdon’s (2003) framework that not only perception but also whose perception becomes a significant aspect of government agenda setting.

After the riots incident in northern Pakistan had wrapped up, General Qazi’s perception of the curriculum being problematic was influenced by an entirely separate and personal event; a letter he received from a student in the
southern province of Sindh. General Qazi reproduced the contents of the letter to me, in English and verbatim, as follows,

> The letter said, “I am a Hindu and I am studying in Grade 8 in Sindh. My Pakistan Studies book says, do not trust Hindus. They are cheats and crooks and they are disloyal. How should I feel as a Pakistani Hindu reading this about myself?” (J. A. Qazi, personal communication, June 2010).

This led General Qazi to begin a personal inquiry into discrimination in the curriculum that uncovered similar material against non-Muslims and minorities in many subject areas. He reviewed the textbooks of his own children who studied at private schools with different textbooks, and found the same biases. Only then did General Qazi consider national curriculum reform as an urgent issue for the government to take up. As the federal minister of education, he called a committee to formulate a new, more tolerant and inclusive national curriculum (J. A. Qazi, personal communication, June 2010).

Therefore, another addition to Kingdon’s (2003) theory may be that a trigger event need not be in the public domain for a policymaker to take action. In fact, a personal event may have a greater impact on a decision maker’s perception of an issue as problematic and urgent than a public one. This may however be particularly true of government structures with concentrated power such as within dictatorial regimes.

There is some discussion in Kingdon’s (2003) model on the impact of prior exposure to an issue in the process of considering it problematic. However, the
model does not factor in changes that may take place in the personal ideology, values and perceptions of an individual or a group over time. Perceptions are susceptible to change when complex issues are involved and individuals receive and process several dimensions of information. Baumgartner's (2009) “Disproportionate Information-Processing Model” helps illuminate that individuals pay attention to selective issues due to institutional costs. These include cognitive costs such as will power depletion or inertia (Baumgartner, 2009) and gridlock (Kingdon, 2003). These costs can cause inefficiencies in attention allocation and inconsistencies in perceptions within and among individuals.

Similarly, a policymaker’s prioritization of a problem may depend on an assessment of how extensive the threat of the issue is and whether it is likely to result in electoral change (Baumgartner, 2009). That assessment too may vary across decision makers in the system, illustrating again that the question of whose perception is an important variable to consider when studying policy agenda change.

To illustrate further that perception is of immense significance in agenda formation, we can compare the 1984-85 curriculum, based on Islamic political extremism, to the 2006 curriculum, promoting inclusion and Islamic religious fundamentalism. President General Zia (1977-1988) perceived the lack of a conservative, orthodox Muslim identity in Pakistan problematic. He enforced a curriculum of exclusion and considered Islamic political extremism as a solution to that problem. President General Musharraf (1999-2008) perceived Islamic
political extremism in Pakistan as problematic. He got the new curriculum drafted as his solution to the problem of religious extremism, in keeping with his slogan of an era of “enlightened moderation” (Musharraf, 2004) in Pakistan. Clearly, one policy-maker’s problem can be another’s solution, which is why perception of what is problematic is of critical importance in agenda formation discussion.

While both these curricula are discussed by contrasting the two military dictators, these dynamics extend to democratic regimes as well in Pakistan. As discussed in Chapter 2, General Zia’s religious nationalist agenda was taken much further by the Sharif governments in the 1990s and General Musharraf’s agenda of moderation and enlightenment was fully adopted by the Pakistan Peoples Party elected government as well. However, both times, a military ruler ushered in a major shift in national education policy.

**Role of the international political environment.** Interestingly, both Zia and Musharraf’s curricula, while opposing in ideological orientation, have stark similarities in agenda formation processes. Decision makers in both governments were army men. The heads of state were both dictators closely aligned with the United States. At both junctures of changing the ideological orientation of the Pakistani national curriculum, the United States needed Pakistan to support a particular ideology in the war in neighboring Afghanistan.

More specifically, in 1984-85, teaching an exclusionary attitude towards non-Muslims, such as the communists, aligned with America’s goals in the war
against Soviet Union in Afghanistan, while in 2006 an inclusive attitude and moderation in Islam aligned with the anti-radicalism goals of the War on Terror. Perception then is the only predominant difference between the exclusionary curriculum of 1984-85 and the religiously moderate curriculum of 2006. This also supports my hypothesis about the secular motives behind the use of religion as a political tool that also impacted the making of textbooks. Perception, thus, is an important driver for drastic policy change in one direction or another.

Kingdon’s (2003) model does not include the influence of international participants such as donor agencies or countries in political alliances with each other. In Pakistan, much of the opposition to reducing Islamic political extremist content in the curriculum has been driven by a high suspicion of hidden, foreign agendas of the United States (N. Lone, personal communication, June 2010). Donor money was used to fund all the meetings of General Qazi’s handpicked committee, tasked with writing a new, ideologically secular curriculum (2006). While this caused distrust, it seems the politics stream was so influential that the people in power also dictated the policy-making stream. For example, no alternative proposal for curriculum content was solicited or considered. In this way, Kingdon’s (2003) model also overlooks the comparative and potential overshadowing effect of one stream on another, where one may be more influential as compared to the other two.
Leadership ability. Kingdon’s (2003) model of agenda formation proposes that policy change comes about when all three streams overlap and a policy window is created (see Figure 5). However, the theory does not discuss non-systemic factors, such as individual leadership ability in pulling the streams together to create a policy window. How can one individual create confluence between the streams while another with the same resources and political environment is unable to bring any change in the government’s agenda?

A case in point is the low level of influence exercised by former Federal Education Minister Zubaida Jalal (1999-2003) on curriculum change as compared to the high level of influence that Minister General Qazi (2004-07) exercised in the same government position.

During Minister Jalal’s tenure, there were several focusing events that clearly highlighted prejudice against minorities and non-Muslims in the national curriculum. Pakistanis began condoning the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the wake of an era of international terrorism linked with domestic extremism. An eye-opening report called “The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan” (Nayyar & Salim, 2002) was widely noticed because it documented numerous examples from textbooks where *jihad*\(^{23}\) and Islamic political extremism was glorified, an aspiration for sacrifice and martyrdom was inculcated, and discrimination against religious minorities encouraged (National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, 1984 as cited in Nayyar and Salim, 2005).

\(^{23}\) Jihad means holy war
Furthermore, omissions and misleading facts in history textbooks, biases against women, and insensitivity towards human rights prevailed across textbooks of other subjects and in multiple grade-levels (Nayyar and Salim, 2005).

Yet Jalal as the federal minister of education was unable to create even the slightest change in curriculum content in the face of hostile opposition. As a journalist aptly documented,

The education ministry came under attack in parliament and the Urdu press for trying to remove from the textbooks in the country what was alleged to be the content of Islam. The opposition, including the liberal PPPP, staged a walkout after rejecting the explanation given by education minister Ms Zubaida Jalal that a longer verse of the Quran on jihad was replaced by a shorter verse on jihad in a matriculation textbook and that jihadi verses were removed from an 11th class biology course because of lack of relevance. There was a spate of outraged editorials in the Urdu press about 'removing Islam from the textbooks' after the ulema lashed out at the government for subverting the ideology of Pakistan at the behest of the United States. (Ahmed, 2004, para. 2)

Minister Qazi, in his time, took on the opposition differently. He was attacked in the media and in the Senate for allegedly removing Islamic content due to American pressure. He responded to all allegations, objections and opposition in the Senate and through the media, coming on television and debating with representatives of Islamic political parties. In his interview to me, he said, “Nobody dared resist me. When I run a ministry I rule that ministry. They did not dare because they knew their own weaknesses” (J. A. Qazi, personal communication, June 2010).
A study comparing educational change in Latin American countries illustrates the importance of a minister’s personal characteristics in securing policy change. Ministers who developed strong relationships and alliances across sectors were more successful in determining the agenda and policy alternatives, in spite of political opposition (Grindle, 2004).

In Pakistan, Minister Qazi was a close ally of General Musharraf and had been a successful minister of railways prior to his appointment as the minister of education. He was known for his authoritative leadership style with which he revamped the Pakistan railway system. Being a general himself, he had strong relationships with most military men serving in General Musharraf’s government.

On the other hand, Minister Jalal was not from the military and had been a passive participant in her prior roles with the government. She was a primary school teacher from rural Baluchistan. Word was that she was appointed primarily for fulfilling the gender quota requirement in the Musharraf administration (J. A. Qazi, June 2010). Therefore, the impact of leadership ability in steering government agendas is worth considering, because it includes factors such as one’s reputation for creating change, background, political connections, and gender dynamics.

Both Minister Jalal and Minister Qazi had very similar political circumstances to work with. Both saw radical Islam and fundamentalism in the curriculum as problematic, and both knew that a policy proposal removing excessive Islamic content would be the solution. Further, both ministers served
under the same military dictator General Musharraf for about the same lengths of
time. It seems that Kingdon’s (2003) framework of three streams – problems,
policies, politics – was about the same in both circumstances, yet the framework
does not illuminate why one minister was successful in creating policy change
while the other was not.

Minister Qazi’s leadership capacity can be distinguished from Minster
Jalal’s on a few specific metrics. Unlike Minister Jalal, Minister Qazi had the
ability to pull a team together and hold it accountable as per the deadlines he set.
He was able to marginalize the bureaucracy in a way that Minister Jalal could
not. Due to his authoritative leadership style, reputation as well as close
relationship with General Musharraf, he was able to handpick experts to write the
new curriculum and completely exclude bureaucrats.

In contrast, Minster Jalal, could mostly operate within regions where only
two streams overlapped: either without the policy stream (region B in Figure 3)
since she could not get policy professionals to formulate a team, or without the
problem stream (region C in Figure 3) because she could not get enough
stakeholders to perceive the old curriculum as problematic. General Qazi, on the
other hand, was successful in increasing enough overlap across streams
(regions A, B and C) to ultimately allow the opening of a policy window at a time
when all streams were aligned for change.
**Inclusion and exclusion.** Existing theories provide a lot of insight into the dynamics between participant communities already involved in agenda formation. Participants interact with each other from within and outside the government (Kingdon, 2003). However, Kingdon’s (2003) framework does not explain how people are made or become participants in the system to begin with and how others are stripped of influence. In other words, how do some people gain a degree of influence on policy agenda processes while others are sidelined or excluded altogether? In this section, I discuss individuals and factions that were included or excluded, unintentionally or strategically, from the 2006 curriculum reform. These factions are: academics with opposing ideological points of view, teachers, bureaucrats, and international players, such as donor agencies and governments.

In terms of strategic exclusion, a glaring example is that of Professor Ayesha Jalal\(^{24}\), Pakistan’s most prominent historian and an internationally recognized scholar, who was not included in any discussion of the history curriculum reform of 2006. This seems odd because she had, upon former Minister Jalal’s request, agreed to make time for this work and sent in her recommendations in a report (A. Jalal, personal communication, March 2011; B. Jamil, personal communication, June 2010). Even though Ayesha Jalal, like General Qazi, wanted the removal of religious extremist and hate-based content from the curriculum, she was not included in the committee for curriculum writing.

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\(^{24}\) No relation to Minister Zubaida Jalal
In her report to the National Curriculum Development Committee on History, Ayesha Jalal (2007) wrote:

The constant exhortations to proper Islamic behavior on the part of the children suggests that history is not to be taught for its own sake but is deemed to be a means to turn them into good practicing Muslims - a worthy objective but arguably beyond the scope of a history curriculum. (p.2)

The problem was that certain academic communities consider as controversial some of Jalal’s scholarly work on Pakistan’s history. For example, in one of Jalal’s books (1985), she raises questions on the popular narrative of Pakistan’s creation and discusses Jinnah’s vision for Muslims to continue living within the federation in a united India. Jalal’s (1995) analysis in another book looks into the disparate political trajectories of India and Pakistan, where one has had sustained democracy over decades while the other has repeatedly shifted to military dictatorships.

The main coordinator for writing the history curriculum and also a professor of history disagreed with Ayesha Jalal’s perspectives on Pakistan’s creation and history (R. Ahmed, personal communication, June 2010). Jalal was neither included nor contacted again for feedback regarding a new history curriculum. Had Ayesha Jalal been included in the meetings, the conversations, the process and outcome might have been different and more deliberative in an otherwise ideologically homogenous committee.
Therefore, the question of whose perception becomes relevant in inclusion and exclusion as well. Ayesha Jalal is, for some, a revered authority on Pakistan’s history, but for others she is an entity to be marginalized. In case of a new history curriculum for Pakistan, the latter group had exclusive authority over whom to include and exclude in the curriculum formulation process.

Another example of exclusion is the missing voice of teachers for guiding the development of a new curriculum. Teachers were excluded because, in Pakistan, relying on professors is perceived more useful on matters of the curriculum than including teachers in the process. As a result, the focus shifts from the learning ability of students to the correctness of content (Warwick & Reimers, 1995). The implications of this exclusion can be far-reaching.

The 2006 curriculum also significantly raised benchmarks for performance. There was no simultaneous effort or policy proposal to prepare teachers to teach higher-level content. Neither did removing discriminatory content from the curriculum mean attempting to simultaneously change teachers’ personal perceptions and their impact in the classroom.

Kingdon (2003) also does not discuss ideological differences amongst participants who while being included in the agenda formation system are marginalized within the system. How are inconsistencies managed when agenda setters, such as the president or political appointees (Kingdon, 2003), view an issue as a problem, but the proposal formation community, such as the bureaucracy (Kingdon, 2003), disagrees? The bureaucracy can cause significant
delays in coming up with solutions if it does not agree with the agenda (Kingdon, 2003).

In Pakistan, General Musharraf and his appointed ministers of education had an ideological inclination towards liberal Islam, and thus saw the exclusionary and prejudiced nature of the curriculum as troubling. However, the bureaucracy in general saw nothing wrong with the extent and kind of Islamic content in the existing curriculum of 1984-85. This was primarily because during General Zia’s military regimes, promotions in bureaucracy were based on interviews of one’s knowledge of the Quran.

In General Qazi’s words\(^\text{25}\), his method of excluding bureaucrats was as follows:

These people [bureaucrats] were all Jamat-e-Islami\(^\text{26}\) members. They had come in as young people at General Zia’s time to the Curriculum Wing. Today they were all the senior officers. People who were not [qualified to be] of a particular subject were reviewing [its] curriculum. Like the chap looking at the Physics curriculum and approving textbooks was Masters in Islamiyat. So I said all the surplus Islamiyat, Urdu, Pakistan studies types to be posted to federal government schools for the teaching of these subjects. Because the guys that I shunted out of the ministry were actually permanent employees. They could not be posted out or thrown out. They were sent on deputation to the schools.

Then I wanted to assemble a team from outside, people who will coordinate the making of the curriculum, the consultants. So I went to the prime minister and I said I want to hire them on higher scales than the normal government servants but on contract because their job is temporary. (J. A. Qazi, personal communication, June 2010)

\(^{25}\)Quoted verbatim as this communication was in English, not paraphrased into my translation.

\(^{26}\)Jamat-e-Islami is the oldest religious political party in Pakistan
Thus, exclusionary tactics and a policymaker’s skill at using them also seem to be a critical component of the variable political power, which drives the making of history textbooks in Pakistan.

Variable 5: Financial vulnerabilities

Madam, in this office we only do business. You will keep going deeper and find education left far behind.

—PTB worker, August 2012

While both PTB and private publishers described the difference between the pre-devolution system and post-devolution system in terms of textbook quality, I found the actual difference to be about financial kickbacks. PTB described the pre-devolution system as competitive, and the current one as monopolistic. Private publishers described the previous policy, where only PTB was allowed to publish textbooks and private publishers were hired on a fee-based contract, as a monopoly. They viewed the new system, where private publishers could gain profits based on the sales of a textbook, and not a fixed commission through PTB, as competitive. In the new system, private publishers can profit from exploiting financial vulnerabilities in the system. In the past system, PTB had a monopoly over royalties on textbooks. My research reveals that the differences in opinion between PTB and publishers were over profits, not textbook quality.
The textbooks policy of 2007. The Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) was already working in collaboration with the private sector before the 2007 Textbook Policy (GOP, 2007b) was implemented. The Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) never owned printing machines so it would outsource printing contracts of PTB-developed textbooks to different printers who were also publishers, though they did not publish school textbooks. At the time, PTB used to solicit authors to write a chapter or two, and after an initial review to ensure conformity with the curriculum, would hire authors for a fee to write the entire textbook. However, the textbook remained the property of PTB. Also, before 2002, by law, only PTB textbooks could be used in public schools. That changed in 2002 when the federal cabinet issued an order that allowed private publishers to compete with PTB textbooks. However, this change was merely on paper. Private publishers continued to be effectively kept out of the system of printing and selling textbooks until 2007.

The 2007 Textbook Policy (GOP, 2007b) made some radical changes to the dynamics involved in producing textbooks. While PTB still solicits private publishers to submit tenders, and while all material still goes through the PTB as well as the NRC, it is the publisher who owns the books and gets all profits directly, from which it gives PTB royalties, 7.5% of the sales.

Textbook quality. Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) employees report that there are many problems with the post-2007 involvement of private publishers in
the textbook making process, not least of which is the compromised quality of textbooks. Under the pre-2007 system, a panel of 15 people would review the textbook before dispatching it to Islamabad for revisions by subject specialists, and a publisher would spend Rs. 2,000 ($20 USD) to earn Rs. 10,000 ($100 USD) on making a book. In the current post-2007 system, PTB employees argue, many private publishers do not have authors with prior experience of writing textbooks or even books in general, especially for young students. Many times, the material is plagiarized to curb the cost of hiring a subject specialist. Also, while each chapter within a textbook ought to address four to five learning outcomes as mandated by the larger national curriculum, inexperienced authors are usually only able to cover one outcome per chapter. This leads to a poorly crafted, disjointed textbook that is challenging to use, even for relatively experienced teachers.

Further, textbooks are not vertically integrated. In other words, textbooks should be developed in a series format so that grades 1-5 build upon one another. Instead, different publishers produce textbooks for different grades, creating discontinuity in content and concepts. In addition, there is no pilot to study the usability of a textbook before it is approved and distributed at mass scale.

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27 The exact conversion rate in August 2012 was 1 US dollar = 101.75 Pakistani Rupees (XE Currency Tables, 2015). For simplicity, I approximate the conversation rate as 1 US dollar = 100 Pakistani Rupees in the analysis.
After the textbook policy (GOP, 2007b) was ratified, publishers could print books without any regard for standard or accuracy for an exponential profit. A participant shared his frustration with the new system as such: A publisher recently published a biology book and made Rs.1,000,000 ($10,000 USD) on it; who cares if there are 10,000 mistakes in a book and how that will impact a child’s learning?

From the private publishers’ perspective, the old method was also broken in terms of quality of textbooks. Since PTB had a monopoly on the textbook writing and review process, there was no incentive to revise the system for improvement. A senior employee of the Oxford University Press (OUP), a private publisher that operates in Pakistan, said, "I remember in one book there was content which was 30 to 40 years old. It read that there are dirt roads to the northern areas of Kaghan and Naraan [in Pakistan] where cars cannot reach. You have to take donkey carts there. That is completely outdated information" (F. Raja, personal communication, July 28, 2012). Similarly, someone at PTB told me that the Grade 9 Islamic studies textbook referred teachers to a teachers’ guide, which was published 40 years ago and had never been updated. Yet, as a person at PTB claimed:

…an institute (PTB) which has been there for 50 years now, the quality of work that will be produced there and the quality of work produced by a single publisher will be very different. No matter how hard he tries. His book can be good but not as good as the one PTB makes, especially

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28 This interview was conducted in English. The quote is verbatim, not a paraphrased translation.
because PTB is an institution made for this very purpose. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

In answer to the question of why PTB approves books containing mistakes that were produced by private publishers, one interviewee responded:

Money drives the reviews, madam. They bribe people. At higher levels it can be Rs. 300,000-400,000 ($3,000-$4,000 USD) per book. PTB cannot afford these amounts to bribe the higher ups. And, a government office cannot bribe another government office. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

**Low quality paper in textbooks.** Before the 2007 textbooks policy (GOP, 2007b), PTB would keep the cost of the textbook low by purchasing paper in bulk, off-season. PTB has a large storage space where it would keep this paper for years and sell to printers as needed for the printing of textbooks, without profit. This system, in place for 12-14 years, kept textbook prices low for students. Another advantage was that the paper had a few months to dry in the warehouse, removing the fuzz that causes printer ink to bleed.

The 2007 policy (GOP, 2007b) gave publishers complete control over printing textbooks once they were reviewed and approved. Since publishers do not have storage space like PTB’s large warehouse, the publishers end up buying paper at higher prices, a cost that they shift to the students. During off-season (May-June), the price of paper can be as low as Rs. 50/kg ($0.50 USD/kg), almost doubling to Rs. 90/kg ($0.90 USD/kg) during peak times.
Now that textbook making is in the open market, the profit-motive has become a crucial factor. Publishers replace authorized quality paper with lower quality paper to minimize expense while maintaining profits at three or four times the cost. PTB has no mechanism of monitoring quality, even though it is held responsible for poor materials used in textbooks because each book carries the PTB monogram. As one PTB employee told me:

The school bag (meaning the complete set of textbooks for the year for a particular grade-level) that used to cost Rs. 300 ($3 USD) is now Rs. 1,300 ($13 USD). Even the basic Grade 1 set of books, which used to be Rs. 60 ($0.60 USD) in all, now the primer alone is Rs. 150-200 ($1.50-2 USD). This is a monopoly system, which they (private publishers) call the competition system. (Anonymous, personal communication, July 2012)

**Market shortage of textbooks.** By privatizing the system, monetary concerns are driving market shortages of textbooks. Before 2007, PTB would outsource a science textbook with a demand for 1,200,000 copies to at least 30 printers based on each printer’s capacity. By diversifying production, PTB mitigated the risk of a supply shortage; even if some printers did not meet the deadline, much of the supply would still make it to the market in time. The Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) kept in mind the capacity of printers, many of whom had two printing machines at most and also had to deal with power outages and issues of labor, binding and paper.

With the new system, publishers want full autonomy on managing the printing of their approved textbook. They operate on a profit-loss model. A PTB senior staff member shared with me that, the private publishers have labor and
capacity issues, so they only produce a fraction (of the demand); they reclaim the
profits from the market and only then print more copies. A private publisher does
not have the capacity to put in an investment for such a big order for all of
Punjab’s demand. So, for example, he will print only 4,000 copies and wait for a
shortage.

Similarly, if a publisher has stocked up on a particular book, anticipating it
will not be replaced the following year, but a different book is approved for the
next year, the publisher will take PTB to court. Courts take a long time to make a
decision, so until the book is sold out in the market, PTB cannot issue a new or
updated book.

**Misreported demand and piracy for profits.** There are two kinds of
textbooks with regards to printing procedures as well. Those textbooks
developed by PTB, which PTB contracts out to printers directly for free
distribution in public schools, and those developed by private publishers, and
approved by PTB, which go to printers based on market demand. The Manuscript
and Management Cost (MMC) calculation at PTB requires printers to pay a 15%
royalty to PTB for printing contracts and publishers to pay PTB a 7.5% royalty,
which used to be higher at 15% pre-2007 policy.

Of the approximately 180-200 textbook titles that are used in Punjab, 52-
54 textbooks are outsourced to private publishers. PTB only develops books for
which no publisher submits a tender because of a lack of profit-potential, such as
the home economics subject textbook. By and large, since 2007, private
publishers have developed all other books. Once a private publisher’s
submission is approved, the private publisher is responsible for getting enough
books printed and made available in the market through wholesalers to meet the
demand of private schools.

The cost of paper used in textbooks is regulated by PTB. To guard against
private publisher’s making illegal profits by overstating the cost of a textbook in
the textbook making process. There is also monthly, computerized, financial
reconciliation at PTB, which goes into a full audit and review regularly. Thus, the
only reliable avenue for corruption is through piracy, when private publishers
underreport the demand for a textbook in the private schools market in order to
avoid paying PTB 7.5% royalty on all copies sold. One interviewee explained this
phenomenon in some detail:

Publishers want full autonomy. Lets say a textbook has a demand for
1,200,000 books. He will show to PTB that he needs to print only 50,000
based on the demand in private schools. The rest of the money for
1,150,000 textbooks he keeps in his pocket. He does not show PTB
profits, he does not pay the 7.5% royalty. He will also use bad paper to
meet the short time target. He does not care whether the book is of good
quality or bad. That is the way of business in Pakistan. (Anonymous,
personal communication, August 2012)

All non-pirated books have a PTB security label, a special sticker
authenticating the originality of the textbook. The Punjab textbook Board (PTB)
issues only as many stickers as the private publisher officially demands. When a
private publisher underreports demand, he prints fake stickers for the additional
books. In cases where the private publisher relies on PTB for bookbinders, called “title covers,” the private publisher will print fake title covers as well, so as to avoid reporting the actual number of textbook copies printed. On mitigating the risk of getting caught, one respondent shared: He (private publisher) will send pirated copies in trucks to small far-off village towns, like Kamoki, Tonga Bonga, Bhawalnagar, and good textbooks to big cities, like Pindi, Lahore, Multan so he does not get caught.

Not all private publishers are the same in terms of capacity and ethics. Oxford University Press Pakistan (OUP) has been operating in the country since 1952, five years after Pakistan’s independence. OUP follows strict guidelines for textbook quality and copyright, which is why their textbooks are more expensive. An OUP senior staff member explained that as a bona fide publisher, OUP did not allow PTB rights to allocate printing contracts to others. The publishing house could manage the entire demand in Punjab for printing its selected textbooks single-handedly (F. Raja, personal communication, July 28, 2012). They may well be the only private publisher with the infrastructure and capacity to do so. But they were taken out of the game for other reasons, discussed in the upcoming sub-section titled “Politics between Publishers.”

The Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) has a Magistrate’s Office with an attorney and a constable who together police cases of piracy. In case of a report, first a raid is made and then the constable arrives. But it is not always as simple. As one respondent described the scenario: By the time the constable gets there,
he will barely catch one violator. The rest would have hidden all evidence by then. Sometimes it is people from the PTB staff who make the call to their contacts, just as the constable is leaving. Sometimes it is the driver of the car who will alert them, being the only one who knows which part of the city they are headed towards. (Anonymous, personal communication, July 2012)

Another participant narrated an incident that gives a sense of how much profit lies in piracy:

The raid uncovered material worth Rs. 800,000 ($8,000 USD), including fake PTB security labels as stickers, the original of which guard against piracy. Old men with long beards (implying religious men) were sitting on computers doing this work. They offered a Rs. 200,000 ($2,000 USD) bribe instantly, which shows how much they must be making, for this to be their opening offer! PTB fined them Rs. 1,500,000 ($15,000 USD). The older man amongst those who were caught was let go, while they brought all the pirated books to PTB and sent them off for recycling. They asked, if PTB could return the CD of the pirated book back to them, which I did not. (Anonymous, personal communication, July 2012)

But such instances of effective policing are rare. Additionally, there is politics even within PTB; the magistrate’s office relies on the field branch to open cases for which they can then penalize violators. Unless the field branch opens a case, which they have the jurisdiction to do all over Punjab, the magistrate’s office cannot do a thing.

Sometimes, a PTB-developed textbook is brought into the private sector and re-published, with minimal changes, under a different name. A participant shared the following about the replacement of books for profit, not quality, motives:
In theory it makes sense that frequently replacing books means better books can have a chance, but is not what happens. These books are of poor quality, being replaced for the sake of being replaced. It all depends on the highest bribe. Let me show you a math textbook from Grade 9 from last year; there are six pages that they (private publishers) have added, those too from a book from last year, and the rest of the book is a copy of a PTB textbook. Someone at PTB Curriculum Wing provided the CD manuscript of the original textbook to them. Whoever did this, it was unethical. Now that textbook is considered “outsourced” to private publishers, while essentially a PTB textbook is being used to give private publishers all the profits. They will now print 200,000 copies for a huge profit and say they printed only 50,000 copies. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

Private publishers are not alone in compromising textbook quality for profit. Before private publishers entered the system, royalties on textbooks went to PTB and the respective authors of each textbook. Authors at PTB competed with one another fiercely for royalties. Dr. Fouzia Saleemi, who spearheaded the approval of the 2002 curriculum as discussed in an earlier section, was listed as the author on many books, including those that were not her subject, which were developed when she was the chairperson at Punjab Textbook Board. As explained by a participant,

(Saleemi’s) name was on every book as a writer, and she got royalties for each one. Physics, Urdu and Math, she was the writer on all of them. There was a lot of uproar about this; she refused to strike her name from some of the books. On the rest she started to have her name taken off. She remained listed as the author on all sciences and Physics textbooks.

The most profitable book in PTB is the Urdu primer. If a Grade 10 textbook gets 500,000 prints, the Urdu primer goes to 8-10 million. Because children cannot take care of their books, they go through two or three copies of a textbook per session easily. A kid can use up to five copies of the same primer when he is in the first grade. An older kid will use a textbook and keep it in good shape, at times enough that his younger brother or sister can also use it when they get to his grade-level.
But a young kid is going to waste the book or lose it. The lower the grade-level, the higher the print-run, profits and royalties. Fouzia Saleemi became the author of the primer as well. One of the people within PTB stood up against her, asking why is a science writer claiming royalties on an Urdu textbook. He was terminated based on some harassment allegation, whereas the real issue was of royalties. He had to fight his case in court for a few years to get reinstated. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

It is important to point out here that grievances expressed by the interviewee above were entirely regarding excessive royalties going to one person alone, without framing it in context of the amount of work Saleemi might have done for developing these textbooks as the PTB chairperson.

The middleman’s cut. The Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) relies on textbook wholesalers for an estimate of private school market demand. When there is a shortage of textbooks in the market, PTB’s reputation is at stake. Wholesalers work independently from private publishers. They keep PTB updated on market demand, and they tell PTB which private publishers’ book needs more printing. With this information, PTB avoids a market shortage while both the wholesaler and the selected private publisher make a profit. Wholesalers promote private publishers based on their preferences. Many times private publishers work as groups of 8 to 27 companies with wholesalers. In doing so, they share in the profits without competing with each other, especially for areas with high concentrations of private schools.
When I first started as an intern at PTB, some of the senior leadership were keen for me to devise a project or some technical mechanism by which PTB could establish demand in private schools. It used to be that private schools did not claim a major share in the market. However, as recent study showed that of all enrolled students in primary grade levels in Punjab, every third student is at a low-cost private school (Andrabi, Das, Khwaja, Vishwanath, & Zajonc, 2007). Thus, contracts for the making of textbooks used in private schools of Punjab offer a lucrative business opportunity.

Wholesalers have a great sense of business, information gathering tactics and relationships. As a senior PTB staff member explained:

There is another wholesaler… if you ask, what was the allocation for all textbooks of 2010-11, he will tell you, without looking at any notes, all allocation details within minutes (that he knows) by heart. Once, PTB had completed printing allocation for the year but one language PTB textbook somehow got left behind. This person came and told us that we had forgotten about it! They know way better than we do about which textbooks have been assigned and which still remain.

When I used to do market visits, I would not let wholesalers entertain me with food and drink to maintain professionalism. One of them put dates from Mecca and Aab-e-zam zam (holy water) in front of me, asking if I was going to refuse a holy thing. I will show you people who barely know how to sign their name but they are perfect businessmen. (Anonymous, personal communication, July 2012)

**Political connections.** Private publishers have become deeply entrenched in the system by establishing powerful contacts that safeguard their interests. PTB chairpersons, as the one discussed at length in the last section of

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29 This is another instance of religion being used to disguise a secular motive of profits.
this chapter, are frequently replaced many times due to the profit motive. As one staff member reported,

Let’s say I am wealthy, I have spent money all over the system, from the bottom to the top, all the way to Islamabad, to get my textbook approved. I want my book approved in color, which is pricier and gets more profit. When this book goes into the market, it’s a big risk. If the book is changed, they (private publishers) are not going to suffer the loss. Profits, textbooks, business, and authority all belong to them. But the losses are suffered by PTB, as in the case of the Islamiyat textbook changed under Chairman Izhar Shaikh. (Anonymous, personal communication, July 2012)

Private publishers did not find their footing overnight nor was this a new phenomenon after the 2007 policy (GOP, 2007b) officially allowed them into the system. One interview respondent reported an incident from before the 2007 policy:

In the past, the chief minister of Punjab would invite all national and provincial members of parliament of a particular provincial division in Punjab for a political event. There would be eight or nine members of the national assembly and 15-16 members of the provincial assembly. A private publisher would be requested to bear the entire expense for their accommodation and high standard arrangements. The publisher would spend a thousand rupees, or a hundred thousand, or ten million, without a second thought.

A publisher with this kind of relationship with the chief minister will not care about what some PTB chairman or PTB deputy director or subject specialist thinks. There are private publishers who are so big that the government requests them to sponsor government event. When private publishers’ interests are at stake, then will the chief minister or minister be able to say no? (Anonymous, personal communication, July 2012)

**Politics between publishers.** The profit motive has not only pitched private publishers against PTB but has, unsurprisingly, led to cutthroat politics within the publishers’ circle. There are two telling examples of rifts within private
publishers that reveal their inner politics. When the 2007 textbooks policy (GOP, 2007b) was announced, OUP as a private publisher, submitted 33 textbooks for review in the bidding process. Their books were high quality and pre-stocked; only the cover on the books needed alterations. As one interviewee, not affiliated with OUP, described the situation:

It was no hassle for Oxford University Press. They had everything and put 33 books forth in the bid. That’s when the publisher mafia realized that if Oxford takes all the profits, what would we be left with? They collaborated with the staff and workers of the Federal Curriculum Wing and submitted an application to the High Court and Supreme Court, on which these courts took action that Oxford cannot print books in Pakistan because they will take our country’s resources abroad to foreign countries. (Anonymous, personal communication, July 2012)

The OUP Managing Director, Ameena Saiyid, had led the case of private publishers and had been instrumental in lobbying for the 2007 textbooks policy (GOP, 2007b). The very publishers she had led now sidelined her. As a result, not a single OUP book was approved.

The second case of private publisher politics being driven by money is illustrated by the case of a private publisher who challenged the 2007 textbooks policy (GOP, 2007b) as unlawful. It seems strange that a private publisher challenged a policy that other private publishers had long lobbied to have in place. Through interviews I discovered that there are about 300 private publishers in Punjab, of which only approximately 14 were being given contracts for publishing outsourced textbooks. The private publishers’ mafia for textbooks seems to be a small club with limited membership, of which the private publisher
who went to court was not a member. This mafia kicked out OUP when it was no longer needed and approached the chief minister when other private publishers brought up charges of discrimination.

One interviewee shared this insight: The publisher who had filed the writ was given a contract worth Rs. 15-20 million ($150,000-$200,000 USD) so he too could be included in the profits, and as a result he retracted his writ. Private publishers thanked the chief minister publicly in a speech at the Expo Center Ceremony, saying that please ask the PTB chairman to further suppress those who are against the 2007 policy. (Anonymous, personal communication, July 2012)

Variable 6: Systemic Inefficiencies

The Provincial Review Committee (PRC) is a body of experts in each province that is convened by the textbook boards to inspect and scrutinize textbook manuscripts submitted for approval by the government (see Figure 3, Textbook Beltway). Before decentralization in 2010, the NRC in Islamabad would only review textbooks that the PRC had already approved. After devolution, since the NRC was dissolved in 2010, textbook manuscripts are reviewed only at the provincial level.

The process of textbook review has significant impact on which textbook gets approved for use in classrooms. I sat in on three PRC meetings in Punjab, as an observer. The manuscripts under review were not social studies or history
textbooks but that was not an issue in the context of the variable of systemic inefficiencies’ as my interest lay in assessing the competence level of the people who review textbooks in general. Systemic inefficiencies have the same effect across textbook subjects, and are not exclusive to history textbooks.

Typically, the PRC has four members selected by senior staff at PTB based on their resumes. The PRC members are lecturers and professors who work outside PTB, mostly at government institutions of higher education. While different people are at times selected for different PRCs, the overall competence level of these experts, based on my data, was strikingly low. A senior staff member at PTB explained the reason:

I learned the other day that you can teach fisheries instead of biology and get a sciences degree. Fisheries is a sub-topic of biology, not a substitute. But every other person has done a PhD from Punjab University in fisheries (and is appointed a science professor). (Anonymous, personal communication, July 2012)

In-person participant observation of PRC sessions was indispensable in further understanding the level of inefficiency with which textbook manuscripts were being examined.

In all PRC sessions that I observed, the experts worked very diligently and I could not document indifference to the importance of the task. What was striking, however, was the lack of tools and knowledge these experts came to the table with.
For example, they sat in poorly lit, humid rooms, without access to the Internet or even a library. In one session I sat in on, a group of five reviewed manuscripts for the general knowledge textbook. One person was a PTB staff member, either supervising the effort or a part of the committee. Two others were mostly quiet and following the conversation. The collective confusion was around basic conversion of mathematics. Did the dinosaurs exist two crore\textsuperscript{30} years ago or 20 crore years ago, and does one crore signify 10 million? PRC members are supposed to identify inaccuracies; instead they made a note for the publisher who had submitted the manuscript asking him to check the facts. If PRC members had access to the Internet, or better general knowledge themselves being the experts, they could have made the correction instead of simply voicing their confusion.

In other instances, the issue was not of lack of access to information. Reviewing a chapter on “Extinct Animals” in the general knowledge textbook manuscript, PRC members were unsure whether the dinosaur was one animal or a species. Their greatest source of information seemed to be popular media and the movie Jurassic Park, rather than general knowledge on the matter.

Some members were convinced that no animals other than the dinosaurs had gone extinct. The private publisher had included an illustration of the Dodo in the chapter on extinct animals. PRC members were unfamiliar with this creature and unsure why it was there. An Internet connection can help provide information.

\textsuperscript{30} Crore is a South Asian term used to describe 10 million.
in such a case but is not a substitute for basic competence or expertise in the subjects being reviewed.

The PRC for Grade 4 mathematics comprised of four professors, two from Punjab University and two high school teachers. Members had notepads as well, which they rarely used. They had a copy of the math curriculum from the previous grade-level, Grade 3, to check for vertical integration of Grade 4 textbook content.

They worked diligently, going line by line to pick out errors, much like a teacher reviewing a bad homework assignment with a predisposition to mark many mistakes. The markings were mostly on minor issues, such as typos. Reviewing a manuscript for a Grade 4 mathematics textbook, they corrected errors like: “examples 2” to “example 2” or “2 x 20 = 4” to “2 x 20 = 40.” Rather than working through the mathematics exercises to see if they were useful for student learning, PRC members spent their time correcting sentences such as, “Pick the like or unlike fractions” to “Pick the like fractions and the unlike fractions.” They inserted “the” as in many instances even when it did not belong in the sentence structure.

Occasionally in such sessions, one member would know a lot more than the rest and would drive the conversation diplomatically enough to note many edits to the quality of the content. These instances were few. For example, the general knowledge textbook had an exercise on the “Stages in the Life Cycle of the Frog,” where the student was asked to put the different stages in the correct
order. Except, the arrangement was already in the correct order. This was a mistake by the private publisher, illustrative of the poor quality of textbooks discussed above. A PRC member leading the conversation noted that the section be moved from the exercises at the end of the chapter to the main chapter content. There was no discussion or suggestion to reorder the stages of the life cycle of a frog to keep the exercise in place.

Given their own limited level of knowledge, it was no surprise that they applied their meticulous review to superficial aspects of the manuscripts such as pictures and rewording of sentences. They spent time and effort on rewording phrases. There were comments such as, this turtle does not look like a turtle, this lion looks like a dog, and they need to change these pictures. Similarly, in a picture of a snake about to swallow an egg, review committee members puzzled over how the snake’s mouth could open enough to eat a large egg. After reflecting out loud about how a snake could eat an egg, they crossed out the picture and noted in their comment to the publisher to show a picture of a snake actually eating an egg.

All PRC sessions that I observed had copies of the national curriculum with appropriate sections and student learning outcomes marked, against which the manuscript was to be evaluated. They had multiple copies of each manuscript and one color copy for the team. The front cover page of manuscripts was torn off to remove identifiers of the private publisher and authors in order to
make manuscripts anonymous for the reviewers, as financial vulnerabilities of the system, discussed in a previous variable, can be exploited at every stage.

Since I had come in with the backing of PTB, my presence in these meetings was more or less ignored, but it did have some impact. In one session, the head of a PRC asked me who I was. The senior PTB staff member, in whose office the PRC session was being held, introduced me as an “observer.” The PRC member began speaking in English in the discussion immediately afterwards, even suggesting that the term “tijarti markaz” (trade center) be changed to “plaza” in an Urdu textbook on the grounds that the term plaza was well understood even in rural areas. However, after that initial incident, the PRC session carried on as usual and I sat quietly taking notes.

Issues of competence are framed as systemic inefficiencies for two reasons. First, the observations noted above illustrate the system’s inability to recruit expert knowledge for a high quality review of textbook content before it reaches the classroom. A second aspect of systemic inefficiency is the inability of the education system of the past to have produced enough experts to guarantee quality textbooks today. I discuss the effects of past decisions in education as they play out in later decades, in the context of the seventh and final variable discussed in this study.
Variable 7: Past History Textbooks

The Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) employees, particularly those in review committees, check for any material that could cause uproar among the religious activists. The clergy in Pakistan have become a politicized faction and patriotism has been conflated with religion as a result of the Islamic political extremism injected in Policy Phase 3. A PTB staff member gave an example:

If the primer for Grade 1 says jeem (J) is for jhanda (flag) and jeem (J) is also for joota (shoe), we have to make sure that a picture of a shoe is not close together with a picture of the national flag. One time there was a picture of the Ka’aba close together with a picture of a dog and religious activists made a huge fuss about it. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

The final variable, past history textbooks, helps to test whether religious activism has in fact taken root in the culture of Pakistan in the wake of Policy Phase 3. Is it the people asking the state to honor the demands of religious activists, or do other secular interests back religious political extremism in the realm of decisions on textbooks? The case of the ousting of a PTB chairman Izhar Ahmed, against whom maulvis (clerics) protested, alleging that he was removing Islam from textbooks, is particularly instructive on the question. Findings support the latter scenario and confirm the main argument of this research. Religious political extremists employ the narrative of Islamic religious

31 Shoes and dogs are considered unclean and symbols of insult in the region; conservative Muslims particularly dislike dogs.
fundamentalism, using religion as one tool amongst many to further secular, political, and nationalistic objectives. But religious political extremists do not gain universal currency amongst the people of Pakistan, who otherwise have a profound cultural and social devotion to Islamic scripture and its basic tenets.

**The issue with a new curriculum: Who to blame?** The new Islamic studies textbook was a result of the 2006 curriculum, issued at the federal level under General Qazi. After the 18th constitutional amendment, which made the federal curriculum non-binding and allowed provinces to make their own curriculum, the provincial government of Punjab adopted the 2006 curriculum as its own. The Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) was the implementing organization, mandated to make textbooks based on whatever curriculum higher levels of government had approved.

Thus, the removal of religious political extremist content was not a decision made by the PTB. However, when it came to scapegoating someone in order to reinstate the old textbook, the politically empowered religious extremists picked the PTB chairman who was efficiently handling the implementation of a new curriculum. Thus, in some ways, Chairman Ahmed was penalized for doing his job well.

The curriculum of 2006 not only explicitly removed content on religious extremism, but it also allowed greater flexibility for inclusiveness. The national curriculum no longer specified every single detail on what must go in each
textbook, but rather provided more abstract Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs) upon which a variety of chapters could be written to teach the same topic or impart the same message.

Subjects in the sciences adjusted easily because their SLOs dealt mostly with which concepts were to be taught and by which grade-level. In the humanities however, the SLO model created problems. In the past, if the curriculum asked that students should be able to write a story it also explicitly stated that textbooks should illustrate a story on the Prophet Muhammad.

The new curriculum, on the contrary, asked for a story on an important personality without specifying which one in particular. Following the curriculum, the author of a Grade 9 textbook wrote a story on someone other than the Prophet Muhammad. A participant in the study described the blowback as such: The clergy were loud in their protests that you have taken Prophet Muhammad out of our textbooks. This was not the fault of the author. This is the fault of a curriculum that is confusing.

Similarly, in an English textbook, the curriculum asked for a section on culture. In keeping with curricular guidelines, a textbook author wrote a chapter on Nowroz, a spring festival commemorated as New Year by many communities in Pakistan, and a tradition with Persian, as opposed to Arab, roots. A PTB employee commented: The clergy were so upset; there was a debate in the secretariat! This is the state of things. Anything in the textbook that is not what the maulvis want, the textbook author is unfairly targeted.
The removal of jihadist content. Under Chairman Ahmed, old textbooks were being replaced and content of religious political extremism being removed. The older textbook on Grade 9 Islamic studies became a particularly sensitive case. It was dense textbook loaded with Quranic content in classical Arabic. One of the authors of this textbook, who wrote it many years earlier and continues to work at PTB, explained the scrupulous process and care that had gone into getting the Arabic content right:

(A senior PTB member and I) would sit daily for three months to put in two very long chapters from the Quran in the textbook, Surah al-Anfal and Surah At-Tawbah. We would need to review two pages a day to make sure we got the Quranic Arabic right. But after all that effort, the textbook was used only for a year. We got a deputation, because it was General Musharraf in charge now, that these textbooks have jihad, bloodshed, etcetera, and we had to take it all out. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

In the new Islamic studies textbook (after 2006), PTB took out the Quranic chapter Surah al-Anfal altogether and moved Surah At-Tawbah from the combined Islamic studies textbook for grades 9 and 10 to the combined Islamic studies textbook for grades 11 and 12. However, the same author who had painstakingly put these chapters in when the older textbook was written, welcomed these changes.

Surah At-Tawbah is a very long surah (chapter) and it is very difficult for the student to read it. It has everything about jihad. Most students study till

32 Name and title suppressed for anonymity.
Matric\textsuperscript{33} (grades 9 and 10) anyway. If you put jihad material in the Matric book, they will become jihad-inclined or whatever you want to call them. So they thought they would move it to Intermediate (grades 11 and 12) when a student is relatively mature. He can distill the difference between jihad and qitaal (armed jihad, execution of war), because a distinction between the two has been provided to us (Muslims), but a younger student does not understand it. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

The author’s aversion to teaching armed jihad in textbooks, a manifestation of Islamic political extremism, without giving the proper religious context, is illustrative. The author wrote the Islamic studies textbook for all public schools in Punjab ten years ago, a time when Islamic political extremism was at its peak in national education policy. At a personal level, however, the author believed that the newer textbook with reduced religious political extremism was better suited to Islamic teachings.

In the old Islamiyat textbook, jihad was taught through Surah al-Anfal, which is based on four or five parts of the Quran and is quite long. When imposed on a child to memorize, who does not know the grammar or vocabulary of Arabic, he is going to rote memorize for the exam, without any understanding. He has no other choice.

It is a good thing that they took out many parts of it and put in later grade-levels. Instead, they put a chapter in the Grade 9 Urdu textbook on jihad: what it is, when to wage it, why is it necessary, when is it required, and all aspects of it. When the same student was given the concept of jihad in Urdu, he could comprehend the differences between what the media calls “terrorist” and what Muslims actually believe. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

While the 2006 curriculum reduced content on Islamic political extremism, such as on militant jihad, it simultaneously increased the content of Islamic

\textsuperscript{33} Matriculation is the completion of grades 9 and 10
religious fundamentalism that is non-political and based on culture. Thus, as far as reducing Islamic content was concerned, it was a critique unsupported by facts, as a participant in the study explained.

During Musharraf’s time there was a lot of hue and cry about Islam and Pakistan ideology. The truth is that Urdu and Islamiyat, both of which are required subjects, were greatly enriched. Islamiyat textbook content was increased in fact, and was quite appropriate. It was the maulvis who rejected it and had it replaced back to what it used to be. Otherwise, the new book was better and more comprehensive compared with the old one in terms of understanding Islam. They removed Islamic content from unrelated subjects like biology and social studies. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

Former PTB Chairman Ahmed also believed that the newer textbooks, with reduced content on Islamic political extremism, could be removed without reducing an emphasis on Islamic religious fundamentalism. He explained the changes to textbooks as follows.

The curriculum of 2006 was a good effort. They took out many things, which is why there was a shift in the Islamic studies textbook as well. The Grade 9 Islamic studies textbook had 161 Quranic ayat (verses) in total. In the textbook that PTB developed (after 2006), we took out many and kept space for 20 or 30 Quranic verses. Initially there were three complete surahs (chapters) of the Quran, and all three of them were on jihad comprising 161 verses. Religious extremist content was in Urdu Grade 9 textbook as well and in the sciences. One should keep an extensive knowledge on Islam optional for the person who wants to pursue it, and may God enable him to pursue it. Why was it made compulsory for everyone?

PTB took these verses out when I was chairman. Instead, we put 30-40 different Quranic verses that were on global values, such as inter-faith harmony, tolerance, fair play, and justice. These were also from the Quran. The Quran is very vast and universal. It is another thing that we have taken control of Islam and limited it to prayer, fasting and zakat (obligatory charity under Islamic law). (I. Ahmed, personal communication, August 2012)
Similarly, on history content that was also Islamized, the former PTB chairman shared:

In spite of the revisions in the 2002 curriculum, there was a lot of Islamization in it. They pushed Pakistan’s ideology in by force in all textbooks and everyone had to stick to it. Urdu and general knowledge textbooks too became books on Islamic ideology. These textbooks were so biased that they did not tell the full history. Mahmud Ghaznavi who became successful after his 17th attack on Somnath did not become so because he had some strategy but that in this 17th attack he asked the rival party to side with him and share in the bounty. He gave them political authority after his victory. This is why he succeeded, but history books will not tell you that. They will say this was an Islamic victory.

Raja Dahir had married his own sister, so his family had turned against him and sided with Mohammad bin Qasim. This was another factor why Muhammad bin Qasim was successful, as opposed to a Muslim victory over a Hindu ruler. But they will not tell these facts in the history textbooks. They will start with *Hamd, Naat*, (poems in the praise of Allah and the Prophet Muhammad), and then put (Islamic) quotations. One needs to make textbooks compatible with modern times. Curricula are important because you want to see what kind of person and citizen you want to create for tomorrow. Hafiz Saeed, martyrs, or learned people like Abdul Qadeer (I. Ahmed, personal communication, August 2012)

In contrast, the 2006 curriculum ushered in an inclusive process of writing the new Islamic studies textbooks, particularly for primary grades and the Ethics textbook for non-Muslims as a substitute to the Islamic studies one. One of the authors who was present in textbook writing sessions of 2010 narrated the process as such:

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34 Hafiz Saeed is the head of the banned religious extremist organization Lashkar-e-Tayyaba
35 Abdul Qadeer Khan is a renowned nuclear physicist from Pakistan
It was a great process. I liked it a lot. There were people from all faiths there, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis (Zoroastrians). A group of four-five people would sit together and discuss each other’s religions. We would ask the person whose religion we were going to write about and say, you guide us, is this according to your faith? Whatever you say we will write. A Sikh who sat with us made some corrections. He is a doctor here at a local hospital. Ceremonies relating to life and death are different in each faith. We got to learn so much, and the experience made me truly happy. (Anonymous, personal communication, August 2012)

Another participant reported that the new Islamic studies curriculum was made by a group of learned religious scholars from different affiliations and sects, highly educated Shias and Sunnis. Of the fourteen or so people who were part of the committee, at least three scholars were of such stature that no one could object to their inclusion.

**Support for militant Islam: Politics or the people?** If people at the federal, provincial and local levels of government all supported the removal of religious militant content from textbooks, then how were the religious political extremists able to reinstate the older version? There are two specific groups who supported the protest for a re-inclusion of militant Islam in textbooks.

The Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) keeps an archive of any newspaper clippings and media coverage on the organization. From an examination of these clippings and through further interviews, it appeared that the people who protested against the new curriculum and were agitating on the issue harbored an anti-Musharraf sentiment. Instead of reflecting the demand for political
religious extremism by the people of Pakistan, the advertisement illustrated a picture of General Musharraf and his pet dog, suggesting the curriculum was being made under a ruler who gets a picture taken with a dog – i.e. someone who cannot be religious enough for Pakistan\(^36\).

Such advertisements were placed by an organization called Tanzeem-e-Islami, as reported by a PTB staff member. The organization has “an aim of bringing about an Islamic Revolution, or establishing an ideal Islamic state” ("Tanzeem-e-Islami: Our Ideology - Methodology," 2014). However, the representatives of this organization did not respond when asked why they objected to content on jihad being moved from the Grades 9-10 textbooks to the Grades 10-11 textbooks (Usman, 2012). This question was posed to them after the meeting with the chief minister of Punjab where PTB Chairman Ahmed was scapegoated, discussed further below. These religious activists appeared to be basing their protest not on facts, according to which content on Islamic religious fundamentalism was in fact increased, but to speaking in political terms in an anti-Musharraf time after his removal from power.

Usman (2012) cites the various names of religious scholars who had approved the new Islamic studies curriculum. He writes,

The curriculum was updated for the 2012-13 session as part of a regular review process by the Islamiat Curriculum Committee consisting of National University of Modern Languages (NUML) Islamic Studies Head Professor Dr Ziaul Haq Yousafzai, former Islamia University Azad Kashmir Vice Chancellor Dr Ishaq Qureshi, former Karachi University

\(^36\) There are many pictures of the founder of Pakistan, Jinnah, with his dogs. 195
Baitul Quran Chairman Dr Fazal Ahmad, International Islamic Education Board Director Dr Mohsin Naqvi, Ruet-i-Hilal Committee Chairman Mufti Muneebur Rehman, Government College Sheikhupura Assistant Professor Matloob Rana, Islamabad Model College Assistant Professor Shahid Haseeb, Jamiatul Hujjat Islamabad Professor Sajid Ali Subhani, and Islamabad Model College for Girls Assistant Professors Fakhira Arshad, Shameem Kausar and Rasheeda Amjad. It was assisted by an advisory committee that included Dr Abdul Khaliq Peerzada, who got his PhD from Cairo’s Al-Azhar University, Dr Maznoor Ahmad, rector of the International Islamic University Islamabad, and noted scholar Javed Ahmad Ghamdi. (para. 3)

Thus, religious scholars representing a range of institutions approved the new Islamic studies curriculum and a reduction of religious political extremist content in textbooks. These scholars were reinforcing the thrust of the 2006 national curriculum, even though it was no longer binding, at the provincial level in 2012-2013 under a democratic regime. The stance against political extremist Islam by these religious scholars is illustrative of the aversion to such content by an otherwise devout Pakistani culture rooted in Islamic religious fundamentalism. It also isolates those organizations that did take up the issue of reinstating the old textbook as fewer and non-representative of the larger sentiment.

Secondly, private publishers had become a politically well-connected and powerful faction by then. A PTB staff member commented that at times private publishers dictated their terms to PTB senior staff, as opposed to the other way around; they tell PTB which clauses suit them and which do not, and can adjust the rules on late deliveries and associated fines.
PTB Chairman Ahmed had been competently managing the process of getting textbooks written under the new curriculum of 2006. However he was against the 2007 textbooks policy (GOP, 2007b), which favored the private publishers by outsourcing textbook writing, and thus hefty profits, to the private sector. Chairman Ahmed’s contention was that the 2007 textbooks policy (GOP, 2007b) was contradictory to the 1962 Ordinance under which PTB was created. The 1962 Ordinance, still in place, authorizes PTB to write textbooks. The 2007 policy (GOP, 2007b), in contradiction, outsourced books outside of PTB’s domain. Chairman Ahmed was a proponent of reconciling the law with the policy, in either direction. Private publishers saw him as a risk and a hurdle in the new way of making textbooks that afforded them more profits.

It is unclear if private publishers were working in collaboration with the religious activists in creating the issue of reinstating militant Islam in textbooks, or whether the religious political extremists took up the issue and private publishers did not step up to support Chairman Ahmed. Either way, both parties had an interest in getting the chairman removed. It is also possible that when the Islamic political extremists brought their issue to the chief minister of Punjab, Shahbaz Sharif (Nawaz Sharif’s younger brother), he was already aware that Chairman Ahmed did not sit well with private publishers either. As discussed in an earlier section about the political connections of private publishers, politicians ask private publishers to sponsor government events involving excessive amounts of expenditure and in return buying political patronage.
Perhaps the most telling incident in this case study lies in the details of the meeting, held at the chief minister’s office, where Chairman Ahmed was summoned in the wake of protests by religious political extremists. When the chief minister asked that the older textbook be instated, Chairman Ahmad expressed his compliance. He did not resist making the change nor did he bring up the point that the older textbook would not be in line with the new official curriculum of the province. PTB had already borne the expense of printing and distributing the textbook that was now to be replaced; a total expense of Rs. 60 million ($600,000 USD) that PTB would have to write off. As the brief meeting with the chief minister came to a close, Chairman Ahmed regretfully asked a follow up question: he wanted to know which department was to bear the expense of replacing the new textbook with the new one.

It was not for printing of a new textbook minus militant Islam, nor for resisting the reinstatement of the older one, but rather on a question of financial implications, that the chief minister issued the order for Chairman Ahmed’s transfer. The transfer order, termed Officer on Special Duty (OSD) is a means of punishment and a stigma in Pakistan’s bureaucratic culture, whereby an officer is removed from his current position without a reason and without a new assignment, indefinitely.

The decision to reinstate the old textbook resulted in double profits for the private publishers. They had the contracts for the previous book and would now be awarded contracts for the printing of a replacement textbook as well. They
also claimed damages from the court for losses their businesses incurred due to this order. Most of all, they had got the PTB chairman, who was against the 2007 textbooks policy (GOP, 2007b), removed.

Thus, it was a combination of politics and profits that united behind religious political extremists under the banner of saving Islam. On the other hand, all levels of government welcomed the change away from extremist militant Islam in textbooks, as did most students in Punjab.

**Conclusion**

My study of the politics of the complex machinery that drives the making of history textbooks in Pakistan reveals four additional variables to the three variables discussed in chapters 2 and 3. In total, I identify a set of seven variables that influence in textbook making in Pakistan. The additional four variables are: (4) political power, which includes the impact of perceptions, leadership ability, and exclusionary tactics on part of decision makers; (5) financial vulnerabilities, representing a system where large amounts of profit are at stake and can easily be maneuvered from one stakeholder to another; (6) systemic inefficiencies, capturing those processes that are unrelated to religious or political ideology but entirely driven by competence of, and coordination between, decision-makers; and (7) textbooks and policies of the past, which politically empower certain religious factions with a vested interest in inhibiting change and revised conceptions religious ideology.
CHAPTER V. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary of Findings

The hypothesis guiding my dissertation is that while Pakistan’s political sphere has seen experiments in Islamic political extremism, those attempting to inculcate this ideology have not been successful in creating a demand for a politically extremist religious nationalist state. This is so despite the fact that Pakistani culture is deeply rooted in the fundamentals of Islam and people as private citizens and in social communities in general adhere to Islamic religious fundamentalist values. To test this hypothesis, I undertook a multi-dimensional research approach to identify the variables that influence the making of history textbooks in Pakistan.

In Chapter 2, I examined federal education policies since 1947 and identified the role of religious ideology as an evolving first variable used by the federal government to drive the religious ideological direction of history textbook content. I measured this variable along three dimensions of the political climate and policy messaging, namely centralized versus decentralized, authoritarian versus permissive, and religious versus secular. My findings suggested four policy phases, distinct in their combination of where they lay along these dimensions.

In Chapter 3 I examined a second longitudinal data set of history textbooks from the province of Punjab starting in 1938, nine years before the
creation of Pakistan, up to 2012. To test the correlation between evolving education policies and textbook content, I analyzed the history textbooks in terms of two additional variables.

The first additional variable, identity politics spoke to the scope of identity that history textbooks conveyed to students at primary grade levels. This variable also documented an instance of student resistance to the scope of identity that political events impose on citizens, and the desire to claim one’s history. The second additional variable was military revisionism that documented the disparate ways in which wars were discussed, particularly in terms of the nature of discussion and the time lapse after particular wars before they became a part of history textbook content. My findings suggested a strong correlation between history textbook content and the religious ideological direction of national education policies during the first three policy phases. In the last phase, however, textbooks and policies went in opposite directions in terms of content on religious political extremism.

To understand why the correlation breaks between textbooks and policy, and to document the non-ideological variables that impact decision making on history textbooks, in Chapter 4 I examined behind-the-scenes political processes between the federal, provincial and local levels of government. In Chapter 4 I uncover four additional variables that shed light on the political interactions between stakeholders who negotiate in power, money and influence to change education policy and history textbooks.
Each variable is complex. The first variable, political power includes the perceptions and leadership ability of decision-makers, and exclusionary tactics in terms of who gets a seat at the decision-making table. The second variable in this chapter, financial vulnerabilities digs into the state of a system plagued with underground deals at the local level between politically connected players with access to important federal and provincial government officials. Another variable, systemic inefficiencies captures elements of a broken system that significantly impact the content of textbooks but which no federal, provincial, or local level stakeholder is necessarily focused on. Finally, the last variable of the study deals with meta-history, the influence of past history textbooks in how they inhibit the evolution of history curricula and revised conceptions of religious nationalism. These dynamics play out through privileging certain interest groups and factions that have a stake in the status quo and are resistant to change.

My analysis reveals that while state sponsored curriculum material is used for the purpose of solidifying the relationship between religion and state, the content, the process, and the constantly shifting narrative of religious nationalism, selected from a multitude of narratives, are products of strategic choices that may well employ religion but are not religiously motivated. Consequently, I propose the possibility that history education in Pakistan does not foster religious nationalism for the sake of religion, but uses religion as one tool amongst many, to further secular, political, and nationalistic objectives.
Implications

An important implication of this dissertation is that Pakistan cannot be understood in a linear analysis of simple trends and generalizations. There are many contradictions and dialects that need to be understood through a nuanced, historical analysis of Pakistan.

Dictatorships and democracies: A blurred distinction. Three governments in Pakistan have actively promoted Islamic political extremism, particularly through the education system. They are General Zia’s military rule (1979-1988), and Nawaz Sharif’s first (1990-1993) and second (1997-1999) democratically elected governments. Thus, an agenda of religious political extremism does not necessarily depend on an authoritarian military dictator but can be strengthened just as well under a right-wing elected government. In the case of Pakistan, as Chapter 2’s analysis on national policies illustrated, the elected governments of Nawaz Sharif actually went much farther than the military dictatorship of General Zia, furthering Zia’s legacy in propagating Islamic political extremism by infusing history textbooks with politically extremist religious content.

A second complexity that the data reveal is that an agenda of Islamic political extremism put in place by a military dictator does not necessarily need a democratic regime to be overturned. In Pakistan’s case, one military dictator introduced an era of religious political extremism and another military dictator, twenty years later, tried to overturn it. Thus, the typical characterization of a
military dictator’s agenda for sustaining political extremism through religion does not hold when comparing General Zia’s legacy of the 1980s to General Musharraf’s regime of the 2000s.

Similarly, Nawaz Sharif’s two elected governments (1990-1993 and 1997-1999) alternated with two other elected governments, led by Benazir Bhutto (1988-1990 and 1993-1997). All four of these democratic regimes were dismissed prematurely. While they lasted, both of Sharif’s governments made education policy reform towards greater Islamic political extremism an important agenda item; the two Bhutto’s governments made no attempt to revise education policies to reverse this trend.

In fact, stereotyped characterizations of individuals in Pakistan’s history do not hold either, because these individuals do not seem to be driven by a uniform religious nationalist agenda. General Musharraf, as head of state was the liberal modernizer with an agenda of what he termed as “enlightened moderation” (Musharraf, 2004). However, previously as the head of the Pakistan Army, he had initiated the Kargil war (1999) with India jeopardizing the important peace accord between Pakistan and India that Nawaz Sharif, in his second term as Prime Minister, had just signed. Sharif, who instigated hatred towards India and non-Muslims through education policies in both his terms, was ousted in his second term by his army chief (Musharraf) for taking a pro-India stance on trade and better relations between the two countries. Years earlier, then prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, stood in front of thousands at a public rally and confessed to a
cheering crowd that he drank alcohol, something that the Muslim religious orthodoxy abhors. Yet, to appease the religious political extremists, in 1974 his parliament passed Pakistan’s Second Constitutional Amendment declaring Ahmadis, a minority sect within Islam, non-Muslims.

Thus, simplistic narratives around the characterization of military dictatorships and democratic governments are uninformed about Pakistan’s history. Between these two forms of government, it seems either one can radicalize society through education and use religion as a tool for political extremism, and vice versa.

Low uptake of extremist, political Islam. Times of increased Islamic political extremism in Pakistan seem more of an anomaly than a welcome and sustained shift in political identity demanded or desired by the people of the country. The regime that ushered in the first period of Islamic political extremism was a military dictatorship. The dictator imposed his policy agenda, the centerpiece of which was the Islamization of Pakistan, on the people – who had not elected him. Zia’s predecessor, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who was tremendously popular among the masses, won his mandate in West Pakistan not on a religious but a socialist slogan of “Roti, Kapra, Makan” (food, clothing, shelter). Bhutto’s political rival, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman from then East Pakistan representing the Awami League, a political party with a secular outlook, not a religious one, won a majority of the vote in the 1970 elections.
As discussed earlier, the decade of the 1990s saw four democratic governments elected into power in Pakistan. Each government was dismissed prematurely, each time on charges of corruption and incompetence rather than for having sidelined a religious nationalist agenda.

The military dictatorship of General Zia in the 1980s, as well as both the elected governments of Nawaz Sharif in the 1990s, each politically empowered religious extremists, causing the Islamic political extremist agenda to make significant inroads in the bureaucracy and in circles of political power. However, the mindset supporting Islamic political extremism seems to have been promoted for reasons motivated by various benefits in the system rather than being related to religious ideology.

As the data show, when attempts were made to remove the politically extremism religious content of a textbook, it was not the public that protested in support of retaining jihadist literature in textbooks. In fact, many people at the Punjab Textbook Board who implement policy decisions at the local level supported these changes as a positive step, both when the federal government reformed the national curriculum, and when the provincial Punjab government adopted that curriculum.

Rather than the public, it was the private publishers whose profits were being jeopardized, who supported the religious political extremists, using the textbook change as a focusing event (Kingdon, 2003), and pushing to oust those in the bureaucracy who stood in the way of their making money.
Similarly, the anti-Musharraf faction, emboldened after his removal from office, framed the issue in terms of a conspiracy by a US-supported dictator wanting to distance Islam from Pakistan. This faction, otherwise not driven by a politically extremist religious agenda, also lent support to the Islamic political extremists in this episode.

In sum, it is not that Pakistani citizenry and culture have transformed in favor of religious political extremism, but rather that calculated, non-ideological interests have elevated religious extremists for particular, non-religious goals. These experiments are confined to specific periods in Pakistan’s history and do not demonstrate a lasting trend.

**Future Research**

Future research could explore how other countries have managed the tension between religious fundamentalism and religious political extremism, and the ways in which that tension has played out in history textbooks. In addition, research could explore ways by which countries come to terms with war history, particularly relating to wars that defy the theory of the state as portrayed in textbooks to its young citizens.
Appendix A: List of Abbreviations and Glossary of Terms

List of Abbreviations

CT Certificate of Teaching
GOP Government of Pakistan
NOC No Objection Certificate
NRC National Review Committee
PTB Punjab Textbook Board
PTC Primary Teaching Certificate
PRC Provincial Review Committee
PSC Provincial Select Committee

Glossary of Terms

Note about spellings:
While using American spellings throughout this document, I have retained the original spellings used in policy documents from Pakistan that use the British version.

Aab-e-zam zam Holy water from the Muslims’ main pilgrimage site Mecca
Allama Iqbal Also referred to as Dr Muhammad Iqbal or Sir Muhammad Iqbal, a poet and a founding father of Pakistan
Angrezi English
Asnad Certificate of academic degree
Ayaat Quranic verses
Crore ten million
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Darul Ulooms</td>
<td>Arabic term meaning house of knowledge; religious school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Darvesh</td>
<td>a hermit devoting himself to God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deen-e-Illahi</td>
<td>‘Religion of God’, founded by Mughal emperor Akbar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deeni Madaris</td>
<td>religious seminaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiqh</td>
<td>religious sect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurudwara</td>
<td>Sikh place of worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadith</td>
<td>Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamd</td>
<td>religious poem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huqooq-ul-Idab</td>
<td>the rights of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imam</td>
<td>mosque clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Grades 11-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Islamiyat, spelled</td>
<td>study of Islam; typically a subject taught in schools.</td>
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<tr>
<td>also as Islamiat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jamat-e-Islami</td>
<td>“Organization of Islam”; the country’s oldest religious political party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawan</td>
<td>Literally, youth; in the context of armies, a soldier</td>
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<td>Jihad</td>
<td>holy war</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jihadist</td>
<td>militant mindset pertaining to Islamic holy war</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joota</td>
<td>shoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ka’aba</td>
<td>Islam’s holiest site, a shrine in Mecca</td>
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<tr>
<td>Madrasa</td>
<td>literally, school; used usually to mean religious seminary</td>
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<td>Maktabs</td>
<td>Arabic term for elementary school; used for both primary and secondary school in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan</td>
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<td>Maulvis</td>
<td>Islamic clerics</td>
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<td>Mohalla</td>
<td>neighborhood</td>
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<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Naat</td>
<td>poem commemorating the Prophet Mohammad</td>
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<td>Nazira Islam</td>
<td>Vision of Islam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Purdah</td>
<td>veil, gender segregation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qitaal</td>
<td>Armed jihad, execution of war</td>
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<td>Raddi walas</td>
<td>Collectors and sellers of scrap and recyclables, such as paper and old books</td>
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<td>Roti, Kapra, Makan</td>
<td>Food, Clothing, Shelter, the populist slogan of Zulfiqar</td>
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<td>Shariah or Shariat</td>
<td>Islamic law</td>
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<td>Tanzeem Islami</td>
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<td>Ulema</td>
<td>Islamic religious scholars</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ummah</td>
<td>nation or brotherhood of Islam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zakat</td>
<td>Charity, stipulated in Islam</td>
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Appendix B: Interview Protocol

This interview protocol was used for government employees, teachers, donor agency representatives, policy makers, involved in federal policy making.

- Tell me about yourself (age, background, education, etc). How did you get involved with this particular education policy reform project? What is your story?
- Where were you working before this assignment?
- Who contacted you, how were you recruited?
- How did your interest in education reform develop; was this something you were interested in for a while?
- What is your understanding of the institutional context in which education policy reform takes place in your department?
- Who are the participants in education reform in Pakistan? What are their influence relationships with each other?
- What is the role of individual preferences and ideologies in policy change?
- Is there anything else that you would like to add that I might have missed but you think would be relevant?
Bibliography


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