Educating Pakistan's Daughters

The intersection of schooling, unequal citizenship and violence

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Sussex

June 2017

Declaration

Work submitted elsewhere for examination I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree. However, this thesis incorporates, to the extent indicated below, material already submitted as part of required coursework for the degree of: MSc Social Research Methods which was awarded with merit by the University of Sussex. Specifically, approximately 4,000 words from the proposal for this research which served as my dissertation are included in various chapters of this thesis.

Signature:...

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the loving memory of my father and friend, Neil Emerson.

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Acknowledgements

First, I would like to acknowledge my parents who have both passed away. Thank you to you both for raising me to follow my dreams… no matter how crazy you thought they were. I miss you every day.

I want to thank my supervisor, Professor Mario Novelli, for your constant support and kindness. Without you, I am not sure I would have been able to overcome the challenges I faced during these years of working on this PhD. Thank you also to my second supervisor, Professor Mairead Dunne for always taking the time to talk to me about my work and for your helpful feedback.

Thank you to all my friends at Sussex, particularly Jessica for sharing this experience and a cat with me. To Shannon and Michele, 30 years and counting! Kelomix, for being my chosen family and 'neighbors.' And thank you to my brothers, sisters-in-law, and amazing nieces and nephews and new nieces and nephew-in-law, I love you all no matter where in the world I am.

I also would like to thank my research assistant and her husband for your friendship and support on this research. I hope that we will work together again one day soon. To the teachers and students at my case study school, thank you for welcoming me into your lives.

Finally, I would like to thank my Pakistani friends. I am so grateful that I got the chance to get to know all of you and your wonderful country. I wish for you peace always.

Summary

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how education in one girls' government school teaches understandings of citizenship and to identify potential links to the reproduction of identity-based violence in Pakistan. This in-depth qualitative case study was conducted in a girls' government model school. This study focuses on curriculum and school practices of the secondary school section. Data was collected through interviews with staff, a participatory workshop with teachers, focus groups with students, classroom observation, and informal discussions. I also analyzed the Pakistan Studies textbook used in the secondary section of the school.

Using theories of critical education, intersectionality, and Galtung's violence triangle, I argue that despite recent political and curricular reform attempts, education in Pakistan reproduces a homogeneous concept of a legitimate citizen (male Sunni Muslim). While this evolved to unite an ethnically diverse Pakistan, it has contributed to identity-based violence (direct, structural, and cultural) against those that do not fit within this conception.

In this school, the Pakistan Studies textbooks create an official discourse that promotes this gendered and exclusionary citizenship. I show how the Pakistan studies textbook uses history and constitutional lessons to promote citizenship that is based in a masculine Islam meant to oppose the Hindu 'other' as well as to promote the exclusion of women and minorities from full citizenship. I also found that teachers own understandings of citizenship, which closely reflect the text, are deeply rooted in their understanding of their notions of the ideal Muslim woman. I find that the school rewards gendered behavior in both students and teachers. I then explore the extent to which the school reproduces other social divisions including religious, ethnicity, and class. I find that the school simultaneously reproduces, mitigates, and exacerbates these tensions. I then argue that the teachers' and students' understandings of the role of women to counter violence is rooted in the notions of middle class women's roles as mothers and supporters of men that are reproduced through school practice.

This study furthers the knowledge on the links between education and violence by showing that promoting a homogeneous ideal of a citizen through education, while intended as a nation building project, can contribute to structural, cultural and direct violence against women and minorities, limiting their agency to engage in social transformation.

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Chapter 1. Pakistan's Daughters: An introduction to the research

Pakistan Ka Matlab Kya? Reproduction of citizenship through schooling

The 1944 poem by Asghr Sodai asks the question *"Pakistan ka matlab kya?"* (What is the purpose of Pakistan?). This question is one which has remained at the heart of the complex and fluid notion of citizenship in Pakistan throughout its history. Since its inception in 1947, there have been competing notions about the relationship between religion and the state and the definition of a good citizen. Islamic and liberal-democratic paradigms have been at the heart of this struggle to define Pakistani citizenship (Ahmed 2007). These paradigms along with South Asian cultural norms and the history of the colonial 'obedient citizen' form contested notions of Pakistani citizenship.

These often-contradictory understandings of citizenship impact upon citizenship education which can be understood as preparing students for their expected roles in society (Apple, 2012). Education also has the potential, as a micropolitical site, to reproduce social inequalities that contribute to violence. In the Education Policy of 2009, the Government of Pakistan acknowledged education's contribution to unrest in the country. It states,

> *The educational system in Pakistan is accused of strengthening the existing inequitable social structure … If immediate attention is not paid to reduce the social exclusion and moving towards inclusive development in Pakistan, the country can face unprecedented social upheaval.* (Government of Pakistan, 2009, p. 12).

While social exclusion in education is often associated with access to quality education, how and what students are learning through the schooling experience also contributes to the exclusion of some groups from their full rights as citizens of Pakistan (Mundy & Dryden-Peterson, 2011). In Pakistan, the curriculum has been frequently criticized by Pakistani and international educationalists for its promotion of narrow world views and unequal treatment of minorities and women (Nayyar & Salim, 2005; Winthrop & Graff, 2010). In addition to the content of the curriculum, the ways in which schools are structured, managed, and relationships are navigated also contributes greatly to students' socialization into their expected roles in society (Apple, 2012; Dean, 2005; Andrabi, et al., 2007). These roles are often incumbent upon the identities of the students including ethnicity, religion, class, and gender. Schooling also serves as a means of socializing citizens into the ideology that the state follows (Yuval-Davis, 1997). The Ministry of Education of Pakistan itself states the importance of education in preparing students as citizens of Pakistan. The Vision 2030 document states,

No other system in a State, except the national education system, shares the ideals, objectives, and purposes of a state. The institution of Education in fact, acts as the repository of the trust that the citizens have in the State, mediating the achievements of the past with the aspirations of the future of all the citizens of any given State (Government of Pakistan, 2009)*.*

Because of this link between citizenship education, identity, and the state, the study of citizenship education can be used as a lens through which social injustice and exclusion, which can lead to all forms of violence, can be explored.

Citizenship education is also especially important to the Pakistan context because of the complex history of citizenship in this relatively young state. The history of and contention about the purpose of Pakistan and whether its government should be rooted in Western liberal democracy or in Islamic law is a complex context for citizenship. Pakistan was founded in 1947 as a separate state for the Muslim minority of India at the end of the British colonial occupation. While Pakistan is an ethnically and linguistically diverse state, the majority of its 182 million people approximately 96 percent, are Muslim. Religious minorities include Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Ahmadiyya, and other smaller religious groups (Mujahid-Mukhtar, 2011). As I discuss in Chapter 2, Islam has provided the government with a unifying identity that is shared by most of its citizens. However, this unifying identity intended to create social cohesion, has systematically excluded some citizens, specifically religious minorities from equal rights, and led to violence against them.

Women, too, are subjected to unequal status as citizens of Pakistan (Shaheed, 2010; Jamal, 2006; Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). Specifically, the Hudood Ordinances of General Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s, which instituted his version of Sharia laws, unequally impacted upon women's rights (Shaheed, 2010). These laws, many of which are still in practice today, either as law or as acceptable practice, encourage the systematic disadvantaging of women. The result is serious disparities in male and female status and achievements in health and education. For example, the male adult literacy rate is 67 percent, while female literacy is 42 percent. Women also have more difficulty than men in securing basic services, justice and employment (Mezzera & Aftab, 2008). It has been argued that citizenship education reproduces the exclusion of women from the public sphere through ignoring their role in history (Naseem, 2010), and positioning girls and women as the upholders of the family and moral culture of Pakistan (Saigol, 2003).

Research Aims, Questions, and Design

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how girls in one government school in Islamabad, Pakistan are taught to perform citizenship and to identify the potential links to the underlying causes of identity-based violence in Pakistan. Using theories of critical education, intersectionality, and Galtung's violence triangle, I examine how citizenship education teaches forms of consciousness that reproduce the hegemony of the legitimate citizen- a Sunni Muslim male, and the implications for those who do not fit within that ideal- especially women and religious minorities. I use a historical and intersectional lens to situate citizenship education within the context of broader society, both as a product of and reproducer of social and economic inequality. The aim of this research is to identify the ways that citizenship education can either mitigate or contribute to structural, cultural, and direct violence against certain groups of citizens based on identities which are not considered consistent with that of the dominant group. This research attempts to unpack the experiences, expectations, and resulting 'performances' of citizenship within the school.

This research also makes a case for understanding citizenship education both as curriculum and school practice. While the formal curriculum may tell us what to think, the incidental learning done through the daily practice within a school teaches students how to perform their expected roles in society (Apple, 2012; Giroux, 2011). This study analyzes the Pakistani Studies textbook used in the school, teachers' understandings of citizenship for their students, and the everyday interactions inside and outside of the classroom.

To explore how citizenship education is used to reproduce structural, cultural, and direct violence, in one girls' school, I address the following research question:

> How and to what extent does citizenship education in the case study school contribute to the legitimization of identity-based violence against women and religious minorities in Pakistan?

This is then divided into the following sub-questions:

1. How does the Pakistan Studies textbook used in the case study school frame notions of legitimate citizens?
2. How do teachers' understandings and actions through school practice reproduce gendered citizenship?
3. How and to what extent does school practice mitigate, reproduce or exacerbate identity-based tensions?

4. How do women and girls in the school understand their roles in contributing to social transformation for social justice?

To answer the above questions, I conducted an in-depth qualitative case study in late 2013 and early 2014 in a large girls' government model school in Pakistan's federal capital of Islamabad. The school, which holds over 6,000 female students from reception to masters' level courses caters to the lower middle and middle class population of Islamabad. This study focuses on secondary school teachers and students (grades 6-10). Because neither citizenship nor civics are taught as directly as standalone courses, I focused on teachers of social science and language. The intention was to gain a holistic picture of what the school is teaching about being a citizen of Pakistan. Therefore, data was collected on both textbooks and school practices in the secondary school section. Data was collected through interviews with staff, a participatory workshop with teachers, focus groups with students, classroom and school observation, and informal discussions. I also analyzed the Pakistan Studies textbook used in the secondary section of the school and used critical discourse analysis to unpack the relationship between education in this girls' school and the legitimization of violence against minority groups in Pakistan.

Intended Impact

My objective when I set out to do this research was to better understand what is contributing to the violence and conflict that so many of my Pakistani friends have faced. It is hoped that this research will bring to light the importance of studying citizenship education when researching the complex relationship between education and identity-based violence. Although this case study is an example of only one school and cannot be generalized beyond its walls, I hope that it will illustrate the powerful ways that curriculum and school practice work together to promote understandings of citizenship that can reproduce inequalities, but also have the potential to begin the process of mitigating these and promoting social justice.

I hope that this study will lead to further research in Pakistan and in other countries that focuses on the narrowing notions of legitimate citizens that seem to be contributing to social divisions that lead to violence in many states today.

Structure of this Thesis

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. In this chapter, I have introduced my research by introducing citizenship in Pakistan and the role of education in preparing students for their

expected roles in society. I then stated by research aims and questions and the intended impact of this research.

In chapter 2, I set the context for the analysis by reviewing the literature on the history of citizenship in Pakistan and the implications for women and minorities within that. I then follow with detailing Pakistan's educational landscape, and give history of citizenship education in Pakistan. I also discuss the literature on the critiques of the curriculum based in its contribution to violence. Finally, I examine the brief literature on school practice and citizenship education in Pakistan.

In chapter 3, I present the theoretical and conceptual framework developed through a review of the broad literature on citizenship theories, and their relation to exclusion of certain groups from 'legitimate' citizenship. I begin by introducing epistemological and ontological positioning. I explore how citizenship can be used to exclude some citizens based in their identity from their full rights, including protection from violence. I then link that to Galtung's violence triangle. Finally, I illustrate, through critical education, how education can reproduce violence that has become acceptable through understandings of legitimate citizenship.

In chapter 4, I discuss the methodology of the research as it relates to critical and feminist research. I rationalize the use of a case study and outline the methods used including participatory research, interviews, focus groups, and observations. I elaborate on the details of the data collection experience and data analysis methods. I then reflect on some of the successes and challenges I faced in navigating a sensitive research in an insecure context and the implications for my research. Finally, I highlight the limitations of the study.

Analysis begins in chapter 5 with a critical discourse analysis of the Pakistan Studies Textbook used in the secondary section of the case study school. I illustrate the ways in which citizenship is portrayed through history and constitutional lessons. I find that the textbook highlights a citizenship based in Sunni Islam, which excludes women and religious minorities.

In Chapter 6, I analyze teachers' understandings of citizenship for their students and the resulting implications for school practice especially related to the reproduction of gendered citizenship. I first detail the expectations of the case study school to prepare women for citizenship. I then examine how the case study school promotes citizenship through teachers' and administrators' understandings of citizenship. I explore how those understandings are enacted through school practices. I unpack how and to what extent this school's citizenship education practices reproduce social norms that regulate the lives of women and girls.

Chapter 7 explores the school as a micropolitical site of power and the ways that it reproduces inequalities related to social divisions including religion, ethnic differences, and socio-economic class.

In Chapter 8, I bring together the findings from the first three analysis chapters to illustrate how the power over women impacts teachers' and students' understandings their ability to affect change in their school and in Pakistan. I explore how teachers and students engage directly with social issues, conflict, and violence in Pakistan through the school process. I then link the findings of the previous chapters to look at how the teachers and students feel they, as educated women, can contribute to social transformation for social justice Pakistan within the limitations to resistance against the status quo for middle class women as illegitimate citizens of Pakistan.

Finally, I conclude the thesis with a chapter that highlights my key findings as well as the implications for citizenship education practice and policy, the contributions of this research, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2. Contested Citizenship: Citizenship, education, and violence in Pakistan

To situate citizenship education in Pakistan in the historical and political contexts, in this chapter, I review the literature related to citizenship in Pakistan and give an overview of citizenship education. I illustrate the ways in which contested understandings of the citizenship developed through the history of this young country. I highlight the legal and cultural ramifications for women and minorities which include structural, cultural and direct violence. In the next section, I explore the literature on citizenship education in Pakistan with a focus on both the roles of curriculum and textbooks and school practice in the indoctrinations of students into their expected roles in Pakistani society.

A Contested Citizenship: Defining Pakistan

The history of citizenship of the sub-continent greatly impacts the understanding of citizenship in Pakistan today. Since the time of the British Empire, governments of the Indian Sub-continent have attempted to maintain social cohesion among the diverse and large population. The colonial government developed a bureaucracy to maintain overt control over the people. The understanding of citizenship at the time was intended to ensure subservience to the British (Saigol, 2003).   In the years since decolonization and the separation of India and Pakistan, the challenge to maintain control and social cohesion has continued. The history of Pakistan provides a path to the contested citizenship of Pakistan today.

The Pakistan Movement: The beginning of contested citizenship in Pakistan

During their long rule of India, the British colonialists put into place a representative government in India based in Western liberal notions of government. The All Nation Muslim League became an important political party which sought to empower the Muslims of India through the joining of Muslims throughout India into a single 'nation' who would work together to fight discrimination against the Muslim minority. This was especially pertinent as the representative system left by the British would favor the Hindu majority and thus marginalize the Muslim minority by creating legal and social disadvantages for the Muslims of India (Jalal, 2011).   There were several political solutions put forth by Muslim politicians including the leaders of the All Indian Muslim League regarding the best way to ensure Muslim rights in Post-Colonial India. Most agreed the path forward was through the "Two-Nation theory". Jalal (2011) explains,

> *… the idea of the Muslim minority constituting a separate nation - irrespective of class, linguistic and sectarian differences - coincided with the introduction of a representative system based on the majoritarian precepts of Western liberal democracy* (p. 2)*.*

While the Two Nation Theory was not necessarily intended to mean a two-state solution, leaders of the Muslim League including the future founder of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, believed that the solution was a separate state for Muslims (Khan, 2003). The purpose of Pakistan was to provide an autonomous state where the political rights of the Muslim minority population of South Asia would be protected. From the beginning of the Pakistan movement, the purpose was to not only give Muslims equal legal representation, but an identity of their own in the Hindu majority India, based on the Islamic concept of Ummah, the belief that Muslims are a community, or nation separate and distinct from all other nations. The Two Nation Theory became the impetus for the creation of Pakistan. Khan (2003) stated,

> *Thus, Jinnah pushed for the Muslims of Pakistan to disregard religious distinctions in politics. He reminded his audience, the Constituent Assembly, that Pakistan would assume independent statehood with the goal of creating a progressive Muslim state based on pure Islamic principles (p.221).*

However, Jinnah's vision for Pakistan was not one that excluded non-Muslims, but instead one that allowed all to practice whatever religion they chose. His rhetoric was one of reconciliation, tolerance and moderation (Ahmed 2007). This is evident in the following speech given by Jinnah in just prior to Partition in the summer of 1947,

> *Minorities, to whichever community they may belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion or faith of belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be, in all respects, citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste and creed.*
>
> *They will have their rights and privileges and no doubt, along with it goes the obligation of citizenship. Therefore, the minorities have their responsibilities also and they will play their part in the affairs of the state. As long as the minorities are loyal to the State and owe true allegiance and as long as I have any kind of power, they need have no apprehension of any kind* (Hussian, et al., 2011, p. 8)*.*

When the British left India in August 1947, the subcontinent was divided in to two new states, the Hindu majority India and the Muslim majority of Pakistan. Pakistan at that time was further divided into East (today's Bangladesh) and West Pakistan. The immediate result was an exodus of Hindus from the new Pakistan and Muslims from India. This mass migration resulted in conflicts at the borders between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs killing somewhere between 180,000 to over 400,000 people and the loss of land, property, and possessions (Aiyar, 1995). The consequences of this devastation have contributed to the ongoing tensions and wars between these two states.

To further the tensions between India and Pakistan, which still exist today, the Muslim Majority area of Kashmir was not allocated to either country. The fate of Kashmir and its people is constantly contested by the governments and populations of both states, with conflicts and wars on the Line of Control dividing Indian and Pakistan controlled Kashmir breaking out periodically.

Defining Pakistan: The early struggle between democracy and religion

After this treacherous start for the people of India and Pakistan, the leaders of Pakistan began the process of defining the new state. The debate heightened between the Islamic theocrats who believed that because Pakistan was founded as a homeland for the Muslims of South Asia, Islamic law should be in place and citizenship should be synonymous with Islamic values and the liberal-democrats who, on the other hand, believe Pakistan should be a constitutional democracy based in religious freedom and argued that a good citizen is one who is a tolerant human being (Ahmed, 2007).

Image 1: Map of Pakistan
Source:
http://pakistanmap.facts.co/pakistanmapof/pakistanmap.php

Although the rhetoric of Jinnah was based on the concept of a separate homeland for Muslims, after the founding of Pakistan, he and other early leaders of Pakistan continued to promote devising a secular state with a separation of religion and government. Ahmed (2007) states,

Since the founders of Pakistan were Western educated elite, they envisaged the new state to uphold the values of individual liberty, civic equality, and religious diversity. They did not aspire to Islamic theocracy (p. 95).

In Jinnah's speeches, he often referred to this separation. In a speech given the day before independence Jinnah spoke of his ideas for Pakistan. He said,

To my mind, this problem of religious differences has been the greatest hindrance in the progress of India. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in the State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State (Khan, 2003).

This separation of religion and state as well as religious tolerance was also illustrated by Pakistan's ratification of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Pakistan's representative at the General Assembly strongly supported the articles on religious freedom. He stated,

> *Pakistan is an ardent defender of freedom of thought and belief… the Muslim religion unequivocally claims the right to freedom of conscience and has declared itself against any kind of compulsion in matters of faith or religious practices (Khan, 2003 p. 222).*

However, the Pakistan that most believe Jinnah envisaged was not to be. In September of 1948, soon after Pakistan's founding, Jinnah passed away, leaving the new state's new leaders to figure out its purpose and to interpret his words without yet having created a constitution. Although many believe that Jinnah wanted a more secular state, in 1949, the "Objectives Resolution" was written which defined the fundamental principles of Pakistan and serves as the preamble to the constitution of Pakistan (Shaheed, 2010). It states,

> *…Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed; Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam…* (Basit, 2013, p. 33)

The 1949 Objectives Resolution and the first constitution written in 1953 solidified Pakistan as a state rooted in Islam. This Islamic ideology would become further entrenched in Pakistan's narrative, especially as tensions with India grew and with the establishment of Pakistan as geopolitically significant (Shaheed, 2010).

The constitution of 1953 also instituted laws that disadvantaged Pakistan's religious minority. This includes the article in the constitution which declares that only a Muslim believing in the finality of the Profit (PBUH) can be the president or prime minister of Pakistan. This excludes all non-Muslims from serving in those positions. This article of the constitution also excludes the Ahmadiyya, a religious community of about 4 million in Pakistan, who consider themselves Muslim as well as Christians and Hindus (Khan, 2003).

This contested understanding of citizenship during the Pakistan movement began a history of citizenship based in Islam, which would evolve until present day based in the events and leaders that have shaped the history of Pakistan.

Creating National Unity in the Face of Difference

The initial struggle between the peoples of the sub-continent during Partition and the continued struggle for Kashmir greatly impacted the national identity of Pakistan. The division between Muslims and Hindus grew, further placing the importance of the Islamic nature of the

state of Pakistan. This, in turn, further entrenched Islam into the understanding of Pakistani citizenship as part of the nation building project intended to create social cohesion among its Muslim majority population.

However, although Pakistan is a Muslim majority state, it is also the home to 6 major ethnic groups and 58 minor linguistic groups spread across a wide expanse and separated by the entire country of India dividing East and West Pakistan (Winthrop & Graff, 2010). Ensuring national unity was difficult in the face of this diversity, even with Islam as its cornerstone (Lieven, 2011). The center of both the political and financial power was in the province of Punjab while other areas remained deprived of basic resources. Additional pressure was placed on the new nation when the national language of Urdu was selected. Urdu is the first language of only seven percent of the Pakistani population and represented the language of the Muslim elite from pre-partition (Lieven, 2011). These policies were especially alienating to East Pakistan, which was not granted equal representation in the government, even when the political party Awami League won the majority of votes, thus constitutionally requiring their representative to be the Prime Minister (Bose, 2005). Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was not willing to allow an east Pakistani power over the state. This, among other identity issues caused East Pakistan to want to secede from Pakistan. A bloody war ensued and eventually ended with the creation of Bangladesh (Sharlach, 2000). The loss of Bangladesh was a difficult blow for the already precarious state of Pakistan. In fact, all other provinces besides Punjab also threatened to secede (Durrani & Dunne, 2010). Thus, creating a need for a cohesive national identity that could promote and maintain national cohesion was more necessary than ever.

Political Islamization and the Legal Exclusion of Women and Minorities: The Zia-ul-Haq Regime

By 1977, Pakistan had lost the war with Bangladesh, tensions with India were high, the Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan, and the people of Pakistan had lost confidence in Prime Minister Bhutto. Geopolitical pressures created an environment which allowed for the successful take-over of General Zia-ul-Haq. Zia ruled as president and military dictator until his death in 1988. General Zia-ul-Haq struggled with the legitimacy of his government as well as the idea of a national identity which would unite the ethnically and linguistically diverse peoples of the provinces (Lieven, 2011). This was especially pressing in the wake of the secession of East Pakistan in 1971. The loss of the war was considered a political crisis as was the fear that other provinces would soon follow and the new nation would crumble (Kumar,

2001).   Jalal (1991) explains part of justification for Zia's coup d'état and political Islamization of Pakistan,

> *A devout Muslim, Zia proclaimed himself divinely ordained to steer Pakistani society back to the moral purity of Islam. Pakistan and Islam, he argued, were inextricably linked, and the preservation of both had been enjoined upon the military establishment.* (Jalal, 1991, pp. 100-101)*.*

To unite Pakistanis and to achieve his personal goals of enjoining Pakistan and Islam under the protection of the military, General Zia began an overarching quest for Islamization of the society (Nayyar & Salim, 2005). His introduction of political Islam, rooted in his own interpretations of the Quran and Sunnah, is often thought to be a turning point in Pakistan, from a secular and relatively open society, to one that is highly controlled and staunchly rooted in political Islam (Jalal, 1991). This was done to create social cohesion among the citizens of Pakistan through their shared Muslim identity. Zia was strongly supported by the religious political parties as well as the West, specifically the Unites States, which was supporting the formation of the Islamist Mujahidin in Afghanistan to oppose the Soviet takeover and the spread of communism beginning in 1979 (Rashid, 2008).

However, Zia's attempt at creating social cohesion in the name of Islam, resulted in separate laws for women and legal discrimination against religious minorities. His 1979 Hudood Ordinances prescribed Sharia-based laws and punishments for the use of liquor, theft and adultery (Mezzera & Aftab, 2008)*.*

The Impact on Women

Zia's Hudood Ordinances virtually negate the equality and citizenship rights of women by institutionalizing state sanctioned gender discrimination in the name of the Islamization of Pakistan, undermining the few existing legal protections and relegating women to second-class citizens. The Hudood Ordinances criminalized acts of *Zina* (extramarital sex) and *Zina-bil-jabar*, which is defined as rape outside of marriage. They also imposed *Hadd* and *Tazir* punishments for these crimes which included prison, fines, stoning, and whipping if convicted (Imran, 2005). The Hudood Ordinances made women involved in either crime more likely to be punished. To compound this infringement of women's legal rights, the Law of Evidence further lessened women's ability to seek prosecution in these cases. Imran (2005) explains the Law of Evidence. She states,

> *The Law of Evidence states that the testimony of two women is admissible only as one reliable source; i.e., the testimony of a female is considered half that of a man's in a Pakistani court of law. The law requires that an equivalent of four Muslim male witnesses of good character verify a woman's claim to sexual penetration and*

consequent rape. Otherwise, a rape victim is considered guilty of fornication or adultery under the Zina Hudood Ordinance (p.88).

These laws put into place by Zia contradict the 1973 Constitution which explicitly states that there should be equal protection for women under the law. It states,

All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law… there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex…. Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from special provision for the protection of women and children (Article25); and steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life (article 34).

However, the result of these new laws, women's legal rights were diminished and men were given more power over women, resulting in discrimination rather than protection of their rights. Imran (2005) argues that,

The Zina Hudood Ordinance and the Law of Evidence empower men over women in the legal system, and their religious interpretations subdue and undermine women's rights regardless of their social, economic and age characteristics, placing them at the mercy and control of laws designed to discriminate against them rather than to ensure justice (p.89).

These laws came to impact how women's religion was to be expressed. And this was a turning point from religion as a personal matter to one of public surveillance (Naseem, 2010). Rouse (2004) argues,

Women have gone from being public objects of respect, albeit often privately abused – to being publicly denigrated; clearly, the State has a hand in facilitating this shift (p. 109).

Saigol (2003) notes that this change in the religious expression is related to the roles that women are expected to play in the national identity of Pakistan. She explains that they are expected to be the protectors of culture in the face of the ominous 'other' by upholding the moral and religious character of the country. In this way, women are expected to behave in accordance to cultural values with little room for discrepancies in their behavior.

Exclusion of Religious Minorities

The implementation of Zia's laws also greatly hindered the rights of religious and ethnic minorities and the poor. They resulted in a lack of human rights and the frequent lack of legal, social, and political protection (Cordesman et al., 2011). Especially affected were religious minorities who, according to the constitution are free to practice their religion and should be free from discrimination on the basis of religion.

Perhaps the most damaging law for religious minorities is the Criminal Law Act of 1986, or the Blasphemy Law as it became known. This law raised the penalty against blasphemy from fine

to imprisonment or death. This law greatly stifles the human rights and the religious freedom of all non-Muslims. Khan (2003) argues that the greatest problem with the Blasphemy Law is that it there is very little evidence required to convict someone of this crime, and it can be abused to solve unrelated issues. It has also lead to the acceptance of vigilante justice, with cases of mobs attacking those accused of blasphemy, with little or no legal consequences. The abuse of this law has kept religious minorities living in silence for fear they may be accused of blasphemy (Khan, 2003).

Citizenship of Today

Citizenship continues to be shaped by the historical events of Pakistan, but is also complicated by current issues in the legitimacy of the government and its geopolitical position. These include, exacerbation of tensions between militant Islamic groups including the Pakistani Taliban and resulting violence, the lack of trust and support provided by the state, and the importance of traditional and kinship based justice systems which are prevalent in many parts of Pakistan. Additionally, the post-9/11 climate in Pakistan has further divided the population about the relationship between the state and Islam. Gregory (2012) explains,

> …*These issues- the lack of consensus about the nature of the relationship between the state and Islam (and thus between the state and other religions), and the ethno-religious diversity of the provinces which make up Pakistan, the limited writ of the state in those provinces, the Islamization and the increased terrorism in Pakistan which has been accompanied by the assertion of shari'a by non-state actors in some parts of Pakistan- add up to an extremely complex, turbulent and difficult situation… (p.199).*

The result of this ongoing contradiction between those that support a religious state and those that support a secular state is often confused and contradictory language in policies. For example, the Pakistan Vision 2030 (Planning Commision: Government of Pakistan, 2007), begins with a quote from the Quran, but then states that the aim of the vision as,

> *The basic thread in the discourse of Vision 2030 remains the creation of a just society, without which Pakistan will not flourish and prosper. Pakistan will continue to be a multiethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious society (p. xxi).*

This is an illustration of the uncertain relationship between religion and the state. This makes western, liberal notions of citizenship, rooted in civic duty and rights, problematic when applied to the Pakistan context.   While citizenship is rooted in the colonial understanding of the obedient citizen (Kumar, 2001) and much of the official discourse around citizenship reflects that of West, in practice, Islamic laws (*Sharia*) and South Asian traditions are often more recognized and enforced, especially in rural areas far out of the reach of the central

government (Mezzera & Aftab, 2008). Mezzera & Aftab (2008) argue that this leaves a vacuum for other groups to gain power. They state,

> *The legitimacy vacuum left by an elite that is completely unresponsive to the needs of the majority of the population, threatens to be filled by actors and ideologies that can mobilise masses very effectively, though not necessarily along a progressive path. The current surge of religious extremism in the country needs to be understood in this context* (p. 8)*.*

The current complexities facing the state of Pakistan differently impacts the citizenship of Pakistanis, often based in their identity including gender and religion and resulting place as citizens.

The Intersection of Citizenship and Identity

The history of debated notions of Pakistani citizenship and the current political climate impact how Pakistani citizens experience and perform citizenship based in the intersection of their identities. Women and minorities often face the most difficult challenges to rights within the state. This is due in part to the tensions between the liberal democrat forms of government and those who promote theocracy (Gregory, 2012). The history of creating national unity through Islam has also then created a notion of who is and is not a legitimate citizen in Pakistan. The legitimate citizen is one who has access to political, legal, and economic power, while others do not have access to one or all of those things. This legitimacy is situated in and subject to identity.

Beyond the legal differentiation of Pakistani citizenship, cultural and political issues often restrict groups from participating fully as citizens. Karim (2003) states,

> *Characteristics of individualism, equality, ability to participate in the public sphere, political freedoms, and a well-supported regime of rights tend to exist of shaky grounds. They are at times viewed as being "Western" in origin and unsuited to Muslim societies (p.2).*

The state plays an important role in the promotion of sectarian and religious discrimination. Ali (2008) argues that the ways in which the state represents minorities and labels tensions provide means through which meaningful citizenship is denied to marginalized religious groups. Ali (2008) argues, "*When minorities…try to confront exclusionary state policies…the end result can often be an undermining of their rights, and a reproduction of state power* (p. 3)*.*"

Citizenship in Pakistan is also legally defined in the Muslim ideology and in addition to cultural exclusion, religious minorities are not entitled to the same rights and responsibilities as the Muslim majority. Violence against minorities comes in the form of structural violence which

excludes them from fully participating in Pakistani society, as an outsider in their own country. Because of the legitimization of the Sunni Muslim as unidimensional identity of a citizen, and indeed, chosen by God, often creates a hostile environment for religious minorities including Christians, Hindus, Ahmadi as well as other Islamic sects including the Shia and Ismaili, populations.

Religious minorities face extreme difficulties and violations of their rights, especially in regard to the Blasphemy Law which convicts anyone who speaks against Islam. This law has been considered abusive and is strongly opposed by many moderate leaders, but remains in place in part due to the threat of disagreeing with it publicly. One example of this is the burning to death of a Christian couple who were accused of desecrating the Quran. The accusation was announced over the loudspeakers of Mosques, and a mob assembled. According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, there was no proof that they desecrated a Quran, but the man was having a dispute with the owner of the kiln in which they were burned (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 2014). This is just one example of the violence faced by non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan. Currently, there are 19 people on death row accused of this crime (Human Rights Watch, 2016). The Human Rights Watch also noted that at least 53 people of the Shia Faith were killed this year in attacks on mosques.

Women at the Crux of the Citizenship Debate

Women's citizenship in Pakistan holds a complex place as it is often at the crux of the tension between liberal notions of citizenship and theocratic/Islamists notions. This is further complicated by the conflation between cultural norms and religion. After the death of General Zia in 1988, little was accomplished legally to retract the anti-women and anti-minority policies put in place by Zia until presidency of Pakistan's next military dictator, Pervez Musharraf. During the years of democratically elected leaders including Benazir Bhutto, little was done to legally improve the legal status of women. For example, under pressure from women's groups and human rights activists in 1996 Benazir Bhutto did ratify the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), a comprehensive codification of international legal standards for the protection of women. However, according to Patel (2010), this was not able to take hold because of the opposition of the religious lobby on the basis that it infringed upon the sovereignty of the Constitution, specifically the Islamic provisions which states,

> *All existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, in this Part referred to as the Injunctions of Islam, and no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such Injunctions* (Patel, 2010, p. 50).

Because of the religious lobby and the apparent contradictions to the Constitution, CEDAW did not gain any momentum in Pakistan until 2001 when Musharraf began implementing a series of laws that were consistent with CEDAW which he stated was a part of his development plan for Pakistan.

To build upon this, women in Pakistan, as in many countries are positioned within the private sphere, which is often considered out of reach of citizenship. Feminist scholars show us that liberal theories of citizenship relegate the private sphere as outside the manifest of the state, which can have a negative impact on women's civic rights as they are often understood as part of the private sphere. Stromquist (1995) explains,

> *The state is not neutral towards women and its definition of gender tends to restrict women to the domestic sphere and to ignore how domesticity links with other forms of social control.* (Stromquist, 1995, p. 424)*.*

In Pakistan, women's exclusion from the public sphere is reinforced by the institution of *Purdah* which Mumtaz & Shaheed (1987) define as operating *at both the social and economic level, consist[ing] of segregating the sexes and secluding women (29).*   The result is a difference in the ways in which male and female citizenship is conceived in terms of all three aspects including identity, legal and political citizenship.

According to Mumtaz & Shaheed (1987) girls in Pakistan are instructed that their only purpose in life is marriage. They state,

> *In Pakistan, the attitude towards women as inferior beings is visible from the birth of a girl, which is greeted with guilt of despair on the part of the mother, shame or anger on the part of the father, and the general concern and commiseration of the entire circle of friends and family… a woman's assets are calculated only in terms of her power of reproduction, and as an object of sexual satisfaction. In a country where… pre-marital sex, is enough cause for 'crimes of honour' such assets can only come into play after marriage* (p. 23)*.*

This creates a dichotomy with the construction of male identity which according to Saigol (2003),

> *…comes to be constructed in terms of his rights as an individual citizen of the state, while female identity is predicated up on her duties to the nation/state as a mother. This kind of division of citizenship, based on women's difference, ensure that women will be confined to the so-called 'private sphere' of home, family, and personal relations (p.132).*

This idea of women's identity as dominated by the domestic/ private sphere is reinforced throughout the lives of girls, through the roles of girls within the family as caregivers to younger siblings and contributing to the household chores, through their education (as will be

argued in Chapter 6) and through the Pakistani media. Mumtaz & Shaheed (1987) stated that women are shown in the media exclusively as self-sacrificing mothers who suffer without complaint at the hands of her husband and in-laws. This is consistent with a 1991 study discussed in Naseem (2010) by Hussain and Shah to understand how good women were portrayed on Pakistani television in light of the political Islamization which occurred under Zia-al-Haq. They found that good women were portrayed as "self-sacrificing, self-abnegating, virtuous, domesticated, mother, daughter, sister, honest, in poverty, loyal, religious, emotional, irrational (p.78)". Naseem (2010) goes on to say that women on television falling outside of these categories were portrayed as "bad women".

While both studies were conducted prior to the influx of international media including the internet and wider access to international television and films, today women and girls are being exposed to global norms about women's rights. This portrayal of women in media and the continued debate over women's rights and changing legislation mean that the women's roles in Pakistani society are in flux. Views of purdah, women's role in the socioeconomic sector and legal rights are all contested among Pakistani citizens and their government and religious leaders.

This positioning of women in the private sphere but under strict surveillance contributes to violence against women. Direct violence against women in Pakistan is often tied to traditional notions of 'honor' and committed by male family members (Patel, 2010), including about 1,000 'honor killings' each year (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Many of these cases of violence against women go unreported. The reasons for this silence, though many, are directly related to women's citizenship. Patel (2010) cites the positioning of violence against women as 'domestic' violence, and therefore a private matter. She also argues the '*dependent and inferior legal, social and economic status of women in law and in practice.*' She goes on to add that women often do not have access to legal services and fear of being unable to care for themselves of children if a father or husband has committed an act of violence against them.

Of course, women's identities in Pakistan are not homogenous and are largely dependent on class, ethnicity, and geographical location, as well as her own personal interests and the nature of her family. The practice of purdah serves as an example of this. In 1987, Mumtaz & Shaheed explained that the historical association of seclusion of women with the upper classes in Pakistan has led to other classes imitating the practice as a sign of affluence. They state, "*A veiled women thus becomes a symbol of social status, which translated simply means: 'I am so rich that my women don't have to work in the fields' (p.30)."* In the years since 1987, the upper

classes have become more liberal and gender restrictions have become less severe for educated elite women, particularly related to participation in socioeconomic activities outside the home (Weiss 2015), especially in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh. Today purdah is most commonly practiced by middle class women, and women in rural areas. However, Weiss (2015) also notes that nowhere do unrelated women and men mix freely.

The construction of women as absent from the public sphere, where liberal democratic citizenship occurs, greatly impacts their legal and political rights and engagement. In addition, the identity of women as the preservers of culture and religion, which is important in the national identity which differentiates itself from India and the West, plays an important role in the reproduction of women as part of the private sphere. While men have been expected to defend the state on the battlefield, women should defend the moral and religious character of the state, especially in their roles as mothers. Saigol (2005) argues,

> *A mother is expected to produce valiant soldiers, hardworking laborers, obedient citizens, loyal subjects, and submissive daughters in order to fulfill her duties to the nation (pp.145-146).*

However, in the years of the Pakistan Movement and even in the constitution, there were attempts to change the status of women to ensure their equal rights. Mohammed Ali Jinnah stated in a speech in 1947 that,

> *No nation can reach the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live* (Hussian, 2011).

Both women and religious minorities are excluded from full citizenship. This is also seen through their representation in government.

Political Representation: Women and Minorities in Government

While the constitution guarantees universal suffrage for all Pakistanis over 18 years of age (Khan, 2010), in practice it has been difficult for some to exercise their right to vote. In parts of the country (e.g. Federally Administered Tribal Areas) women have been informally but systematically barred by communities from voting in national and local elections. Elections are often marred by violence, with the opposition and less powerful groups facing particular difficulty in mobilizing voters in some areas. And even after elections, parties that are in government may be faced by serious threats to the personal security of their representatives. Voter turnout in Pakistan is among the lowest in the world. Since independence, turnout for parliamentary elections has been 45.3 percent, by far the lowest rate in Asia (Mezzera & Aftab, 2008). Saigol (2003) points out the extent of the problem with voting in Pakistan. She states,

The power of the vote, which ostensibly provides citizens with some control of their rules, has become a mockery in Pakistan where votes are regularly bought, sold, and manipulated during elections, thus making the whole election exercise a farce. The rhetoric of democracy has served to efface the effects of inequality and oppression by theoretically creating a façade of accountability of the rulers. The bureaucratic and military structures put in place by colonial rule have effectively ensured that real or substantive democracy will not flourish in the country (p. 139).

Under Pervez Musharraf's presidency from 2001- 2008, some accommodations were made to ensure the participation of women and religious minorities in the government. However, the highest seats are reserved only for Muslims as only Muslims who believe in the finality of the prophet are eligible to be the president or prime minister of Pakistan.

Currently, the National Assembly (Parliament) of Pakistan consists of 342 members, while special appointed seats are reserved for women and non-Muslims. The Table 1 summarizes the data in the 2010 Constitutional amendment document.

This amendment attempts to increase the participation of women and religious minorities in the government. However, there are still structures in place that limit their ability to fully participate. This is done by requiring separate seats for women and non-Muslims. The "General

Table 1: Parliamentary Representatives by Province in Pakistan					
	Elected General Assembly		Appointed Representatives		
Province/ Territory	**Men**	**Women**	**Women's Assembly**	**Minority Reps**	**Total**
Baluchistan	14	0	3	-	17
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	35	0	8	-	43
Punjab	148	5	35	-	188
Sindh	61	4	14	-	79
FATA	12	0	-	-	12
Islamabad	2	0	-	-	2
Federal Government	-	-	-	10	10
Total	**272**	**9**	**60**	**10**	**351**

Seats" are elected through "direct and free vote" for specific constituencies within each province. Although women are legally allowed to participate in this election, only nine of the 272 total seats are held by women and those nine are only from two provinces. The other four provinces have no women elected in the general seats. While the general seats are filled through direct election, the female and non-Muslim seats are selected by the political parties based on the percentage of general seats secured. Women and Non-Muslims do not represent constituencies, but instead, women are appointed at a provincial level and non-Muslims appointed at the national level. While this makes it appear that women and minorities are represented in the government, it also shows that the representation is not equal in numbers or in value to the representation of Muslim males. And according to Mezzera & Aftab (2008),

there is a stark contrast between the formal framework and the reality. They argue that while 33 percent of local level seats and 17 percent of national and provincial legislative seats are reserved for women, these quotas are often "*completely devoid of any significance (p.34)."* They go on to argue that,

> *Women tend to be excluded from decision-making or key positions, and when they do manage to rise to political prominence within the political system, it often happens due to kinship or family linkages with important male politicians (p.34).*

However, there have been inroads made towards the legal protection of women. There have been several legal steps forward regarding women's protection. This included the workplace sexual harassment laws which were lobbied for by Fouzia Saeed, and recently the Women's Protection Act of Punjab. However, these legal changes are often met with resistance. For example, the Women's Protection Act, intended to protect women from physical violence, was met with resistance from the religious parties. For example, one leader of one of Pakistan's largest religious parties was quoted as saying the law conflicted with both Islam and the country's constitution. He stated, *"This law makes a man insecure… This law is an attempt to make Pakistan a Western colony again* (Soomro, 2016)*."* It is yet to be seen whether these new laws are implemented by police and the legal system.

While Pakistan is making an effort to include women and minorities in the official structure of government, there is often little meaningful participation of these groups to influence policy. Therefore, women often find other means to work against injustice.

Resistance to injustice

Although the notion of reproduction is strong within any society, there is also an element of resistance. Apple (2012) argues, "*… in any real situation there will be elements of resistance, of struggle and contradiction, all of which will act against the abstract determination of the real-life experiences of human actors* (p. 85)*."* Because it is difficult for women to make change for themselves or for other oppressed groups through the formal government process, many opt to engage in civil society organizations. This is consistent with Stromquist's (1995) understanding of women's engagement in influencing change. She states,

> *Although women could in principle change the nature and composition of the state through their right to vote, the electoral behavior of women continues to be limited and has not resulted in significantly increased numbers of them in political power, they have managed to extract concessions from the state. Rather than assuming political office, many women have exerted a rather quiet influence on selected politicians and public institutions in efforts to pass legislation advancing the condition of women (* (Stromquist, 1995, p. 424).

In Pakistan, women especially engage in civil society organizations to work for the betterment and welfare of themselves and other oppressed groups. Civil organizations have grown in depth and capacity during the past decade especially in cities. Most are engaged in welfare or development issues, with relatively few organizations engaged in research or advocacy. While the current legal and political environment is more open to civil society activism than under many past regimes, there are relatively few opportunities these organizations to engage government in policy dialogue and little incentive for government to listen to them, especially those organizations that advocate for the rights and protection of women and minorities (Mezzera & Aftab, 2008).

However, like the implementation of the Women's Protection Act, creating change as part of these civil society groups is often fraught with structural barriers. Access to justice is largely determined by one's social-economic status and corruption is widespread. Informal, customary systems of justice (e.g. jirgas and vigilante justice) thrive in the void left by the failure of the formal system (Mezzera & Aftab, 2008). For example, women who resist the discriminatory practices through participation in advocacy organizations like the Women's Action Forum (WAF), and Pakistani feminist scholars (including some of those referenced in this thesis) are regularly dismissed as anti-Islamic, pro-western, and elite. Their work is seen as having little to do with the general population of Pakistan. As Shah (2014) comments, "*Many Pakistanis cling to the idea that feminism is not relevant to Pakistan – that it's the preserve of the rich and idle or, worse, that it's a Western imposition meant to wreak havoc on Pakistani society (p.2)."* Shaheed (2010) also notes the limits of who engages in the fight for gender equality. She notes,

> *The struggle for gender equality in Pakistan, while robust and vociferous, has been waged from a narrow, numerically small, class-base of the relatively privileged* (2010, p. 856)

For those who are interested in changing social practices within Pakistan, physical risk is often accepted. In the past several years, there have been several assassinations and assassination attempts on the lives of those who are working in the public eye to question the status quo (Shaheed, 2010). However, as Mezzera & Aftab (2008) argue,

> *The increased social and political consciousness…of gender relations, often proscribed within perceived religious and societal limits, but nevertheless contributing to the increased visibility of women in the workplace, particularly in the civil bureaucracy, and of late even in the military* (pp. 7-8).

Work through civil society organizations is helping women make inroads towards change for themselves and other groups subjected to unequal citizenship in Pakistan.

Education and the Reproduction of Citizenship

Education has been one of the most important aspects of nation building and the reproduction of culture in throughout the course of Pakistan's history. Education tends to serve as a reinforcement of cultural norms based in gender, class, ethnicity, and rural and urban lives. And thus, plays a pivotal role in reproducing economic and social inequalities (Apple, 2012). Pakistan is no exception to this as its system of education is highly stratified in terms of infrastructure, resources, and quality, while remaining inaccessible to a large percentage of children. In this section, I outline the current landscape of education in Pakistan and then focus on citizenship education taught through curriculum and school practice.

The Education Landscape of Pakistan

UNESCO (2011) reports that the number of out of school children in Pakistan is the third highest in the world with nearly one-third of children out of school. This increases to nearly three-quarters out of school at the secondary level (Government of Pakistan, 2009). Primary enrollment is relatively high with a gross enrollment rate of 106 percent (114% for boys and 98% for girls), which includes children outside the expected age group for primary school. The net enrollment is far less with 72 percent boys and 60 percent girls in school at the appropriate age. Boys go to school for more years than girls on average, with the average number of years boys attend school as 7.5 and the number years girls attend school as six (Mujahid-Mukhtar, 2011).

For those children who do attend school, the quality of education varies greatly. Mujahid-Mikhtar (2011) argues that this is due to the parallel streams of education which cater to different socio-economic classes. The system of education in Pakistan consists of four basic types of schools. Government schools, which serve approximately 64% percent of students and are usually attended by students from poor households, and those living in rural areas where there is no other choice. Government schools are segregated by gender for both the students and the teachers (i.e. only female teachers teach in girls' schools and only male teachers teach in boys' schools). These schools often lack resources, have weak infrastructure, and shortages of teachers (Academy of Educational Planning and Management, 2013). Low-cost private schools have, over the last two decades, sprung up in urban and semi-urban areas to offset the poor quality of education received in government schools. These are often Urdu medium, mixed gender, and follow the same curriculum as government schools. High cost private schools serve children of upper-middle and upper classes in urban areas. These high cost private schools offer both local as well as foreign examination systems (such as O and A levels) and are staffed with qualified and trained teachers, well-equipped classrooms, all

essential facilities and good quality teaching and learning materials (Mujahid-Mukhtar, 2011). Private schools account for 29 – 33 percent of students (Academy of Educational Planning and Management, 2013). In urban areas, many children also receive additional tutoring after school. ASER Pakistan (2014) reported that 70% of urban students receive tutoring additional education, further stratifying education between the rich and the poor and the urban and rural.

In recent years, the role of religious schools, or madrassas, have been the center of much discussion as a means for recruitment for militant organizations. However, in a study conducted by Fair (2012) this was found not to be the main source of recruitment, and that there has not been an increase of enrollment in madrasa education in recent years. Additionally, most children who attend madrasas also attend formal schooling. Only between one and seven percent of children attend madrasas as their only source of education (Winthrop & Graff, 2010).

The government of Pakistan recognizes the role of education in maintaining and producing social stratification. The National Education Policy 2009, (Government of Pakistan, 2009) states,

> *In a country with alarming inequalities of income and opportunities, reducing the social exclusion needs to be one of the principle objective of the [National Education] Policy. The educational system in Pakistan is accused of strengthening the existing inequitable social structure as very few people from the public sector educational institutions could move up the ladder of social mobility. If immediate attention is not paid to reduce the social exclusion and moving towards inclusive development in Pakistan, the country can face unprecedented social upheaval. (p.12).*

Especially in the years following 9/11, the inequities of education, and the suspected role in radicalization in Pakistan have become not just a national concern, but one of international priority. The influx of funding from international sources has impacted Pakistan's education sector through the input of various aid actors as well as global initiatives including Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals. Critics of this involvement assert that the process of globalization including international aid is threatening the autonomy of national education systems and weaken education's link to the imperatives of the community while making stronger its relationship to the requirements of the global economy (Burbules & Torres, 2000).

Girls' Education

Girls' education has been under much debate as it sits at the crux of the religious/ secular state debate of the nature of Pakistan. In some areas, this has resulted in violence against girls'

schools by militant organizations (Mujahid-Mukhtar, 2011). In addition to the threat of violence, educating girls' in some areas of Pakistan is not understood as a priority. Additionally, concerns of safety and purdah (maintaining separation of men and women) may keep girls from attending school (Weiss, 2015). In families who must prioritize the education of one child over another due to financial restrictions, the boys are usually educated, or educated in a private school while the girl is sent to a lower performing government school. This is due in part to the cultural norm that it is the responsibility of the male children to stay with their parents and provide for them, while daughters become the 'property' of their husband's family, therefore making education of a girl seem like a financial loss (Naseem, 2010). The result is that while girls' make up 43 percent of children in school nationwide, in rural areas the percentage is much less. In the Federal Administered Tribal Areas for example, girls make up just 31 percent of children in school.

In urban areas, especially among the wealthy elite class, girls more often get same quality of education as their brothers. In Islamabad Capital Territory, for example, 48% of students are girls (Academy of Educational Planning & Management, 2015). Although more girls attend school in urban areas, there are different expectations for the education of girls, especially among the middle classes. For many girls, the purpose of education is to improve the prospects of educated husbands, rather than focusing on preparing for careers (Weiss, 2015). These expectations, in turn, influence what girls learn about citizenship through schooling, which centers on ensuring that girls learn to fulfill their roles as wives, mothers, and protectors of the culture of Pakistan (Naseem, 2010; Saigol, 2003).

Citizenship in Policy and Curriculum in Pakistan

Citizenship education and civics education are terms that are often used interchangeably, but should be understood as distinct. Civics education can be defined as the knowledge pertaining to the functioning of formal institutions including the government structures and the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Citizenship education expands upon civics knowledge by also focusing on participation and engagement in civil and political society as well as the ways that citizens interact with and shape their communities and societies (Shulz, et al., 2010).

In Pakistan, citizenship education is taught as a cross-curricula subject and is a part of the social studies curriculum which includes English, Urdu, Pakistani Studies, Islamic Studies (Islamiyat), and ethics (the alternate course to Islamic studies for non-Muslim students). This research focuses on Pakistan Studies which was initially developed under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto eliminated the subjects of history, geography and civics and replaced them with social

studies (for classes 3-8) and Pakistan Studies (for classes 9-12) (Naseem, 2010). Pakistan Studies is intended to provide an overview of these subjects.

Although citizenship education in Pakistan has been redefined over the years with the frequent political changes discussed above, citizenship education became more rooted in exclusionary terms of Islam during General Zia's rule in the 1970s and 1980s. Education was among the first sectors to be revised according to Zia-ul-Haq's ideals. In 1978, as he began his education reforms, General Zia stated,

> *The highest priority would be given to the revision of the curricula with a view to reorganizing the entire content around Islamic and giving education an ideological orientation so that Islamic ideology permeates the thinking of the younger generation and helps them with the necessary conviction and ability to refashion society according to Islamic tenets* (Hussian, et al., 2011, p. 13)

This Islamization of education was achieved including the addition of Islamiyat as a compulsory subject and a revision to the social studies curriculum including Pakistan Studies (Dean, 2005, Nayyar and Salim, 2002). The curriculum objectives developed under Zia-ul-Haq reflected Zia's understandings of Islam. These objectives included:

- *To foster in the hearts and minds of the people of Pakistan in general and the students in particular a deep and abiding loyalty to Islam and Pakistan and a living consciousness of their spiritual and ideological identity thereby strengthening unity of the outlook of the people of Pakistan on the basis of justice and fair play.*

- *To create awareness in every student that he, as a member of the 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.*

- *To produce citizens who are fully conversant with the Pakistan movement, its ideological foundations, history and culture so that they feel proud of their heritage and display firm faith in the future of the country as an Islamic state.*

- *To develop and inculcate in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah, the character, conduct and the motivation expected of a true Muslim (GOP 1979:1 cited in Rahman 2004, p. 17).*

These objectives make clear the types of citizens Zia envisaged for Pakistan. The purpose of Citizenship education, through Pakistan Studies and other subjects was to produce Muslim citizens who were loyal to Pakistan, and to Muslims in other countries. There was much criticism of the inclusion of Islamic teachings in subjects outside of Islamiyat as this directly counters Article 22(1) of the Constitution, which states,

> *No person attending any educational institution shall be require to receive religious instructions, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such*

instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own (ed. Basit 2013 P. 54).

Despite the issues with the curriculum, it remained largely untouched until the 2002 curriculum reform which was conducted under the leadership of then President (and military dictator) Pervez Musharraf. One aspect of the reform was to reintroduce a civics curriculum for secondary school (grades 6-10) for the first time since the Zia administration. The stated aims of the grades 9-10 civics curriculum are as follows:

- *To transmit the traditional values in consonance with the modernity.*
- *To develop for critical appraisal of alien culture and ideology.*
- *To comprehend the evil consequences of imperialism, colonialism, and the significance of independence.*
- *To promote the unity of Muslim Ummah in the world.*
- *To develop and practice the spirit of Ideology of Pakistan and Islam.*

These aims seem to attempt to include both 'traditional values' and 'modernity', but the focus remained on Islam. However, while this curriculum was developed for an elective civics courses, it is not (and has never been) in regular use.

In 2006, Musharraf again attempted to reform the national curriculum. This revision was intended to somewhat secularize the content under the dictatorship of General Musharraf. The International Rescue Group (2014) sums up the political challenges associated with curriculum reform in recent years. They state,

> *… the government under General Musharraf, dependent as it was on the Islamist parties for survival, chose to appease them by backtracking on pledges to delete jihad from textbooks… Pressured by the Islamist parties and their sympathisers or motivated by political opportunism, successive governments have been hesitant to remove content that promotes religious intolerance (p.10).*

According to the content of the Punjab Grade 10 Pakistan Studies textbook developed under this reform, the curriculum was changed by Musharraf to try to *"introduce enlightenment to his country, but the religious people of Pakistan made it a failure* (Afzal, 2014)." This quote illustrates the tensions regarding the role of religion in Pakistan by equating enlightenment to secularism. Textbooks that have been reprinted since 2006 have only included minor changes, but have not addressed much of the content developed under Zia-ul-Haq (Hussian, et al., 2011). Consequently, Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) has not followed through with the curricular reform. In fact, of the four provinces and four territories, only Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have developed textbooks according to the changes required by the 2006 curriculum (Nayyar, 2013). And, in both provinces, as suggested in the Punjab text, controversies surrounding the new curriculum including protests by religious parties and

teachers against the more secular content. This strong resistance stopped the new textbooks from being distributed (Usman, 2012).

While the reforms of 2002 and 2006 were not successful, the Government of Pakistan has continued to attempt to balance the relationship between citizenship education and Islam. In 2009, the Government of Pakistan developed a comprehensive education policy that outlined issues within the education system and action points to address those issues.

Aims of the 2009 Education Policy include the following:

- *To play a fundamental role in the preservation of the ideals, which lead to the creation of Pakistan and strengthen the concept of the basic ideology within the Islamic ethos enshrined in the 1973 Constitution…*
- *To promote national cohesion by respecting each other's faith and religion and cultural and ethnic diversity.*
- *To promote social and cultural harmony through the conscious use of the educational process.*
- *To develop a self-reliant individual, capable of analytical and original thinking, a responsible member of society and a global citizen.*
- *To raise individuals committed to democratic and moral values, aware of fundamental human rights, open to new ideas, having a sense of personal responsibility and participation in the productive activities in the society for the common good* (pp. 17-18)

These aims seem to emphasize the role of education in promoting ideas associated with democratic citizenship and a respect for all faiths. However, the Policy also expresses the importance of Islam in Pakistani citizenship. It states,

> *The [National Education] Policy recognizes the importance of Islamic values and adheres to the agreed principles in this regard… These include the need for developing Pakistan children as proud Pakistani citizens having strong faith in religion and religious teachings as well as cultural values and traditions of the Pakistani society* (Government of Pakistan, 2009, p. 9).

The result of the continued connection between Islam and Pakistan in citizenship education is the ways in which students understand their own identities. In a study of identity of primary school children, Durrani & Dunne (2010) found that 33.8 percent would identify themselves to someone they did not know as Muslims compared to 24.1 percent of students who would identify themselves as Pakistanis. They also found that ideas of 'other' were represented (through drawing) as negative images of Hindus or Indians and some students included images of the Unites States. Additionally, images of the glorification of the military were also included.

This history of attempts to reform the curriculum culminating in the 2009 Education Policy seems to illustrate the need for the government to balance the expectations of those who

support Pakistan as an Islamic republic and those who support a liberal-democratic Pakistan. However, little has changed since the years of Zia. The International Rescue Group (2014) stated, "*Even after the restoration of democracy in 2008, much of the Zia regime's Islamisation of the curriculum has remained intact (p.10)."*

Critique of Citizenship Education

Much research has been conducted on the content of the curriculum and its relation to societal issues. Much of the critique centers on the exclusionary language of the curriculum that favors Sunni Muslims over other Pakistanis, and the promotion of narrow world views (see Dean, 2005, Ahmed, 2004, Nayyar and Salim, 2002). Dean (2005) argues that the nature of the aims and objectives of the curriculum makes no distinction between Islamic education and citizenship education. She argues that objectives of social studies education are produce true practicing Muslims citizens who will work to strengthen the Islamic state. This objective ignores the fact that there are non-Muslim students in social studies classrooms. Viewing Muslims as synonymous with Pakistani excludes religious minorities from being Pakistanis and serves division rather than national integration. Further, the International Crisis Group (2014) has cautioned that Pakistan's deteriorating education system had by 2004…

> *…radicalised many young people, while failing to equip them for the job market… a deeply flawed curriculum contributes to the spread of violence and extremism.* (International Crisis Group, 2014)*.*

They go on to state that by 2014, there had been some improvements including a constitutional provision to provide free and compulsory education (under the international Education for All movement). Still, there has been little meaningful change to curriculum. Nayyar & Salim (2002) summarize the issues with the curriculum and textbooks which is line with the other research on the topic. They found:

- *Inaccuracies of fact and omissions that serve to substantially distort the nature and significance of actual events in our history*
- *Insensitivity to the existing religious diversity of the nation*
- *Incitement to militancy and violence, including encouragement of Jihad [holy war] and Shahadat [martyrdom]*
- *Perspectives that encourage prejudice, bigotry and discrimination towards fellow citizens, especially women and religious minorities, and other towards nations.*
- *A glorification of war and the use of force*
- *Omission of concepts, events and material that could encourage critical self-awareness among students (p.23).*

In 2013 Nayyar & Salim wrote a follow up article which argues that the curriculum reform of 2006 was a missed opportunity to address the changes they discussed in their 2002 study and that the curriculum remained virtually unchanged.

Another issue in the textbooks of Pakistan is the focus on Sunni Islam. Ali (2008) discusses the outrage from the Shia Muslims of the Northern Territories about the ways that Islam is portrayed in textbooks. The issues include showing the 'correct' way to pray, which is the manner in which Sunnis pray. This imagery excludes Shia Muslims within the texts.

In their study of links between education and militancy in Pakistan, Winthrop and Graff (2010) identified five areas of Pakistani education that can fuel militancy. In addition to issues with education management that appear to exacerbate core grievances and lack of relevance of schooling to the workplace which produces graduates with little relevant skills for available jobs, they found that citizenship development and narrow world views are important factors. They state:

> *Poor learning and citizenship skills development…bring issues of education quality into sharp focus illustrating the extent to which key skills are not being cultivated. And fostering narrow worldviews… highlights aspects of curriculum and teaching that appear to support more pro-militant outlooks (p.34).*

As part of the issue, the stratified education provision has been shown to contribute to understandings of citizenship and violence. Studies have found that students express different civic values in government and private schools. For example, Rahman (2004) studied attitudes towards violence, militancy, and beliefs about equal rights for minorities and students in Urdu medium government schools and elite English medium schools. He found significant differences in perceptions of both teachers and students. For example, when asked the question, 'Should Pakistan take Kashmir away from India by war?', 26 percent of children in English medium private schools answered 'yes' as compared to 40 percent of those in government schools. (Rahman, 2004).

Although citizenship education in Pakistan has undergone much criticism for nearly two decades with regards to the content of the curriculum for developing narrow and intolerant worldviews, and policy discourses have attempted to include more inclusive language, there have been few changes which have reached the classroom (Winthrop and Graff, 2010). Despite pressure and funding from international donors including the United Kingdom, attempts at meaningful reform the curriculum have been mostly unsuccessful. Nayyar and Salim (2002) suggest that due to the centralized structure of the curriculum wing at the national level, little change can be implemented. They argue that the provincial textbook

boards which develop textbooks based on the curriculum act as ideological gatekeepers, making sure that only what they see as ideologically acceptable gets into classrooms. In 2010, the 18th Amendment attempted to break the control of the central government by giving control of curriculum to the provinces, however, there have been few changes in any of the provinces (Imran, 2016).

Citizenship through School Practice in Pakistan

Although much research has been done on citizenship education in curriculum and its impact in Pakistan, only a few empirical studies have been done that address the role of school practice in citizenship education. The literature tells us that children who are socialized in environments of corporal punishment, bullying, and other forms of violence, which are common in Pakistani schools, often miss out on opportunities to develop skills and sensitivities to enable them to manage and resolve conflicts and to achieve their goals in peaceful ways. The patterns of interaction between teachers and students or among students in school can reflect the fact that outside the school violence, corruption, and gender inequality are normal (Mundy & Dryden-Peterson, 2011). This along with the content of the curriculum has the potential to indoctrinate students into modes of consciousness that can contribute to violence against minorities and women.

Research conducted by Dean (2005) on the curriculum and school environment in government and low-cost private schools in Sindh found that schools are not promoting active citizenship. She found that teachers most often used lecture based approaches and often when group work is attempted it involves students working together to answer questions and make presentations of their answers. The study also found that schools are organized hierarchically and managed in a highly authoritarian manner. In all schools in her study, decisions are communicated down the hierarchy and results of implementation up the hierarchy. Those at the top expect obedient implementation of the decisions. And although the Department of Education devolved school decision making power by establishing School Management Committees at government schools in 2001, most head teachers understood the role of the School Management Committees as one of fundraising, not as one in which decisions and responsibilities for the school could be shared. She also notes that student activities which could promote citizenship were few.

Another study found different results comparing government and low-cost private schools. The Learning and Achievement in Education in Punjab Schools (LEAPS) study, while focusing on learning outcomes in academic subjects, found that low-cost private school students scored

higher in all subjects including civic knowledge. Noting that curriculum and textbooks are virtually the same in public and these low-cost private schools, the researchers hypothesized that it is the whole school environment that accounts for the difference in civic values development. Private schools, compared with government schools, are much more likely to have teachers who regularly attend school, school management that is accountable to parents and students, flexible strategies for helping children address problems, better infrastructure and less corporal punishment. They conclude that students learn from the behavior and social norms modeled for them at school, in addition to those modeled in the home (Andrabi, et al., 2007).

Naureen Durrani's (2008) study which examined the links between education and identity of children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then known as Northwest Frontier Province), addressed the notion of citizenship education as both part of the formal curriculum, but also as part of the school experience as contributions to the construction of children's identities. Her study included both boys and girls from urban and rural schools and found that students' identities were most often rooted in Islam, even before national identity or ethnic identity. She also found that student's perceptions of what it meant to be Pakistani… *"mirrored the representation of national identity in the curriculum"* (Durrani, 2008, p. 202). Both the notions of Pakistaniness and *Muslimness* were found to be highly gendered; both boys and girls identified Purdah and gender separation with Muslim identity. Ultimately, Durrani's work illustrates the ways in which schooling (re)produces a national identity based in Islam, but in doing so excludes those Pakistanis who are not Muslim.

Durrani's study was the first to directly examine both the curriculum and school experience on shaping student identity in Pakistan. The studies done by Dean (2005) and Andrabi et al. (2007) discuss the potential of citizenship education within different types of schools. Together these studies illustrate the continued need to consider how citizenship education learned through both curriculum and school practice informs students' identity and thus the role of education in contributing to ideas of social inclusion and social justice. While Durrani (2008) focused on the identity of students, the research conducted for this thesis approaches citizenship education from the perspective of the school as a micropolitical site and therefore, the ways in which the school attempts to (re)produce understandings of citizenship in Pakistan.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the historical developments that have contributed to understandings of citizenship in Pakistan today. This historical view of citizenship illuminates the ways in which non-Sunni Muslims and women have become understood as second-class citizens and impact that has on their identities as Pakistanis. I also showed how citizenship education has evolved along with the political changes and the influence of Islamic Ideology on the curriculum. There have been several attempts at curriculum reform to make it somewhat more inclusive and secular, none of which have been meaningfully implemented in the classrooms of government schools in Pakistan.

In the next section, I introduce the theoretical and conceptual framework which frames the research. I make a case for understanding identity-based violence as a consequence of unequal citizenship, which is often reproduced through schooling. I then discuss the literature on education as a reproduces of these inequalities.

Chapter 3. Citizenship, Education and the Possibility of Violence: Theoretical and conceptual foundations

This research aims to situate the every-day practice of one girls' secondary school in the intersection of gender and historic, economic and social inequalities. It examines how citizenship education has the potential to (re-)produce social norms that can either promote social justice and social cohesion or further divide citizens along lines of identity which legitimize inequalities which can underpin identity based violence. To unpack the relationship between citizenship education and the reproduction of identity-based violence, this research is rooted in critical realism and employs feminist theories of citizenship and theories of critical education.

Feminist theories of citizenship reject the westocentric liberal notions of citizenship to illuminate how unequal citizenship for different groups within society contributes to inequalities. I use feminist theories of citizenship including those of Carol Pateman and Nira Yuval-Davis to deconstruct liberal and republican citizenship and the (false) dichotomies of citizenship (public/private) and gender (all women are equally oppressed regardless of their position in society) and to situate citizenship within the intersection of one's identities.   I explore the ways that unequal citizenship based in identity and the resulting hegemony of the dominant group, especially when it is understood as naturalized, can lead to violence as theorized by Galtung. This power and violence then limit a citizen's agency to affect social justice and issues of equal citizenship and peace. In the next section, I demonstrate the contribution of education to the reproduction of unequal citizenship and violence. I refer to critical educationalist Michael Apple; according to whom, education, on the one hand, has the potential to reproduce inequalities and unequal power dynamics, indoctrinating students into their expected position within society; on the other hand, education can mitigate inequality in part through teaching heterogeneous citizenship which enables equity in political and civic engagement inclusive of all citizens.   In this chapter, I will situate the study within the paradigm of critical realism. I then explore the literature on citizenship and its link to identity through an intersectional lens. In the next section, I make the argument for citizenship's role in legitimizing violence as theorized by Galtung against women and minorities. Finally, I explore the role of education in reproducing those inequalities that lead to violence.

Epistemological and Ontological Positioning

This research is positioned in the ontological and epistemological paradigm of critical realism to illuminate the historicized and culturally, politically, and economically embedded relationship between material structures and the discursive world in which education is necessarily entangled. Critical realism is well suited to the study of structure and discourse as it rejects both the determinism of the positivist perspective, but also the reduction of social structures as discursive of post-structuralism. Ontologically, critical realism affirms that there is a reality that exists independently of our observation of it. However, there are multiple interpretations of that reality and those interpretations are fallible. Critical realism is thus ontologically bold, but epistemologically timid (Pratt 2009). Therefore, critical realists concentrate on uncovering the constructions that social actors make of the underlying reality whilst recognizing that our capacity to explain social reality is methodologically limited (Sayer 1992).

According to the critical realist approach, theory is a tool that should be used to explore (within the limitations of our ability to know) the structures and discourses that create the social world. Critical realism divides the world into the transitive and intransitive dimensions. The transitive dimension is that of knowledge composed of the theories and discourses. These theories and discourses are concerned with objects of study from the intransitive dimension. The intransitive consists of those things that occur regardless of our knowledge of them and therefore are material and extra-discursive. This dimension is divided into the real (generative structures and causal mechanisms, and power), the actual (visible and invisible events and processes), and the empirical (visible experience of the real and actual) (Jessop, 2005). New (2005) explains,

> *The transitive dimension is that of knowledge, of explanation, and of the conceptual and cognitive raw materials which enable these. Its contents – ideas, taxonomies, theories, ways of seeing the world – are themselves real and causally powerful, and can become objects of knowledge. Although our conceptual work takes place within and may reproduce or modify the transitive dimension, the structured contents of that dimension are also external to human subjects and constrain and enable what we can do. As such the transitive dimension has an intransitive aspect, as do the practices and institutions of particular 'discursive regimes'* (p. 4).

Through understanding the world as transitive and intransitive, critical realism focuses on the importance of both the material world and the ideas of the actors who are experiencing the material; we cannot appreciate behavior and power relations without understanding the ideas that actors hold about their environment. Thus, it recognizes a complex interaction between the material and the discursive factors and requires an adequate explanation of a specific

historical, cultural or social phenomenon both in terms of its social meaning for the relevant actors and its production by the contingent interaction of causal processes in specific conditions (Jessop 2005). Discourses need to be studied in relation to their material context to avoid a reductionist analysis of social causation (Fairclough, et al., 2002). Social scientists need to instead consider the historical specificity and spatiality of social forms and transformation of their social properties.

The critical realist notion of generative causality implies that material objects under particular conditions react or generate an effect, but the causal relationship does not occur simply because the objects exist. Consequently, there are necessary conditions and contingent factors required to create a causal relationship. Therefore, a coherent research object should be the sum of a complete causal mechanism and its effects (Pratt 2009). Critical realism implies that good explanations combine explanatory (causal) and interpretive (hermeneutic) analysis (Jessop 2005). This impacts how structure and agency are understood within critical realism.

Critical realism also seeks to strike a balance between structure and agency rather than to prioritize one over the other by utilizing methodology that unpacks the relation between the two. Scott (2005) argues that we should enquire into who is doing what, with whom and for which reasons in order to arrive at proper explanations of structural properties. In a similar fashion, it is not possible to understand agential decisions unless they are contextualized in terms of the constraining and empowering properties of structures (p. 640).

Feminist scholarship within critical realism views sex and gender as separate and situated within different realms of the real. Sex is understood as biological and thus situated within the intransitive realm (New, 2005). Gender, on the other hand, is then the social construction that is developed around one's sex and is therefore, transitive, changeable, and discursively constructed. Therefore, when studying the social, critical realists acknowledge the intransitive differences of sex (e.g. number of x and y chromosomes) as separate from gender which is constructed and reproduced through historically rooted discourses and structures. It is these constructions of gender then lead to social differences. As Yuval-Davis (1997) explains,

> *Gender should be understood not as a 'real' social difference between men and women, but as a mode of discourse which relates to groups of subjects whose social roles are defined by their sexual/biological difference…* (p. 9).

Smith (1990) further defines gender in terms of power. She explains gender as,

> *… a distinctive effect of a complex of social relations specifically defining femininity and organizing, in and across actual local sites of people's lives, the hegemony of gender difference (p. 160).*

Critical realism focuses on the constructions of gender that define the social differences and inequalities present between men and women and creates a form of hegemony. The power difference moves from the discursive to the structural, embedding inequalities in society. Unequal citizenship is one way in which inequalities between genders is reproduced and maintained.

Contested and 'Contexted' Meanings of Citizenship

In this section, I briefly explore liberal and republican citizenship, as these are the most commonly used understandings of citizenship. I then problematize them from the feminist perspective by disputing the dichotomy of the public (civic, political) and private (family, home, non-political) as well as the assumptions of a singular group of homogeneous citizens, and disregard for context. On this basis, I will argue for the importance of an intersectional lens in the study of citizenship to illuminate social and economic inequalities.

Citizenship is a contested concept. It is contested at every level from its meaning to its political and social applications (Lister, 2003). It also carries with it contextualized vocabularies which vary per the social, cultural, political, and historical legacies in which they are used (Siim, 2000). As Yuval-Davis explains (1997),

> *…citizenship is an elusive concept… It has been constructed in different ways in different societies and has undergone historical shifts within the same state and society. It has been subject to contesting ideologies from the left and the right, and used as an inclusive and exclusive organizing principle, as a political mobilization tool and as a means of the depoliticization of the population. Also in spite of its [often] universalist terminology it has been applied differently to different segments of the population in each country (p.68).*

However, Carens (2000) identifies three basic dimensions – legal, political, and identity, which can be used to frame the concept of citizenship and its contested meanings. The legal dimension is that of citizenship as a legal status. It is defined by the civil, political, social rights of an individual and the reciprocal duty of the individual to abide by the laws of the state. The political dimension considers citizens as political agents who participate in and contribute to the political institutions, and the identity dimension refers to citizenship as membership in a political community that is understood as a distinct source of identity. Feminist theorists, Lister (2003) and Siim (2000), give slightly different language to the same concepts by using the terms status (legal), practice (political) and identity. Siim (2000) also asserts that citizenship comprises of a vertical dimension designating the relationship between the individual and the

state, as well as a horizontal dimension designating the relationship of citizens to each other. These dimensions are at the center of the debate among theories of citizenship. As Leydet (2014) discusses,

> *[The] differences between conceptions of citizenship center around four disagreements: over the precise definition of each element (legal, political and identity); over their relative importance; over the causal and/or conceptual relations between them; over appropriate normative standards.*

Liberal theories of citizenship are situated in the legal and political dimensions and focus on the relationship between the individual and the state. They define citizenship as a vertical and contractual relationship between an individual and the state in which they live and are concerned with the rights of the private to remain secure from outside interference. Waters (quoted in Yuval-Davis, 1997) defines liberal citizenship as,

> *…a set of normative expectations specifying the relationship between the nation-state and its individual members which procedurally establish the rights and obligations of members and a set of practices by which these expectations are realized (p. 69).*

Republican theory is also situated mostly in the legal and political realm, but emphasizes the horizontal relationship of the (national) community (Yuval-Davis, 2011) through political discussion and consensus of the people. Republicanism considers citizenship to be a public matter separate from the private and only a small piece of one's identity. Feminist scholars, on the other hand, focus heavily on the identity dimension and its impact on the legal and political dimensions. Pateman (1989) states, "*Feminist scholars of citizenship are concerned with democracy and citizenship, with freedom, justice, equality and consent (Pateman, 1989, p.2).*

Neither liberal or republican theories of citizenship adequately account for difference among citizens as they assume a homogeneous population in which each citizen has the equal access to political representation, and rights under the law, and thus power within the state. However, this is not the case in many contexts where there are either legal regulations that differentiate and discriminate based on identity (e.g. Jim Crow laws in the mid-20th century of the U.S., laws forbidding women to drive in Saudi Arabia, or Apartheid laws in South Africa). Other states may appear to have legal equality, but this does not extend to practice (e.g. protection against physical or emotional harm including honor killings in Pakistan, or the right to participate in political processes due to illiteracy or culturally embedded restrictions such as gender, or socio-economic status in many countries).

To address inequalities of citizenship, two schools of thought have developed – the universalist, which strives to view all citizens as equal, to ensure they all have equal rights and

responsibilities regardless of their identity. The other is differentiated citizenship which recognizes difference in access to power, economic welfare, etc. and thus enacts policies intended to create equity among citizens (e.g. affirmative action policies).

An illustration of the universalist approach can be found in T.H. Marshall's prominent essay from 1950, *Citizenship and Social Class which* provided the foundation of modern republican universalism. It was the first text to expand ideas of British citizenship to not only serving the state, but also fellow citizens through social welfare policies intended to equalize British society. The purpose of this was to create a common identity among citizens based in loyalty to the state and to each other as members of that state, and ultimately to create social cohesion through creating a community among citizens. Marshall articulated a typology of citizenship that was composed of the civil, the political and the social. Political citizenship included the right to participate to vote and engage in public decisions. Social citizenship included the right to security and welfare and to live according to the standards prevailing in the society. And civil included freedom of speech, thought and faith ((Isin & Wood, 1999). However, there are several criticisms of Marshall's work as it disregards the social struggles inherent in societies. The rhetoric of equal citizenship for minority group and the lower socio-economic class is often tokenistic with representation and thus power lying within the dominant groups (Isen & Wood, 1999). Leydet (2014) argues that when universalism ignores differences in society, it can become exclusionary. She states,

> *Critics argued that [universalism] proves exclusionary if one interprets universal citizenship as requiring (a) the transcendence of particular, situated perspectives to achieve a common, general point of view and (b) the formulation of laws and policies that are difference-blind* (Leydet, 2014)*.*

This provoked the development of differentiated citizenship in which equal citizenship was not only rhetorical, but also to ensured citizens of different backgrounds have legitimate equality in the practice of citizenship. Differentiated citizenship acknowledges the impact of inequalities and differences in identities on the needs of citizens to achieve equal citizenship (Banks, 2008). Young (1989) argues that special rights are required to undermine oppression of certain groups. She states,

> *The inclusion and participation of everyone in public discussion and decision making requires mechanisms for group representation. Second, where differences in capacities, culture, values, and behavioral styles exist among groups, but some of these groups are privileged, strict adherence to a principle of equal treatment tends to perpetuate oppression or disadvantage. The inclusion and participation of everyone in social and political institutions therefore sometimes requires the articulation of special rights that attend to group differences in order to undermine oppression and disadvantage* (p. 271)*.*

Both universalism and differentiated citizenship attempt to remedy inequalities. However, both approaches ignore the public/private divide embedded in liberal and republican theories of citizenship. Thus, ignoring the inequalities that occur within the private sphere which often impacts women's citizenship.

Feminist Citizenship: Breaking the dichotomy

While universalism and differentiated citizenship focus on addressing the stratification in society, feminist scholars including Pateman, Yuval-Davis, and Siim argue that it is the (false) divide between the public and private that excludes women and positions them outside the public, political lives of citizens. Pateman (1989) states, "*Feminist criticism [of citizenship theories] is directed at the separation and opposition between the public and private spheres in liberal theory and practice (p. 118)."* Yuval-Davis (1997) further clarifies by stating,

> *Much of the explanation of women's oppression has been related to their location in a different social sphere from that of men. Two such binary divides have been in the public/private and the natural/civilized domains. Much of the feminist literature, while pointing out and objecting to the fact that women have been hidden from history, accepts the naturalized locations of men in the public sphere and women in the private sphere* (p. 5)

The public/private dichotomy is also closely linked to the dichotomy between natural and civilized in which women are understood as a part of nature (and therefore uncivilized, irrational, and emotional) and men are understood as the political, civilized, and rational. Yuval-Davis (1997) argues that this excludes them from the political domain; she states,

> *The identification of women with 'nature' has been seen not only as the cause for their exclusion from the 'civilized' political domain, but also as the explanation of the fact that in all cultures women are less valued socially than men* (p. 5)*.*

This problem with these interlinked dichotomies is evidenced though feminist critiques of Marshall's citizenship. While Marshall promotes equality for all, citizenship is understood as a public endeavor and therefore, women, as part of the private, were excluded from the definition of citizenship under his republican citizenship ideals. As Pateman (1989) further argues, Marshall understood men as the public representative of the private household, which included women and children who then were understood as de-facto non-citizens.

Furthermore, when the dichotomy between the public and private is upheld in liberal or republican theories, the structure of power is ignored on the basis that it is part of the private, non-political sphere. This dichotomy then creates citizenship that can concurrently encourage equal rights in the public sphere but maintain the inequalities and power structures that occur in the so-called private sphere. Feminist theories thus reject the liberal and republican

notions that the inequalities in the private sphere are irrelevant to political equality, suffrage and associated civil liberties of the public realm (Pateman p.119).

Citizenship as Westocentric

Both liberal and republican citizenship have their roots in Europe, but do not fully acknowledge the cultural and societal differences of non-Western or non-democratic states. Haque (2008) explains,

> *The connotation and composition of citizenship in each society are inseparable from the nature and formation of the state. More specifically, the rights and obligations associated with citizenship are largely dependent on the ideological foundation, political configuration, constitutional provision, and policy orientation of the state (p.11).*

In countries like Pakistan with a history of Western colonization and resulting government systems, the language of Western (European) citizenship is widely used, but may not fully fit the needs of this society. Turner (1993) notes how concepts of citizenship apply to non-Western societies including those that are considered Muslim is a complex issue. In liberal and republican concepts of citizenship, the contract is understood as between an individual and the state, and all other community ties are constructed as part of the private realm. These theories of citizenship do not account for the differences among the peoples living within the borders, nor do they recognize the multiple layers of belonging that state, or local, regional or intra-state communities. As Karim (2003) explains, in contemporary Muslim-majority states (those whose population is more than fifty percent Muslim), individuals often view the concept of citizenship through non-state affiliations including ethnicity and religion. He writes, "*Definitions of citizenship through jus sanguinis (ties of blood) rather than jus soli (ties of soil) tend to be predominant (p.2)."* Therefore, links with emigrants remain strong and ethnic ties across borders can be as powerful or more powerful than links to others of different ethnic backgrounds living in the same country. This is also demonstrated through the Muslim concept of *ummah* which defines the Muslims of the world as one nation, separate from all other people. An analysis of citizenship in non-western contexts, would seem to require an expansion of liberal and/or republican theories to ensure that cultural factors are appropriately recognized.

Feminist scholars have rejected the public private divide from their theories of citizenship. According to Yuval-Davis (1997), the conflation between dichotomy of the state and civil society as the public domain and the domestic matters as private creates a westocentric notion of states and societies. To avoid this, she argues that,

> *…, there is a need to differentiate between state institutions… civil society institutions, and the domain of family and kinship relations… All three domains (the state, civil society and the familial domain) produce their own ideological contents and in different states would have differential access to economic and political resources. Ideology does not reside (in a privileged sense), therefore, in any of these spheres. …and their effects on different ethnic, class, gender and other groupings in the society could be different. (p. 14).*

This feminist theorization of citizenship attempts to de-homogenize citizenship by rejecting the public masculine citizenship of liberal and republican theories. Instead, citizenship is understood as multi-layered and even in its most liberal definition of rights and responsibilities to the state, is not equal for all citizens, especially women. And the dichotomy of gender should also be removed to expose the differences among women's experiences. Yuval-Davis (1997) argues, "*…not all women are oppressed and/or subjugated in the same way or to the same extent, even within the same society at the same time* (p. 8)*."*

Unpacking Unequal Citizenship Through an Intersectional Lens

The study of citizenship has potential to serve as a lens to illuminate social inequalities. To do so, it is important to theorize citizenship in a way that recognizes the importance of the multiple layers of identity including gender, religion, sexuality and ethnicity, but also family and kinship (Yuval-Davis, 1997).

Citizenship intersects with the identity of citizens and can be understood as a (re)producer and a representation of social inequalities within societies. The study of citizenship, then has the potential to illuminate the ways in which the state discriminates against some citizens through laws, practices, and exclusions which deny some citizens (including women and minorities) equal access to social justice.

The legal and political dimensions of citizenship are intrinsically linked to one's identity, or more specifically the nexus of identities situate a citizen's access to resources and legal and political power. This makes the study of citizenship well suited to analysis using theories of intersectionality. Yuval-Davis (2011) describes intersectionality as*…interested in how the differential situatedness of different social agents affects the ways they affect and are affected by different social, economic and political projects (p.4).*

Yuval-Davis further explains the epistemological positioning of intersectionality one which illuminates the differences in experiences of social agents as a means to reject positivistic positioning. She states that engaging with intersectionality is,

> *…vital to account for the social positioning of the social agent and challenges 'the god-trick of seeing everything from nowhere' as a cover for and a legitimization of hegemonic masculinist positivistic positioning (p.16).*

Yuval-Davis (2008) explains that, *"class and gender interact in the social and material realities of women's lives to produce and transform relations of power* (p. 71)*."* For women, this means that their oppression is endemic and integral to social relations especially regarding the distribution of power and material resources available in a society. Although gender, ethnicity and class have different ontological bases and separate discourses, they are intertwined and are articulated through concrete social and political relations (Yuval-Davis, 1997)*.*

Intersectionality began as a Western movement intended to de-homogenize the experiences of women as a singular group based in their ethnicity and/or race, social class and sexuality. However, in other contexts, like that of Pakistan, other aspects of identity also play important roles in access to material resources and power. These include, but are not limited to, ethnic group and/or familial clan, mother-tongue (and relatedly the ability to speak and work in a country's lingua franca), education level, proximity to centers of economic and political power (including rural or urban residence).

Irrespective of context, the intersection of identity has the power to create environments in which inequalities become inherent. These identity-based inequalities run on both horizontal and vertical lines. Horizontal inequalities are those that are not inherently unequal and socially constructed including ethnicity, gender, race, and sexuality, while vertical inequalities are those of economic including level of income and social class.

To fully engage with the implications of the intersection of identity on citizenship, we should understand citizenship as not only a 'bundle' of civil, political, and social rights and duties, but also as a set of practices and as a status that is experienced. Related to Judith Butler's (1988) notion of gender performativity, citizenship is an embodied performance, a process of actions, and is also experienced. How one performs and experiences their citizenship is dependent, in part, on their place within society and their relationship to the State. Performance of citizenship is the outward action associated with citizenship which are the responsibility of the citizen; and may include, for example, following laws and general social norms, engaging in political forums, or caring for fellow citizens through service. As Asen (2004) claims,

> *Rather than asking what counts as citizenship, we should ask: how do people enact citizenship? Reorienting our framework from a question of what to a question of how usefully redirects our attention from acts to action. Inquiring into the how of citizenship recognizes citizenship as a process. From this perspective, citizenship does not appear*

in specific acts per se, but signals a process that may encompass a number of different activities (p. 191)*.*

Experiencing citizenship is a result of a citizen's status within the state and includes access to services provided by the State, rights within the State, treatment by others in the state. Isin & Wood (1999) argue,

> *Those who do not possess the civil, political and social rights to exercise such [equal] citizenship would be denied to become such a competent and full-fledged member of the polity [state] (p.4).*

Both the performance and experience of citizenship is situated within the nexus of a citizen's multiple layers of identity of citizenship and the result is the reproduction of power and the hegemonic powers of a country. When theorized in this way, the study of citizenship becomes a lens through which inequalities can be illuminated. According to Yuval-Davis (1997)

> *Studying citizenship… can throw light on some of the major issues which are involved in the complex relationships between individuals, collectivities and the state, and the ways gender relations (as well as other social divisions) affect and are affected by them* (p. 69)*.*

Situated at the intersections of identity, citizenship identity can contribute to socioeconomic and cultural belonging. Yet, when that identity is too narrowly defined through discourses and laws creating a narrowly defined unidimensional- definition of a 'good citizen', others are often subjected to unequal citizenship; it can prevent some from having equal rights in terms of accessing resources like income, education, and health care, the right to representation in government, or the right to protection by law enforcement. When citizenship promotes inequalities, either by design or unintentionally, the risk of violence becomes greater as the dominant group becomes more powerful and violence against those who do not fit within that group becomes normalized. In the next section I explore how the naturalization of a unidimensional identity for the sake of citizenship contributes to violence.

When Difference Becomes Violence: Citizenship and the legitimization of violence

To make the link between identity and violence, violence should be defined more broadly than direct physical violence or armed conflict. Violence permeates societies long before (and often after) arms are taken up. Johan Galtung identifies structural violence in addition to direct violence. Structural violence is defined as social injustices that have evolved into the structures of society and while direct violence is an event or an act, structural violence is a process (Galtung, 1969). Anglin (1998) defines structural violence as follows:

> *Through structural forms of violence persons are socially and culturally marginalized in ways that deny them the opportunity for emotional and physical well-being, or expose them to assault or rape, or subject them to hazards that can cause sickness and death* (p. 145)*.*

In his later work, Galtung added cultural violence in addition to his notions of structural and direct violence to create what has become known as the "Violence Triangle". Cultural violence is defined as any part of culture, exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, and empirical and formal science to make structural and direct violence look and feel right and rendered acceptable in society (Galtung, 1990). Cultural violence legitimatizes direct and/or structural violence. For example, religion can be used to legitimatize discrimination and exclusion through imposing ideas of who is chosen by God or are in understood as having privileged relationship to God. Those who are deemed to be chosen by God are usually the of the majority religion, men and of the elite classes. In general, those who are deemed not to be chosen often include religious minorities, women, and the poor. This legitimatizes both direct and structural violence against those not deemed to be chosen by God (Galtung, 1990). The result of cultural violence is disrespect and denial of recognition that constrains the freedom of citizens (Fraser, 1995). Fraser (1995) uses similar notions to cultural violence to describe injustice. She defines injustice as:

> *Cultural norms that are unfairly biased against some are institutionalized in the state and the economy; meanwhile, economic disadvantage impedes equal participation in the making of culture, in public spheres and in everyday life. The result is often a vicious circle of cultural and economic subordination (72-73).*

According to Fraser (1995) injustices can be considered in two interlinked categories: Socioeconomic injustice, which she describes as equal access to primary goods, and cultural or symbolic injustice which is described as *"rooted in social patterns of representation interpretations, and communication (p.71)."*

She goes on to explain how these types of injustices are linked. She states,

> *…economic injustice and cultural injustice are usually inter-imbricated so as to reinforce one another dialectically. Cultural norms that are unfairly biased against some are institutionalized in the state and the economy; meanwhile, economic disadvantage impeded equal participation in the making of culture, in public spheres and in everyday life. The result is often a vicious circle of cultural and economic subordination* (p. 73)*.*

Galtung's Violence Triangle and Fraser's work on injustice maintain a critical focus on systems and structures of inequality while allowing for the discussion of identity and difference. However, Confortini (2006) argues that it is crucial to add a gender lens to the work of Galtung to address issues of power and gender. She states,

> *…feminism contributes to Galtung's theory by seriously tackling issues of power and gender, which are essential to an understanding of violence as a complicated process through which social relations of power are built, legitimized, reproduced, and naturalized* (p. 356).

The escalation of structural violence rooted in identity eventually becomes supported by cultural violence, the legitimization of injustice towards certain groups often including women and minorities. The escalation then to direct violence is often not a big leap. Sen (2006) illustrates the ways in which identity-based structural and cultural violence manifest into direct violence and conflict. He contends that while all people have multiple identities it is when *one* of those identities becomes understood as overarching, natural and inevitable that violence is likely. He states,

> *The insistence, if only implicitly, on a choiceless singularity of human identity not only diminishes us all, it also makes the world much more flammable… the main hope of harmony in our troubled world lies in the plurality of our identities, which cut across each other and work against sharp division around one single hardened line of vehement division that allegedly cannot be resisted. Our shared humanity gets savagely challenged when our differences are narrowed into one devised system of uniquely powerful categorization (p.16).*

Lederach (1997) similarly explains that the lines of contemporary armed conflict are most often rooted in narrowing lines of identity. He states,

> *…identity in contemporary conflict tend(s) to form within increasingly narrower lines than those that encompassing national citizenship… in today's setting that unit of identity may be clan, ethnicity, religion, or geographic/regional affiliation, or a mix of these. (p. 13).*

As Lederach points out, citizenship often becomes entangled in identity-based violence. Forms of Citizenship explicitly or implicitly legitimize injustices towards groups who are not considered to be legitimate citizens and therefore often lack the security of protection of the state.

Attempting to Create Social Cohesion and the Legitimate Citizen

Social injustices and violence based in forms of legitimate citizenship are often not intended to create fractures within the society, but rather to build national unity based in the majority identity. Citizenship and the notions of good citizenship often come as part of nation or state building projects that aim at producing a unidimensional national (universal) identity to promote or maintain social cohesion. For example, a United States Institute for Peace report states that citizenship is the linchpin to peacebuilding after violent conflict if the intention is to ensure the state is the primary locus of citizen loyalty (Levine & Bishai, 2010). However, as discussed above, citizenship is situated in the nexus of the identity based inequalities and thus

rarely truly equal. This universalist form of citizenship must be considered with caution as it can lead to the exclusion of non-dominant groups including minorities and women from equal rights within the state which has the potential to create or worsen social divides (Sen, 2006). These social divisions are often the basis for identity-based violence. Kaldor (2013) argues that societies most at risk for armed conflict are those with some heterogeneity in the population. Davies (2004) notes that societies with highly heterogeneous populations and those with homogeneous populations are at lower risk for armed conflict. it is those societies with few ethnic groupings, especially those with one dominant group that has access to more resources and rights, that most often engage in violence or conflict.

The narrowing of the identity of who is understood as legitimate citizens has the potential to embed identity-based injustices in the culture. This opens the possibility for direct violence to occur; this can manifest as armed conflict (e.g. civil war) or in one-sided violence towards certain groups (e.g. genocide). Kaldor (2013) argues that wars do not emerge between two identities conflicting, but instead are one-sided struggles to construct unidimensional political identities as the basis for power. This power is then used to maintain control through direct and hegemonic power over those citizens who do not fit into the unidimensional identity of the powerful group.   Fraser (1995) notes that this is done through the… *"processes and practices that systematically disadvantaging some groups of people vis-à-vis others (72)."* It often manifests in social and economic injustices including unequal legal and human rights, income opportunities, and access to services provided by the state. Saigol (2003) explains,

> *Insiders usually have full citizenship with all the attendant rights that belong to citizens, while outsiders tend to become systematically excluded from various rights on the basis of some characteristic that differentiates them and the insiders (p.130).*

Contrary to the intention of state building projects, the breakdown of social justice for some citizens based in their sub (and intra)-national identities compromises national social cohesion and can contribute to a breakdown of the social contract between a state and its citizens. Cultural and structural reproduction of injustices have the possibility to break down the state all together. According to Lederach (1997),

> *The consequence is the breakdown of centralized authority and in some instances, state infrastructure…. The process by which this happens has its roots in long-standing distrust, fear, and paranoia, which are reinforced by the immediate experience of violence, division, and atrocities. This experience, in turn, further exacerbates the hatred and fear that are fueling the conflict (p.13).*

The role in constructions of citizenship in promoting structural violence then is based in unequal access to rights and resources, and can contribute to the legitimization of injustices

and violence against groups that are deemed unequal citizens. As Sen (2006) and Lederach (1997) point out, direct violence is then a consequence that can escalate into large scale war, and the breakdown of a state.

Opposing the Ominous Other: Citizenship for wartime

While unequal citizenship may contribute to the legitimization of violence, it is also a reaction to war with external forces, or when social cohesion is threated. In many cases, a unidimensional identity narrative is created to encourage social cohesion within diverse states, not necessarily with the intention of legitimizing violence against minority groups. As a nation building project in new states, this is often understood as necessary for the success of the state in the face of tumultuous times creating a national identity built upon the opposition of the external other. Saigol (2005)notes that,

> *An important requirement of all states, but particularly new ones, is the construction, elaboration and frequent invocation of 'enemies' across and within national borders. Without enemies lurking everywhere, and as the moral opposites of the self, the Self is hard to define and consolidate. The sense of threat and fear that enemies help evoke enables the fractured and differentiated self to merge and solidify into a defensive oneness (p.1005).*

Like individuals, state identities are developed as an opposition to another. Kaldor (2013) states that identities are developed as oppositions to the 'other', that as humans, our sense of self is determined by others and our difference to them. In Ben-Porath (2009), Ben-Tal asserts,

> *A society involved in an uncontrolled conflict must develop beliefs that will help it successfully with the situation." Among the necessary psychological conditions he enumerates are "dedication to the society and the country, high motivation to contribute, perseverance, coping with physical and psychological pressure, willingness for personal sacrifice, unity, solidarity, upholding the goals of the society, determination courage and endurance* (p. 40)*.*

Also, many states encourage different kinds of citizenship during different historical moments. Ben-Porath (2009) discusses how this occurs. She states,

> *Changes in economic circumstances, patterns of inclusion and exclusion, along with the perceived sense of national stability, security, or threat, all influence the ways in which individuals and institutions define desirable modes of citizenship (p. 36).*

She goes on to argue that during times of war, the expected performance of citizenship change to what she terms the 'belligerent citizenship'. She states,

> *…wartime generates a set of social processes that can result in reconceptualization of the relations between the individual and state…[that] emerge as a response to perceived threats to national and personal security* (p. 11)*.*

This manifests itself through citizenship when the multidimensional conception of citizenship loses its thickness, and the multiple layers of affiliation between community and society shrink, to a basic form that we are all 'fellow nationals.' And the expectations of citizens narrow to performances of patriotism and service to the state, rather than the multidimensional citizenship. To maintain a strong national identity during times of war, national identity is often set in opposition to the 'other' of the group that is the nation is at war against. Lederach (1997) further explains this phenomenon. He states,

> *Sociologists have… identified patterns such as the movement from disagreement to antagonism to hostility, and the strengthening of a group's internal cohesion in response to the sharpening definition of external threats and enemies (p.13).*

This narrowing of citizenship to belligerent citizens may also occur when states are not engaged in active warfare, but also when there is a looming threat of war during times of protracted 'cold wars' as was the case between the US and the Soviet Union and similarly between India and Pakistan and can create an extended wartime belligerent citizenship, and then which permeates discourse and eventually the structures within the state. For example, the threat of the external other is then often extended to those within the state whose identities are not aligned with the unidimensional citizen identity created in the face of the threat. Saigol (2003) illustrates how the extension of the external threat affects those within a state. She argues,

> *The perceived or real threat from those who do not accept the validity of statehood leads to intensifies effects at homogenization and superimposition of a contrived oneness upon diverse populations (130).*

The narrowing of the identity of legitimate citizens during wartime to oppose the ominous other impact how citizenship is performed. Ben-Porath's notion of the belligerent citizen further exacerbates the narrative of a narrow binary of identity (us and them) by emphasizing one aspect of identity (e.g. nationality, religion, race, etc.) and can further fracture social division within state along the lines of religious and ethnic difference. The result then, is to further deepen structural, direct, and cultural violence against minority groups who do not fit within the unidimensional citizen identity.

Women as Illegitimate Citizens

In some contexts, (and to varying extents) women are positioned alongside minority groups as illegitimate citizens (Naseem, 2010). This can be understood through the legal, political and identity dimensions of citizenship and include lack of bodily integrity and a physical security for women, lack of equity in family law, and lack of gender parity in the councils of human decision making (Hudson, et al., 2012). Because women are often relegated to the private

sphere rather than being included in the public sphere, their rights as citizens are often unequal to that of men. For example, violence against women by husbands and other family members is sometimes understood as outside the public realm, a family matter, and therefore access to protection through state sponsored agencies (i.e. police) is not always available. These aggressions towards women are further compounded when women's performances as citizens, as gendered bodies, become the representation of and the protectors of traditional culture and the ideology of the state. Yuval-Davis (1997) explains,

> *… gendered bodies play a role as territories, markers and reproducers of the narratives of nations and the heart of cultural construction of social identities and collectivities as we as most cultural conflicts and contestations (p. 39).*

Violence against women can become embedded in culture because of these understandings of women as the protectors of the traditional culture and national unity. Cultural violence against women occurs when it becomes normal for women themselves to believe that domestic violence, honor killings, infanticide and other gender based violence are acceptable and necessary. Smith (1990), tells us, "*Women are not just passive products of socialization; they are active, and contribute to the socialization of other women* (p. 121)*."* Therefore, women do, in some cases, contribute to the perpetuation of cultural (and direct) violence against other women.

It is within these confines of violence and powerlessness, that those positioned as illegitimate citizens find themselves. However, to break the cycle of violence, Christie, et al. (2001) argue, "*The powerless must critically analyze and break through dominant cultural discourses that support oppression (p.1)."* And Davies (2000) argues that democracy requires resistance. She states,

> *Democracy…carries within it the seeds of resistance and the possibilities of change. It can be seen that democracy is not just about 'levels of participation (as these were fairly high even in Nazi Germany), but about how we participate. Values of tolerance of diversity, of respect for others, and of laying decisions open to criticism might be central (p.289).*

While structural issues often confine the actions of individuals, agency must also be acknowledged. Scott (2005) defines agency as individual self-determination and structures as the social context. The balance between structure and agency, especially when related to the possibility of resisting a cycle of violence, is situated in the intersection of the individual's identity and resulting positioning within society (Shaheed, 2010). For example, in contexts where women lack space in the public domain including political and legal representation, and when their right to security is denied because it is considered part of the private, their agency

to affect change can be limited by the infliction of structural and direct violence against then at the hands of the state, community, and family if they attempt to affect policies and politics. For some women, raising issues of injustice may put them at risk of physical violence without legal protection.

This risk is also greater for those who are not members of the dominant economic, political, ethnic, or religious group, who may not have the same rights and protections under the law, or in practice. Citizenship has the potential bring together the people of a state and to hold up a mutual contract between the state and its citizens. However, it can also be a lens through which to examine inequality, especially that rooted in social divides and attempt to rectify social injustices based in the identity of citizens.

Schooling as a Micropolitical Site for the Reproduction of Unequal Citizenship

Violence based in unequal citizenship is reproduced through nearly every facet of life within a state including the construction of historical and modern narratives which define who and what makes up the state. State institutions and structures are the mechanisms by which these narratives are reproduced. Confortini (2006) explains how violence is reproduced through social institutions including education. She states,

> *Violence is aided, sustained, and reproduced through institutions, practices, and discourses. It is in a relationship of mutual constitution to institutions, practices, and discourses. It is not a static system; thus, it also embodies change and the elements of its own dismantling as a practice or process. Violence as a process is embedded in language and in all social institutions* (pp. 357-358)*.*

Critical educationalists including Michael W. Apple and Henry Giroux use Freirean and Marxist thought to link education to inequities in society that are shaped by the ideological and cultural mediations which exist between the material conditions of an unequal society and the formation of the consciousness of the individuals in that society. According to Apple (2004), education acts in the economic sector of a society to reproduce important aspects of inequality. It also operates in cultures of power, which schools preserve and distribute which often include "*patronage, gender inequality, violence and fear, cultures of passivity, and lack of freedom of speech* (Davies, 2011, p. 35)".

Schools serve as micropolitical sites that recreate forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained, usually without the necessity of dominant groups having to resort to overt mechanisms of domination or violence, but reside within structural and cultural violence. This includes preparing young people for their expected roles in society, based largely in their identity within the state. Apple (2004) argues,

There is probably little doubt that … schools … facilitate the political socialization of the mainstream young and tend to equip them with the tools necessary for the particular roles they are expected to play in a given society (p.79).

Giroux (2011) describes how this is accomplished. He states,

Classroom pedagogy is inextricably related to a number of social and political factors. Some of the more important include: the dominant societal rationality and its effect on curriculum thought and practice; the system of attitudes and values that govern how classroom teachers select, organize, and evaluate knowledge and classroom social relationships; and, finally the way students perceive their classroom experiences and how they act on those perceptions (p. 31)*.*

While critical educationalists have recognized the role of education in reproducing culture in a variety of contexts, the role of education in mitigating or reproducing violence in conflicted affected contexts has increasingly been recognized by educational researchers and international education practitioners (The World Bank, 2005). On one end of the spectrum, education contributes to violence and conflict through contributing to a lack of social cohesion, creating attitudes favoring violence as a problem-solving technique, and perpetuating social inequalities between classes and genders (Mundy & Dryden-Peterson, 2011). While on the other end, education has the potential to make inroads towards mitigating, addressing, or alleviating underlying structural causes of conflict through transforming politics or culture that have led to conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Mundy & Dryden-Peterson, 2001; Smith, 2010).

The role of education in perpetuating inequality and violence is often related to education systems' and schools' tendency to reproduce the skills, values, attitudes, and social relations propagated by dominant groups in society. This is then enacted in education through inadequate education provision, racial, ethnic or other forms of discrimination, distorted curricula, and unmet expectations for economic achievement that exacerbates existing social tensions or may themselves generate new sources of tension in societies (The World Bank, 2005). Therefore, education has a key role in deepening structural violence including ethnic, religious, and other identity-based conflicts (The World Bank, 2005; Davies, 2005).

Citizenship Education

Among the various ways education can reproduce or mitigate violence, citizenship education has a great impact on how students understand themselves as a part of their community, state, and the world. While notions of citizenship are conveyed through a wide variety of institutions and people including the media, religious institutions, and families and peers, citizenship education is usually seen as a particular responsibility of the school. Citizenship is

learned in school through both curriculum (usually civics, social studies, and history) and daily practices within the school as a part of the 'hidden curriculum'.

Citizenship education is differentiated from 'civics' education which focuses on the knowledge and understandings of formal institutions and the processes of civic life including election processes and government structure. Citizenship education expands upon civics knowledge by also focusing on participation and engagement in civil and political society as well as the ways that citizens interact with and shape their communities and societies (Shulz, et al., 2010).

Much like citizenship, citizenship education is also a contested and 'contexted' concept that is situated with the political, economic, and security needs of a state. For example, Kerr & Cleaver (2004) note that in the English context, the concepts of citizenship education are often understood in relation to knowledge, action, community rights and responsibilities, public and private morality, inclusivity and locality. For the Advisory Group on Citizenship education is defined as political literacy, community involvement, and social and moral responsibility (1998). The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement" (IEA) International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) assessment of students' citizenship knowledge in 38 countries suggests that citizenship education encompasses understanding of political institutions and concepts including human rights, as well as social and community cohesion, diversity, the environment, communications, and global society. Most of the teachers and principals who participated in the study claimed that citizenship education included both skills and knowledge including promoting knowledge of social, political, and civic institutions, "developing students' skills in conflict resolution, and promoting knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibility and promoting students' critical thinking. Teachers and principals did not include active participation as an important aspect of citizenship education (Shultz, et al, 2010). This is despite the notion that citizenship education which encourages democratic engagement should include critical discussion of social issues and current and historical events from a variety of perspectives (Davies, 2005; Cogan & Derricott, 1998).

For the purposes of this study, perhaps the most useful definition of citizenship education was developed by Cogan and Derricott (1998). They, along with 26 citizenship education researchers from nine countries, developed the multidimensional citizenship education model. Multidimensional citizenship education suggests that education should address a series of interconnected dimensions of thought, belief and action. These dimensions are referred to as the personal, social, spatial and temporal and are summarized below.

- *Personal: A personal capacity for and commitment to a civic ethic characterized by responsible habits of mind, heart, and action*
- *Social: Capacity to live and work together for civic purposes*
- *Spatial: Capacity to see oneself as a member of several overlapping communities – local, regional, national, and multinational*
- *Temporal: Capacity to locate present challenges in the context of both past and future in order to focus on long-term solutions to the difficult challenges we face (Grossman, 2001 p.81).*

These four dimensions of citizenship are all closely interwoven. They also indicate that a student's sense of identity must be located at a variety of levels, ranging from the local through national to the multinational. While these do consider the community as an aspect of citizenship, they do not specifically address the duty of the state to its citizens. Understandings of the state are an important aspect of citizenship if citizens are expected to engage in ensuring that the state upholds their side of the contract with the citizens. Therefore, I suggest that this civics knowledge should complement the multidimensional citizenship model.

This multidimensional model is compatible with the liberal and feminist dimensions of citizenship including legal, political, and identity, but do not exclude the private realm, thus rejecting the binary between public and private realms. Therefore, it can be understood as a citizenship education model that has the potential to be inclusive of all citizens.

The multidimensional ideal of citizenship education is one that attempts to prepare active members of society. However, citizenship education discourses and practices are temporal and fluid and attempt to address issues considered current to maintain national unity and the control of the dominant group. Citizenship education serves to promote an ideal of who is a citizen based in a unidimensional identity (e.g. a specific gender, religion, or race) which is consistent with the dominant identity within the state (Shaheed, 2010; Siim, 2000). As was discussed previously, this notion of citizenship has the potential to deepen social divides. Citizenship education that promotes a unidimensional citizen, therefore, contributes to the production and reproduction of these inequalities (Apple, 2012).

Curriculum of Ideology and Indoctrination

Textbooks used in schools, especially for social sciences, provide a textual context for the ways in which students (and teachers) understand the world, and their place within it. Curriculum and textbooks are also the vehicles through which students may be introduced to peoples from other parts of the world and other parts of their own country. Therefore, the language that is used in textbooks is crucial to how students understand the 'others'. Language which separates and degrades the external others reproduces negative national discourse and

narratives of the 'other'.   There is also an issue of omission of certain groups, usually ethnic or religious minorities, from textbooks which negatively impacts how they too are understood as citizens (Jamal, 2006).

For women and girls, gendered content related to 'women's work', how images show men and women engaging, what they are doing and what they are wearing impacts how girls and boys understand the role of women in their society. And in some case, women and girls are not present in textbooks, which creates an impression that women and girls are not present in the public world, and were not present in, or contributors to history (Saigol, 2005).

Saigol (2005) explains how history and civics through textbooks contributes to the creation of a national identity. She states,

> *History creates national identity by showing the continuity with the collective past of the group, especially giving the impression that the group already existed as a cohesive group prior to its separation from the 'other.' History provides the dimension of time and a feeling of permanence to identity. Civics offers the future to the identity of the citizen. By constructing modern citizenship…civics broadens the scope of identity by promising participation in the wider identity of 'citizen', as opposed to narrower loyalties based on purely ethnic, religious or sectarian belonging. History and civics tend, therefore, to be the most ideologically laden subjects implicated in the formation of national identity (p.1007).*

According to Ben-Porath (2009), in times of armed conflict, or in protracted 'cold wars' like that between the U.S. and the Soviet Union or between Pakistan and India, multidimensional citizenship education is often narrowed and national identity is often perceived to be stronger, which diminishes the intersectional nature of individuals' identities. It is the role of education to promote it to ensure national cohesion in the face of the 'other'. Ben-Porath (2009) discusses the how this narrowing of citizenship is often played out in schools. She states,

> *In wartime students are often presented with a narrow conception of civic virtue, most notably within the less formal aspects of their schooling, through the hidden curriculum or extracurricular activities and- with time- through the curriculum itself as well (p. 38).*

This then can be linked to Sen's notion of the unidimensional identity, when during times of war the national identity becomes stronger, students can be taught (either purposefully or inadvertently) that those who are not members of the dominant group, that represent the 'good citizen,' are not legitimate citizens and do not deserve the same rights or protections under the state as those fitting within the dominant group.

The role of the curriculum as a definer of national identity can either be one which celebrates the differences among the citizens, or one which promotes a narrow identity of the legitimate

citizen. In those cases, where that legitimate citizen ideal becomes seen as 'god given' or 'natural', according to Galtung, is when this structural and cultural violence can become direct violence.

Citizenship Education as School Practice

Beyond what is promoted in curriculum and textbooks, citizenship education becomes an embedded part of the daily discourse and practices of schooling, and is complicit in the socialization of students to fulfil their roles as citizens as part of the 'hidden curriculum'. Critical educationalists including Apple and Giroux and conflict and education researchers (see Smith, 2010; Davies, 2004) argue that what young people learn from the way schools are organized, as well as teaching and learning are often more important to the political socialization of students than the curriculum. This includes shared beliefs, the relationships between individuals and groups in the organization, the physical environment, and the characteristics of individuals and groups participating in the organization (Giroux & Penna, 1979). Apple (2004) notes the importance of citizenship learning that is done outside of what is taught in the curriculum. He contends that incidental learning contributes more to the political socialization of students than do civics classes because children learn how to deal with and relate to the structure of authority and the community to which they belong through the patterns of interaction that they are exposed to a certain extent in school. Citizenship is taught as a type of performance, how one is expected to act within their school, community, state and the world. Therefore, in addition to the discourses that are a part of the policies and curriculum, educators' own understandings and discourses are integral in the process of teaching citizenship to students. Smith (2010) emphasizes the role of teachers as the most important factor in determining the quality of learning as well as imparting values, model behavior and playing an important role in socialization. Teachers strongly contribute to the development and nurturing of their students' skills and values including those related to citizenship. These discourses are then enacted through daily school practice including teaching and learning, teacher student relations, student activities, and school management.

Citizenship education in schools also includes opportunities, both structured and unstructured, for students to engage and participate at the school level. All aspects of school life can potentially contribute from school ethos and values and citizenship education as a curriculum subject, to school and class councils, the use of visitors and extracurricular activities. For example, citizenship education in democratic countries should take place in schools that are managed as democratic institutions in which includes a place for the student voice in all aspects of school planning and governance (Cleaver, et al., 2005; Shulz, et al., 2010). School

governance is also important and can be either democratically managed with community and parent involvement in decision making processes or through authoritarian structures (Andrabi, et al., 2007).

The formal teaching and learning process also has implications for citizenship education. Faour (2012) conducted a study of citizenship education in which he identified several practices that are beneficial for teaching democratic citizenship. He found that to support the development of social and civic knowledge along with skills and values such as active listening, conflict resolution, problem solving, social responsibility, ethical decision making, and active learning approaches are far better than the lecture-based approach. Faour goes on to argue that teaching for democratic citizenship should include time for students work in groups to formulate plans and arguments, and develop their creativity and critical thinking. He also found that teacher student relationships are important and argues when attempting to teach democratic citizenship, students should feel free to challenge the views of their teachers and other students. Teachers should offer their students constructive feedback and individual attention. And importantly, teachers should treat all children with respect regardless of social status, gender, ethnicity, or disability.

However, in many contexts, citizenship education does little more than reproduce existing social divisions and identity-based tensions, through either actively encouraging narrow world views (Winthrop & Graff, 2010), utilizing teaching techniques that discourage critical engagement, and demonstrating authoritarian governance (Dean, 2005). The potential role of citizenship education in either deepening or mitigating identity-based violence is one that requires in depth study to fully understand its impact on how students understand their role within their society and the world as well as the implications for teaching social justice.

In this chapter, I have attempted to develop a framework that makes clear the link between citizenship and the legitimization of violence, specifically against those who do not hold power within the state, including women and minorities. I then discussed the role in education in reproducing exclusionary citizenship narratives.

In the next chapter, I discuss my methodological approach, which is situated within critical realism and aims to illustrate the methods used to apply the theoretical links developed in this chapter.

Chapter 4. Navigating the Case Study: Methodological approach

Research methodology sits at the core of six crucial aspects of conducting research: epistemology, ontology, ethical, practical, and macro and micro political considerations (Dunne, et al., 2005).   In this chapter, I discuss my research design, data collection, and analysis in reference to these considerations.   I begin by positioning my research in the theoretical paradigms.   I then discuss my own positionality and voice, which is present throughout this research.   In the next section, I present the data collection process and methods of analysis. Finally, I reflect on the lessons learned and the limitations of the study.

Methodological implications for Critical Research in Education

The meta-theories used to underpin this research are critical realism, critical education theory, and feminist theories.   Each of these brings specific ways of unpacking the subject being explored. And seek to highlight inequalities that are situated both within the material and the discursive realms.

Critical Realism

The critical realist approach to research of the social world is one that is based in the notion of theory as a tool to understand the causal mechanisms and relationships between the real and the discursive.   Critical realism must be present throughout the research design, data collection, and analysis processes. Scott (2005) states,

> *Critical realism makes the assumption that an ontological theory presupposes an epistemological theory; and further to this that this meta-theory influences the way data are collected and analysed about the social world (the strategic and methodological levels)* (p. 634)*.*

Education is particularly suited for the critical realist approach as it resides both in the structural and discursive realm and often functions as a micropolitical site for the reproduction of power, gender roles, and citizenship.

Critical Education and Feminist Theories

Research in critical education should illuminate the ways in which educational policy and practice are connected to the relations of exploitation and domination and illuminate the struggles against such relations in the larger society. In engaging in such critical analysis, one should point to contradictions and to spaces of possible transformative action. Its aim is to critically examine current realities with a conceptual and political framework that emphasizes

the spaces in which counter-hegemonic actions can or do carry on (Apple, Au et al. 2010). Additionally, critical research should,

> *… bear witness to negativity. That is, one of its primary functions is to illuminate the ways in which educational policy and practice are connected to the relations of exploitation and domination - and to struggles against such relations – in the larger society* (Apple, et al., 2009, p. 4)*.*

To better unpack the importance of gender in citizenship education in the case study school, I also draw on Butler's (1988) notion of performativity. Butler argues that gender is a constructed identity, a *"performative accomplishment which the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and to perform in the mode of belief (p.510)."* Viewing gender through a critical realist lens, as mentioned in the previous chapter, acknowledges the social construction of gender, while differentiating it from certain aspects of sex (e.g. the number of x and y chromosomes with which one is born). The significance of conceptualizing gender as a performance is the potential for that performance to change, thus transforming gender. Butler (1988) argues,

> *…gender is constructed through mundane acts, then the possibilities of gender transformation are to be found in the arbitrary relation between such acts, in the possibility of a different sort of repeating, in the breaking or subversive repetition of that style (p.510).*

Both feminist and critical research into education situate the research within its cultural and historical context; the phenomenon being studied should be understood as a part of the larger social structures and discourse to which it reacts and contributes. Rogers, et al. (2005) explain,

> *Critical theories are generally concerned with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, race, class, gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation construct, reproduce, or transform social systems… Critical theorists…believe that thought is mediated by historically constituted power relations. Facts are never neutral and are always embedded in contexts (p.368).*

By using both Butler's (1988) notion of gender performativity and the lens of critical education, we can begin to unveil the 'hidden curriculum' of citizenship education. It is possible to unpack the gendered and intersectional mechanisms which contribute to the understandings and performances of citizenship in the case study school, and the resulting effects on the agency of the teachers and students. Through the critical realist lens, we can unpack the constraining/enabling power of structures and the reproductive/ transformative power of agency.

Researcher Positionality and Voice

For advocates of critical realism and critical theory, social science results should feed back into the social world (transforming it) and thus requires reflexivity by social scientists. This reflection implies the acknowledgement of researchers' own fallible ways of understanding the world as well as that of research participants' ways of knowing. It is important that the researcher acknowledges their background as it relates to the research undertaken. My understanding of the world is as important to the interpretations and findings of this research as is those of the participants. This does not imply that there are necessarily errors in the research, but that all knowledge is fallible. As Scott (2005) states,

> *Fallibility… implies that social actors are contingently positioned and, therefore, always observe the world from a fixed position (geographical, cultural and, more importantly, epistemological). There is no outsider perspective that allows the individual access to complete knowledge, including knowledge of how the world works* (Scott, 2005, p. 636).

Therefore, researcher reflexivity becomes essential in the process of conducting social research, especially that which is situated across difference. In this section I give an overview of my own background including experiences in Pakistan and in working in education there, which have contributed to my own fallible understanding of the research undertaken for this thesis.

First, as an American, I have grown up being indoctrinated into a specific understanding of citizenship that is rooted in liberal theory and democracy. In school, I was taught that America is the 'land of the free' and that freedom is the most important value of citizenship. I was taught through schooling to engage in our government through voting, protesting, and various opportunities to engage in student government activities. As a woman, who grew up in the 1980s and 90s in a family that valued education and career for all my siblings regardless of our gender, I also had an understanding, perhaps naively, that women are equal to men. That is not to say, that I did not feel the different social pressures of gendered expectations, especially around marriage and family. My tacit understandings of citizenship and gender are embedded in this study. However, though my experiences working and living in several countries, especially Pakistan, and through the reading I have done for this research, I hope that I have been able to open myself to a broader and more contextualized understanding of both these topics in a way that will enrich this study.

I also feel it is important to explain my experience in Pakistan. I came into this research with over seven years of experience working in Pakistan with international NGOs supporting the

government education sector. These years of work taught me much about the issues faced by students and teachers in Pakistan. Additionally, these years taught me valuable lessons about how to interact with education stakeholders in Pakistan; something that can be a tricky balancing act and is often embedded in personal histories. When I first visited Pakistan in 2007, I was concerned that because I am an American, I would be treated poorly as our countries have a tenuous relationship at best. However, I quickly found that I was not seen as an American in most circles, but as a team member and friend. As a foreign woman, I was able to engage with both women and men. As a Western, non-Muslim woman I was not required to follow the same rules as Pakistani women (e.g. I could shake hands with men), but also not able to act totally as a man (e.g. I was not allowed to play cricket in public with my male colleagues). This position offered me unique glimpses into the social lives of both men and women, but also kept me from fully participating in either group. Over the years of working in Pakistan, I shared experiences of triumph, when a community raised enough money to rebuild their own school, or when a mother helped enroll 35 new girl students in a small school, or when teachers found new ways to reach their students. But, I also shared experiences of sadness and trauma, including the murder of my colleagues and a department of education official, and witnessing a bombing in a camp for displaced people. But it was through these times that I came to love this complicated country, and I came to view it as my 'second home.' Therefore, the views that I take into this this research stem from both my own background and my understandings and love of Pakistan that I have gained over the years of working with and talking with Pakistanis of various backgrounds. As an outsider to the country, but one who has significant cultural understanding as well as technical knowledge of the education system, I consider myself as an outsider with humble and limited knowledge of the heterogeneous insider's perspective.

Uncovering Power: Design for critical research

Because of the critical and feminist positioning of this research, it must be embedded in the context in which it sits to uncover the discursive and structural patterns that are present in the school. To do this, I utilized qualitative research methods that locate the researcher in the world and allows for participation in the natural world, which is being studied. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that try to make the world visible and involve an interpretive approach to a naturalistic world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them (Yin, 2009).

Rationale for Case Study for Critical Research

Both critical and feminist researchers aim to understand the complexities of a phenomenon to uncover unequal power present in discourse and structures. The purpose of utilizing a case study is to investigate a *"contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context* (Yin, 2009, p. 18)." This is done to understand a complex phenomenon within its own context, to recognize the embeddedness of the phenomenon within its context; it cannot be understood fully if studied outside of its context. Stake (2000) characterizes qualitative case studies as,

> *Researchers spending extended periods of time on site, personally in contact with activities and operations of the case, reflecting, and revising descriptions and meanings of what is going on' (p.450).*

Yin (2009) notes that case studies are particularly useful in the study of education as they can expose gaps between policy and practice. Also, more traditional research methods such as surveys are unlikely to give an accurate portrayal of teaching and learning in a natural setting because they are prone to the reproduction of rhetoric, where respondents are often unwilling to admit what they believe are failures or inadequacies in their teaching practices. Additionally, single method research does not provide a comprehensive perspective and may not lead to identification of unexpected outcomes. Therefore, the multiple data collection methods associated with case studies help to create a more holistic picture than do single methods.

Yin (2009) also identifies two types of case studies. A holistic study looks at the organization being studied in its entirety, while embedded case studies look at one aspect of the organization. For the purposes of this research, I conducted an embedded case study as I studied the ways in which citizenship is promoted in the school. While case studies cannot be, and do not aspire to be used to generalize to a population, they are of value in refining theory, suggesting complexities for further investigation, and helping to establish the limits of generalizability (Stake, 2000). Utilizing a case study was also the strongest methodology to address my research questions, especially those regarding school practice. Utilizing several methods illuminated the various ways in which citizenship is taught to create a holistic picture of citizenship education undertaken through schooling.

Selecting the Case Study School

Site selection for this case study occurred through design, but within the limits of permission that I could be granted in the political and social climate of Pakistan. First, I designed the study to take place in a secondary school, which in Pakistan includes grades 6-10 (students from ages

11-16). This was done with purposeful consideration regarding two main and somewhat contradicting points. On the one hand, I wanted to capture students and teachers at a level in which many Pakistani's attend. Many children who do attend school drop out by secondary school, but enrollment drops the most at the college level (grade 11-12). On the other hand, it was important to select an age group for which citizenship is taught directly. For teachers of young children, the concept of teaching citizenship may be too abstract or considered too far in the future. Therefore, despite the drop in enrollment, the best option became secondary school. In secondary school, students are learning about being citizens through student activities, responsibilities in the school, and discussions of future plans and careers. However, it should be noted that civics classes are not taught in the case study school until college level (grades 11-12).

Other decisions regarding site selection were much more rooted in logistics and political requirements. The selection of Islamabad as the site as well as a centrally located school, was essential due to security restrictions. I was not able to travel outside of Islamabad due to the security situation in the country at the time of data collection and my host organization's security protocol.

The selection of a model school in central Islamabad was undertaken in consultation with the Secretary of Education. Originally, I had designed the research to take place in a smaller more rural school, which I thought would better represent a typical girls' school in Pakistan. However, after consulting with the Secretary of Education, we decided this model school satisfied my requirements. It was also beneficial that it was an English medium school, so language difference was not an issue. Additionally, choosing a model school which is known for its high-quality teachers, plentiful resources, and relatively diverse student and teacher population provided a richness of data that I may not have been to get in a smaller school. There were several aspects of school life in the model school that promote citizenship and expose students and teachers to a wider variety of people than many smaller, more ethnically and religiously homogeneous school.

The Case Study School: A model college for girls

As a model school, the case study school opened in the 1960s as part of the system of semi-government institutions to provide a more elite education for boys and girls, requiring admissions exams and a small fee. Prior to the influx of private schools throughout the country beginning in the 1990s, model schools were often the choice for the children of the elite classes and the children of diplomats. In the 1980s, model schools became fully

government funded and run and follow the same curriculum as other government schools. There are currently 20 model schools in Islamabad Capital Territory with over 48,000 students (Khan, 2014). These institutions require entrance exams and teachers are required to have at least a master's degree in their subject in addition to teaching qualifications. In other government schools, teachers often only have bachelors' degrees (for secondary school teachers) or have completed a one-year teaching qualification course (for primary teachers) (Khan, 2014). According to the teachers in the case study school, teachers in model schools are also paid at a much higher grade than regular government school teachers. Senior teachers in the case study school were usually at the same grade as higher ranking district and provincial level education officials. Some teachers are also given housing as part of their compensation package. The directorate of Education for Islamabad Capital Territory describes model colleges as follows:

> *Islamabad Model Colleges represent a unique stream of Institutions under FDE [Federal Directorate of Education]. These Institutions offer classes from Prep to College Level. All colleges are purpose built and equipped with best facilities.*

The case study school has over 6,000 female students from *katchi* (reception class) to masters' level taught by an all-female staff of highly educated teachers, two vice principals (one for schools and one for college) and a principal. The school is also served by an (all male) administrative staff who have their own block within the school grounds. The school itself takes up nearly a whole city block and (as is the norm in Pakistan) is surrounded completely by a wall with chowkidars at the gates to monitor who is coming and going from the campus. The campus comprises of several separate blocks for primary, secondary, college and university level classes, has a very large playing ground and a canteen. There are also dormitories for students who are from other parts of Pakistan, which at the time of the study housed students from Balochistan.

The school's population seems to reflect that of Islamabad in general. While specific data regarding the demographics of the students or teachers was not available, it was clear from the interviews with teachers and students that the school comprises of a majority of Sunni Muslim teachers and students, with a minority of Shia Muslims. There seemed to be several teachers who were Shia. Additionally, there were a few Christian students, but no Christian teachers at that time.

In terms of ethnic background, the teachers came from a variety of backgrounds as was evidenced by the languages they spoke at home. I asked 15 teachers to identify their mother tongue and the location of their primary and secondary schools. Of the 15 teachers, eight

spoke Urdu as their mother tongue, 3 spoke Punjabi, and the rest spoke Pashto, Kashmiri, and Hindko. Eight of the teachers indicated that they attended school in Islamabad or Rawalpindi, one teacher who spoke Urdu was from Balochistan, two teachers were from Punjab, and the remaining teachers attended school in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

I was not able to ask students for specific information regarding their ethnicity or religion as this is a sensitive subject, which I felt important to avoid when talking to students in order to ensure the safety of the students and of myself (and the research). I did ask teachers during interviews and informal conversations about the class and ethnicity of the students. However, this data does not exist, so they were only able to provide anecdotal information. While most of the student population was drawn from Islamabad, there was a group of approximately 20 girls from Balochistan who attended the school and lived in the dormitories on campus. These girls were selected to attend the school as part of a program that brought the brightest girl students in Grade 8 to complete secondary school in Islamabad. There were students in this program in grades 8-10. They were distinguishable by their headscarves which were different from other students in their classes. However, during the time of the case study, I was not able to interview any of these students as it seemed that many of them had already returned home for a break before exams.

"About 20 Kilometers Outside of Pakistan": Islamabad as the exception

The case study school is located in the federal capital of Islamabad. This is an important aspect of the cultural and historical location of the school. People from all parts of Pakistan will tell you that Islamabad is 'about 20 kilometers outside of Pakistan.' This is a reference to the sort of bubble that Islamabad resides in, as a new, somewhat sleepy city built starting in 1967 in the fields of northern Punjab, and the seat of the federal government as well as the diplomatic missions. Yet it is only the tenth most populated city in Pakistan (Rahman, 2012). Most parts of the city are a contrast to the ancient cities in Pakistan with its wide and organized streets and people from all corners of Pakistan and the world. Islamabad, as the capital of Pakistan draws people from all parts of Pakistan who are mostly working in government positions. The result is more ethnically and religious heterogeneous population than most other parts of Pakistan. Still, most of the population are Punjabi. As the federal capital and the diplomatic center of Pakistan, Islamabad has in recent years been protected from the frequency of violence faced in other parts of Pakistan. However, Islamabad has had several incidences, mostly targeting foreigners and government representatives.

Case Study Design

The case study was designed to capture a holistic picture of how and what students are taught about citizenship in this school. Merriam, (1992) *points out,*

> *On-site investigation of the case involves observing what is going on, talking informally and formally with people, and examining documents and materials that are part of the context (p.137).*

As a heuristic tool to understand citizenship through school practice, I utilized Cogan & Derricott's (1998) model of Multidimensional Citizenship Education which was discussed in the previous chapter. This was selected because it does not define citizenship through liberal or republican theoretical perspectives and was designed by citizenship education researchers from nine countries, most of which were not Western. Multidimensional Citizenship Education suggests that education should address a series of interconnected dimensions of thought, belief and action. Again, the dimensions are the personal, social, spatial and temporal and are summarized below.

- *Personal: A personal capacity for and commitment to a civic ethic characterized by responsible habits of mind, heart, and action*
- *Social: Capacity to live and work together for civic purposes*
- *Spatial: Capacity to see oneself as a member of several overlapping communities – local, regional, national, and multinational*
- *Temporal: Capacity to locate present challenges in the context of both past and future in order to focus on long-term solutions to the difficult challenges we face (Grossman, 2001 p.81).*

I then applied these areas of citizenship to seven areas of school practice, which I investigated during the study. The seven of areas of school practice I included were:

1. *Social studies textbook content*: This consisted of a critical discourse analysis of the Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes textbook used in grades 9-10 of the case study school.

2. *Teaching Methodology*: This includes how teachers teach and mediate the information presented in the textbooks. Teaching methodology also includes evidence of both student and teacher centered learning. This also includes the perspectives that teachers discuss in the classroom regarding issues related to citizenship.

3. *Visual messages in the school:* Visual messages include any posters, student projects, signs, slogans, and instructional or political messages located within the school grounds.

4. *Teacher/Student Relationships:* Teacher student relationships include interactions between teachers and students both in and out of the classroom. Evidence here will

be related to mutual respect and evidence of physical or emotional abuse towards students, especially around gender, ethnicity, and religion, and other differences.

5. *Teacher Role Modeling:* Teacher role modeling is based on how teachers behave when not directly interacting with students, but can influence students' perspectives. This includes teacher attendance in the school, attendance in the classroom, how they interact with school management and the community.

6. *Student Activities:* Evidence of student activities that are used to encourage civic engagement including student governments or activity planning committees as well as other activities associated with citizenship including morning assembly practices, and community projects.

7. *School Governance:* School governance included how the decisions are made at the school (whether authoritarian or democratically), the role of the school management committees, and how and to what extent students' and parents' voices are heard and acted upon, and school policies regarding inclusion of religious, ethnic minorities and students of different socio-economic groups.

To gain an understanding of the above areas, I utilized several complementary data collection methods. Merriam (1992) argues that a study that is designed with several methods may be done to create a design that is of complementarity, through which the research seeks to gain a fuller understanding of the research problem. In a case study, using these multiple methods, it is important to achieve triangulation and the depth of understanding required to create a holistic understanding of the school and its citizenship education practices. Table 2 outlines the data collection methods employed for each of the areas of school practice.

Table 2: Data collection used for each of the areas of school practice	
Area of School Practice	**Data collection method**
Textbook content	Pakistan Studies for Secondary Schools Textbook
Visual messages	Observation, photos
Teacher role modeling	Observation, teacher interviews, student focus groups
Teacher/student relationships	Observation, teacher interviews, student focus groups
Student activities	Observation, teacher and vice principal interviews, student focus groups, marketing materials (prospectus, calendar, etc.)
Teaching methodology	Classroom Observation, teacher interviews, student focus groups
School governance	Observation, teacher and vice principal interviews, student focus groups, marketing materials (prospectus, calendar, etc.)

Sampling

Participant sampling is important to gain the data that is required for a study; the participants must be those whose roles within the organization are related in some way to the research being conducted. For this reason, I designed my research to focus on secondary school students and teachers. I chose to work with teachers of Pakistan Studies, English, Urdu, and Ethics (the subject taught to non-Muslims who opt out of Islamiyat (Islamic Studies). To choose participants, I used opportunistic sampling which Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2006) define as following no logical plan, but instead allowing circumstances to determine participants. To this end, the teachers who participated in the Participatory Workshop were selected by the Vice Principal Colleges. Teachers who participated in interviews were self-selected. I met with teachers from different social studies departments for informal discussions to explain my research, and asked if they were interested in participating. Students were selected by the Vice Principals, and Administrative staff was selected by my focal point teacher (who will be discussed in detail below). In total, 60 people participated in my research. Table 3 shows the number of participants for each research activity.

Table 3: Number of Research Participants	
Research Method	Number of Participants
Participatory Workshop	12 Social studies teachers
Teacher interviews	8 Social studies and language teachers
Classroom observations	5 Social studies and language classes
Total teachers formally engaged in research	*22 Teachers**
Administration Interviews	2 Vice principals
Administrative staff Interviews	3 Finance and support staff
Student focus groups	33 Secondary school students in 2 groups
Total Participants	60

* Teachers who participated in more than one research activity are counted once

Participatory Workshop

Participatory methods derive from Rapid Rural Appraisal and Participatory Rural Appraisal with the intention to enable local people to express, enhance, share and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions to plan and to act (Chambers, 1994). Participatory methods are often visual, tangible, and usually performed by small groups. These methods allow people to express and analyze complex patterns of categories, comparisons, estimates, valuations, relationships and causality across a range of topics (Chambers, 2008).

One benefit of using visual and discussion based methods that was essential for this research is the potential for analysis that they bring as opposed to more traditional qualitative methods like focus groups or interviews. Participatory methods allowed participants to discuss and reflect on their own understandings of citizenship, and how they enact citizenship lessons through school practice. For this workshop, I focused on the civic values the teachers believed to be important for their students.   The activities included group discussion and a brainstorming and ranking activity   For the activity, teachers worked together as a whole group to brainstorm several civic values they thought the school promoted in students. They then broke into three groups to rank them in order of importance. After the workshop, I averaged the rankings (found in Chapter 6).

Semi-Structured interviews with staff

Dunne, et al. (2005) advise that the use of participant interviews in the research process is done as a means to include the voices of those social actors who are experiencing the phenomenon that is being studied. I used a semi-structured interview format which Merriam (1992) defines as including a structure to ensure that the same information is asked of all participants, but also leaves opportunity to explore issues that arise during the interview through non-scripted questions. Merriam (1992) then goes on to argue that semi-structured interviews are used to allow, "…*individual respondents define the world in unique ways* (p. 74).*"

The interview guide was designed to include open-ended questions so that the participants could share their own perspectives. Questions were designed to engage staff in various aspects of the research including their own backgrounds, understandings of citizenship, issues faced in the school, teaching methods, and the role of women in Pakistan. I also designed the interview questions starting with easier introductory questions about themselves and about the school.   I then moved into more in-depth topics around gender, citizenship, and problems faced in Pakistan.

An important aspect of designing the interview questions was to ensure that the language used was part of the Pakistani vernacular. Although most of the teachers were able speak English fluently, there is a difference between American and Pakistani English. I worked with my research assistant to ensure that questions were phrased in a way in which participants would understand in the same way that the question was intended. I further adjusted my language while conducting the interviews to ensure that questions were understood in the same way they were intended.

The interviews with teachers were done in their offices or in a private space. My research assistant joined me to help translate or explain anything that the participant did not initially understand. In two cases, she conducted the interview because the teacher preferred to speak in Urdu. In these cases, I was able to use my limited understanding of Urdu to follow the conversation, ask follow up questions, and ensure my assistant was asking the questions properly. In these cases, the interview became like a bilingual conversation between the three of us, especially with the teachers, who did understand and speak English but preferred to speak in Urdu. However, interviews with the administration staff were conducted almost completely by my assistant as the three administrative staff had limited English skills.

Interviews were conducted with the purpose of understanding the common school practice/culture, rather than to delve into the in-depth beliefs and feelings of each individual. Therefore, I purposefully did not probe teachers to tell me what they 'really believed', as there was no need for the purpose of this research. This tactic was also purposeful due to the sensitivity of the research and my identity as an American in Pakistan.

In total, I was able to have interviews with eight teachers who taught in the social sciences and language departments including Pakistani studies, Political Science, Urdu and English. Short biographies of the teachers interviewed can be found in Appendix A of this thesis. I interviewed the vice principal for colleges and the vice principal for schools and three male administrative staff including two clerks and the chowkidar (guard/cleaner). The principal declined to be interviewed.

Focus group discussions with students

To gain insight from students, I conducted two focus groups. Focus groups with students were conducted at the end of my time in the school with two groups. The first group consisted of 11 members of the student union, while the second group was selected by the vice principal at random and consisted of 22 students. I chose to use focus groups with students rather than interviews to create a more comfortable environment for students as well as to be able to talk to as many students as possible during my time in the school. Also, focus groups provide a different dynamic and provide different data than do interviews. As Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2006) state,

> *Focus group interviews are fundamentally different from in-depth interviews because the data generated in the group is composed of the researcher and respondents. It is this dynamic process based on interaction between multiple people* (p. 198).

In other words, the group dynamic between them and me and among each other was a crucial form of data for this research. In this research, I was not only looking for answers to questions

with students, but also at their behavior. This proved to be invaluable to my data analysis, as the groups I interviewed were students in the student union who were the leaders of the school, and the other group was a group randomly selected, so represent the general student population.

The focus groups were conducted in English as students speak English very well and very little translation was needed. I explained to them and their teachers present the consent information and they all agreed. I did not record focus group discussions, but my research assistant took notes of the discussion. Discussion lasted about 45 minutes each and students were not required to answer, but I allowed them to respond as much or as little as they felt comfortable.

I first conducted the focus group with the student union group. We gathered in an empty classroom and used the desks to form a circle. I introduced my research and explained the consent form and acquired verbal consent from all 12 students. I also explained that if they had any questions or needed translation, my research assistant could help. I started the conversation by asking them about themselves, what grades they were in and why they joined the student union. I asked different students to give me answers to the questions, but did not call on anyone specifically to ensure that students did not feel at any time that they were required to answer any questions.

The students selected for the other focus group, were selected at random by the vice principal. Although I was not intending for a group of 22 students, I had to carry on as the students' time was limited. We sat outside with the students and the vice principal on steps while my research assistant and I on chairs in front of them. I began the focus group by obtaining consent. The students in this group seemed excited to have the chance to talk to a foreigner and I allowed them to ask me questions as we talked. This created an informal atmosphere that seemed to energize many of the students and encourage their participation. There were some students who spoke more than others, however there were several occasions in which when one student commented and others agree and added to what had been said. Although 22 is well beyond the recommended number of focus group participants, I found that in this case, it was an opportunity to engage more students in a way that did not make them feel singled out or put on the spot.

Classroom and school observations and participation in activities

Merriam (1992) recommends observing the physical setting, the participants, activities and interactions, conversations, subtle factors (who speaks to whom, non-verbal communication,

etc.), and the researcher's own behavior. They also categorize observation by the engagement of the research with the participants. On one end of the spectrum is the "Complete Participant" in which the researcher is a member of the group being studied. On the other end of the spectrum is the "Complete Observer". In this case, the research is completely hidden from the participants (e.g. through a one-way mirror). However, most social research falls within the categories of "Participant as observer" and "Observer as participant". In conducing this research, I was an observer as participant. This is defined as, "*The researcher's observer activities are known to the group; participant in the group is definitely secondary to the role of information gatherer (Merriam, 1992, p.101)."* My research was known by the teachers and staff of the school and by some of the students. I also engaged in formal and informal activities within the school. For example, I participated in the *Meena Bazaar,* an annual fun day event held at the school. I also participated in the social aspects of the teacher's day including socializing with them in their offices during breaks. It was during these informal conversations that I was able to gain the most understanding of the dynamics between teachers in the school.

In classroom observation, the researcher needs to design an observation format which can be highly structured with specific guides using a marking system, or on the other hand it can be a simple set of guidelines. For the purpose of this research, I chose an unstructured approach to classroom observation. Both my research assistant and I focused on the following aspects of the classroom practice:

- Physical condition of the classroom
- Number of students present (compared to the stated number of students enrolled)
- Teaching methodology
- Student Engagement and teacher/student interactions
- Visual messages and learning resources
- Content of lecture as it related to gender and/or citizenship

Classroom observations were done using a rough guideline of things to look for. Both my research assistant and I took notes on the teaching methods, the teacher's interaction with the students, the content of the class, the number of students, the interaction of the students with each other and the teacher and the classroom environment including visual messages on the walls. It was interesting to me that the classroom observation was the least productive method used as each class session was a replication of the others I had seen in terms of

teaching methods. There was little deviation in teaching methods from lecture methods. All teachers read from the textbooks while students listened.

Visual Messages

Visual messages were present throughout the school in the form of posters created by students and teachers, graffiti, political posters, academic resources, as well as the way that school itself was physically organized. Bowles and Gintis' correspondence theory, although situated only in economic reproduction, tells us that the way that a school is organized reproduces certain aspects of power. This includes the positioning of the principal's office for example, as well as the resources that are available to different groups within the school (Giroux, 1983). These visual messages create an important aspect of the incidental learning to which Apple (2012) refers to as often contributing more to citizenship learning than civic classes themselves.

Textbook Content

In secondary school in Pakistan, Pakistan Studies one of the most important courses for the formal teaching of citizenship (although ideology and citizenship are present in lessons in all social studies, languages, and religious studies). In addition to engaging with teachers and students of Pakistan studies, I was able to acquire a copy of the textbook used in the school. Therefore, to ensure a complete picture of citizenship education in this school, I analyzed the contexts of the Pakistan Studies for Secondary Schools textbook. This will be discussed in detail in the Data Analysis section of this chapter.

Role of Researcher and Assistant

I employed a research assistant to help with translation when needed, however she became an invaluable aspect of the data collection process. My research assistant was a friend who herself is a teacher and manages her own private school. She was educated in the private school system and speaks fluent English and Urdu. She has BA and a Master's Degree in Education and had been working in education for 10 years. Because of her understanding of education, she was very helpful in navigating any cultural aspects of the data collection of which I was unaware. Because many of the teachers spoke English, I conducted most of the interviews in English, but she often helped explain the meaning of questions in either language if they were unclear. In the cases where the teacher was more comfortable being interviewed in Urdu, she took the lead and I listened in. With my limited knowledge of Urdu, I was able to at least understand that the interview was on track. She also helped me understand some of the relationships and politics happening in the school, which were often happening in Urdu

and when teachers would talk more freely to her in Urdu than they would to me in English. After each day at the school, she and I would go back to my office and each write field notes and discuss the day. Having such a capable and trusted research assistant greatly helped me to gain the best understanding of the school as possible.

Role of the Focal Point Teacher

Upon beginning my research in the school, the vice principal colleges, who had been the main contact prior to the start of data collection, assigned a senior Pakistan Studies Teacher to serve as my facilitator while conducting my research. Sadia was a senior teacher in the school and an associate professor of Pakistan Studies. She had been working in the school for over 30 years. She proved to be an invaluable resource by helping recruit participants, introducing me to her colleagues, and helping me to understand some of the dynamics within the school. She became my advocate with other teachers and with the administration, ensuring them that I was a kind person who was not attempting to covertly investigate anything or anyone… and that I could be trusted. She opened the doors for me to interview other staff members through her kind words and by introducing me to as many teachers as possible.

Research Journal

Dunne, et al. (2005) recommend that a research journal be kept daily to capture observations and analytical thoughts. To this end, both my research assistant and I took written notes throughout the data collection process. These notes included observations, notes on informal conversations, data on class sizes, and scheduling notes during our visits to the school. Then after each day in the school, my research assistant and I would both write our own field notes about the day. These notes consisted of descriptions of the day, reflections on the research process and challenges, and initial analytic thoughts about the data which had been gathered until that point. An excerpt of my research journal is attached in Appendix C. My research assistant's participation in this process provided a contribution to the richness of the data and my analysis. She often had different conversations with teachers throughout the day or had discussions in Urdu, which I was not present for or did not understand. Also, I felt it imperative to include her perspective as a Pakistani educator, to triangulate my thoughts in a way that, I hope, contributes to the legitimacy of my analysis for Pakistani readers.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data collected was rooted in my seven years of experience working in the government education system of Pakistan alongside Pakistani coworkers, Ministry of Education officials, teachers, and students. During my data collection, and in fact during my

seven years in the country, I often spoke with my friends and colleagues of various backgrounds to better understand how they understood their country, the problems it faced and education. I kept their voices in mind when I am working on analyzing my data because, ultimately, this research is for them, not for me.

I also draw heavily upon Pakistani academics, specifically women, in the analysis to ensure that this research complements and expands upon their work rather than to rely heavily on the work of other Western academics. Although I am critical of the education system in Pakistan, I feel that the nature of this research- one which seeks to understand why violence is occurring requires that critical lens. This criticism is not a critique of the people of Pakistan or those working within the education system, but instead a critique of a structural problem rooted in a complex history and geopolitical forces that have positioned Pakistanis at the difficult crossroads they are facing in the present.

As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, the purpose of critical research is to illuminate the power imbalances and hegemonic practices that education has the power to reproduce. To do this, I used critical discourse analysis to unpack the data through a critical and intersectional lens. Discourse, for the purpose of this study is defined in its broadest terms, in both written texts and spoken language as well as the actions of those involved in school practice. As Smith (1990) notes, *Discourse and ideology can be investigated as actual social relations ongoingly organized in and by the activities of actual people (p.160).*

Critical discourse analysis is used in critical theory and in feminist research which aim to identify inequalities. Therefore, researchers using critical discourse analysis begin with an interest in understanding, uncovering, and transforming conditions of inequality. The objective then is to analyze the way language is involved in social relations of power and domination, and ideology (Fairclough, 2001). It differs from other forms of discourse analysis in that it directly addresses a social problem and focuses on the dominance of elite groups and institutions as they are being enacted, legitimated or reproduced through text and talk . Rogers, et al. (2005) point out that,

> *Scholars who situate themselves within the CDA tradition often separate their work from other forms of "non-critical" discourses analyses by arguing that their analyses move beyond description and interpretation of the role of language in the social world, toward explaining why and how language does the work that it does (p.369).*

Critical discourse analysis analyzes language as constituting society and culture while being situated and historical so that the relationship between discourse and social practices is revealed (Van Dijk, 2008).

While other forms of discourse analysis attempt to imply impartiality on the part of the researcher, Rogers et al, argue that, "*The starting point for the analysis differs depending on where the critical analyst locates and defines power* (Rogers, et al., 2005, p. 369).*"* This recognition of the researcher's positionality in critical discourse analysis is in line with the critical realist notion of researcher reflexivity by encouraging the researcher to acknowledge their own positioning in the data analysis.

The *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* (Khan, 2010) textbook was analyzed by reading the text both for the patterns of language used and the content included and excluded. I focused especially on history and constitutional lessons, but did analyze the entire textbook. By analyzing the patterns of language, I could identity uses of specific words associated with ideology and citizenship and even the frequency with which they are used as indicators of their relative importance compared to other concepts. The content analysis of the textbook serves to illuminate the ways in which groups of people are portrayed. I examined how historical lessons were portrayed, and which information was included and omitted. I also looked at constitutional lessons for which aspects of the Constitution were included and which were excluded.

Interviews with teachers and focus groups with students were also analyzed using critical discourse analysis. I also analyzed events and visual messages throughout the school. These too can be analyzed for content when deconstructed through a critical lens as part of the broader understanding of language (Jessop, 2004). Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2006) note, *Researchers can analyze the signs or representations produced within a society in order to deconstruct the process of meaning construction that created them* (p. 294).

Analysis of interviews and other interactions at the school was an iterative and ongoing process which Yin (2009) suggests for qualitative studies. Analysis began as soon as I began my research and became a part of my research notes. By the time I finished data collection, I had established some broad themes. I personally transcribed all interviews which were conducted in English while my research assistant translated and transcribed those that were conducted in Urdu. All other data was captured through pictures and through the research journals that my research assistant and I wrote.

After returning from field work and transcribing all of my interviews, I printed all data and put it in one binder. This allowed me to see the data pieces of a bigger picture, and I was able to begin the process of analysis in earnest. Again, I looked for both word choice patterns along with what was said, while focusing on the importance of silences. Each teacher interview was

read for content and themes and then I was able to pull out the most prominent themes from all the teacher interviews. I then used my notes from school practice including classroom observations, student focus groups, student activities, and my daily informal interactions in the school, to triangulate the themes that had emerged from the interviews with teachers.

Because the 'unit of study' for this research was the school itself, thematic analysis was used to illuminate those attitudes, opinions, and actions which were common among the participants. My overall analyses then focused on the themes that emerged that were consistent across all data collection methods including the textbook, interviews, the focus groups, and observations of school practice. It is my hope that this created a more holistic picture of citizenship education in the case study school.

Reflections on the Data Collection Process: Successes and challenges

In this section, I discuss the main lessons learned while conducting this research. I discuss the ethical and security considerations required when conducting sensitive research and the impact this had on my data collection. In the next section, I reflect on the power dynamics I encountered and the importance in conducting case study research. I then turn to my data collection choices and the lessons learned while collection data in the school.

Navigating Sensitive Topics: Ethical and security considerations

As Kovats-Bernat (2002) suggests the data collection process must remain malleable and the researcher needs to be constantly aware of the situation to make changes to the data collection when needed. Although, I believe that my data collection did ultimately serve the required purpose for this research, it was not without its challenges. In this section I highlight those challenges which had the potential to significantly impact my data collection. These issues are not unique to my data collection and therefore may be important for those who are embarking on case study research in a similar context.

In contexts like Pakistan which are either conflict affected or insecure, where certain research is not acceptable to the government or other powerful institutions (e.g. religious or political), it is important for researchers to consider the impact this has on methodology and data collection. Most important is the protection of participants as well as the researcher. The Social Research Association (2003) states that *"Social researchers must strive to protect subjects from undue harm arising as a consequence of their participation in research (p.14)."* In conflict-affected or politically fragile contexts, this issue of protection becomes magnified as the stakes can be elevated to life and death situations; questions of ethics become closely linked to the security of the participants as well as that of the researcher. Therefore, ethical

considerations must be present in all aspects of the research design. To this end, Kovats-Bernat (2002) recommends a shift in how methodology is defined, so that it can be flexible and malleable to accommodate a constantly changing field site and be responsive to the possibly changing security situations. He notes the need for "planning in strategies of study should involve a careful determination of how best to approach a research field fraught with peril and tactics for reducing the likelihood that the anthropologist (or informants) will be shot or arrested while doing so (210)." Helbardt, et al. (2010) recommend,

> *The researcher should be cognizant of the exact dangers or risks for local informants.... This should be balanced then with questions of the feasibility of the study, the usefulness of the research, and whether is it mandatory or even permissible.*

Challenges regarding security and the resulting need for flexibility immerged immediately upon my arrival in Pakistan in December 2012. My intention was to begin data collection sometime early in the following year. However, by the time I had settled in and could begin the process of attempting to gain access to a school, it was already too close to exams in March, which meant that teachers and students were not in schools and focusing only on preparing for the exams, rather than having regular classes. To further delay the start to my research, national elections were held in May 2013, which caused security and logistical restrictions of several months. By the time elections were finished, the summer term began. Therefore, it was not until September 2013 that I could start the process of gaining access to a school and then was able to meet with the Secretary of Education in late November, and started data collection at the school in December 2013. I feel that it was a privilege as a researcher to be in a situation in which I could wait for a year to begin my research, as many researchers may have had to deem the research unfeasible based on the time delays. For this reason, delays due to micro and macro political pressures and changing security situations should be expected and accepted when possible when designing research in fragile or insecure contexts.

Once I could access the school, issues of protection greatly influenced the methodology of this research and was a constant part of my daily reflection once data collection began. This was especially pertinent as an American woman doing research in Pakistan. Because of the heated political relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan, conducting research in a school needed to be done with precautions taken at each step to ensure that my research was accepted by all participants as legitimate and I was not trying to covertly collect any data. To do this, I went through the proper government channels to get permission to research in the school by contacting the Secretary of Education, with whom I had a working relationship previously. He

approved my research and selected the school with me. The secretary arranged a meeting with the principal and the vice principal for a few days later and accompanied me to that meeting. By gaining access through the secretary of education, I was able to enter the school as a guest of the department of education, which helped to affirm my legitimacy as a researcher with no ulterior motives.

Another aspect that was important to navigate with caution was the framing of my research topic as it is slightly sensitive especially considering my nationality. Although I have never found that Pakistani people fear discussing political topics, I felt that I needed to ensure that my data collection methods (e.g. interview questions) did not make them feel uncomfortable. So, I needed to consider how to navigate sensitive topics in this precarious situation. The literature gives various opinions on how honest researchers should be with participants while conducting research in insecure contexts.   Sluka (1990) argues that it is important to be honest with people as being dishonest is more dangerous because you could get caught in a lie. On the other hand, Kovats-Bernat (2002) argues that although the American Anthropology Association recommends that researchers be forthcoming and honest about their intentions to avoid suspicion of subversion, he has found several reasons to not be forthcoming about his research or his identity to protect himself and his participants. After careful consideration, I decided to follow Sluka's (1990) recommendation to be honest with participants based on my experiences working in Pakistan. Therefore, I was as clear as possible with the intentions of my research to all participants both verbally and through written information sheets. I did, however, make certain linguistic choices to avoid using words that could be seen as provocative. For example, I did not ask about 'conflict' or 'terrorism', but used words like 'problems' as in this interview question for teachers, *"What problems is Pakistan facing today?"* I then used the semi-structured interview format to ask follow up questions about the issues raised by teachers, which often included terrorism and conflict.   Although the issue of sensitivity was sorted out early in the data collection process, I continued to be vigilant of how I was being received and made changes accordingly. Throughout the data collection process, I was aware changing situation and maintained methodological flexibility to adapt to those changes to ensure that ethical protections continue to be a prominent aspect of the research.

One area that did prove to be a struggle was gaining written consent. I had anticipated this when doing my ethical approval, so had suggested that I would attempt to gain written consent, but if that did not seem culturally acceptable, I would use verbal consent. The Social Research Association (2003) states, *"…subject's participation should be voluntary and as fully informed as possible… (p.15)."* It is imperative that research participants understand the

purpose of the study, how the results will be used and that participation is voluntary and they have the right to resign from participation at any time (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). While written consent is often preferred in the British academic context, I found this to be problematic with teachers who were not comfortable signing their names to forms. This negatively impacted my first meeting with teachers at the participatory workshop, and many of them decided not to sign the consent form, though they were willing to participate in the workshop. Therefore, in the interviews that followed, I gave each teacher a copy of the information sheet and the consent form. I explained the research, and the terms of consent including anonymity, data security, and their right to refuse to answer any questions, or withdraw from the interview at any time. I also gave them a choice of allowing the interview to be recorded or not. Two of the 13 interviewees asked that it not be recorded, and this was honored. They were much more comfortable with this verbal consent.

Finally, anonymity is quite important, and often difficult in the seemingly small world of Islamabad. To maintain the anonymity of the school, the teachers and students, I use the term "the case study school", and have given pseudonyms to teachers with whom I had individual interviews. I refer to the vice principals interviewed as the vice principal schools and the vice principal college. Appendix A of this thesis provides short biographies of each of the teachers interviewed. The administrative staff interviewed are referred to as administrative staff members, and the students who participated in focus groups are all referred to as 'student'. The purpose of giving teachers pseudonyms, but not any of the other participants is related to the nature of the data collected and the purpose of that data. The interviews with the teachers and the vice principals are more narrative than the other interviews or the focus groups; the intention was to unpack their individual understanding of women's citizenship to show the ways in which their understandings impact school practice. The purpose of the other interviews and focus groups, on the other hand, was to triangulate the data collected from the teachers and through observation.

Although navigating sensitive research in insecure circumstances can prove to be challenging at the least, and dangerous to the researcher or participants at worst, I believe that I was successful in my approach to this somewhat sensitive topic. This was evidenced by the fact that after a few visits to the school and after a couple of teachers had participated in interviews, teachers seemed to relax with me, some asked to be interviewed, and one teacher referred to me as a 'simple girl', which I was assured meant that I was not hiding anything and that I was honest.

Power and the Case Study

In much of the literature about data collection, especially for qualitative research, there is a strong focus on the power dynamic between researcher and participants (Dunne, et al., 2005). This is, of course, the case as the researcher carries the power to use the information that participants are willing to disclose. The power here lies with the researcher's interpretation of that information and the level of anonymity they choose to employ, especially as it relates to the power structures within the organization (in this case, the school).

However, my experience in conducting this case study taught me that power can flow fluidly from researcher to participants, and back again. This is especially true for those participants who are in positions of power within the institution. Basically, the researcher is allowed to conduct research in the institution by those in power, and if they so choose, they can use that power to conclude the data collection.

During my own data collection, I faced an issue which nearly ended my time in the school after only a few weeks, and having completed very little of my planned activities. I am not certain if there was a misunderstanding with the vice principal and principal about the length of my intended time at the school (although I stated it verbally, in writing, and via email), but from about two weeks in, the vice principal colleges would greet me by asking if I was finishing up soon. Then one day, about three weeks into my time there, she called me into her office to tell me I needed to finish by the end of the week. She told me the other vice principal had complained that I was taking too much of the teachers' time. This is despite the fact that I was sure to only speak to teachers during their breaks, and at times they requested. I did not take any teachers from their classes.

This announcement was not only a disappointment, but had the potential to end or drastically change my PhD thesis. It was at this moment that I felt powerless. But, after discussions with my supervisor, my research assistant and other Pakistani colleagues about how best to approach the situation, I decided to appeal to the vice principal.

The following day, my research assistant and I went back to the school and immediately met with the focal point teacher, who had become a great supporter of my research. She was very upset that I was told to leave and assured me that none of the teachers felt I was disturbing them and in fact they were enjoying having me there. We then went to talk to the vice principal and she agreed to let me stay for a few more weeks… but every time I saw her she would tell me *"Kom jeldi"* (work quickly)!

It was never made clear why I was asked to leave. My focal point teacher had spoken to several teachers and the vice principal schools privately, and none indicated that my presence was problematic. However, the focal point teacher, my assistant, and I did discuss some possible reasons- all of which are related to the power dynamics within the school. The first idea is that the day I was asked to leave, I had just interviewed a young outspoken teacher who the vice principal clearly did not like. The vice principal had seen me talking to her throughout my time there and had asked around to find out why I chose to talk to her. So, my interviewing a teacher that she did not like (probably because she was outspoken and may have said something negative about the school) may have prompted her to ask me to leave, possibly because she was concerned that the teacher might say something unflattering about her or the school (which was not the case). The other thought is that over the time in the school, I had mentioned to the vice principal and others that it was great that the Secretary of Education had chosen their school for me to conduct my research because he thought it was such an excellent school. Apparently, this was not received as a compliment as it had been intended, but as somewhat offensive because, as I was told, *"he is no one"* to them. A few of the teachers talked to me about what they meant by this statement. They told me that they are on the same pay grade as him and that many of their husbands (including the vice principal's) are much more powerful than him. And, therefore it was not him who had the power to choose for me to be there, but that they were the ones who chose to allow me to be there. Even the suggestion of this as the reason behind this incident, whether it is the case or not, was a lesson for me in the difference between the culture of a model school in Islamabad and the rural government schools with which I had previous experience. When working with rural schools, this kind of flattery- talking about the attention of a senior official, would have been a very important aspect to my interactions with the school. The power relationship between the teachers and the secretary of education was not straightforward based in their positions, or their gender, but instead was a more complex dynamic situated in the class structure. This experienced highlights the importance of an intersectional lens used in this study to more fully understand the power relations in this school as a micropolitical site for cultural reproduction.

The power dynamics that I encountered while conducting this case study were not as straight forward as the assumed unidirectional power of the researcher over participants, but multifaceted and entrenched in the political power dynamics that were being played out in the school. It also highlights the importance of the intersectional lens of this study; power was not simply situated in the hierarchy of the education system bureaucracy or even in gender. Issues

of class and family backgrounds were integral to the power dynamics I encountered. Therefore, my recommendation for conducting a case study of a single organization, in which data collection exclusively relies on the cooperation of that institution, is that power dynamics are explored and understood as multifaceted and fluid and through an intersectional lens. The researcher should carefully assess and respond to the power dynamics through careful understanding of the institutional culture.

The Participatory Workshop: A lesson learned

I began my data collection with the participatory workshop for teachers. The purpose of the workshop was to find out from teachers what civic values they thought the school promoted in students. Additionally, I thought that the workshop would be an opportunity for me to introduce myself to teachers and recruit volunteers for interviews. The workshop was scheduled for two hours. Teachers were selected by the vice principal to attend and were unclear as to why they were there and had not been informed that the workshop was planned for two hours. The teachers that participated were mostly senior teachers from a mix of the secondary school and college level (although I had specified secondary level).

In addition to the data I hoped to gain about civic values, I had also hoped that this workshop would be a good opportunity to introduce myself and my research and to serve as an icebreaker, as this excerpt from my research proposal highlights:

> *An additional benefit for this workshop will be that it will give me an opportunity to address the power relationship between myself as the researcher and participants through creating an open, friendly atmosphere through introducing myself and my research in a way that engages teachers as part of the research process, rather than simply as objects of research. I can begin to develop a rapport with the teachers before conducting observations and personal interviews which can be intimidating.*

I had hoped that this workshop would earn some level of trust to start the ball rolling for their participation in other aspects of my data collection. However, this was not the case. I believe that this did not work due to a combination of several factors. First, the selection process was done by the vice principal who simply instructed teachers to attend without any explanation, and therefore may not have been prepared for an in-depth discussion. Next, the teachers who were selected to attend were mostly senior teachers, and I found most teachers who were interested in participating were younger teachers. Another problem that I suggest contributed to the lack of success with this aspect of the research was the participatory workshop format was not familiar to them. The activities proved to be somewhat confusing to them. I believe that this was confounded by the unusual content of my research. Many of them were not familiar with ideas of citizenship and had not considered how they teach this through

schooling. Many of the teachers assumed that I was there to study teaching methods or simply to see a Pakistani school. Finally, the formality of the consent forms and the request to sign them was disturbing to the teachers. This was evident by the following excerpt from my research journal.

> *I began the session by introducing myself and my research and handed out the information sheets which we discussed. I then handed out the consent forms and went through the information on there and asked them to sign them. This was problematic for many of the teachers. Many of them did not want to sign the form. Some did not want to participate in an interview which was listed on the consent form. I told them they could cross it off and sign the form to show they agreed to participate in the workshop. Others were hesitant to sign because they were unsure of the purpose of the document, despite both my research assistant and I explaining the purpose and the confidentiality of the form… During the activity, my research assistant asked teachers to schedule a slot for interviews. However, only 3 of the 12 ended up giving interviews (15 January, 2014).*

I suggest that the combination of these circumstances contributed to the failure of this workshop to serve as an icebreaker activity and that when designing research. It illustrated the need to consider the participants' experience and understanding of research. While using participatory methods does have the potential to empower participants, it can also prove to be confusing, and therefore off-putting. I would suggest starting with a method that participants are familiar with, especially when attempting to collect data on unfamiliar topics.

Despite the difficulties around gaining trust from participants, the workshop did prove to be fruitful for data collection. After explaining the purpose of the research, I conducted two activities to encourage thought and discussion about the civic values they would like their students to learn while at the school which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Gaining Trust and Conducting Interviews

After this experience with the workshop, it became clear that I needed another tactic to recruit interview participants. My research assistant and I met with my 'focal point teacher' and chatted with her and some of the other Pakistan studies teachers. In the school, each department has an office, so the teachers spend their free time in their offices working and chatting. At first my focal point teacher spoke mostly to my research assistant rather than to me. However, on the third day I was in the school, she asked me why I was not married. I told her, *'because no one has found me a Pakistani husband.'* This tongue in cheek statement changed my entire dynamic with her and I later realized with the other teachers as well. This statement served two purposes: up until this point, I was seen as a foreigner, an American foreigner, which is sometimes considered suspicious. But this statement changed that

perception of me as this 'other' to a fellow woman. It took the emphasis away from the differences in our identities and gave us a common bond as women.

In the next few days I could start scheduling interviews with teachers from the Pakistan studies department after having the opportunity to chat with them informally in their office. Therefore, I asked my focal point teacher to take me to the offices of other departments and introduce me to teachers there. I spent several days over my time in the school sitting with teachers of different departments having informal discussions over tea. And this gave me the opportunity to ask for interviews, to which several of the teachers agreed.

After my experience with the consent forms at the workshop, I decided to use verbal consent for the interviews, which proved much more comfortable for participants. Teachers had the option to be recorded or not and all but one agreed to recording. I had planned that the interviews be semi-structured and had prepared a list of questions as a guide. However, many of the teachers wanted to read the questions and to have a copy as we discussed them. It seemed that this helped them feel more comfortable with the interview process. However, it did in some ways limit my ability to stray from the questions listed to mostly follow up and clarification questions. I found the interviews to be a much more comfortable and thus successful method to working with teachers. This was familiar to them, which made the somewhat abstract topics of citizenship and violence easier for teachers to discuss.

Limitations of the Study

Pakistan is a vast and diverse country, and the experiences of girls and teachers in schools are heavily impacted by their local circumstances. This school's location in the capital and as a model school situates it in a position of privilege. It is well resourced in terms of physical infrastructure and highly qualified teaching staff. Islamabad Capital Territory is much smaller and better funded than most of the provinces and territories of Pakistan. This means that teachers have more access to professional development provided by the government and international organizations. Therefore, this school is a somewhat uncommon example of a girls' school in Pakistan, which could make it a unique case that could not be replicated in another girls' school. However, I would argue that the benefit of this case study is that it does illustrate the ways in which girls are being indoctrinated into traditional roles in society despite the relative privilege. This study also does not compare citizenship education to a boys' school, which would shed further light on the gendered performances of citizenship.

Also, my time at the case study school was limited by the timing of the school year, my work schedule, and political and security issues (discussed above). It is then limited by this rather

brief (3 month) timeframe, and a longer stay within the school would have provided an even more in-depth analysis of citizenship education.

In this chapter, I have rationalized my research design and explained how I conducted data collection and analyzed my data within the paradigm of critical realism. I also reflected on the data collection experience situated within ethical, practical, and macro and micro political circumstances. In the next chapter, I begin the analysis of citizenship education by unpacking the messages of citizenship found in the Pakistan Studies Textbook used in the case study school.

Chapter 5. The Pakistan Studies Textbook: The making of the (il)legitimate citizen

As Apple (2004) discusses, in critical education analysis, we must look at three components of education to understand the relationship between schools and society. These include the official discourse of curriculum and textbooks, teachers' understandings that influence their interactions with students, and the incidental learning done through day-to-day school practice. Together these three components can give us a more holistic view of how and what students are taught through schooling about their expected roles as citizens. In this chapter, I present an in-depth analysis of the Pakistan Studies textbook used in the case study school, *Pakistan Studies for Secondary Classes* printed in 2010, and first published in 2004.   I argue that the official discourse found in textbooks promotes an exclusionary and gendered citizenship. This is done mainly through the history and constitutional lessons of the textbook that promote an ideal of a Pakistani citizen to oppose the Hindu 'other'. However, in this attempt to create a national identity, the textbook promotes the exclusion of minorities and women from full citizenship positioning them as illegitimate citizens.
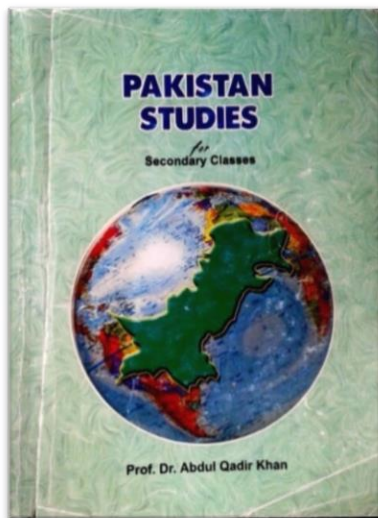
Image 2: Cover of the Pakistan Studies Textbook used in the Case Study School

As was discussed in Chapter 2, Pakistan Studies as a subject was created under Ayub Khan and further developed into its current format by the Zia-ul-Haq administration as part of his nation building project focused on Islam as a means of national cohesion. This curriculum developed under Zia-ul-Haq has been long criticized for the inclusion of skewed narratives of history, promoting narrow world views, and excluding non-Muslims and women (see Kumar 2001, Nayyar & Salim 2005, Naseem 2010, Rahman 2004, etc.). However, there have been very few changes to the curriculum in most provinces in three decades since the end of the Zia administration. Because Islamabad Capital Territory did not proceed with the curriculum changes developed under the 2006 reform, the content of Pakistan Studies in the case study school closely resembles the textbooks created under Zia-ul-Haq. The author acknowledges that there is very little difference in the content of the text from earlier versions. He notes in the preface of the textbook that while it was written as part of (Musharraf's) Project on Curriculum Reform (Vision 2010), this textbook has changed only in style and presentation, and the content remains largely the same as earlier versions. The

contents Pakistan Studies include lessons on the ideology of Pakistan, a brief history of the making of Pakistan, the resources in the provinces, population and culture, and education. Saigol (2005) explains the importance of Pakistan Studies. She states, *Pakistan Studies tells the official story of Pakistan, how it was created, who opposed it, who fought for it, why it was important to create it, and where it is headed (p.1009).* This remainder of this chapter addresses some of the criticisms of the textbook in relation to both its format and content.

Formatted for Indoctrination: Critique of the textbook format

The author of the textbooks states that Vision 2010 was aimed at ... *providing learners with the skills of continuing education and civilized behavior and making them useful and peaceful citizens.* He then adds that purpose of this book is to give students the *ideological orientation they require and conceptual clarifications they need as young citizens of Pakistan. (Preface).* To do this, the first three chapters and the last chapter take the student through a brief history of the development of the Islamic State of Pakistan starting with the first Muslims arriving in South Asia, to the events leading to Independence from India and British rule with a focus on the Pakistan Movement, and to the secession of East Pakistan. It then presents features of the various iterations of the constitution with special attention paid to the Islamic provisions within the constitution. It ends with an idealized vision of an Islamic Welfare State. The other chapters consist of overviews of the geography, resources and peoples of Pakistan.

Table 4: Chapters of the Pakistan Studies Textbook
1. Ideology of Pakistan
2. Making of Pakistan
3. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan
4. Land and Climate of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan
5. Resources
6. Industrial Development in The Islamic Republic of Pakistan
7. Population of Pakistan
8. Culture of Pakistan
9. Education in Pakistan
10. Pakistan: A Welfare State Outlook for the future

The Pakistan Studies book is brief (200 pages), and often uses a bullet pointed format. This type of format has been criticized as counterproductive to encouraging students to critically engage with the content of the text. The highly compressed stories in the text discourage students from asking for details or to consider complexities beyond the simple stories told in the book. Kumar (2001) argues that the purpose of this format is to indoctrinate, rather than explain. Saigol (2005) argues that this is done to create a specific homogenous identity. She states,

Information in little bits and pieces, without any underlying principle tying the pieces together, works in the construction of identity by enabling a mass, collective amnesia of the unspoken and of the unwritten relations or contradictions between bits of knowledge (p. 1019).

To compound the issues of the content and format, the textbook was the only learning resource available in the classroom in the case study school; there were no teachers' guides or additional student material to enhance student's understandings of the topics covered in the text. This and the short class periods (35 minutes) left teachers

Image 3: Example of text in the Pakistan Studies textbook

no time to expand upon the content of the text or to engage students in discussion (discussed in detail in subsequent chapters).
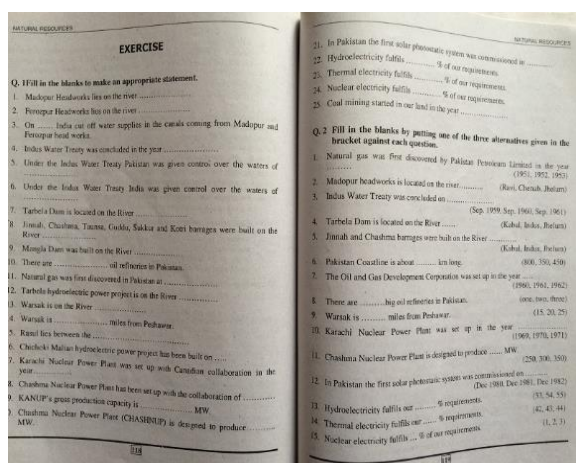
Image 4: Example of Exercises in the Pakistan Studies textbook

Each chapter ends with student exercises that consist of fill in the blank statements and true or false questions that are mostly filling in names and dates. There are also a few 'opinion' questions for which answers are directly found in the chapter. These exercises are typically done in class by the teacher reading the question and the students calling out the answers in the case study school. Chapter exercises then reflect the information that students must retain for the exams which keeps the focus on facts covered in the questions rather than the details of the contents of the chapter (Kumar, 2001). As in every subject in Pakistan, the centralized nature of the exam system ensures that the content of the textbooks reflect the official perspective of Pakistan and limits the teacher's role as 'interpreter'.

The importance of the Pakistan Studies textbook in the promotion of ideals of citizenship cannot be underestimated as it is steeped in history and a national identity, which despite criticisms has proven nearly impossible to alter. The issues with truncated content developed

for a specific political end influence notions of Pakistani citizenship. Saigol (2005) states that the official story of Pakistan presented in Pakistan studies...

> *...tell(s) us who we are, who we are not, how we should think, act and behave, what we should feel and aspire to and what we must, for the sake of our very survival, forget (p.1009).*

This analysis, therefore, identifies and problematizes the ways in which the notions of the citizen are portrayed throughout the textbook; who is included, who is excluded; who is a legitimate citizen.

Religion and Power: Creating the legitimate citizen

As discussed in the previous chapters, in Pakistan, there is a struggle between religion and democracy, which some see as opposites, and confusion about how the government can be both. These contradictions are played out in the pages of the textbook, with numerous references to Islam, quotes of the nation's founder Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who sought a secular government, and the few mentions of democracy and its meaning in Pakistan. All of these pieces put together show that Pakistan continues to struggle for its identity. However, one thing stands out throughout the textbook and that is that citizenship in Pakistan is rooted in religion.

The Convergence of Islam and National Identity in the Pakistan Studies Text

It is on page one, in the chapter titled "*Ideological Basis of Pakistan*" that the textbook begins the development of the narrative that explains the creation and need for the Islamic State of Pakistan. To this end, the textbook heavily focuses on the Ideology of Pakistan as the main source of national cohesion. The ideology, which is based in Islam is intended to create a nationalism that would unite the majority of (Muslim) Pakistanis which come from various ethnic, linguistic, class, and cultural backgrounds (Rahman, 2004). The textbook defines ideology as a,

...set of ideas, especially one which a political, cultural, social or economic system is based. Ideology represents the collective consciousness of a group of people in a particular phase of history (p.1).

However, the presentation of the ideology in the textbook promotes a concept that goes beyond shared ideals to creating a rationale for the existence of Pakistan as a divine right of the Muslims of South Asia based in the Two Nation Theory, which the textbook defines as "*the belief of Muslims that the world is divided into two distinct nations dividing Muslims from the rest of mankind (p.3)."*

According to the section, "*Pakistan Ideology in the Islamic Perspective*", there are six main points included in the ideology. These are,

1. *The Two Nation Theory: Muslims believe that the people of the world are divided into two groups. The followers of Islam are a separate and distinct nation from the rest of mankind.*
2. *Sovereignty of Allah: Allah's authority encompasses a Muslim's entire life and it permeates in all its spheres.*
3. *Justice: It is the duty of the Islamic state to administer justice in all spheres of human life, may it be moral, social, political or economic.*
4. *Equality and Fraternity: No human being is superior to another on the basis of colour and race, the only thing which distinguishes a person from other is God-fearing and purity of soul.*
5. *Equal rights for Non-Muslim Citizens: Non-Muslim citizens of an Islamic state have equal social status with the Muslim citizens.*
6. *Democracy: Allah has enjoined upon the head of a Muslim state to consult with the common body of citizens (p. 3-4).*

The presentation of ideology in these six points reiterate the Islamic basis of Pakistan, and the importance of the Islamic identity for its citizens. Point 5, for example, while calling for equality of citizens, does so by framing citizens as Muslim and non-Muslims. This demonstrates the importance of religious identity in the definition of citizenship in Pakistan.

The textbook uses the ideology to promote the bond between Islam and Pakistan as the reason for the formation of the country. It states that communities and nations are established with a purpose and objective. And therefore, "*The State of Pakistan was… established with an objective to devise a system based upon total subservience to Allah's commands (p.4)."* This is in contrast to the literature about partition. According to Islam (1981), the leaders of the time did not have a clear idea of what the ideology should be or how it should be translated into practice in terms of the economic, political and social structures of the new nation. Likewise, Weiss, 2014 concludes,

> *…with various forces pulling in different directions, an overriding concern for the long-term security of the new political entity, little attention was initially paid to the state having a distinct ideology or to the kinds of social policies it would pursue. There was far greater concern for its very existence (p.15).*

It was not until General Zia's rule in the 1970s and 1980s that the ideology and consequently education became based so heavily in the national ideal of Islam (Islam, 1981). The result of this is the strong association of Muslim identity as synonymous with Pakistani citizenship throughout the textbook. This is evidenced by the use of words relating to Islam (Islam, Muslim/s, Allah, and Prophet). These words are written 54 times before the word Pakistan appears in the text in this quote, "*The State of Pakistan was… established with an objective to devise a system based upon total subservience to Allah's commands (p.4)."* This asserts the

importance of the Muslim identity over the Pakistani identity while making the two inseparable.

Additionally, the language used in the text can be understood in terms of Galtung's theory of cultural violence by asserting that being a good Muslim and human nature are nearly the same and their behavior is divinely ordained as is illustrated in the following quotes:

> *A Muslim individual and a Muslim community are bound to follow the path of Allah. This is a simple path to traverse, because it is very close to human nature (p.1).*

> *The norms which guide the behavior of a Muslim in his or her private life, in relation to the universal Muslim community, and the principles that determines how a Muslim should interact with other human beings is divinely ordained (p.2).*

By making these assertions, the textbook contributes to the narrative of Islam as the most important identity in Pakistan. In doing so, produces a form of cultural violence by making this one aspect of a citizen's identity seem natural and in fact ordained by God, creating a valid separation from other human beings. This, then, contributes to the construction of legitimate citizens of Pakistan as followers of Islam.

With the Consent of the Common Man: Defining democracy and civic rights

While Pakistan is an Islamic Republic, the government of Pakistan is set up to be a democracy, and the government structure set forth in the constitution reflects this. However, there have been frequent shifts from democratic governments to dictatorships which makes the issues of democracy and civic rights difficult to manage in a way that legitimatizes both forms of government.   For example, the Pakistan Studies course was first developed under the dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq and revised (to some extent) under the Musharraf dictatorship. Maintaining a democratic constitution under a dictator complicates definitions of democracy and citizens' rights to imply that the dictatorship does not contradict the democratic constitution. This, I argue, impacts how and the extent to which democracy is discussed throughout the textbook.

Democracy is mentioned periodically throughout the textbook, but it is quite loosely defined without specifics on how democracy in Pakistan functions. In the first chapter, it is defined as *"a government run with the consent of the common man."* It then goes on to situate it in the context of religion by stating,

> *Islam wants to establish a state based upon the highest standards of morality and human wellbeing…. Islamic conduct of state is based upon the principle of Shura (consultation). Allah has enjoined upon the head of a Muslim state to consult with the common body of citizens… (p.4).*

This description of democracy uses religion to define and justify the idea of democracy within Islamic states, but does not give any indication of its materialization in Pakistan. The text does not clarify how the head of a Muslim state should consult with the common body of citizens. Democracy is not mentioned again until page 174 in the chapter "Education in Pakistan" in the section titled Political Social Cultural and Economic Aspects. In this section, the textbook explains,

> *Good citizenship is the first pre-requisite of democracy, and education is the first pre-condition of good citizenship. Only careful education will make citizens well-informed, enlightened and conscientious (p.174).*

The textbook goes on to state,

> *Democracy cannot work without enlightened public opinion. Laski observes very rightly that, "The education of the citizens is the heart of the modern state." …A democratic education system should be guided by principles of morality; it should be free from fanaticism, prejudice, and intolerance (p.174).*

These mentions of democratic education again do not clarify to students what this means in practice. In fact, in Pakistan there is little done in most classrooms or schools that give students opportunities to engage in a democratic education as Dean (2005) finds, near all schools included in her study (both government and private) function as authoritarian institutions.

In addition to the few references of the functioning of a democratic government in the text, little is mentioned about civic participation, democratic values, freedom of speech, equality, or respect for cultural diversity (Ahmed, 2004). For example, the textbook offers few indications of rights and responsibilities of citizens of Pakistan and the relationship to the government. This is illustrated in the *"Salient Features"* of the 1973 constitution summarized in the overview of the Constitution. The Salient Features consist of seven bullet points that describe how the government will be elected and the form it will take (e.g. the National Assembly and the Senate). It, however, does not include many of the rights and responsibilities of citizens as included in the Constitution. The only right that is mentioned is that the legal voting age for all citizens is 21 years. Other fundamental rights, including freedom of speech (Article 19 of the Constitution) or the right to a fair trial (Article 10A of the Constitution) are not included in the text. Furthermore, this point highlights the conditions of fundamental rights of citizens by stating,

> *All fundamental rights of the citizens shall be guaranteed provided 'reasonable restrictions imposed by law' are observed in their exercise (p.65).*

This point implies that the government has the ability to limit the rights of the citizens as they see fit. While this type of clause is common to many states' constitutions, the absence of fundamental rights in the text seems to place the emphasis on the restriction of citizens' rights.

There are two sections in the book that attempt to describe the responsibilities of citizens in an 'ideological state'. The first chapter includes a list of guiding principles which were developed by Jinnah for '*the different classes of the citizens and, of course, the governments of Pakistan (p.10).*' They were,

- *To maintain law and order*
- *To eliminate corruption*
- *To eliminate the curse of black-marketing*
- *To uphold merit and eliminate nepotism*
- *To defy all sorts of discrimination*
- *To render sacrifice for nation building*
- *To eschew violence*
- *To devise a purpose directed education system*
- *To overcome odds with the force of character*
- *To work extremely hard for the cause of nation building. (p.10, p.191-192)*

These same guiding principles are highlighted and expanded upon in the last chapter, *"Pakistan: A Welfare State (an Outlook for the Future)"*. They are repeated with a short description of each. The descriptions include the thoughts of Jinnah on each of these as social ills and unspecific solutions to the problems. For example, the section on corruption states,

> *The Quaid-e-Azam (RA) observed that bribery and corruption are the biggest curse of which our society is suffering. We must put them down with an iron hand (p. 191).*

The text offers no guidance for students to understand how these things can be achieved in the Pakistan of today. In addition to the lack of clarity, the exercises at the end of the chapter do not focus on the content of these guiding principles. There is only one question in the first chapter that refers to this section of the text- a true/false question that asks, *"Islamic principles are different for all citizens from the head of the state to the common man (p.11)."* The answer is false, and is based only in the introduction statement to the principles rather than about the content of the principles. Almost all the other questions in the exercises for chapter one focus on historic dates and Islamic knowledge. In the final chapter, the structure of the exercises does not offer students the opportunity to think critically about these ideas. There is again only one question relating to the guiding principles. That question is,

> *What are the responsibilities of the citizens of an ideological state? Describe it in the light of the pronouncement of the Quaid-Azam (RA) (p.195).*

The structure of this question encourages students to simply memorize the bullet points in the chapter rather than to encourage comprehension of the information. As mentioned above, since these questions are the basis for the national exams, students will focus on memorizing the answers to these questions and give little attention to the information that is not covered in the exercises.

This brief list of the responsibilities of citizens as imagined by Jinnah and the brief discussion of the Constitution are the only mentions of civic responsibility in the text. There is equally little about the responsibilities of the state to its citizens. In the final chapter, there is a section entitled: Welfare State in Islamic Perspective, which summarizes the principles of welfare that an Islamic state should adopt. These include:

- *An Islamic state is not established merely for the maintenance of law and order. It aims at achieving a high objective i.e. the spiritual and moral uplift of its citizens. It will enable its citizens to order their lives in such a way as should enable them for reward and deliverance in the world hereafter.*
- *Non-Muslim citizens should be given equal civic rights; they should be allowed to preserve their culture, language, personal law, places of worship and religious institutions. Nobody should be forced to pay taxes or donations for the promotion or propagation of a religion he or she himself or herself does not follow or believe in.*
- *The state should be ruled strictly according to law; all citizens should be equal in the eyes of the law.*
- *No discrimination amongst the citizens should be made on the basis of colour, race, language, domicile, gender and creed.*
- *It should be the duty of the state to provide all citizens with basic necessities of life i.e. food, clothing, shelter and basic health amenities.*
- *The Islamic state should be duty bound to do justice to everybody without favor or prejudice.*
- *The state should promote the following virtues by way of persuasion and education. Orphans, widows, the poor and the destitute should be take care of from public fund. Qualities of chastity, integrity of character, mercy and compassion, forgiveness, fair play, modesty and humility, pleasant talk and politeness, sacrifice, moderation, fraternity and brotherhood should be cultivated in the citizens.*
- *The Islamic state should provide free and compulsory education to all in the fields of social and cultural sciences, fine arts, physical sciences and take care of the citizens' character building through religious and moral instruction (pp. 187-188).*

This passage does not describe what the state of Pakistan itself should be (or is) giving their citizens, but summarizes the principles of welfare Muslim States should adopt and therefore evades responsibility for any of these forms of welfare. As this is in the section *"An Outlook for the Future,"* it does imply that these are ideas that perhaps Pakistan should aspire to. However, without any opportunity for discussion written into the texts or the exercises at the end of the chapters, the curriculum leaves little room for students to think about whether the state is fulfilling its obligations or if the citizens of Pakistan are performing their citizenship as

Jinnah imagined. Additionally, these ideas of the rights and responsibilities of Pakistanis are not the rule of the current day; they are Jinnah's imaginings about how Pakistan would be governed. The textbook does not inform students of their current legal rights and responsibilities. Instead, it gives students a sense of morality based in Islam to which they should aspire and replaces any clearly defined legal rights and responsibilities with these religious obligations.

The textbook offers no opportunities for problem solving and focuses very strongly on theoretical and abstract knowledge. The textbook writer only lists the hopes of Jinnah for the way the citizens of Pakistan and the state interact, which is an abstract way to teach citizenship. It does not tell students what they should expect from their government or what their government should expect from them as would be expected in liberal theories of citizenship, but instead gives them an idealized wish list that has little relevance to their lives. Also, this format does not allow students the opportunity to think about whether these things are happening in current day Pakistan and possible solutions, but is aimed at creating a conforming and submissive citizenship in which the state has all the rights and the citizens all the duties (Saigol, 2003).

The focus on religion as synonymous or even transcending the identity of Pakistan begins the process of legitimatizing one type of Pakistani over others. This, combined with the vagueness of the rights and responsibilities of citizens within the democratic state, promote a lack of empowerment among government school students. As Saigol (2000) states,

> *A person who cannot see the relation of self to state and society is hardly likely to understand how to affect change in the socioeconomic structures which disempower him (sic) (p.140).*

This relates to Cogan and Derricott's (1998) model of Multidimensional Citizenship. By not emphasizing the role of the citizen within the state, students are not encouraged to situate themselves within the multiple layers of community to which they belong. It also contributes to cultural violence by not giving students the skills to affect change within the structures that may disempower them or their fellow citizens.

Constructing History, Nation building and the 'Other'

The textbooks of Pakistan have long been criticized for their representation of historical moments in Pakistan that favor Pakistan and Islam, skew historical events to create a good versus evil version of the partition from India which indicates that Muslims have always been in the right, while the Hindus of India have repeatedly swayed history against the Muslims of South Asia (Nayyar & Salim, 2005). The Pakistan Studies textbook is no exception to this. And

while the edition used in the school tones down some of the anti-Hindu/India language that appeared in earlier versions, it is still made clear throughout the chapters on the history of Pakistan that Hindus/India are the enemy.

The textbook uses the technique of 'othering' to create a sense of Pakistani citizenship based in an identity that is meant to unify the peoples of Pakistan by positioning them in a binary opposition to the other. In doing so, the textbook tells a story of the Muslims of India fighting for freedom from the oppressive Hindu rule who were strongly against the idea of Pakistan and thus the freedom of Muslims. This telling of the stories from the Pakistan Movement perspective, rather than the joint anti-colonial movement in India is done throughout the social studies curriculum through the repetition of the same stories in almost the same words. This then reinforces a national identity formed in alienation from another, who poses a perpetual threat to the nation.

Apple (1992) recognizes the contribution of textbooks to the official discourse in society. He states,

> *They set the curriculum, and often the facts learned… for many students, textbooks are their first and sometimes only early exposure to books and reading. The public regards textbooks as authoritative, accurate, and necessary* (Apple, 1992, p. 7).

Therefore, history taught in Pakistani middle and high schools becomes an official tool of remembering and creates a narrative that disregards some aspects of history in order to create a national identity based in 'otherness' (Saigol, 2005).

To this end, the Pakistan Studies text focuses on the development of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It begins with pre-partition and goes through the secession of East Pakistan. Each of these stories focuses on the "Pakistan Movement" which was the movement within colonial India for a separate homeland for Muslim Indians. The text does not focus on the shared history of the anti-colonial movement. The story of partition and independence from Britain told in the textbook presents a story of a unanimous movement for a Muslim state to escape the hegemonic rule of the Hindus and that the intended purpose of the new nation was to be based in an Islamic ideology. It begins the narrative of the hegemonic behavior of the Hindus in the 1857 War of Independence against the British rulers. It states that the war was lost due to disorganization and notes,

> *Although the Muslims and the Hindus both had joined hands in fighting against the British, the Muslims were held solely responsible for the upheaval and made to suffer great hardship.*

It goes on to illustrate how the Muslims were strong and proud, but the Hindus were opportunists. The text states,

> *Their [Muslims] loss of life and property had been great, but in spite of all this, their pride would not let them bow down to the British. Hindus, however, did not take much time to shift their position and it was soon felt that they would go to any extent to please their new masters (p.18).*

However, as was discussed in Chapter 2, the Pakistan Movement was not unanimous. Indian Muslims of the time had various perspectives about the future of the Muslims. Some of the most religious groups did not support the creation of Pakistan as they believed that Islam could not be constrained within the borders of a nation-state. Other Muslim groups did not agree that independence from Britain was a necessity (Weiss, 2014). Yet, the separation of Muslims from other people of the world, and especially Hindus is prominent throughout the text. For example, before the textbook even mentions the word Pakistan, it separates Muslims from Indians. On page 3 the textbook describes the two-nation theory and states that,

> *From the Muslims' point of view all non-believers of the world are a single millat (or nation). Indian Muslims were no exception to this rule, they did not form a part of the wider Indian nationhood, as some people had mistaken.*

To continue to reinforce the national identity formed in alienation from the external other, the textbook repeatedly uses negative language to describe Hindu leaders and blames them for events that are not seen as favorable to Muslims without addressing any historical complexities. In this textbook, this othering begins in the section titled "The Quaid-Azam (RA) and the Pakistan Ideology". Here, Jinnah is lauded as the "greatest proponent of Hindu Muslim unity to rid India of British imperialism." The book states that Jinnah achieved success at uniting Hindus and Muslims against the British and he achieved the title "The Ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity." The text goes on to explain that his successes was short-lived and the Congress was soon overpowered by *"extremist Hindu leadership".* It goes on to laud Jinnah's conviction to creating a united India, but it states that his plan could not materialize, *"mainly due to the arrogance of the Congress hot-heads like Jawaharlal Nehru and Patel (p. 8)".*

The negative language used to describe Hindus escalates as the text covers the creation of Pakistan and the troubles it soon faced in maintaining a united country, including both East and West Pakistan. In a section about the role of Jinnah after the founding of Pakistan, the textbook states,

> *The enemies started making hostile propaganda against Pakistan from the very first day of her birth. They were spreading rumours that Pakistan was not economically viable and that she would soon collapse like a house of cards (p.39).*

In the Chapter, "*The Islamic Republic of Pakistan*", there are two sections on the succession of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) titled, "*The Fall of East Pakistan*" and "*The Two Nation Theory and the East Pakistan Tragedy*".   These sections outline the events that led to the succession of Bangladesh from Pakistan. The first section gives a seven-point list of reasons for Bengali discontent and while it does acknowledge some of the valid reasons for the Bengali discontent with West Pakistan, it also places heavy blame on the Hindu leadership of India as well as the Hindus living in East Pakistan.

It states,

> *The Indian leadership in general did not agree with the idea of creating a separate homeland for the Muslims. When Pakistan was created to their entire displeasure, they started working on the agenda of dismembering it without delay. East Pakistan's soil proved very fertile for them for several reasons. Firstly, that the province had a very big Hindu population, which, unlike West Pakistan Hindus, had deep pro-India sympathies. Secondly, that these Hindus were economically well off and well-educated. In many schools, colleges, and universities Hindu teachers outnumbered Muslim teachers. These institutions with the passage of time virtually turned into nurseries for breeding anti-Pakistan and secessionist intelligentsia. These intellectuals played a decisive role in dismembering Pakistan. East Pakistani masses, which felt deprived and oppressed by the West Pakistan fell an easy prey to the secessionist (p.57).*

This continues the narrative that Pakistan was a victim of Hindu schemes that led to the secession of Bangladesh. In doing so, it does not portray the difficulties faced by the Bengalis due to the power of West Pakistan and the atrocities that West Pakistan imposed on Bengalis during the nine-month war. According to Sharlach (2000) approximately 3 million people died and Pakistani soldiers raped between 200,000 and 400,000 Bangladeshi women and girls. Additionally, the textbook does not take into consideration the complexities of the war for those in East Pakistan. Bose (2005)noted the internal struggles in East Pakistan between the Bengalis and non-Bengalis as well as those who supported succession and those who did not. Even when the textbook admits that conditions were not good for the Bengalis, it does so in a way which delegitimizes the Bengali claims. As is shown in the example below:

> *A long period of military dictatorship marked with undemocratic practices was the major cause of unrest. Bengalis said they were being neglected and being subjected to political repression (p.57).*

By using the phrase, "*Bengalis said…*" it gives this impression that these claims were false and therefore not legitimate. This is especially noticeable when compared to the certainty in other statements in the chapter mentioned above, like, "*These [Hindu] intellectuals played a decisive role in dismembering Pakistan."*

In this chapter, the description of the secession of East Pakistan is done in terms that are catastrophic and imply a victimization of Pakistan. Also, the words used to describe the events are selected to sound like a human death and include phrases like "death blow" and the 'dismemberment of Pakistan." And all of this is attributed to the wrong-doings of India. The section on the Two Nation Theory and the East Pakistan Tragedy begins by stating that, "India, no doubt, played an important role in breaking Pakistan into two parts." It then goes on to say that,

> *Indira Gandhi very arrogantly claimed that the Two Nation Theory had sunk into the Bay of Bengal just as the Bangladesh flag was unfurled. These remarks were unfair and they are naturally so because Mrs. Gandhi was a party to the whole matter and she had exerted all her negative potentials to make things happen the way she liked (p.62).*

This narrative of Hindu conspirators going to great lengths to ensure the failure of Pakistan is woven through the history lessons of the textbook to reiterate the divide between Pakistan Muslim and Hindu Indian identities. It solidifies the idea of the threatening other, the common enemy against which all Pakistanis must defend their country and their Muslim identity.

The textbook also downplays Pakistan's loss of the nine-month war and uses the story to reinforce the bond of Muslims and the Two Nation Theory. The text emphasizes that Bangladesh did not accept "Indian hegemony as many people in Pakistan predicted it would. It did not forsake her Islamic identity." It does not directly discuss the war in any way, but simply says, "After the cessation of hostilities, broken bonds of brotherhood were restored (p. 64)."

In the exercises for this chapter, questions reflect the opinion students are expected to take regarding the secession of East Pakistan. Examples include:

- *Describe the events leading to the dismemberment of Pakistan. Also explain the Indian role in this regard. When was Bangladesh proclaimed, and;*
- *The fall of East Pakistan served as a death blow to the Two Nation Theory. Do you agree with the statement? Give reasons to support your argument (p.71).*

Both questions emphasize the personal nature of the destruction of Pakistan by again using the words dismemberment and death blow. Additionally, the second question appears to be an opinion question, but in fact the answer is found directly in the text in the following passage,

> *…it is not fair to interpret the separation of East Pakistan as a death blow to the Two Nation Theory (p.64).*

This question also serves as a means to show that in the end, Islam has won against the Hindu opposition, and ignores Pakistan's loss of the war.

At the time the Pakistan Studies textbooks were originally written, Zia-ul-Haq needed to create a sense of national unity as it was feared that other provinces would attempt to secede from Pakistan for similar reasons that Bangladesh did including unequal resources and power distribution. Therefore, the emphasis on the external threatening other portrayed in the textbooks was included in the texts to create a common enemy whom all Pakistanis should protect the state from. Kumar (2001) argues that the result of this was…*the internalization of a masculine, war oriented and essentially anti-Hindu ideal of the nation-state (p. 59).* This along with the focus on the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan conflate the notions of religion and patriotism. And therefore, a good citizen of Pakistan should be willing to fight for their Muslim identity.

The Others Within

A Separate and Distinct Nation

The use of the other does not stop outside of the borders of Pakistan, but by extension includes the 'others' that are living within the country. In the pages of the text, these others are primarily understood as the 3 -5% of the citizens of Pakistan who are not Muslim. Apple (1992) argues that textbooks… *embody a vision of legitimate knowledge and culture and in the process of enfranchising one group's cultural capital, disenfranchises another's (p.5).* Nayyar (2013) argues that the Pakistan Studies textbook for Grades 9 and 10 emphasis of Pakistan being created based in religious ideology does just this. He argues that this has been done with, "…*little [realization] that defining a nation on the basis of one religion can cause alienation among Pakistanis of other faiths, thus negating the nation building process (p.5)."*

The textbook often portrays non-Muslims as a separate type of citizen than Muslims. References to non-Muslims are made to illustrate how they fit into the Muslim state, and how they do not. The textbook emphasizes that Muslims are their own community and are different from the rest of the world through its multiple references to the Two Nation theory including the below passage from page 3 of the text.

> *Muslims believe that people of the world are divided into two major communities or millats on the basis of faith. Followers of Islamic creed are a separate and distinct nation from the rest of the mankind (p.3).*

Non-Muslims are mentioned only scarcely throughout the textbook. The first mention is in the section of Chapter 1 called "*Pakistan Ideology in the Islamic perspective"*. There are six points in this section. Two of the points address non-Muslims. Point four is Equality and Fraternity and states, *"All humans are equal by birth… No human being is superior to another on the basis*

of colour and race, the only thing which distinguishes a person from other is God-fearing and purity of the soul (p.4)."

Point five is Equal Rights for Non-Muslim Citizens, and states,

> *Non-Muslim citizens of an Islamic state have an equal social status with the Muslim citizens. Their civil rights are guaranteed. They are allowed to preserve their culture, language, personal law, places of worship and religious institutions… (p.4)*

These two points somewhat illustrate the contradiction of how non-Muslims are expected to be understood in Pakistan. While the first point says that everyone is equal as long as they are God-fearing, it is not specified if God-fearing means other religions or Muslims only. However, because of the way that Islam is emphasized throughout the text, it could be inferred that it means Muslims only. Then, the second point states that non-Muslims should have equal rights. This could be understood in terms of differentiated citizenship discussed in Chapter 3, which is intended to address the different needs of various groups of citizens in order to achieve equal rights. However, because these differences are defined by religion alone and the strong emphasis on Islam throughout the text, it instead contributes to cultural violence by promoting a singular identity as synonymous with Pakistani.

The textbook also tends to other non-Muslims through word choice. When discussing what Muslims do, it uses 'he or she' while in each time non-Muslims are mentioned it uses the word, 'they' (as can be seen in the above quote). The effect of this is that it creates a sense that non-Muslims are not a part of 'us' that make up the nation of Pakistan.

In the chapter The Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Objectives Resolution of 1949 which was to be the basis of the first constitution of Pakistan includes a list of salient features of resolution being with *"The resolution opens with the words, 'in the name of Allah' (p.50)."* Of the eight points, 5 points specifically mention Allah or Muslims and include that power to rule the state has been delegated by Allah. The fifth point states that *"Facilities will be provided to the Muslims in order to enable them to fashion their lives in accordance with the teachers of Quran and Sunnah (p.50)."* After which, the list states *"Non-Muslims will be guaranteed all fundamental human rights, particularly the rights of religious and cultural development (p.51)."*

It is also noted in the textbook that the first constitution of Pakistan of 1956, only a Muslim may be elected as the president of Pakistan and then in the Islamic Provisions of the 1973 Constitution it is updated to include the Prime Minister and includes the following stipulation:

> *Only a Muslim believing in the unity of Allah and the finality of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) shall qualify for the offices of the President and the Prime Minister (p.66).*

In addition to the Christians, Hindus, and other non-Muslim Pakistanis who are excluded from holding these positions, it is made very clear by this and several other points that Muslim is defined by only those who believe in the finality of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).   The textbook gives a reason for this in the first chapter, "*The Ideological Basis of Pakistan*", it states, *"The finality of his prophethood bears great political importance. It implies that in an Islamic state matters will be decided in the light of Qur'an and Sunnah… (p.2)."*

This is written this way which excludes the Ahmadi minority from positions of power. According to Khan (2003), the exclusion of Ahmadis from equal rights began with the development of the first constitution in 1949 as a campaign by religious leaders to exclude them from being considered Muslim due to differences in beliefs. Exclusion and violence against the Ahmadi community has continued since that time both through legal means including exclusion from government as well as illegal means (Khan, 2003).

While the entire text is focused on the ideology of Pakistan and the narrative of Jinnah's desire for a Muslim state, it is not until the last chapter "*Pakistan: A Welfare State*" that the textbook revisits the responsibilities of the citizens of an ideological state as were defied by Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1947. In point 5 "*All discrimination to be defied*", it adds that all citizens are created equal and includes this quote from Jinnah's speech Constituent Assembly on 11 August 1947, three days prior to independence,

> *You are free; you are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in the state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed… that has nothing to do with the business of the state (p.192).*

The preceding chapters present a Pakistan that is solely based in Islam and a representation of Jinnah's vision for Pakistan seem to contradict the above quote. In part, this is due to Jinnah's shift in ideas about Pakistan. Prior to the creation of Pakistan, Jinnah focused heavily on the Two Nation Theory and cultural divisions between Muslims and Hindus. However, after the creation of Pakistan, Jinnah changed his rhetoric to support a secular state that welcomes all citizens (Parel, 2008).

The placement of this quote in the last chapter of the book, after it has been repeatedly established that Pakistan is an Islamic state downplays the importance of this statement. Additionally, this quote excludes the beginning and the second half of Jinnah's statement which makes clear his ideas regarding equality, citizenship, religion and the state. It starts,

> *To my mind, this problem of religious differences has been the greatest hindrance in the progress of India. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this* (Khan, 2003, p. 222).

He continued,

> *… We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one State. … Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State* (Nayyar, 2013, p. 41)*.*

This quote when read in full indicates that Jinnah did not envisage a theocratic government, but wanted a separation of religion and state. While it may be that the quote being edited this way may be merely a means to saves space in the textbook, it can also be understood as a deliberate attempt to maintain the narrative created throughout the text of a unanimous movement for a Muslim state. In a 2013 article for the Pakistani English newspaper, The Express Tribune, educationalist A.H. Nayyar asserts that,

> *…the August 11 speech was not discussed in public for decades. The founder's vision was rediscovered in the 1980s when it was used to resist General Zia-ul-Haq's attempt at turning Pakistan into a theocracy. Having failed to suppress Jinnah's statements, today the supporters of theocracy in Pakistan are trying to distort them* (Nayyar, 2013)*.*

The treatment of history and the constitution in the Pakistan Studies text is done to create a narrative of Pakistan that claims it has always been a theocratic state which was unanimously agreed upon throughout its history. To achieve this, the textbook leaves out key pieces of the constitution that do not fit into this narrative, including Article 22(1) of the Constitution which states,

> *No person attending any educational institution shall be require to receive religious instructions, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own (ed. Basit 2013 P. 54).*

This Constitution Article prohibits Islamic teaching to those who are not Muslim. Yet, Pakistan Studies (as well as several other subjects) is based in Islam and therefore a direct violation of this Article.

In the text, ethnic differences are not addressed specifically. The only mention is through discussion of linguistic differences. Cultural differences are also minimized to create a sense of national unity with a set of six principles, *"…laid out by the experts as the pre-requisites for the growth and standardization of a uniform culture (p.164)."* The list includes, "*a well-defined territory, common aspirations, common ideology, a lingua franca, common legal system, and similarity of living patterns.*" The text places an importance of Urdu as the lingua franca as a

means to unite the people and that it should be the language of education and science. It is interesting to note that English is not mentioned as a language of Pakistan, even though this textbook is written in English for use in an English medium government school. The focus on uniting the ethnic groups in the basis of Islam, not only marginalizes the cultures of those who are not in power, but outright excludes religious minorities. Because citizenship is based in the homogeneous religious identity which is taught to be synonymous with patriotism and state, minorities are excluded outright from being legitimate citizens.

Where Women (do not) Belong

Often women in Pakistan, including Muslim women, are positioned alongside other minorities as excluded from the same type of citizenship their male counterparts enjoy (Naseem, 2010). Women are often thought of as supports to men, responsible for the matters of the home and excluded from national history. The textbook is a strong example of this as it nearly completely omits women from its history lessons. This is despite the fact that women contributed to the Pakistan Movement prior to independence and after. For example, in addition to the work of Jinnah's sister, Fatima Jinnah, and other well-known aristocratic women, The Muslim League Party created a "*committee of ladies*" to enable women to participate in the work of the Muslim League to promote the Pakistan Movement. These women organized district and provincial women's sub-committees, enlisted more women in the Muslim league and carried out "*intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a greater political consciousness* (Jinnah, 1940)." The women's committee also advised Muslim women on enriching Muslim society. In his 1940 speech, Jinnah noted,

> *This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League* (Jinnah, 1940).

This fact is not mentioned in the textbook. Additionally, despite the prominence of Fatima Jinnah in the Pakistan Movement, she is not mentioned in this text (although she is discussed in other textbooks). In fact, the history sections of the text reference women only once. In the section, "*Quaid-e-Azam's Role as the First Governor General of Pakistan*" in the list of '*important advice*' for the new nation of Pakistan.

> *The Quaid-e-Azam (RA) exhorted upon the public servants that they should devise a system under which women are able to make a fair contribution in the progress of the country and it is ascertained that they receive their due share of opportunities (p.37).*

However, this quote is not followed up with any examples of how this was or was not done. Additionally, while none of the women who have contributed to the building of the nation of Pakistan are mentioned by name, there is one woman who is named. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India during the succession of East Pakistan is discussed regarding her role in the secessionist movement. She is described as a villain (see previous section) and refers to her as Mrs. Gandhi, while men in the text are referred to by their surnames or full names (not as Mr.). The use of the prefix Mrs. emphasizes her status as a married woman and detracts from her status as the leader of a state.

In addition to not acknowledging the women involved in the history of Pakistan, the other sections of the textbook equally ignore women as citizens of Pakistan. In the lessons about the constitution, equal rights for women are mentioned briefly as this is a part of the constitution. However, here again the structure of the textbook does not allow for students, specifically girl students the chance to discuss or critique their own equality as citizens.

When women are mentioned in the textbook in the chapter on the population of Pakistan, they are described as a burden to the economy. The text states the following,

> *The contribution of female workforce in economic development is only 2.02%. Women… form the larger but dependent portion of Pakistan's population. Percentages of women in the labour force is 13.5 as compared to the men's 86.5% (p.145).*

There is no reason given for the difference in participation (including cultural and religious practices) in the labor market nor does it acknowledge the work that women do in the home. It problematizes women by calling them the '*larger but dependent*' portion of the population. This wording describes women as a burden (dependent) on society rather than as contributors. This is consistent with Mumtaz & Shaheed's (1987) book, which illuminated the struggles of women during the Zia era. They state,

> *Nowhere are the physical hardship endured by women or their contribution to production acknowledged. Rather, such realities are either ignored or actually negated by societies attitudes towards and treatment of women (23).*

The textbook, which has undergone few substantial changes since the time their book was written, illustrates that women are still not being acknowledged for their contribution to society. Saigol (2000) suggests that one reason for this type of omission, especially related to citizenship, is to present the state as masculine and powerful. She argues, "*Women are totally effaced from the discourse of masculine citizenship, their absence serving to give a sense of a strong and powerful nation (p.134)."*

By excluding women from the history of Pakistan, the textbook offers students no guidance on the contributions of women in the development of Pakistan and leaves girl students then with little to guide them as to how to contribute to their nation as citizens. Additionally, the small mention about the way in which women seem to burden the economy, leaves very little room for girl students to imagine their own place as citizens of Pakistan, or how they might be empowered to contribute to change within their own country.

Conclusion: The production of the (il)legitimate citizen

The discourse of Pakistan Studies is one of binaries, of good and bad, right and wrong, enemies and allies, men and women, and believers and non-believers. These binaries create a narrative of a homogenous ideal citizen. Rouse 2004 notes,

> *…a hegemonic ideal of the individual (read male) Pakistani, Sunni Muslim, committed to protecting the entire geographical territory of Pakistan against encroachment from its "threatening others", be they internal or external (p.101).*

This process of othering first the Indians and then by extension to the religious minorities and women within Pakistan, creates a strong narrative of 'us against them' which permeates how citizenship is both understood and performed by different citizens in Pakistan. Saigol (2000) argues,

> *Nationalism, based as it is on the creation of negative Others, inequalities and differences, thereby contradicts democracy, freedom, equality and citizenship. Nationalism, in particular in its religious and cultural forms, is incompatible with the kid of universal equality implied by democracy. Citizenship is inconceivable without democracy (p.144).*

In addition, the othering of the Hindus of India as the enemy of Pakistan and Muslims, creates the war-time citizenship discussed in Ben-Porath (2009). As Ben-Porath notes, when the focus of citizenship is on creating a homogenous self to oppose the enemy other, the multidimensional nature of citizenship that is often associated with peaceful nations is limited. This occurs most often in periods of war when the purpose of citizenship (and in fact the citizen) becomes about protecting the nation through loyalty to the state. Saigol (2000) goes beyond this to assign gendered roles in times of war. She argues,

> *The more such states are threatened due to their unstable, shifting, contested, and precarious character, the more strongly they appeal to the nation's women to defend the ideological boundaries of the nation while men are called upon to defend the physical frontiers of the state (Saigol, 2000 p. 132).*

While the textbook does little to include women, this can be seen as an outwardly attempt to project a strong and masculine state, ready to defend itself against the other. It is only

through school practice, the topic of the next chapters, that the ways in which women are expected to defend the ideological character can be seen.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the heavy emphasis of one identity that defines who is a legitimate citizen, Islam in this case, can lead to conflict as it creates cultural violence by promoting the notion that those who fall outside of that identity have been created (or chosen to be by not converting) unequal in the eyes of God. This is in line with Sen's (2006) notion that when one aspect of a group's identity becomes the sole defining identity of that group, violence is often the result. In this case, the textbook represents cultural violence against those who do not fit within the construct of a legitimate citizen by positioning them as the 'other'. It also promotes cultural violence by not encouraging students to locate themselves as a part of the state or society and thus discouraging them from affecting change to the structures which disempower them (Saigol, 2000).

In the next three chapters, I will continue to explore how citizenship is taught in the case study school by exploring how teachers' understandings of citizenship and the day-to-day school practices reproduce gendered notions of citizenship.   I also explore the ways in which the school serves as a micropolitical site for reproduction of structural and cultural violence.

Chapter 6. Duty and Patriotism: Reproducing gendered citizenship

[The school] strives to make young girls confident and creative builders of their future and encourages them to meet academic challenges with openness, enthusiasm, and a willingness to solve problems, thus making them good global citizens (School Calendar 2014, August 2014).

When students are learning little about citizenship through the formal curriculum, as was argued in the previous chapter, the way students are taught by teachers in the classroom and through the day-to-day practice of schooling becomes even more important to their socialization as citizens. In Pakistan, this is especially true for girls, as women are nearly completely omitted from textbooks. In feminist citizenship and in critical education, schools are understood as micropolitical organizations organizing teachers and students in a way that orients them to societal power and politics (Davies, 2000). As such, schools tend to reproduce important aspects of inequality (Apple, et al., 2009) through the (intentional and unintentional) processes of normalization based in conceptions of proper adulthood and the rights and duties of citizens (Gordon, et al., 2000). Thus, when studying citizenship education, the inclusion of teachers' opinions and the way schools are managed through school practice should be explored as equal to curriculum and textbooks in the teaching of citizenship.

In this chapter, I first detail the expectations of the case study school to prepare middle-class women for citizenship. I then examine how the case study school promotes citizenship through teachers' and administrators' understandings of citizenship. I explore how those understandings are enacted through school practices including teaching and classroom management methods, student activities, and visual messages found throughout the school. I unpack how and to what extent this school's citizenship education practices reproduce social norms that regulate the lives of women and girls.

Balancing Honor and Education: The role of the school in educating middle class women

The education received at this girls' school is one which is embedded in a history of gendered understandings of citizenship including duty and rights within the state, community, and family. Gender in Pakistan, like in all cultures, cannot be viewed through homogenous assumptions of gender. It is constructed within in the intersection of all aspects of an individual's identity including socio-economic positioning. For the students and teachers at the case study school, the majority come from lower-middle and lower economic classes. There are also some teachers from more elite backgrounds. Most of the students' fathers are

working in low-level civil service positions with the government in Islamabad; many of whom are aspiring to be part of the urban middle class. In Pakistan, honor and duty to a woman's family and country are important to the traditional ideals of womanhood and contribute to the construction of gendered citizenship discourse (Rouse, 2004). For the middle-classes, this often include the practice of purdah (separation of men and women) which is considered an important aspect of maintaining family honor (Weiss, 2015). Additionally, middle class women are often expected to be responsible for the home while the men are expected to be responsible for life outside the home including engaging in the political sphere. Weiss, 2015 notes that for many Pakistani women,

> *…the goal of a girl's life is to marry, become well integrated into her husband's family and have children. In this way, a daughter's honor is maintained, as is her family's. This traditional worldview has little space to accommodate girls' aspirations to do anything else (p.61).*

This school must be responsive to the demands of parents and communities by providing an education that sits comfortably within traditional ideals of womanhood in Pakistani society. Girls' education in the context of the urban middle class often must maintain a precarious balance between providing formal education while ensuring that social norms that regulate women, specifically in terms of freedom of movement, dress, and expected behavior, are strictly followed.

Protecting Pakistan's Daughters

One way in which girls' schools are expected to maintain the balance between social norms and education is by protecting girls and women from potential risks including safety and the risks of daughters being tempted to act inappropriately. Weiss (2015) notes that several studies have been done on girls' education in Pakistan which indicate that concerns for the safety of daughters (from drastic acts like kidnapping, but also simply interacting with boys) and thus their honor (and the honor of the family) are the strongest arguments against sending girls to school, especially after they begin puberty. Therefore, to encourage girls to remain in education, schools should provide this protection.

The case study school provides this safe atmosphere for girls. The campus itself is surrounded by a high concrete wall which makes it impossible to see inside (a standard and important aspect of school design in Pakistan). There are only a few entrances to the campus which are watched over by chowkidars (men who work as gate keepers and other menial tasks in homes or businesses). The chowkidar I interviewed had been working in the school for 30 years. He spoke of the importance of the safety provided at the school. He told me,

> *[The school] is a good place for girls- the rules and regulations are strict. If anybody come to pick any student [from school] the headmistress asks who came to pick them.*

Within the school, male employees are separated from women. The administrative block which is where the only male employees work, is set back away from the main part of campus limiting the chances for girls and men to interact.

The school prospectus (used as promotional material) also highlights the safety of the school for girls, especially through a section titled, "*Why I Chose [This School]*". This (which is apparently written by a student, but no name is attached) states,

> *It is an all girls' institute and many parents prefer to send their daughters here because it caters to all levels of education…*

This suggests that a girl may never have to leave the safety of the walls of this school while achieving up to a Master's degree. This may be very appealing to parents who wish to keep their daughters safe from potential risks. The student writer of this section ends her letter about why she chose this school with the following statement, "*Most importantly the security is very good, providing a very reliable and safe atmosphere (Prospectus, p.5).*"

One teacher, Aleeza, told me a personal story that illustrates how safety is valued for girls, even over the quality of education received. She told me,

> *First, I have my boy. I try to give him the best education. I admitted him to Beaconhouse [an elite private school chain] and my daughter, she studied over here [the case study school] …It was my husband, not me. I can fight for my son, but not my daughter. It's because of 100% my husband. Because he said she is not safe outside, she will go with you.*

Aleeza's experience not only exemplifies the importance of girls' safety in school for middle class families, but also the power of the male family members in decision-making.

Preparing Girls for Careers

Image 5: Page of the school calendar

While the traditional roles of women are often understood as first as a wife and mother for middle-class women, education also prepares girls for careers. The School Prospectus suggests the types of careers it values for students. It states,

[The school] has the privilege of grooming young girls who have gone on to become useful members of society- in fact become

the backbone of the country in their roles as doctors, engineers, civil servants, teachers and mothers. (p.3)

The careers mentioned are among the traditionally respectable positions for women to hold in Pakistan. Most of them fit into the ideals of women as nurturer and care givers (Jafar, 2005). However, while many women train to hold these types of positions, often once they are married, they stay at home. For many women, the purpose of education is to improve their chances to find a husband who is also educated and from a good family (Weiss, 2015). This was echoed in Pakistan Studies teacher, Abida's discussion of the expectations of students in the school. She said,

…mostly the girls, after getting education have to be restricted at home. Now things are changing, but still it is the same. Because I see very good girls from very good families get married after education, because it is required Islamically, as far as the religion is concerned the girls must be married… she must manage the home.

The expectations of career choice and the restrictions placed on women were also evidenced by many of the teachers' own stories of how they became teachers. The importance of the male members of their families in deciding on a career was also evident in their responses. For example, Abida, also discussed her own experience of choosing her career. She told me,

I was only allowed to do the job as a teacher. If I must do a job, it should be as a teacher… I left my job in 2010 when my in-laws said I cannot do the job. I am the only daughter-in-law… and I have to take care of the family. But then I cleared the government test and my in-laws said that because I cleared the test for the lectureship… my father-in-law said you must do the job…after marriage I have a lot of duties and I find it difficult to manage everything.

I asked Sharmeela, a young unmarried teacher, how she decided to become a teacher. She told me,

Actually, I wanted to be a lawyer, but my father, being a judge, said that the environment is not good. I said I will go into practice with you and he said no. I was interested in English literature because I have an interest in reading. I am happy I chose it because I enjoyed my course a lot.

Sharmeela's father supported her having a career, but directed her towards a more acceptable career for women.

Sadia, who has been teaching in this school for 30 years felt that things were changing for girls and they have more opportunities than in the past, but for her teaching is a good position for women. She said,

In our days, there was only medical or teaching profession, but now…a number of professions, not only in medical, teaching or engineering… they are doing PhD in environmental sciences, lawyers, architects… almost in every profession girls are

engaged in Pakistan. I think that 10 or 15 years back [women] preferred teaching jobs after marriage. We have so many other work- in teaching profession there are more vacations… I think it's the most suitable profession.

The views of the teachers on the purpose of education for girls seems to sit within the middle-class notions of women's responsibilities and family honor and while they talked about wanting to have other careers, they did not speak of their lack of agency in choosing as an infringement on their rights or aspirations, but instead as part of the duties of Pakistani women.

Citizenship education is necessarily entwined in these demands on the school to produce honorable middle class women; citizenship is a part of social practice and a cultural and gendered performance (Butler, 1988) which is learned in part through schooling. Therefore, this school must promote a citizenship that fits within the cultural expectations of middle class women and adhere to notions of honor within the boundaries of women's duties. The views of teachers regarding citizenship and the ways in which this translates into citizenship education through school practices illustrate how this school is encouraging students to perform their expected roles as middle class women.

Expectations of the Feminine citizen: Teachers understandings of citizenship

Critical education tells us that teachers' own understandings influence what is being taught to students. For that reason, in this section, I explore how the social studies and language teachers interviewed understand citizenship and their expectations of students as citizens. I analyze these understandings through the lens of theories of citizenship discussed in Chapter 3. In the following section, I will examine how and to what extent their understandings of citizenship are enacted through school practice.

Defining Citizenship: Unquestioning Patriotism and a duty to the 'common good'

In the interviews with teachers and the vice principals, I asked what they felt was important for students to learn about citizenship while in school. Nearly all the teachers interviewed discussed citizenship as synonymous with patriotism, a patriotism which is not questioning or seeking change, but sympathetic to the problems of the country, without attempting to address those problems. For example, Aala, a Home Economics teacher said,

I think they [students] should be very patriotic because even though it has the problems we are facing and we have to get out of these problems, they should be sympathetic and patriotic to their country.

This unquestioning patriotism reflects unidimensional citizenship that Ben-Porath (2009) describes of citizenship during wartime in which patriotism becomes the primary focus of

citizenship. It also indicates a liberal understanding of citizenship as a relationship between the individual and the state. These findings also reflect Rubina Saigol's findings regarding citizenship education in Pakistan. She argues,

> *Citizens are expected to be obedient, docile, law-abiding, fiercely loyal, and patriotic even though the state may be unwilling to provide the goods and services for which people pay taxes (Saigol, 2003, p.135).*

However, some teachers extended the definition of citizenship from only patriotism to including contributing to the common good of Pakistanis. This more closely reflects notions of a republican citizenship, as well as *Ummah,* the Islamic concept of community. The vice principal schools said,

> *We are Pakistani. We love the country. We should work very hard for our country as citizens of Pakistan and improve our relationships with other countries and promote education.*

Faiza, an Urdu teacher told me,

> *[A good Pakistani is one] …who is loyal to his country…. who do not see only his own interests, but the interests of the country. You are a Pakistani, so you only have to work for Pakistan, I mean your vision should be broad…If he is a good person, definitely he will be a good Pakistani.*

These understandings of citizenship are also gendered. As Rouse (2004) discusses, women as citizens are defined through *"references to some broader good"* (p.109). She goes on to say that women's citizenship is rooted in the nationalist movement as a part of the development and broader good of the nation, rather than on individual rights. Further, Faiza's use of the masculine pronouns while discussing the citizens, illustrates the embeddedness of the legitimacy of men as citizens. By using this pronoun, she is excluding women from the definition of citizen.

Saigol (2000) argues that women's citizenship in Pakistan is also is understood in terms of duties, especially to the family. The teachers' responses about women as citizens reflected this. Supporting their family and focusing on the home was a common thread among teachers and their understanding how women specifically can contribute as citizens of Pakistan. Abida, a Pakistan studies teacher told me,

> *You can play your part at home. If your family members are with you, you can solve their problems. Because you are the educated one… it will be a service to the nation.*

Faiza also understood women's roles as citizens in reference to the home. She said,

> *All the time women in society are thinking about their problems, they have to support their family, take care of the children, the in-laws, we have to make everyone happy.*

These teachers' understandings of citizenship support the liberal citizenship binary between the public and private spheres with women's sphere of influence almost completely within the private. Their responses are also consistent with the traditional gender roles of middle class Pakistanis, which emphasize caring for in-laws and children (Jafar, 2005).

Other aspects of liberal theories of citizenship were not evident in teachers' responses including rights and responsibilities to the state. This may be, in part, due to the notion that women are part of the private sphere which is not concerned with the state. When asked what they would like their students to know about being a citizen of Pakistan, many teachers did not understand the question (even when translated into Urdu). Even when prompted and asked about rights and responsibilities, teachers had a difficult time answering the question. When they did answer, many of the teachers used the term patriotic to describe the responsibilities of a citizen. For example, the following is an excerpt from an interview with a Pakistan Studies teacher. I first asked her what she would like for her students to know about being citizens of Pakistan. She did not understand the question, so I elaborated.

> Researcher: *What are the responsibilities and rights you would like your students to know about as citizens of Pakistan?*
>
> Abida: *Responsibilities towards the school?*
>
> Researcher: *No, what it means to be a Pakistani citizen.*
>
> Abida: *They should be patriotic.*
>
> Researcher: *What do you mean by patriotic?*
>
> Abida: *Whatever circumstances you are living here; you should love your country. You must know well the ideology of Pakistan; you must respect the ideology of Pakistan. There should be no, you can say discrimination against your class, your religious sect…You should treat everyone as a Pakistani citizen.*

Other teachers equated citizenship to moral beliefs and actions associated with being a good Muslim and a good person.

> *Sharmeela: They have a duty to do well in school. That will help them in the future and that will help the country. If they manage to go to any other university, if they manage to finish 16-18 grades that will help the country. They don't need to think about being a doctor, lawyer. Whatever they want to do, they should do it well and that will help the country.*
>
> *Irum: They behave well in society. They can judge between right and wrong.*
>
> *Faiza: If you make them honest to themselves, then they will be honest to everyone, not only to parents and teachers, but to everyone, to the shopkeeper, to the bus conductor…to everyone.*

Only two teachers commented on women's rights when asked about their understandings of citizenship in the interviews. Laila, an Urdu teacher, was very clear of her position about women and their rights. She said,

> *I am not in favor of girls' freedom…. Because according to Islamic values there are limitations for girls. And I like them. There should be the hold of man on women.*

Laila's response hinted perhaps at the reasons that identifying rights was not something that women regularly thought of or could discuss. Laila indicates a strong influence of her interpretation of religion in regulating women's rights, and 'freedom'.

Sharmeela did not agree that women should have limited rights, but also indicated that she believes that individual interpretation of religion, not the government that withholds rights from women. She said,

> *You see that it is the conservative view of the family. Not the right given by our religion, not the right devised by the state, not the basic human rights protected by the constitution. The basic human rights are protected by the constitution. That is very much up to date, that is very much modern. But the problem is the conservative attitude of the families.*

Both Laila and Sharmeela understood women's rights as something that was restricted by the family, specifically the male heads of families. This brings into focus the ways the teachers understood women's citizenship as occupying the private sphere and subject to a patriarchal family structure. The teachers understood women's responsibilities to be to their families with duties of supporting the broader good. None of the teachers talked about the responsibilities to the state including voting or paying taxes, for example, but discussed an unquestioning patriotism. This is perhaps indicative of the nation building project of Pakistan, which focuses on the tensions with India as the ominous other. Additionally, this unquestioning patriotism is in line with Ben-Porath's (2009) notion of a unidimensional citizenship in which patriotism and faith in the state become the paramount indicator of citizenship during times of war. The lack of acknowledgement (or perhaps knowledge) of rights as part of citizenship reflects both the liberal and traditional division of the public and private spheres, with women relegated to the private sphere. The legacy of the Hudood Ordinances also means that women lack the rights of their male counter parts (Jamal, 2006). This is especially true for the middle-class women, who, as discussed in chapter 2, were most affected by these laws (Jafar, 2005). However, looking beyond the liberal definition of citizenship, as Yuval-Davis (1997) suggests, the duties teachers discussed were perhaps not to their state, but duties to their society, their community, and to their families.

Gender Performance as Civic Values

To gain further insight into teachers' expectations of students as citizens, I conducted an activity with teachers regarding civic values they hoped to instill in their students. The results very much correspond to the expected performance of middle class women in Pakistan.

Many of these civic values listed in Table 5 also came out as strong themes in interviews and in the observations of school practice.   Only two teachers present at the workshop also participated in the interviews, indicating that these values are indicative of the school culture, rather than the ideas of a few teachers.

Table 5: Teachers' Ranking of Civic Values
1.   Strong Faith
2.   Patriotism
3.   Truthfulness
4.   Purity/Cleanliness
5.   Tolerance/Democratic
6.   Disciplined
7.   Punctual/ Regular
8.   Respect Elders and Teachers
9.   Gracefulness
10. Helpfulness
11. Modern, but not Western

Some of the 'civic values' listed may be considered universal expectations teachers have of students like being "*punctual/regular*" and "*respecting their elders and teachers*".

Teachers also included "*tolerant/democratic*" in the list of civic values they felt were important for their students. It was the only mention of democracy or related words throughout my data collection. The grouping of tolerant and democratic is significant as it shows that teachers understand these concepts as related or synonymous, though they did not expand on what they meant by these terms. The choice of words is interesting in the absence of any evidence of this discourse anywhere else in the school.   These words are used repeatedly in international discourse, especially through development projects.   It is possible that they included this because it may be what they thought I wanted to hear. Alternatively, they may consider this as part of community building, especially within their own school. Because there is a lot of diversity in ethnic, religious and socio-economic class, they may need to incorporate ideas of tolerance more rigorously than might be done in a more homogeneous school.

Many of the other results of the activity reflected a conflation between citizenship and gender performance, specifically for middle class women in Pakistan. For example, all three groups of teachers listed *"Strong Faith" first on their lists.* This may be related to the legacy of the political Islamization of Zia-ul-Haq's regime. One outcome of the Zia Regime was the shift from religion as a personal matter, to a surveillance of women especially to ensure compliance with the gendered religious expectations (Naseem, 2010).   This surveillance of religion was noticeable at several points during the workshop. For example, as the teachers brainstormed the civic values they would like to include, "Strong Faith" was mentioned third. After one

teacher mentioned it, another said, *"Now that it has been said, we all must rank it first*." And this is what was done, each of the three groups ranked Strong Faith first on their lists.

Some of the other values listed also strongly adhere to the performance of Pakistani women. For example, the teachers included '*Purity/ Cleanliness'* as a civic value. This is something that is monitored throughout the school every day. There are Student Union Members whose job it is to ensure that other students' uniforms are properly cleaned and worn, and the prospectus tells us that there is a fine for an untidy uniform.

The importance of cleanliness for women can be understood from a cultural and historical perspective. First, women are expected to keep themselves clean in every sense of the word. They are expected to remain virgins until their marriage and this is an important aspect of being a proper Muslim woman. Additionally, there is a colonial rhetoric of cleanliness which still impacts culture today. Under British rule in the sub-continent, the education system used rhetoric around the 'unclean' native who resisted British rule and the educated clean native who kept his or her place in society. Saigol (2005) states that during British colonization…

> *Cleanliness became synonymous with good, modern citizenship. Cleanliness was not only a bodily, but a political metaphor which meant a politically sanitized person incapable of mounting revolt of challenging colonial power (p.136).*

This concept has also come to be understood in contrast to the Hindu and more recently the Western other, which are positioned as the immoral and unclean others (Saigol, 2005).

At the bottom of the ranking activity, *Modern, but not Western* was ranked last by all three groups. This was a contested addition to the brainstorming part of the activity, and again represents the surveillance of women by women to stay within their boundaries. When one teacher suggested Modern another teacher added*, "But not Western."* And the other teachers were quick to agree and write that explanation down next to Modern. In a conversation with my research assistant, I learned that the term 'Modern' is often used as a negative term for a woman who dresses in an inappropriate way (wearing a sleeveless top for example) and who is considered to have loose morals, which are characteristics associated with Western women. Therefore, by adding this caveat, they could change the meaning a woman who perhaps works in a profession, and is free to make her own life choices. Nevertheless, all three groups ranked this last among the qualities.

According to Jafar (2005) this contrasting between Western and the ideal of a Muslim woman began during colonial rule in India. Jafar argues that women's bodies and their veiling were considered a symbol of the resistance against colonial rulers. She notes that no matter how

'Western' the public (male) sphere became, people could take comfort in the knowledge that the private (female) sphere had remained 'untouched'. This notion of womanhood separated Muslims from the West, which is often considered deviant. However, throughout the nation building of Pakistan as a Muslim State, especially after Zia's time, women came to not only represent setting themselves apart from the West, but also the Hindus of India, which are often portrayed negatively. This is consistent with Saigol's (2000) notion of how 'good womanhood' is defined in contrast with the Western and Hindu notions of womanhood. She adds, *"Western and Hindu cultures are both constructed as negative others, that is, impure and morally depraved (p.144)"*. The results of this are expectations of women as citizens that tightly constrain them to conform to these 'modern, but not Western' standards of womanhood. The otherness that separates Pakistani statehood from the other rests in the purity and modesty of women (Rouse, 2004).

The results of this activity shed light on the nature of values that teachers hope to instill in students and their conflation with gender performativity. All eleven of the civic values are consistent with the research on the notions of the ideal middle class woman. For example, Naseem (2010) discusses a 1991 study done by Hussain & Shah to understand how good women were portrayed on Pakistani television in light of the political Islamization which occurred under Zia-al-Haq. They found that good women were portrayed as *"self-sacrificing, self-abnegating, virtuous, domesticated, mother, daughter, sister, honest, in poverty, loyal, religious, emotional, irrational (p.78)"*. Naseem goes on to say that women on television falling outside of these categories were portrayed as "bad women". Saigol (2000) argues that the purpose of girls' citizenship education to… "*create a "civilized," "obedient*," "*well-mannered," "honest," "truthful" and "modernized" citizen… (p.140).*" Her arguments (through more strongly rooted in colonial citizenship than Zia era Islamization) are consistent with the study of television done in 1991. Hussain & Shah's study is rooted in the Islamic movement of the late 1970s, and Saigol cites the colonial history as the foundation of these passive traits that govern how women perform citizenship. It would seem that Pakistan's combined history of the expectation of women has had a strong influence on teachers' understandings of citizenship for women citizen. The ways that teachers understand citizenship combined with the official discourse of the curriculum come together to create aspects of school practice that encourage students to embody these gendered notions of citizenship.

School Practice and Reproducing Gendered Citizenship

In the micropolitical context of a school, the discourses and ideology of citizenship are portrayed by the textbooks and in how teachers' own views are enacted through everyday

school practice. In this section I will examine how teachers teach in the classroom and the implications for citizenship learning as well as how other aspects of school practice encourages gendered performances of citizenship. In this section, I explore how the school promotes citizenship through classroom practice, student activities, and through the school community.

(Un)Criticality in the Classroom: Missed opportunity for civic learning

Teaching in Pakistan government schools often focuses on students passing the national exam and teachers' performance (and reputation) is judged by their students' results on the exam. Exam questions are taken from the information provided in the textbooks and often require students to memorize and directly quote passages from the text. Teachers are required to ensure that they cover the material in the textbook. This leaves little time for changes to classroom practices that might detract from the time spent on preparing students for exams including active-learning techniques (Emerson, et al., 2010). The school calendar states the following about the relationship between the classroom and citizenship:

> *Through incorporating education sustainability into our classroom, we are helping our students create a more healthy, habitable & equitable world by helping them become active citizens (School Calendar 2014, cover).*

Although, this quote implies that they encourage students to actively engage in the classroom, all the teachers discussed that they use only lecture methods to teach at the secondary level. This was evidenced through the classroom observations in which most teachers lectured by reading from the textbook and asking students questions at the end of the chapter.

In the three Pakistan Studies classes observed, lecture methods focused on getting through the required content as well as the memorization of names and dates in the chapter. For example, Sadia has taught Pakistan Studies for 30 years and therefore was able to recite the textbook without reading it throughout the entire class period. She recited the textbook, stopped to translate words into Urdu and make a few comments of her own. After getting through the text for the day, she asked students the questions at the end of the chapter. The English and Urdu lessons I observed followed much of the same pattern as the Pakistan Studies classes. Sharmeela's English class took place in a large lecture hall even though there were only 10 students present. She rushed through the reading of a poem and asked students about the meaning of words, but did not ask students to think about the meaning of the poem. The only communication between the teacher and students in each of the classes outside of the set questions was the teacher translating words into Urdu or students asking for translation of words. I did not observe any discussion among students or between students and teachers regarding the content of the lesson.

However, a few teachers did vary their teaching methods slightly from the standard lecture method. One Pakistan Studies teacher, Shaista, didn't read through the text, but told the students the story of Hyder Ali (an Indian Muslim war hero) in her own words and asked questions of the students as they went through the chapter. The questions she asked, however, were fact-based questions (e.g. *"What year was Hyder Ali born?").* She used the board to write key concepts and then also gave students time to read in pairs. However, even this was limited by the short 35 minutes of class time.

In the classrooms observed, there were several missed opportunities for teachers to utilize discussion or activities to critically engage students with civic concepts. For example, during Abida's Pakistan Studies class, the topic was the final chapter of the Pakistan Studies textbook, "The Outlook of a Welfare State". Abida was in a hurry to cover the material as they were behind schedule on the syllabus. She read the textbook aloud to the students, stopping only to ask students if they understand words, but not waiting for their answers and giving the translation in Urdu. During the lesson, Jinnah quotes regarding freedom of religion and the evils of nepotism were part of the lesson. Abida read through the quotes quickly without stopping to discuss the implications of these statements. Therefore, creating a missed opportunity for discussion about two current issues facing Pakistan.

The lack of varied teaching methods impacts the teaching of citizenship in several ways. First, while learning civics can be done through content (of which there is very little in this case), teaching methodology also impacts students' views and understanding of citizenship. Active techniques like discussion and role-play have been shown to be more effective than lecture to engage students in civic concepts (Levine & Bishai, 2010).

In addition to the types of teaching methods employed to engage (or not engage) students and encourage critical thinking, regarding civic knowledge, other aspects of classroom management can model civic engagement. Levine & Bishai (2010) argue that in the classroom, teachers can model as positive balance between authority and citizen input that is critical to a participatory political system. However, for most of the teachers observed, classroom management seemed to emphasize an authoritarian model which rewards the passive and silent student. In Abida's class, she stood behind the podium for the entirety of the class, and used her hand to hit the podium to create a loud noise to get students' attention or to tell students to stop talking. When she asked questions of students she would call on a particular student to answer and the student would stand to answer. If the student answered incorrectly or did not answer, she would say, *"No, sit down."* And call on another student. One teacher

that I observed, Shaista, a senior Pakistan Studies teacher, did try to engage students by moving around the classrooms to check on students and asking students to volunteer answers. However, here again the time constraints and the lack of additional learning resources limited the type of teaching methods she could employ.

The lack of engaging students in critical thinking through classroom management also extended to the students' work that hung on the walls of the classrooms. Every work on the wall was meticulously copied from one of the textbooks. However, a group of students excitedly showed me artwork for their art class which illustrated some space for creativity. Each of the art projects was different, included pictures of nature and some contained inspirational quotes.

Because I had limited time to observe classes and because of the lack of content directly relating to citizenship, I also asked teachers in interviews to tell me how they teach citizenship including rights and responsibilities. The teachers unanimously answered that they do not teach this through classes, but instead through 'unconscious' and 'informal' interactions with students. As Sadia told me,

> *Unconsciously we created the sense of patriotism, all teachers discuss not formally, informally... Automatically during [national] elections they know about their rights. When they are in any problem in the class or they want to arrange any party or want to go to a picnic, they come and write an application go to the principal. In this way, with the passage of time they become aware of these things. We are creating awareness unconsciously, steady and gradually, not formally, informally.*

Teachers also discussed the idea of giving moral lectures to students as a means of teaching about their rights and responsibilities as citizens. For example, Aleeza said, "*[We teach them through] Moral lecture to be a good human being, not just student… They know, they are trying to be good citizens, they know a lot of terminologies*".

Laila goes further to explain why she thinks it's not important to teach students formally about citizenship. She said,

> *It is not important to teach them formally. While teaching any subject we give them the moral lesson on small things. For example, if there is any misunderstandings between them, we tell them how to solve it by advising them… we only teach them totally through informal ways because we have to complete the syllabus and there is no special subject related to this.*

So, while teachers are only informally teaching about students' rights, they are also finding ways through their classroom practice to encourage students to demonstrate the gendered performances discussed in the previous section.

One way that teachers indirectly promoted gendered citizenship, was through the types of students that were favored. When asked to describe their favorite student, most teachers mirrored the same types of characteristics mentioned in the ranking activity.

For example, Irum and Aleeza focused on cleanliness which they also link to good results. Irum said her favorite student is one who is, *"Confident, well-behaved, not rude, show good results and takes care of cleanliness."* Aleeza said, *"[My favorite student] … is always neat and clean. Her copies are so good. Copies are completed and behavior with every teacher is very good. She participates in the class."*

Another teacher, Faiza was most concerned with obedience and links it to religious duty. She said,

> *She is brilliant in her studies, but it hit me that the thing I like most about her is that she is very obedient… and very cooperative to me in the recitation of the naut [reading of the Holy Quran] and whatever I say, she helps me out.*

However, Aleeza, a political science teacher, had different ideas about students than many of her colleagues. She said that she likes students who ask a lot of questions including questioning what they are learning. However, she notes that it is very unusual for students to ask questions. She said,

> *It's my opinion that they are trained this way from class 1… you tell the student, sit down, don't ask. This has been the way in our country.*

In addition to the way classes are taught and the behavior encouraged, the types of classes offered in the school also encourage students to excel in areas that are those that are associated with skills needed for homemaking. The home economics department and the art room were among the best resourced in the school. Image 6 is a picture of the home economics room. It is equipped with gas hobs and ovens, microwaves, refrigerators, and the counters are full of displays of student projects. The arts room

Image 6: The home economics classroom

looks much the same, stocked with art supplies and examples of students' work. There is also a computer and science lab, but both are out of date and I did not see them being used by students. However, these special classrooms were better equipped than the interiors of the regular classrooms, which are dark and have only a podium and teachers' table and old

wooden student desks and completely lack teaching resources beyond the textbooks, and handmade posters copied by students or teachers from textbooks.

The classroom practices in this school have implications for citizenship education. Firstly, the absence of criticality and student engagement is not consistent with Faour's (2012) study of citizenship education which found that active learning approaches support the development of social and civic knowledge. Students are not being taught question their society or to identify the ways in which it promotes or hinders their agency to act as citizens of Pakistan. Secondly, classroom practices encourage gendered behavior consistent with the notions of middle class womanhood.

Student Activities: Preparing middle class women

In addition to the activities inside the classroom, school practice extends into the activities, clubs, and events that schools offer students. In many government schools in Pakistan, there is little opportunity to engage in activities outside of the classroom. But because the case study school is a model college, there are several opportunities for students of all ages to participate in extracurricular activities and school events. Giving students opportunities to participate in activities and civic projects help the school or their community teach them how to engage in civic life outside of the school (Faour, 2012). Many of the teachers felt that there were not a lot of opportunities to teach specifically about citizenship. For example, the vice principal colleges told me,

> I don't think [we do] a lot of pointed teaching, a lot is by example, a lot of it is by indirect ways. Making them care for the culture, making them do co-curricular activities, like the council, making them do duties, making them do work. And I found generally this helps them.

However, the case study school is also tasked with preparing middle class women for their lives after they complete their education. To meet these two objectives, the school offers several clubs and yearly activities. Table 6 is the list of clubs offered according to the Prospectus. Many of these student activities are suited for the gender norms for girls by including indoor and artistic activities which are spheres that are acceptable for women to engage in as they prepare for middle class womanhood. They differ from activities at boys' model schools in Islamabad which in addition to some of the same clubs (e.g. science and debating club), but also include outdoor and leadership clubs including hiking and scouts (IMCB, 2012).

One of the school's major yearly events is Union Week. Union week is an opportunity for students to engage in intermural competitions with students from other government girls' schools in Islamabad. Like the clubs, most of these events seem quite gendered and include jewelry making, flower arranging, drama and debates in both English and Urdu, computer graphics and art. This event contributes to the schools' goal to groom girls as proper women. Even events which are not inherently gendered have gendered themes. For example, the theme for the English speech was "Love is blind, marriage is an eye opener." And the poster or PowerPoint presentation for the computer section was based on the topic of the importance of teachers in the lives of students. There were also clear instructions that no political or controversial content was to be used in any debates or speeches. The rules also included a clause that no Indian music is allowed as part of the competitions.

Table 6: Girls' Model School Club and Societies
English literary Club
Urdu Literary Club
Science Club
History Club
Geography Club
Dramatic Society
Debating Society
Music Club
Sports Society
Photographic Club
Computers Society
Fine Arts Society

Perhaps the important and prestigious activity for students' civic learning is the Student Union. The Student Union is the student governing body and includes a president, members, civic society members, and leaders of various other areas including Urdu, English, Drama, and discipline. According to the Prospectus, the Student Union is responsible for, *"… checking behavior, uniform, and discipline during college hours… (p. 28)."* The student union members all wear sashes with their position on them including president, civil society (cleaners), discipline who are responsible for maintaining discipline during recess, and during classes in their respective subjects. The President is responsible for discussing any issues that students have with the principal. Some of the activities that they said they had done (when their teacher reminded them) included a walk to raise awareness for cleanliness.

At the secondary school level, Union members are not elected by classmates, but are selected by teachers. For the higher-level positions, students must submit their CV to the principal and the principal interviews them. This process then is based on teacher preference for students who model the behaviors that the school values. However, at the college level, students are selected through student election by their peers; this coincides with the year that students begin taking civics as a subject which reinforces an exclusionary citizenship in which only those Pakistanis who reach college age are expected to engage in the political process.

The student union members embodied the ideals of good citizens that teachers listed. They were all very polite, well spoken, and looked very put together in their immaculate school

uniforms. The union members mostly wanted to go into professional careers that are considered acceptable for women in Pakistan and were listed among the careers in the School Prospectus. The Union members said they wanted to be teachers, lecturers, bankers, and doctors. In the first half of the focus group discussion, there was no teacher present and the students were openly answering my questions. When their teacher did come in, the environment changed and the teacher spent time translating my questions to Urdu (even though they all spoke English very well) and instructing them on how to respond in Urdu. They listened to her and answered as she told them to respond.

The student union members who were responsible for different aspects of keeping the school safe and clean like the discipline and environment members, seemed especially unclear about what their exact role was. They did not seem to know what was expected of them, it was only when the teacher instructed them, did they answer by translating what she said from Urdu to English. Thus, giving a sense that the Student Union was not as active as the teachers would have liked me to believe.

I also conducted a focus group discussion with randomly selected students from grades 6-10. These students seemed to be a contrast to the refined and obedient students of the Student Union. Most of them were outspoken and asked me questions and answered mine without a sense of trying to say 'the right thing' despite the vice principal's presence for the entire discussion. These girls had several ideas for what they wanted to do for jobs that fell outside of the ideal work for women, though many of them did want to be doctors and teachers. A few of the girls wanted to work for NGOs, be pilots, dentists, Islamic scholars, and politicians.

The differences in the two focus groups, illustrates how the behaviors associated with femininity and passiveness are rewarded. The Union members were all graceful and obedient when their teacher was in the room. It seems that the 'civic' values teachers discussed were very much embodied by these students. Those students who were randomly selected represented a wider cross-section of the students at the school with different opinions and ideas about their role as Pakistani citizens indicating how students with dispositions that match the ideals of middle class women are rewarded by teachers through selecting them for positions of respect within the school.

Visual Messages and School Events: Supporting the Broader Good

A focus for girls and for the school is the importance of contributing to the broader good. Charity and social projects have long been work of women, particularly elite women (Jafar, 2005). The importance of charity also became clear through the teachers' discussions of

citizenship. Charity and supporting the broader good is also prominent in the official school discourse. The School Code of Honor (see below), is a verse from the Quran that encourages all to *"practice regular charity"* and the Prospectus states that … *"students are prepared for personal and professional success while contributing to the betterment of the larger community (p.4)."*

The importance of charity and supporting the broader good are often framed as part of the Muslim faith. The school's Code of Honor, found on the entrance to the school as well as in all school marketing documents, illustrates the religious underpinning of caring for those in need. It reads:

> *Worship none but Allah;*
> *Treat with Kindness Your parents and kindred,*
> *And orphans and those in need;*
> *Speak fair to the people; Be steadfast in prayer;*
> *And practice regular charity.*
> *(al Baqara 83).* (School Code of Honor, Prospectus, p. 2)

The importance of the role of women as contributors to the greater good of the nation, are also strongly emphasized in the only two visual messages regarding women I saw in the school during my data collection.   The two posters, images 5 and 6, are both stories of the contribution of women to the Pakistan Movement. The first image is a biography of Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who played a major role in the Pakistan movement. This description of Fatima Jinnah positions her as an extension of her brother, rather than her own person. She is also described as loving and loyal and a lifelong companion to her great brother, rather than a dentist, political leader, and founding member of the Pakistan Movement. Her work for the Pakistan Movement is described as selfless, and sincere.

Image 5: Fatima Jinnah Biography hanging in a corridor of the case study school

This supporting role of women is also noted in the second poster about the role of women in the Pakistan Movement. Here again, women are described as supporters of their famous male family members and did selfless work including working as a secretary and taking no salary. The poster states that Lady Mohammad Ali addressed large gatherings of Muslims wearing a burqa. The inclusion of the detail that she was wearing a burqa serves to address the fact that this woman was venturing into the public domain, which is not considered appropriate for

women, but wearing a burqa illustrates that she was doing so while keeping her modesty (and therefore honor) intact.

These two posters seem to be the only visual messaged in the school guiding girls about women's roles as citizens of Pakistan. Yet, these women discussed on these posters (and certainly most women who are discussed in history) are those from the upper classes of Urdu speakers and are usually related to important men (Rouse, 2004). The role of women from other ethnic backgrounds, and those from outside the elite classes, are wholly excluded from history taught in schools. Therefore, these girls who are from the lower middle classes, are ethnic or religious minorities, never have the chance to learn about women like them contributing to the history of Pakistan.
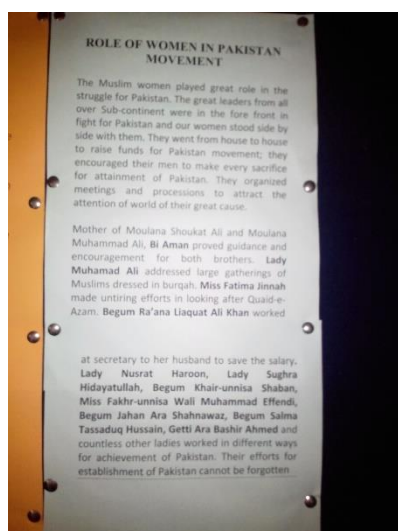
Image 6: The Role of Women in the Pakistan Movement Poster

The messages about contributing to the broader good are found throughout the school and seem to be a valued part of the school ethos, yet are not fully realized through activities like the meena bazaar. In fact, supporting the broader good as it is done through school practice, has the residual effect of reproducing power relations including the authoritarian nature of the way the school is managed as is seen through the meena bazaar and also the charity which is given to lower level staff. Although this does in many ways help improve family status by providing free education to the daughters of the staff, it also maintains the power relations that position those staff members as indebted to those from a higher economic class. Also, messages like the posters about the women of the Pakistan Movement continue the idea that women are to serve as supports to men, that they are not, themselves, leaders of political movements.

Contribution to the broader good also came through as an important aspect of school practice. One simple example of this was when I visited the home economics and art departments, there were many projects made by students. The teacher explained that the supplies to make the projects are brought to school by students. I asked what do students do if they cannot afford to buy the supplies. And the teachers told me that those who can afford it share with those who cannot. The school also conducts charity on a large scale and teachers reported that students collected donations for victims of some of the natural disasters in Pakistan's recent history.

Perhaps the biggest charity event each year is the Meena Bazaar. Meena Bazaars are common events hosted by schools in Pakistan usually to raise funds for the school and managed by the Parent Teacher Association. Usually these events are a small set of booths run by parents, teachers, and students selling snacks, sometimes handicrafts, and doing henna design. In the case study school, the Meena Bazaar was a huge event with nearly 50 booths, carnival rides, and student competitions. The school grounds were filled with students and their mothers and sisters enjoying the day.

The purpose of the meena bazaar was to raise money for charity, making it a potential civic learning opportunity for students. Preparing and managing booths as well as the notion of raising money for a charity that is important to students can contribute to their civic growth as well as business skills. However, although the event was enjoyed by students, there were several missed opportunities for civic learning.

Image 7: My research assistant and I attending the meena bazaar.

First, there was a lack of charitable spirit integrated into the design of the event that would allow students to engage meaningfully in the charitable aspect of the event. First of all, all students were required to pay 100 rupees towards the event, even if they did not attend. Tickets were a separate (but minimal) cost. Also, students were not engaged in the preparation for the day or booth management. Finally, and most importantly, students were unclear where the money raised was going. I asked students at the event and many said simply, *"Charity"* and some believed the money went directly to the teachers. In addition to the students lack of clarity about the funds, the teachers themselves were unclear as to where the funds would go. When asked, many of the teachers also said, *"Charity"* but had no further explanation, while others said *"to the school,"* but did not know what they school did with the funds. It was not until the next day, that I was able to get a clear understanding of the purpose of the fundraising. A senior teacher explained that the money raised went into a pool at the school that was used to help lower level administrative staff and with emergencies including funeral and wedding expenses. It seems the funds might also be used for the families of students who were in need, but this was never made clear.

While this event brought students and their families together with teachers for a fun day, there were a lot of missed opportunities to teach students about community and charity. If

teachers and students are clear about the purpose of the fundraising, it may contribute to better understand their role in providing welfare to those within their community.

Also, students had very little opportunity to engage in the preparations for the event. Giving students the option to come up with an idea for a booth and managing it themselves or jointly with a teacher would teach students a sense of responsibility as well as business skills. With teachers solely managing the booths, the authoritarian culture of school continues.

School Community as Civic Learning

Cogan & Derricott (1998) suggest that citizenship education should include a spatial dimension (the capacity to see oneself as a member of several overlapping communities – local, regional, national, and multinational). The school accomplishes this, to an extent, by promoting a strong sense of community within their school. Many of the teachers and staff discussed the pride associated with attending this school. The teachers and the students refer to themselves by a nickname that gives them an identity as a member of a community that still holds some prestige, despite the real and imagined decline of the quality of education provided there. Many of the teachers referred to themselves by this name with a sense of pride. On the back of the calendar, bold letters say, *"Empowering [nickname]".* This was often used as synonymous with good citizenship. The Vice Principal Colleges spoke at length about the community within the school as a means of pride. She said,

> *I think all in all we try to inculcate in them the spirit of caring for the institution, to care for themselves, and to care for their families. And when they step out into their real lives that will help them a lot. …We have alumni … and they are ready to do teacher training on their own time. I think it all finally gets together when they step out into the real world.*

Alia, a home economics teacher said that what she liked the most about the school was her department. She said,

> *I like my department because they are like my family… it's good when I am here with them and we always do everything together. If we have any work to do or we arrange any competition, we are always together. I like it very much.*

However, one teacher, Irum, who had been teaching in this school for 25 years, felt that she was excluded from the community. Irum used the school nickname to refer to a group of teachers who were from powerful elite families who she felt controlled the school. And because if her middle class upbringing, she did not feel that she was a part of the group, despite her long career and senior status as a teacher. In fact, because many of my first interactions were with Irum, I did not realize that this term was intended to be inclusive of all members of the community.

Although Irum did not feel that she was part of the community, the administrative staff did feel that they were very much a part of the community and that they and their families benefited from that inclusion. For the three administrative staff I interviewed, the school also provided them a community and an opportunity to educate their daughters and seemed to provide them with some social protection. One administrator told me,

> This is a very good place to work. As this is one of the big institutions so administration is active… we have protection here, not only internally but also externally on the government level. This kind of institutions are given protection. We are also provided help at any level we need. Everyone is treated in a good way.

When I asked if there are any problems, the same administrator said, *"Madam please don't ask me this question. Don't separate us from each other. This is our home and we are all like family members".*

One man, the chowkidar, who had been with the school since the 1980s, was very enthusiastic to talk to me and tell me how grateful he was for his position. He told me that in the time he has worked there, he has never had to pay for his clothes or for the weddings of his children. These are paid for by the school (in addition to his salary, which can be assumed to be very little). His two daughters were educated in the school through the college level, and he was grateful for that as well as he said that otherwise they might not have been educated.

The chowkidar told me why he thinks the school is a good place for students to learn about being a citizen. He said, *"The school teaches them [students] good things. I give you an example that if any student finds any money… they give it back to teachers. So, it's good training of the school".*

The chowkidar's daughter was also educated at the school free of cost to him including her uniform and books. He seemed quite proud of her. He said,

> She was good in studies and a position holder. Education was also very good at the time. Her mother was uneducated but I usually called her to tell her how the education is important. My daughter then taught here for 16 years!"

This man's experience illustrates the positive ways in which this school contributed to the status of his family through providing a community environment that supports all of its members.

Beyond the staff and students, parents play in integral role in creating a community within a school and can contribute to the demonstration of democratic management. This is evidenced by the Learning and Educational Achievement in Punjab Study (LEAPS). It was found that lost-cost private school students out performed their government school counterparts in academic

subjects, but also in civic knowledge (Andrabi, et al., 2007). One reason given for this is the democratic way private schools are run, especially in regard to parent involvement. Although I was not able to systematically engage with parents for this research, I was able to observe engagement during my time in the school as well as gain second hand information from teachers. From my observation, involvement of parents in the school seemed to be limited. Although the Vice Principle told me that there is a Parent Teacher Association, I did not witness this or see any evidence in engagement of parents in the school, except the participation of mothers in the Meena Bazaar. One mother who was at the meena bazaar told my research assistant that the school management does not provide proper education and textbooks were not given to the students on time. She complained that the administration was not willing to listen to her and they *'would not allow them to go to the directorate for any query.'* My research assistant reported that although this parent was not happy with the school management, she felt it was comparatively better than other government schools in the area. On the other hand, some of the teachers also reported that parents only intervened when they were concerned about their children's exam results or had a complaint about one of the teachers.

The sense of community at the school seemed to be quite strong and carried a sense of pride for at least those teachers who had been around long enough to have been a part of its elite history. For students and parents, however, it seems that while the school does offer the safety and stability many parents seek for their daughters' education, the quality does not necessarily meet their expectations, and it's perhaps this lack of enthusiasm that somewhat diminishes parent involvement in the school.

Despite promoting community within the school, there was little evidence of encouraging students to engage with communities outside of the school. This then does not meet the suggestions of multidimensional citizenship to teach students to engage with the multiple overlapping including the regional, national, and international. It can also be understood to contribute to the prioritization of a unidimensional identity, rather than on the multiple identities of each individual.

Conclusion

Overall, women's citizenship that is taught through this school's practice is framed in patriotism, duty to the family, and supporting the 'broader good'. It emphasizes duty to family through both service and ensuring the family honor by embodying the ideals of women within their society. It was important for the school to provide an environment which balanced

traditional ideals of middle class womanhood with providing a quality education. This was done through the promotion of gendered 'civic values' outlined in the participatory activity findings which were expected to be performed by students through student activities and in the classroom. Students who were best able to demonstrate these ideals of feminine citizenship were rewarded through special appointments in clubs like the Student Union. Butler's (1988) concept of gender performativity is evident here, as it is through these mundane acts, gestures and every day practice of the case study school, that the girls and women are taught to embody middle class womanhood.

The positioning of women through their schooling is done to maintain traditional gender expectations which have developed through the complex historical, religious, and cultural positioning of middle class women. This has implications for the power dynamics associated with citizenship. The exclusion of women from the male dominated public and political spheres reproduces civic and social inequalities based on gender. The resulting economic and political subordination of women are forms of structural violence that limit women's agency to choose how to engage as citizens. The school, through its discourse, contributes to the reproduction of these inequalities by promoting gendered performances of citizenship. Rogers, et al. (2005) argue that, "...*one of the most powerful forms of oppression is internalized hegemony, which includes both coercion and consent* (2005, p. 368)." By encouraging gendered performances of citizenship, teachers and others involved in the management of the school are consenting to these inequalities. As Fraser (1995) suggests, "*The result is often a vicious circle of cultural and economic subordination* (p. 73).*"* The school contributes to this vicious cycle rather than giving students the skills they would require to break the cycle of cultural and economic subordination of women.

In the next chapter, I explore how and to what extent the school reproduces social tensions related to social class, ethnicity and religious differences. I then discuss the ways in which the school educates students about the social problems faced in Pakistan today, and how teachers and students understand their roles as educated women in working for a better Pakistan.

Chapter 7. All Our Daughters? Schooling as a micropolitical site for social tensions

In the previous chapter, I showed the ways in which teachers' understandings of citizenship and school practice create a gendered notion of citizenship that maintains liberal understanding of women as part of the private sphere (Siim, 2000). In this chapter, I examine the school as a micropolitical site of power and the ways that it reproduces inequalities related to other social divisions including religion, ethnic differences, and socio-economic class.

The case study school was relatively diverse with students and teachers from various religious, ethnic, and socio-economic backgrounds. Many of the teachers spoke of the diversity of both Islamabad and the school as a point of pride, and perhaps as one of the ways that Islamabad is different from the rest of Pakistan. Many of them told me that because there are people from all over Pakistan living in Islamabad, they do not have problems with ethnic divisions. For example, Sadia told me that there is no provincialism in Pakistan because of this diversity. She also told me that because they have the basic facilities (food, water, electricity, gas, etc.) in Islamabad, there is no need for anger and therefore no violence. For one teacher, the diversity of the school was something that helped her to understand how to better engage with people of different backgrounds. Faiza told me,

> *From this institution, I have learned patience, dealing with the different people, like not all the people are like me. Whatever I think, they are not like that. So how to deal with the people with different thoughts… the college is [very] big… we have a diversity of students. Different kinds of people. In that case, I learned how to deal with the people.*

Despite this apparent pride in diversity, there is a sense of tension in the school that may indicate the diversity does cause some tensions especially related to religious differences and class-based issues.

Reproduction of the Silenced Religious Minority

The Pakistan Study textbook examined in Chapter 5 emphasizes the differentiation of religious minorities from the 'legitimate' Sunni Muslim citizens. In many more homogeneous schools in Pakistan, these textbooks may be the only exposure through schooling that children receive regarding religious minorities. However, the case study school is located in the relatively diverse capital of Pakistan, and therefore has some religious diversity among students and teachers which creates opportunities for socialization of its citizens regardless of religion. The exact number of religious minority students was not known by the staff and no data was available, however consensus seemed to be that there were, on average, about two or three

Christian students per class, several Shia students and teachers, but no known Hindu students or teachers. Other religious minorities including Ahmadiyyas were not mentioned by teachers or students, so it unclear if there are any other religious minorities in the school.

Although the diversity of the school included religion, ethnicity, and class, the teachers universally understood the term 'minority' to mean religious minorities. And while the population consists of Sunni, Shia, and Christian students, and Sunni and Shia teachers (which is consistent with the demographics of Islamabad), most teachers understood religious minority to mean Christians, and to some extent Shia Muslims when they were discussing conflict and violence in the country.

The ways in which teachers understood minorities varied, but all wanted to ensure that they were a part of the school community. For example, Sadia told me, *"They are all our daughters, the Shia are our daughters, Sunni are our daughters, and Christians are also our daughters."*

Teachers also noted that they were unaware of the number of religious minority students in their classes because they the same as other children. When I asked Aala, the home economics teacher, if there were minority students in her class, she said, "*I think so, but we can't recognize them, they are like all children"*

The vice principal for schools said that they don't encourage discussions of differences among students. She said, *'In the break, they can speak what they want, but not in the class. We have uniforms [that are] there to create equality… we don't know who their fathers are.'* Irum said that there was no problem within the school between religious minorities and others. She said, "*They interact with students easily… they are cooperative and friends with other students and also with teachers"*.

Although teachers spoke of ensuring that children were not discriminated against because of their religion, they also used hegemonic language towards the religious minorities implying that they are lesser citizens than Muslims. For example, when I asked Aleeza if she felt that the religious minority students had any problems, she said:

> *It is my opinion that they don't have any problems. You can ask them, maybe they have problems. They are very respectful and they listen, whenever we have the name of Allah they never say anything. They are used to living with us, I think. Pakistan is their country; they are loyal to us.*

In her response, she notes that religious minorities do not have problems because they are respectful to the name of Allah. She others them in her attempt to say they are accepted by saying that they are used to living with 'us' and while Pakistan is their country, they are loyal to

'us'. This statement indicates that for Aleeza, Pakistan belongs to the Muslims and all other religions are there because they are loyal, and keep quiet and do not protest; in a sense, they do not disrupt the Muslims.

Even those teachers, who were not othering minority students didn't seem to consider what it means to be a minority, especially a religious minority in Pakistan. When I asked Aala if these students had any problems, she responded, *"Thankfully no one has complained".*

Similarly, the vice principal discussed with pride that there is no problem with students or teachers who are not Muslim. She remembered a Christian Pakistan Studies teacher with whom they celebrated Christmas and helped her plan her daughter's wedding. She was proud that the school had a tolerant culture and that Christians have no problem at the school, but then added *"You know some of them have Muslim names because of living socially with us"*. She continued to say,

> *You know we do accommodate them. We teach them ethics and cultural studies instead of Islamiyat. We've always had an open-door policy when it comes to them. A very tolerant policy. I think for that we are very proud of being [a part of this school] because I don't think at any moment, or any time we have had this problem… like anyone trying to victimize them.*

While it is true that the school does offer an ethics course as an alternative to Islamiyat, very few Non-Muslim students choose Ethics. Aleeza, the teacher responsible for teaching Ethics told me that only two students from the whole of the school take this course and they usually do not attend.   I asked her if these were there only non-Muslim students in the school. She said, *"There are more too, but they take Islamiyat, but these two have pressure from their parents for the [Ethics] class".*

Both the vice principal and Aleeza spoke of ways that non-Muslims try to fit into the Muslim culture undetected. Some have Muslim names and the students at the school would rather take Islamiyat than Ethics to avoid standing out as non-Muslims. This serves as a structural violence that silences the religious minorities of the school in order to fit in with the dominant group. This type of othering within institutions like schools can lead to the legitimization of direct violence against religious minorities. As Shaheed (2010) argued, the risks for non-Muslims to stand out can be great, especially with the Blasphemy law in place which has been used multiple times as an excuse for vigilantism against Christians and Hindus and even Muslims who speak out against the law.

Sadia mentioned one incident with the same Christian teacher that was mentioned by the Vice Principal. She also talked about supporting her during Christmas and other occasions, but then went on to tell me about this incident,

> In …10th class she discussed something about Islam…against Islam and the students got annoyed and they complained... but it is hardly happened [sic]…we always care for those students who are from minority.

The unintentional othering of the Christian students by the teachers indicates a lack of empathy for minority students. It seems that teachers did not think about what the experience of being a minority would be, but only how those minorities fit into the (Sunni) Muslim society. This often unintentional silencing of Christians fits within Galtung's concept of structural and cultural violence by positioning them outside of what and who are considered legitimate citizens in Pakistan.

While Christian minorities within the school were subject to cultural violence outright, the case for the Shias in the school is somewhat better, or perhaps more complicated. There are a larger number of Shias within both the teacher and the student populations and while teachers and students discussed the violence occurring

Image 7: Example of Stop Shia Genocide graffiti in Islamabad. Source: http://news.trust.org

between the two sects, it seemed that this was something they felt existed outside the walls of the school. In fact, the conflict was highlighted on the school boundary wall, there is graffiti that says, *"Stop Shia Genocide."* This graffiti was common throughout Islamabad as a form of protest against the treatment of the Shia minority in Pakistan. I asked some of the teachers why this was written on their school wall. They did not know who wrote it how long it had been there and had little to say about it. It was not discussed as a part of the consciousness of the school community, but something that remained irrelevant inside the walls of the school. However, the act of allowing it to remain could also be understood as a silent resistance to the treatment of Shia Pakistanis. This perhaps is also implied in the ways in which teachers understood the tensions between Shia and Sunni Muslims. For some, like the Urdu teacher, Laila, the tensions between Shia and Sunnis were not created within these groups, but at the hands of a third party. She told me,

> These are misunderstandings that Shia and Sunni are killing each other. Most of the people do believe that third hand is involved between them, and want to destroy them. I am also living in an area where at least 10, 12 people are from Shia community. In our department, there are so many Shias, but we have not at all any problem related to this.

Another teacher, Faiza, was a Shia Muslim and worked in the same department as Laila. She too did not express that she felt there were tensions among the Shia and Sunni populations of the school. I asked if there have been any problems in the school over religious differences and how the teachers handle it. She told me,

> *In our country, we have some conflict about Shia and Sunni, but in my college, I never observed any kind of problems like that. But if suppose we have a problem like that, we try to realize them that this is not the actual problem. I mean we try to solve it. Because… actually we don't have the problem, so that's why I can't…*

Although teachers implied that the Sunni/Shia divide was not one that affected the school, students in the focus group talked about this issue. One young student told me that she and her Shia friends are *"always fighting over which is better, Sunni or Shia"*. The tone of her voice indicated that she meant it in a lighthearted manner, and that at least for her, as a Sunni, there were no ill feelings between her and her Shia friends.

While the textbook clearly differentiates the citizenship of Sunni Muslims from the religious minorities, the school also reproduces some of the structural violence, especially against Christians. The 'us and them' discourse used by teachers is reminiscent of the nation building project used to unite the majority of Pakistanis against the Hindu and Western 'others.' The depth to which this unintentional othering is evidenced above in the discourse used by teachers, which emphasizes the hegemonic notions of us and them. On the other hand, teachers did not agree with the tensions between the Shia and Sunni Muslims and for many this was not an issue in the school.

We are All Pakistani: The diminishment of ethnic differences

Ethnicity and the associated linguistic identity and even clan/ familial ties are often a source of social division in Pakistan. However, because Islamabad is more ethnically heterogeneous than most of Pakistan, there seems to be less emphasis placed on ethnicity, so religion and class become the key divisive factors. Within the school itself, teachers come from all over Pakistan and have resettled in Islamabad with their husbands and others moved there earlier in their lives. Many of the teachers had fathers who were in the military or other government positions that required them to move to different parts of Pakistan and so have experience with people from all over Pakistan. This did not seem to fragment their community, but that diversity became a sense of pride.

In many schools in Pakistan, language becomes an exclusionary device. For example, in Pashtun majority areas, the official language of instruction may be Urdu, but teachers still mostly use Pashto in the classroom, often othering non-Pashtun students, even if they do

understand the language. However, in the case study school, the student and teacher populations are quite ethnically diverse. Teachers speak a variety of languages at home including Urdu, Pashto, Hindko, Punjabi, and Baloch. The ethnic diversity of students and teachers means that all classes are taught in English, the official language of instruction, or Urdu, the national language. Because neither of these languages is associated with the majority population, using these languages helps to minimize discrimination in teaching practice based on a student's ethnicity.

While this ethnic diversity gives both teachers and students opportunities to engage with people from all parts of Pakistan, diminishing ethnic identities for the promotion of a singular national identity can contribute to social divisions (Sen,2006). Minimization of ethnic differences is evident in teachers' understandings of citizenship as well as into school practice. Some of the teachers defined patriotism through minimizing the importance of ethnic and cultural identities, and focusing solely on Pakistani identity. For example, Sadia told me, *"We create among students patriotism- that you are Pakistani and you should be proud of it. And you are not Punjabi, or Sindhi or Bulochi, and you are only Pakistani."* Additionally, there is very little done within the school to promote meaningful understanding of the peoples of Pakistan, including their group histories, struggles, and achievements- all of which are not necessarily the same as those included in the textbooks and official narrative of Pakistan. When ethnic and regional differences are mentioned in the school, they are done so in a cursory way. For example, the same teacher as mentioned above, Sadia, was in the process of making a "Pakistan Corner" for the school. This was a display showing different dress, festivals, and foods of the provinces of Pakistan. There are no other opportunities for students to engage with meaningful differences including histories, challenges and successes. The government of Pakistan is attempting to give provinces more control to address local histories, geography, economics, etc. through the 18th Amendment. However, this had not been implemented in the Pakistan Studies course in Islamabad as of the time of data collection. Additionally, the curriculum changes through the 18th Amendment would not help students of different provinces to understand each other, only their own situations.

The school also takes part in a program that brings some of the top girl students from the province of Balochistan to study in the school beginning in class 8. According to teachers, these students struggle to become a part of the larger school community. They live in the dormitories on campus and are all placed in the same classes. Sadia noted that they struggle academically because of the poor quality of education in Balochistan as well as their lack of English skills. The teachers also discussed that they were friendly with other students, but they

kept to themselves. They also wore different dupattas (head scarves) than the other girls to distinguish them from their classmates. There seemed to be very few additional services provided to these students to help them to fully integrate into the school community, thus marginalizing them from the school community.

Minimizing ethnic differences could be a means to create a sense of unity among the school's population based in Pakistani identity. However, this is also a product of the discourse of the textbook and curriculum intended to minimize ethnic identity (and thus foster national cohesion) by creating a Muslim Pakistani identity. This minimizing of ethnic differences contributes to the legitimacy of citizenship as based in masculine, (Sunni) Muslim, and exclusionary terms (Rouse, 2004).

Education for All and the Exacerbation of Class-based Tensions

As Davies (2000) and others have noted, education can reproduce economic and class relations through exclusion of marginalised groups. In many cases this is due to exclusion from accessing education or quality education. The Pakistan government is trying to address issue of out-of-school children which make up one-third of all Pakistani children by implementing the Education for All Act (International Crisis Group, 2014). The case study school has increased its enrolment to accommodate the increasing demand. While Education for All serves to increase the representation of students from lower socioeconomic classes, it seems to be causing tension within the school as the class sizes grew bigger and the government did not provide more resources including teachers and infrastructure to accommodate the increased number of students.

The staff and students mentioned the increase in students as one of the most important issues faced by the school. For many, this posed a challenge to maintaining the quality of education the school had been known for in the past. One administrator told me,

> *Government announced Education for All… this is not better for this institution because when they say education is for all they removed the condition of test so anybody from anywhere can take admission here.*

The chowkidar who had been working in the school since 1983 also noticed the increase in the number of students and attributed it to the decline in requirements for admission. He said,

> *[When I joined] it was difficult to get admission in this college. It wasn't easy for the common people to enter here. Now education level is decreasing…*

While this does not inherently incite violence, the perception of a group that is perceived lesser in some way as taking resources from the dominant groups, as is the case here, can lead

to resentment. And thus, while the objective of Education for All is to reduce the education gap, allowing people of all classes to have equal access to education, when that is not matched by increased resources, tensions become high. Sometimes those policies which have the best intentions may cause social divides that contribute to identity-based violence. Resentment was apparent among teachers and administrative staff as the influx of students from lower economic classes stretched the school's limited resources.

Conclusion

There is a reproduction of social tensions related to religion and class that seem to be played out inadvertently through school practice and the ideas held by individuals within the school. However, it did not seem to be intentional othering, but instead a natural part of the hegemonic discourse in which teachers had been indoctrinated. Minimizing difference among ethnic groups and religious groups seemed to be an attempt to create a cohesive community, one that mirrors a cohesive Pakistan. However, this minimization and in some cases disregard can lead to resentment and violence, as was evident through the reaction to Education for All. Levine & Bishai (2010) state that citizenship can be the linchpin to peaceful societies by encouraging that the primary loyalty of citizens is to the state, rather than to other groups. However, this needs to be done cautiously as it often ignores the injustices towards and special needs of minority citizens. This can lead to forms of structural violence that excludes groups from full citizenship.

Although the school does reproduce some of the identity-based causes of structural and cultural violence, it also works in other ways to mitigate them. The school provides a place where students and teachers can be in contact with people from all parts of Pakistan, from different classes and religions, which can reduce biases based on a singular aspect of identity.

The identities discussed in this chapter and the gendered citizenship discussed in the previous chapter are not inclusive of all of the potential ways that the school contributes to various forms of identity-based violence. It does, however, give a glimpse into the complexity of the causal relationship between the discourses of schools and the reproduction, mitigation, and exacerbation of social tensions.

In the next chapter, I discuss the ways in which the teachers and the students of the school exercise agency within the confines of their gendered understandings of citizenship. To do this, I bring together the findings from the first three analysis chapters to illustrate how the power over women impacts teachers' and students' understandings their ability to affect change in Pakistan.

Chapter 8: Because We Live It: Agency, gender, and resistance as citizenship education

In this chapter, I bring together the findings from the first three analysis chapters to illustrate how the power over women impacts teachers' and students' understandings their ability to affect change in their school and in Pakistan. I explore how teachers and students engage directly with social issues, conflict, and violence in Pakistan through the school process. To do this, I spoke with teachers and students about their thoughts on the major problems facing Pakistan and to what extent and how these issues are addressed in the school, and whether they should be. I examine how the school engages with identity issues of religion, ethnicity, and class both through school practice and the ways in which teachers and students understand the current issues of Pakistan and how and to what extent they are addressed in the school. I then link the findings of the previous chapters to look at how the teachers and students feel they, as educated women, can contribute to social transformation for social justice Pakistan within the limitations to resistance against the status quo for middle class women as illegitimate citizens of Pakistan.

Addressing Injustices in the School

How a school (system) is managed teaches students and to some extent, teachers, how and to what extent they can affect change within that community. These lessons are often reproductions of the state, when understanding schools as micropolitical sites indoctrinating students into their role in society. The management structure, whether it is authoritarian or democratic simulate the patterns of interactions of society (Apple, 2012). Therefore, I talked to teachers and students about the problems they face in their school and how or if the situation can be changed.

Most of the teachers and staff I talked to wanted certain aspects of the school management to change at both the policy level and the school level. For example, the vice principal is a strong proponent of curriculum change, and has herself worked on the national curriculum board to achieve this. She explained why there have not yet been any meaningful changes. She said,

> *Our curriculum is very narrow minded in its approach and it's also bogged down by red tape and bureaucracy and so we find that unfortunately… and I work on curriculum with the curriculum board…there are too many political implications of whatever we teach and why we write the curriculum… what we need to do is incorporate these values we wish to inculcate in our society. Values of tolerance, patience, open-mindedness, without letting go of our morals, so to speak. But what happens is when you become broadminded, our idea is that broadminded you give up your own traditional values. This does not mean this…You see what Islam teaches is a code of*

> *life based on ethical and moral values… But you see, whichever government comes into power, they change [the curriculum] too. And they do that everywhere, history always changes.*

Her words are similar to the latest national education policy, asking for tolerance and open-mindedness while maintaining traditional Islamic values. But, to her, the political issues that are wrapped up in curriculum reform are too much to overcome, even for policy makers; it is embedded in the structures of bureaucracy that are bound in political and religious expectations, which have been at the crux of the meaning of Pakistan since its inception.

While the vice principal spoke of issues at the curriculum level, other teachers and students focused on barriers to change within the school. At the school level, nepotism in enrollment, in classes, and in hiring was understood to hinder their ability to create change within the school. Kinship and the protection of relatives and clan members are important aspects of Pakistani society (Lieven, 2011). However, this is often at odds with the colonial bureaucracy (And Western business and employment practices) that was inherited from the British rule.

For the students, nepotism was felt most in terms of favoring certain students. I asked which students teachers favor and one student said, *'the brightest students.'* But then one student said hesitantly, *'their family members'* and the other students agreed. This response evidenced the importance of family and kinship which was at the detriment to students who were not related to teachers.

Teachers talked about the nepotism as a feature of the enrollment system of the school. They felt that this burdened the already overcrowded school. Sharmeela said, *'Most of [the students] are the children of government employees, so I have to put them in. That is a big problem.'* Abida gave a darker picture to this nepotism in enrollment, she told me,

> *The administration is under pressure…because they are from the poor class, they must give the admission…otherwise they can be murdered. They must give admission for the child of a secretary or minister.*

One of the administrators also discussed this issue. He said,

> *Numbers of classrooms are not sufficient, there is also a shortage of teachers. I think building more classrooms should be extended and the strength of the students should be limited. One important thing is that the number of students cannot be controlled due to political pressures.*

In an informal discussion with Abida and Sadia, they explained the admission procedures and then Abida concluded, *"This is just a formality. Whomever they want to give the admission they do and the rules and policies are just for the poor."* This statement illustrates that nepotism in the enrolment process acts within the class differences as well as within kinship.

While this issue was recognized as problematic by both the students and teachers, it also seems to be practiced by teachers. One of the same teachers that was discussing the corruption in admission process, also explained the hiring process for teachers. I asked if this was always followed, and she told me that it was very transparent. Later during my data collection, the same teacher asked my research assistant if she would like a position in the school. Privately, she told her that if she was interested, she should let her know and she will arrange it. She discussed it with my research assistant twice, telling her that with her reference she will easily get a position at the school.

Many of the teachers felt a lack of agency to affect change in regards to nepotism due to their positions as teachers, who are often powerless within the bureaucracy of the education system. Abida explained to me how she feels. She said,

> *It can be stopped at the higher level; the policy makers can stop if for the betterment of the country. Otherwise the poor class, the middle class, they can't stop it. Even [though] they think that all of these things are not good, but they do [them]. You can say they are restricted. They can't do anything.*

It seemed that while nepotism was recognized as a systematic issue, it was also being practiced on an individual level as teachers are favoring certain students and possibly in hiring practices. Teachers are in many ways reproducing the structures that favor nepotism. However, for those who are interested in changing the policies, like Abida, they seem to be trapped in the system, that they do not have the agency to resist this culturally embedded system. This is consistent with Mezzera & Aftab's (2008), understandings of networks based in kinship in the leadership of Pakistan. They state,

> *Pakistan's leaders at all levels are more likely to secure their position of formal authority through social networks and patronage, than through free and fair processes. Similarly, Pakistani citizens are more likely to access basic goods and services through personal networks of kin and biradri, informal intermediaries and facilitation payments, than through formalised procedures and processes* (p. 33).

The system that Mezzera & Aftab (2008) discuss which was evident in the school, was one that most teachers and students felt that they were unable to change at the level education system or even at the school level. The bureaucratic structure of the school system meant that teachers felt they were not in a position to make changes. This also showed the importance of class in the current structure of education. The vice principal who worked on the national curriculum reform is from a wealthy and powerful family, while Abida and the school administrator who were from lower-class backgrounds felt helpless to change the system. However, regardless of class, they all understood political pressures as barriers that could not be overcome.

Teachers' and Students' Understandings of Issues Facing Pakistan

Teachers and students felt that they lacked agency to create change at the level of the school community. But in addition to being a part of this community, these women are also a part of national and global communities. Their citizenship status as women mostly from the middle classes and the ways they are taught through schooling also impact the ways in which they understand their role in addressing social injustices and violence at national and global levels. This can be linked in part to citizenship education. Citizenship education has the potential to encourage students to engage in their society. One way citizenship education can encourage participation is though the acknowledgement and discussion of current events and even conflict that is occurring in societies. Davies (2000) states,

> *If one of the purposes of democracy is to work towards a sustainable peace, then children must be exposed to the nature of conflict while in school. …Education for non-violence does not mean 'protecting' children from viewing the conflictual nature of societies we live in (191).*

She goes on to say that, if we need to not protect students from understanding the conflictual nature of society, then democratic citizenship education should be transparent, participatory, and challenging. Levine & Bashai, 2010 expand on these ideas of citizenship education to say,

> *Students… need room to practice the skills of citizenship, articulating their views clearly and persuasively, respectfully engaging with the views of others, working together with their fellow citizens toward a common good and accepting those with whom they disagree (p.1).*

To explore how teachers and students understood their roles in creating social change based in the approach to citizenship education in the school, I asked teachers and students about their roles as educated women addressing social injustices in Pakistan.

It was first important to understand how teachers and students understood problems that Pakistan faces. For most, the most important was terrorism, but this was often mentioned at the top of a long list of social and political issues that lead to violence and conflict and Pakistan.

Aleeza, for example, names several problems including the Kashmir issue (ongoing rivalry over the Kashmir region with India), but said, "*Terrorism. I think this is most important. I think so, maybe I am wrong maybe I'm right.*" In the interview with Faiza, she explained how terrorism and other problems affect them. She said,

> *Actually, we have so many problems, terrorism … we cannot live a happy life when we see terrorism in Karachi and we see so many people dying in targeted killings. How can I enjoy everything, no.*

Many of the teachers recognized violence in Pakistan as important, but many found ways to minimize the impact. For example, Irum said, *"You know extremism is bad everywhere… people are jealous from each other. They are divided into different sects. They should be united, but it's difficult."* Faiza also minimized conflict in Pakistan. She said,

> *Actually, it's the conflict of a few people. All the educated people know this is not the problem if you pray like this or like this, it doesn't matter you are praying to God. This is not the attitude of the educated person, only of uneducated who wants to fight. Only if he wants to fight, he makes the fuss and there are few.*

While the teachers agreed on the major issues facing their country, their understanding of the underlying causes varied. Sadia's understandings of the underlying issues in Pakistan mirrored the issues that many thought were present in the school. She explained,

> *[The] main problem is insecurity in Pakistan. We are facing this problem is increasing day by day. I think [this is because of] lack of political stability in Pakistan, lack of strong political parties…in Pakistan. Efficient leaders are not in Pakistan. Corruption, nepotism, these are common in Pakistan.*

Other teachers thought that the lack of education in 'backward areas' was to blame for the violence and many of the teachers understood the conflicts and violence occurring in Pakistan were carried out by a 'third hand'.

For example, Laila said,

> *Again, I will say that Pakistan is not [a] terrorist… there is a third hand who is doing unsuccessful attempts of destroying our country. But Inshallah (God willing) Pakistan will always be there.*

Both Sadia and Faiza made similar statements. Sadia told me, *"In most of the conflicts, in most of the terrorist activities, Pakistanis are not involved directly. These are the other groups who do not belong to Pakistan."* Faiza explained in more detail,

> *I never believe this, that it can be a Muslim who blasts a mosque or any… Even some other religious person… even a Christian cannot do this because it's a religion and Christianity do not ask for the terrorism. There are, I think, there are some other people that are made by some… criminals who want to destroy Pakistan and Pakistani [people]. And I don't know why and what are their interests or why they are doing this. But we don't have a good feeling for them. We want them destroyed soon.*

Aleeza also thought that the economic situation was to blame for the terrorism in Pakistan, but she disagreed that there was involvement of a third hand. I asked her what she felt was the underlying problem that caused people to get into terrorist activities. She said,

> *I think that the main reason is global division… [There is] no need of third hand… Mostly people are really disturbed in Pakistan. I don't know if it's because of classes or*

economic. They are not economically satisfied, that is the reason. You [need] the money, you are desperate.

This lack of consensus is indicative of the various views of the people of Pakistan, which some attribute to the narrow world views learned through curriculum and schooling (Rahman, 2004; Winthrop & Graff, 2010), makes finding a consensus to tackle the issues very difficult.

Addressing Social Problems with Students

As was discussed previously, discussing current events and social tensions including those mentioned by teachers, gives students opportunities to engage with information in a way that allows them to hear different opinions and encourages them to engage in diplomatic and tolerant discussions. Therefore, I asked the teachers and students about their perspectives on openly discussing social problems in the school, and how teachers understood their role in educating students about violence. The teachers' response varied greatly. While some teachers were in favor of open discussions with students, others believed it was not their place as teachers to do so.

Sadia and Abida, both Pakistan Studies teachers said that they often talk about the issues in Pakistan. Sadia stated,

> *…we always discuss these problems with the class. Teachers should create awareness among the students. While discussing these things in morning assemblies, we always… discuss in our speeches what is the Kashmir problem, what is the ideology of Pakistan. If there is some emergency, the principal asks the students to give donations. Principal, vice principal, subject teachers, all the staff members, they used to create awareness among the students.*

Abida also discussed it with her students, but placed importance on minimizing the impact of the problems they faced. She said,

> *Mostly we discuss… we want to make the students [understand that] you should not take attention, it is the problem of many countries, many Islamic countries are like this. You have to face the problem; it is no problem. We discuss in the class mostly whenever this is an incident in Rawalpindi. On the day before yesterday there was a bomb blast. The students were so worried. They discussed that they saw this on the television and we discuss that no it is a part of the war against terrorist and we have to face some things like that. Still we say, no bhita (daughter), we do not want this, but still there are some groups that want to make the Pakistan weak, or like this. So, we mostly discuss like this.*

And while she did feel comfortable talking about violence and bomb blasts, she did not feel comfortable discussing religious issues. She told me,

> *With religious issues, we want to avoid because if there is a Shia in the classroom it makes the difficulties. Sometimes some of the issues are discussed within the teachers like there is a different thing in the Shia and Sunni, a different way of offering prayers.*

They are small problems, but they become a big problem, so that is why we avoid to talk about them.

Many of the teachers did not want to talk about these issues with their students because they felt that it was not their place to be political, and worried of the consequences if parents or other authorities would find out. Aala said,

…I avoid to discuss because it can become a political issue and our political system is a little different and it can become fussy. And then the students also get emotional if we talk too much about politics. So we avoid discussion at the school with students. But we can discuss on our own in the staffroom, but we can't in the classroom.

Still for other teachers, this was not something that they felt was in the purview of their roles as teachers, and that the media is the place for students to learn about current events. Faiza, for example, felt helpless to guide students because she was unclear of how to make Pakistan a better place. She said,

I think we should not discuss these issues with the students because the media is already working on this and making them aware. Students and teacher should not discuss this…because what would we say to students, I don't know why myself. Who is responsible as I don't know myself… if I have no… answers to my questions, so I should not discuss, so that's why teachers do not discuss.

Laila said that while she does not teach students formally, she tries to encourage students to research what they are learning from other sources. She said,

We don't discuss the problems and issues of Government. But we try to make them clear informally when we are teaching them and providing proper education then again, I will say them to do research- don't believe on media also without investigation. Maybe you also noticed that in other countries they try to defame Pakistan…

Some teachers felt comfortable talking to students about problems within Pakistan that seem to more directly impact the students. She said that because of the nature of the subject she teaches (home economics) she has time to talk about issues with students. In response to the question, *"Do you talk about the issues that Pakistan is facing?"* She said,

I ask them why they didn't [come] yesterday and they say there was no electricity and I say ok, we will get through it… so it is like this.

The general avoidance of discussing current events seemed to extend into classroom practices as well. While in many contexts, the content of textbooks may be heavily mediated by teachers' own positioning, in the case study school, this was very limited due to the structure of the time in the classroom (as was also discussed in Chapter 6). Each class session is 35 minutes long, leaving little time to cover anything that is not included in the textbook. This, along with the nature of the national exam system as well as the pressure for teachers to turn

out students who do well on the exam discourages teachers from going beyond what is in the text, and even focusing on content beyond the exercises at the end of the chapters.

During an observation of a Pakistan Studies class, the teacher, Sadia discussed the lack of resources in Balochistan and explained to students that this was the reason that many people have been migrating from Balochistan. However, while resource scarcity might be at the root of the problem, as Balochistan is the most underfunded province in Pakistan, many people are leaving Balochistan because of ethnic violence including targeted killings of the Hazara (a Shia minority group) community and of the 'settlers' who are the non-Balochi living in Balochistan for several generations and have been more politically and financially powerful than the Baloch who are native to the area. Therefore, many of the Hazara and settlers have fled for fear of their lives. This class was a good example of how teachers do not take the opportunities to talk about problems in Pakistan and minimize issues when they are mentioned.

This indicates that there is no place in the curriculum to address current issues in Pakistan in the classroom, which was evident in the classes I observed. The textbooks regulated how the limited class time was spent, leaving no time for further discussion, especially about something that could be considered unrelated to the content of the course.

The visual messages around the school also do not even acknowledge current events or the recent history of Pakistan.   There are several quotes and pictures of Jinnah and Iqbal throughout the school, but there is no mention of the leaders after the founding of the country, giving the impression that the history of Pakistan ended with the founding of Pakistan.

The quote below from Sharmeela gives some insight into why she believes that this minimization might be occurring. She says,

> *If somebody dies in [Rawal]Pindi, people in Islamabad would only ask how many people died, and they would see the headline, and see 9, and say ok that's ok, not that much people died. The blast was of a minor nature and that the kind of psyche people have and that is also because of this issue- overblown, not tackled in a proper way, so they feel helpless. They want to protect their families. They don't want to care about this.*

While teachers seemed to wish to minimize the issues of violence and conflict faced in Pakistan and to protect students from these realities, students in both focus groups were aware of the problems that their country faces. They were able to tell me in detail about the problems that they face like, terrorism, political violence, the energy crisis, and religious sectarianism.   Perhaps most telling was their response to my question of how they have learned of these problems. Participants of both groups responded, *"Because we live it".* This

greatly contradicted the teachers' minimization of the problems as immediate for those who live in Islamabad.

Students also told me that they get most of their information about current events through talking with friends, media and social networking sites which were widely accessible to these urban students. In fact, all 22 students in the second focus group reported having internet at home. One teacher mentioned to me,

> *And nowadays the students are aware, I mean if a teacher says something wrong, the students suddenly say, "No, I saw this and this on Facebook." So, the value of the teacher is… I mean to say, he (the student) can get information for so many places-media and everything.*

Students also expressed their desire to explore these issues with teachers and with parents. The Student Union students reported that they do talk with teachers about these issues, but the other focus group of students did not seem to get as much time with teachers to talk about these issues. One student told me,

> *We… discuss with other students or sometimes with teachers, because they don't have enough time to talk a lot about all this.*

Another student in the group told me that they only talk about it with friends because the teachers and their parents try to avoid these types of discussions because, as she said, "*They want to protect us because we are girls"*.

The reluctance of teachers (and it seems parents) to discuss problems with these students does not necessary result in their protections from facing these challenges. It only means that they are not receiving guidance from adults on how to understand the information they are getting through other sources. The education system at this school seems to deny that the role of education is evolving from serving as the main source of information to a facilitator of knowledge which allows students to find out information themselves and think critically about that information. Datoo (2010), who conducted a study of youth engagement with media in Pakistan, explains the complexity of the role of media on the identities of youth. He states,

> *Being active consumers of media and other forms of information technology, youth are likely developing a transnational subjectivity, which in turn is placing them 'betwixt and between' the global and the local, between the world out there, and the world at home/family* (Datoo, 2010)*.*

However, the teachers and thus citizenship education did not acknowledge the expanding identities of the students when exposed to a variety of international and national information. It was perhaps because of students' exposure to media that they felt that the problems facing Pakistan were immediate to their own lives. Teachers, on the other hand, minimized problems

by separating Islamabad from the parts of Pakistan that suffer most from violence. However, students emphasized that these same issues affected them directly, and they longed to have guidance on how to process this information and to not be sheltered from the problems, especially because they are girls. This disengagement limits students' learning for non-violence according to Davies (2000) because students should be learning to engage in informative and multi-view discussions, that would be required to gain a better understanding of various understandings of the problems.

She Is Not So Strong/ I Want to be an Assassin: Agency to address violence

The implications of the reproduction of citizenship learned at the case study school was made evident through the ways that students and teachers felt they, as educated Pakistani women, could contribute to social justice in Pakistan.

For many of the girls and teachers, social norms regulated their lives. Stepping outside of those norms can often carry with it consequences from being ostracized from family or community to physical violence. So, for women who have an interest in resisting the status quo, there comes with it, an inherent risk. Shaheed (2010) explains that this risk is contingent on the intersection of identity. She states,

> *The ability of an individual woman to resist the negative impact of the religion-politics nexus depends on factors such as class, economic resources, the community and family in which she is located and, of course, her own personal inclinations (* (p. 864).

This positioning of women within the intersection of their identities when attempting to address injustice, was evident through teachers' and students' responses to how they can work for social justice for all Pakistanis. Almost all limited their answers to the raising of children and the rather and 'creating awareness'. Sadia said,

> *Through students you can create awareness and at home we can create awareness among our children.*

Faiza said,

> *Changing of the mind, because a woman, definitely, she is not strong as she can do anything. But she can change the mind of the kids. And to tell them what you are and be honest and do your best for your country. I think this the way… a mother can do this, a teacher can do this, a woman can do this because she cannot fight… but changing the mind is most important.*

The responses of the teachers are consistent with the gendered performance of citizenship that is expected of women. They situated their sphere of influence within that of the family by changing the minds of the children.

Some of the teachers also discussed the barriers they faced in contributing to social change in Pakistan. Sharmeela felt that women needed to be more engaged in choosing a better government who can then address the issues they are facing. She said,

> *I am a warm-hearted person and I feel sorry for all the people dying in [Khyber Pakhtunkhwa] and Balochistan and all around me. All I can do is feel sorry for them. I cannot go to the border and shoot all the Taliban… we can at least talk about it. We can discuss how can we be out of it and choose a proper mechanism for ourselves and that is choosing a better government, a better administration.*

Her response also highlights the lack of space for women to exercise agency to affect change. She said she can only feel sorry for people being killed, but she herself cannot take action (*"shoot the Taliban"*). She then went on to discuss the importance of women in positions of power in the government. She added, "*We the women need to have a say in the government.*" She felt as though women's exclusion from (meaningful) participation in the government, stifled their agency to affect change. Aala felt that women were not playing their part in the country, but was unsure of the reason. She said,

> *I think they don't play their role very well. Uh, there are many times that we wanted to raise some voice or say something, but we don't. I don't know why… if you look around the whole of Pakistan there are very few women in jobs. I think that they should do something, but they are not. I don't know why, but it's like this.*

For most of the teachers the barrier to participating in change outside the home was the restrictions they face as women, and their duties within their homes. Abida said,

> *…mostly the girls, after getting education have to be restricted at home… as far as the religion is concerned the to handle the problem of a country, it is the matter of the boys.*

For Abida, there is very little agency for girls to choose how they engage in society because of the religious and cultural expectations of women. She also points out that the problems of the country are the responsibility of the boys. Faiza also emphasized the restrictions on women because of their roles within the homes and the negative impact it has on their engagement in social issues. She said,

> *This is …a big problem, all the time women in society are thinking about their problems, they have to support their family, take care of their children, the in-laws, we have to make everyone happy… and she don't even have time for the newspaper.*

This is consistent with Saigol's (2003) gendered citizenship, that women are expected to uphold the nation by performing their gendered roles within the home, while it is the right of the men to engage in matters of the country. Aala's response to a question about the

difference between girls and boys, strongly illustrates the use of religion in limiting the choices of girls and women. She told me,

> *The girls also ask me sometimes…no most of the time, our brothers are allowed to go out in the evening but we can't. And even in the college we can't go out before 12. But I tell them, it is the life, so what can we do? Because not only because religion is also involved in this…don't let the girls move around too much.*

Religion as a restriction to women's movement and agency for change is also linked to social class. Abida noted that women in government are usually from the elite classes, not the middle classes, and the role of women in the middle classes is narrowly defined. She stated,

> *The [women in parliament] are from the elite class and the whole family is in politics, then their men are also in politics. Otherwise in the middle and lower class, women are not in the politics… now some of the middle class women are going into politics. But it is the responsibility of the girls to look after the children, to look after the home… and boys have to be well educated. It is the general concept that boys must do all these things about the country. The burden of the country is their responsibility.*

One of the male administrators also discussed the differences among women, but he understood it as urban and rural. He told me,

> *Our women are active and participating in every field. And they are also well aware. I don't think there is anything that they don't know… There are two categories [of women]. City women are well aware of many things. But our minds are still conservative. Still there are some villages where women cannot cast their vote.*

For the teachers and the administrator, women's agency to affect change in the classroom was linked to notions of religion, traditional notions of womanhood, and embedded in class.

The students in the focus groups had varying ideas of the ways that they could engage as educated women to help transform Pakistan. The Student Union students answered in ways that were similar to many of the teachers. One student said that they should *"help educate the people in backward areas."* Another said that they, *"Must do well in their careers and that will help make Pakistan a better place."* These responses seem to be consistent with the reproduction of gendered citizenship as discussed in Chapter 6. These girls were selected because they performed their gender in ways that are deemed appropriate within their context, and a part of that is to understand your influence within the private sphere.

However, the students in the other focus group had very different ideas about how they could help Pakistan. Their ideas strayed from the private sphere that the Student Union students embraced. Their responses included,

> *-I want to help people as a surgeon doctor.*

-I want to join a women's association, an NGO or any other welfare center.

-I want to give education to poor people.

-I want to work for the rights of women.

One girl whose uncle had been a victim of political violence in Karachi told me, "*I want to be an assassin… I just think it would be cool to kill the bad guys.*"

Their responses, while outside of the private realm, reflect the sphere of influence that middle class women have in civil society including working in women's association, educating the poor, and being doctors. This is reminiscent of the story that the Vice Principal told of her mother-in-law's work as a part of a group of women who would look after patients from a hospital who were well enough to leave, but not well enough to go home, giving them out-patient care. She added, "It's *happening all over, women are involved and it adds to making society what it is…*" However, are was discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, women are often not recognized for the roles they play in society. The textbook omits women completely from the nation building project of Pakistan, and there are very few messages throughout the school that inform girls about the role women play in their country.

Although many of the teachers and students wanted to work for change, they also expressed frustration with the lack of agency and the narrow spaces they can occupy to promote change without the risk of violence against them.   The Vice Principal told me,

> *Basically, I think [students] should speak up, if they see domestic violence, or acid burning or a sexual harassment case at the workplace, anything which is inhumane occurring, they should speak out. Silence is compliance… it's difficult for women to go, it's not easy… Even if they don't speak up or 1 out of 10 speaks up that's enough.*

Some students also said they wanted to improve their country especially through speaking out against the problems they faced. When I asked if that was difficult for women, one student responded, "*It's very difficult [to speak out] and can be dangerous, but we must speak out.*"

Abida also expressed her frustration by the inability to make systematic change despite the rhetoric of government and non-government organizations. She said,

> *We always discuss these things, but we are not doing anything practically. Even the NGOs are doing a lot, but we are not sincere, it's impractical, just for showing off. Seminars are there, workshops are there, but there is no practical benefit of them. No satisfactory steps are being taken for the country. For the nation building, for the ideology of Pakistan, for the students. There is a directive of government but still society is on the same track… but the still the set-up of the government is the same, the joint family system is the same… but even the educated ones ignore it.*

For the women and girls of this school, agency is often limited by their place in society which is in line with the structural barriers to women's participation in the political and government processes that Shaheed (2010) discusses. She states,

> *Women who are poorly represented in the civil bureaucracy, judiciary and political process, who are marginalized in the economy and possess little organizational strength, have limited capacity to resist when their rights are bartered to appease conservative forces (Shaheed, 2010 pp.855-856).*

The structures that regulate women's participation are supported by various discourses that limit women's agency to break through the structural barriers. Together, these form a notion of citizenship that regulates women as citizens. As Rouse (2004) explains,

> *…women, in order to claim "citizenship" in the Pakistani State must conform to cultural, social and sexual norms. Should they protest and resist… they risk being accused of being "western" and culturally deviant, liable to rebuke and sanctions (Rouse 2004, p.100).*

Rouse is claiming a type of cultural violence against women who protest or resist by likening them to the deviant women of the West. This discourse, then according to Rouse leads to structural violence of sanctions against women who are labeled as 'western'. The way in which the teachers were careful to add the caveat of *"not-western"* in the participatory activity of civic values (see chapter 6) suggests that they too are concerned with the consequences of, at least, differentiating themselves from the other. This violence was further evidenced by one teacher who had briefly been a member of the Islamabad Chapter of the Women's Action Forum, a political group which began in the 1980s to counter the loss of women's rights through the implementation of the Hudood Ordinances (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The teacher discussed that she was a member of the group, but didn't feel she could continue because several of her friends and colleagues felt that the group was too *"Western and anti-Islamic".*

To further demonstrate the importance of gender on engagement within the political and public sector, the only staff members actively engaged in politics were the male administrative staff. Although they were from lower classes than most of the teachers and in low paying positions, they were better positioned to engage in politics to advocate for their rights than the women in the school. I met with one man who worked as a clerk in the school. He was currently serving as the General Secretary of the Association of People Grade 1-16 (lower paid government positions). He was running for re-election and there was an enormous campaign banner hanging on the school to encourage votes for him. He told us that the department of education gave permission for him to hang the banner. The issues he was trying to address

included unequal policies for lower level government employees including the low pay and the lack of lack of education allowances for their children which is given to higher level government employees. The contrast between this man's passionate advocacy and engagement in the very public sphere and the private nature of the ways in which women understood their roles to be as only in the home and civil society, makes clear the importance of gender over class in engaging in political life.

Conclusion

For these women and girls of this school, understandings of the problems within their country were often cursory, with much disagreement on the source of these issues, especially among teachers. Many of the teachers thought the school was not the place to discuss these issues, although many of the students longed for some guidance on the information they were getting from the media and on the violence some of them had personally faced.

The limits of gender and class on agency for resistance was made clear by the ways in which teachers and students understood their roles in the improvement of Pakistan. Almost all felt that the space for resistance resided in the private sphere of the family, and within civil society.   Both of these spaces have traditionally been acceptable for women's participation. Still, within that, there are barriers to resistance including the use of religion as a means of control, especially the notion of women as the protectors of the purity of the culture by maintaining their traditional gender roles; women are expected to contribute through influencing male family members while, as Abida said, "*the burden of the country is that of the boys*."

In the final chapter of this thesis I will discuss the main findings of this research, the theoretical and policy implications, and my suggestions for future research.

Chapter 9. Conclusion and Discussion

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine how education in one girls' government school in Islamabad Pakistan teaches and reproduces understandings of citizenship. Then on this basis to identify potential links to the underlying causes of identity-based violence in Pakistan. In this process, I have analyzed how the textbooks, teachers' understandings of citizenship and school practice come together to form a holistic citizenship education for the students of this school.

Summary of Findings

Using theories of critical education, intersectionality and Galtung's violence triangle, I have argued that despite recent political and curriculum reform attempts, education in this girls' school perpetuates a homogeneous concept of the legitimate citizen (male Sunni Muslim). While this evolved historically with the objective of uniting ethnically diverse Pakistan, instead it has contributed to violence (direct, structural, and cultural) and exclusion of those that do not fit within this conception. This has been done through the curriculum as exemplified by the Pakistan Studies textbook, the reproduction of gendered citizenship through school practice, and the ways in which the school serves as a micropolitical site for the reproduction of structural inequalities. In the remainder of this section, I summarize my findings as they relate to the research questions.

How does the Pakistan Studies textbook used in the case study school frame notions of legitimate citizens?

The Pakistan Studies textbook has not been substantially altered since the reign of General Zia, who purposefully Islamized Pakistan to maintain social cohesion, to the detriment of the rights of women and religious minority citizens. The result is a textbook narrowly focused on the Islamic ideology of the country with little recognition or explanation of the intended democratic nature of the government. In doing so it frames a legitimate citizen as one who is a Sunni Muslim. Religious minorities especially are treated as 'others' insides the boarders of Pakistan.

The textbook also frames citizenship as masculine by completely omitting women from its pages. It gives the impression that women were not present in the country's history. Yet, it is clear from the history of the Pakistan movement, to the democracy fighters of the 1980s and Benazir Bhutto's place in history, that women, in fact, have been present and fighting alongside (and sometimes against) the men of Pakistan.

The textbook also attempts to promote social cohesion through the historical narrative of partition and the secession of Bangladesh. In these narratives, Pakistan, and Islam is understood as the right and worthy winners, or subjects of callous conspiracies, when they were not the winners. The result of this narrative is twofold; it achieves the intended goal of creating national pride based in the opposition to the (Hindu) other, which helps maintain social cohesion. But this narrative also negatively impacts women and religious minorities. For religious minorities, the consistent discourse around Islam, sets the stage for violence against them. As Galtung (1990) and Sen (2006) suggest, it is when one aspect of identity is deemed right, or God given, it is at these times, that violence becomes legitimized. For women, this narrative, as Shaheed (2010) suggests, relegates them and their bodies as the defenders of culture through their purity and performance of their traditional gender roles.

How do teachers' understandings and actions through school practice reproduce gendered notions of citizenship?

Because the textbooks do not focus on women in Pakistan, the role of the teachers and school practice becomes instrumental in teaching girl students about their roles as citizens. Teachers in the case study school were often unclear about the meaning of citizenship and it was not something that any of them had considered prior to my research. The teachers most often associated citizenship with the social roles they expected their students to fulfill framed in being good Muslims, patriotism, and the gendered notions of duty to the family and supporting the broader good. It was important for the school to provide an environment which balanced traditional ideals of middle class womanhood with providing a quality education. This was done through the promotion of gendered 'civic values' which were expected to be performed by students through student activities and in the classroom. Students who were best able to demonstrate these ideals of feminine citizenship were rewarded through special appointments in clubs like the Student Union.

Supporting the broader good was an important part of school practice. School practice in this school offered students many opportunities to engage in the school community in a variety of ways, through clubs, events, and the student union. The school teaches students their place within their community at the school through encouraging students to care for each other through sharing school supplies for art and home economics and by providing a sense of pride in the school. The meena bazaar was also an opportunity to learn about community engagement, but the authoritarian nature in which students were requested to participate meant that there was a missed opportunity for students to engage in this community event as more than a participant.

Butler's (1988) concept of gender performativity was evident in the school as girls and women were taught to embody middle class womanhood. The positioning of women through their schooling was done to maintain traditional gender expectations which have developed through the complex historical, religious, and cultural positioning of middle class women. This has implications for the power dynamics associated with citizenship including the exclusion of women from the male dominated public and political spheres. The school, through the discourses of teachers' understandings of citizenship and school practice, contributes to the reproduction of these gendered notions of citizenship and resulting inequalities by promoting gendered performances of citizenship.

How and to what extent does school practice mitigate, reproduce or exacerbate identity-based tensions?

This school is more ethnically and religiously diverse than many schools in Pakistan because of its location in the capital. Many of the teachers and students are from families who have immigrated to Islamabad from other parts of the country. This in many ways has a positive effect on how teachers and students understand those that are different from them. Among the teachers, there seemed to be few issues between Shia and Sunnis and the students were curious about the differences in their sects and noted that they often discussed this with each other. This interaction allows both teacher and students an opportunity to understand people of different religious and ethnic groups through a more personal or intersectional lens; they are able to see each other as the sum of their identities rather than as an 'other' based in a unidimensional- understanding that is taught through the textbook and through other discourse in Pakistan.

However, this understanding seemed to be somewhat limited to the differences between Shia and Sunni and ethnic differences. While teachers did make attempts to illustrate understanding towards Christian and other religious minority students, they often inadvertently challenged their place as legitimate citizens. Teachers all discussed how they are kind to them within the school, but they also felt that these students were acceptable when they listened quietly in Islamic Studies and blended in to the Muslim culture. Any form of dissent from students or as in a case with a former teacher was understood as blasphemous.

In addition to religion, class was an issue in the school, although most teachers and staff did not discuss this specifically. Many of the staff complained that due to Education for All, there was an influx of students coming into the school causing overcrowding in the classrooms and a strain on school resources, and ultimately reducing the quality of education. Those students

who are now gaining admission to the school are mostly from the lower classes. While teachers said that they did not favor students of any class, this does create the potential for the strengthening of class-based social divides. As the lower classes gain access to resources (this model school) that was previously only available to the middle and elite classes, there is the opportunity for resentment to grow within the community of this school.

How do women and girls of the school understand their roles in contributing to social transformation for development and sustainable peace?

One of the most striking aspects of this research was the ways in which girls and teachers understood their roles to improve their country. Many of their responses were directly in line with the citizenship notions of the private realm. The teachers and many of the students felt that the ways in which educated women can support their country in peacemaking and social cohesion was through their influence in the home. It was also poignant to note that the ways in which the student union members responded to questions about education, women's roles in Pakistan closely mirrored that of teachers. They also had expressed interests in careers that are considered acceptable for women in Pakistan. It was clear that these girls selected for the student union (by the teachers and principal) were those who embodied and performed their gender in ways that best exemplified the ideal middle class woman. Other students were much more outspoken and spoke in more active and public language about how they can help their country. But these students were the same who complained about the favoritism of students who were considered bright and/or family members of the teacher. Thus, they felt trapped in a system that does not support their future goals of working in the public sphere.

The result of this indoctrination as the daughters of Pakistan is that many of the teachers and students understand their roles in creating a peaceful Pakistan through the private sphere of the home. It seems that they do not see themselves as citizens of Pakistan, in the liberal or republican sense of the term, but as supporters of their male relatives, the citizens.

How and to what extent does citizenship education in the case study school contribute to the legitimization of identity-based violence against women and religious minorities in Pakistan?

Although these issues of citizenship education in the school may not directly incite violence and no direct violence was observed, it does reproduce the aspects of culture that allow for violence in all forms to occur. Firstly, despite a woman's personal interest in creating change, the school reproduces the structural and cultural barriers that limit the space for resistance for the teachers and students. As Christie, et al. (2001) state, "*the powerless must critically analyze and break through dominant cultural discourses that support oppression (p.1)."*

Teachers and students were aware of the social issues they faced in the school including nepotism and political pressures. While teachers acknowledged these problems, they did not feel that it was them who could change the system, that it was up to those in power. Thus, reinforcing the authoritarian nature of the government education system in Pakistan.

The school contributed greatly to indoctrinating students into their expected role in society by enforcing limits on their agency. Social risk for both teachers and girls comes from the school culture itself, especially when acts of resistance were involved. When a student or teacher did not behave in a way that is expected/valued, there was a great risk of being ostracized. Education in the school did not give students the skills to think critically about their country, their religion, or their position within them. The teachers encouraged those who follow the normed obedient expectations and discouraged those with a different voice. This prepares students to expect the same outside of the school; thus, creating a form of consciousness that in real and imagined ways limits agency for resistance and thus for social transformation in Pakistan. Therefore, reproducing the forms of structural and cultural violence faced by women in Pakistan.

The school did, to some extent, contribute to the mitigation of some social tensions. Most notably, the ethnically diverse population of the school, as well as the large number of Shia teachers and students created an environment in which teachers and students were able to work alongside people of different backgrounds, which seemed to diminish some of the tensions, at least within the walls of the school.

While the school did mitigate some social tensions, it also reproduced others, including the othering of Christian students. The small number of Christian minority students were discussed by teachers in hegemonic language, which suggested that they, as non-Muslims were not equal citizens of Pakistan.

Finally, the school seemed to exacerbate class-based tensions based in the increasing number of students from the lower classes. Teachers and administrators discussed several issues caused by the Education for All Act in which more people had access to the school, putting pressure on the existing resources.

Ultimately the complexity of the schooling process when viewed through an intersectional lens illustrated that the school does not only contribute to or mitigate social tensions that lead to violence, but simultaneously mitigates, reproduces, and exacerbates various tensions through both curriculum and school practice.

Research Contributions

This study furthers the knowledge on the links between education and identity-based violence by showing that developing and promoting a homogeneous ideal of a citizen through education can contribute to structural, cultural and direct violence against women and minorities, thus deterring them from engaging in social transformation. This is done through both theoretical work and the content of the research data. In this section, I highlight some of the contributions of the theoretical work and the contribution to knowledge of citizenship education in Pakistan.

Theoretical Contributions

The theoretical framework of this thesis was an attempt to bring together theories from a variety of fields and perspectives to unpack the complex relationship between citizenship education and violence. Therefore, writing it became a project of discovery and some of the theories served different purposes than was first intended. Critical realism, in this case, was intended as a meta theory, a starting point at which to anchor my ontological and epistemological positioning. It was ultimately most useful to define my understanding of the relationship between structure and agency. Most importantly for this research, is Scott's (2005) notion that it is not possible to understand agential decisions unless they are contextualized in terms of the constraining and empowering properties of structures. These constraining/empowering properties of structures became central to the findings of this research. The structures set in place in Pakistan that regulate women including laws, social norms, and religion seemed to limit the agency of teachers and students. It became evident that the indoctrination through curriculum and school practice intended to teach middle class girls their expected role in society served as a constraint to the agency of gender performance (Butler, 1988). While gender performativity is an act of agency, this research showed that it was shaped and sometimes constrained within the structural expectations of middle class, Muslim women.

This research also makes a case for the need for an intersectional lens when studying the role of education in society. It is through this lens that we can begin to illuminate the contribution of education to social injustices. Simplifying injustices to a unitary question of gender, ethnicity, or religion, for example, only contribute to the notion of the binary of us versus them. When we understand education through an intersectional lens, we remove this false binary and can begin to unpack the complexities of identities to which education contributes. It is only at this point we can begin to remedy these injustices in a meaningful way. Intersectionality, then gives us the opportunity to understand agency to resist the structures

and discourses of cultural norms, including those that legitimize violence, as situated within the nexus of identity. When researching resistance, the notion of agential space can contribute to the analysis of the entanglement of structure and agency.

The use of feminist scholars in citizenship and violence brought the study of gender to the center of the research. Within this feminist perspective, I drew upon Pakistani feminist scholars with the intention to build upon their voices rather than rely too heavily on other Western scholars. And while the feminist voices of Pakistani and Western scholars were congruent, this was important in terms of situating the research within the cultural and historical context of Pakistan.

Finally, the link between Sen's (2006) notion of identity and violence as theorized by Galtung paired with citizenship theories were useful to understand the link between violence and unequal citizenship. When this is then linked to critical education, the ways in which citizenship education can contribute to the forms of consciousness that reproduce violence in its various forms are illuminated.

Contribution to Knowledge

This research builds upon existing scholarship on citizenship education in Pakistan. It makes the case for studying citizenship education as both curricular and as school practice. If we understand that schools, as micropolitical sites, prepare students for their expected roles in society, then it is imperative to conceptualize citizenship education as the sum of curriculum and the incidental learning done in school. To this end, this research builds upon the curriculum analyses of Nayyar & Salim (2005, 2013) and the school practice and curriculum analyses of both Dean (2005) and Durrani (2008). Dean's research focused on citizenship education in both the curriculum and school practice, while Durrani's work focused additionally on student identity. This research takes a different approach by focusing on the school as the 'object of study'. It aimed to illuminate the ways in which the school reproduces, exacerbates, or mitigates structural inequalities that then contribute to the development of students' and teachers' identities. This study also contributes a direct theoretical link to violence, by bringing forth the ways in which unequal citizenship that can contribute to violence is taught through curriculum and school practice.

There is a significant overlap between the findings of Durrani's (2008) study which was conducted with students and teachers in rural and urban Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), a Pashtun majority area known for its more conservative and religious culture. The research in this thesis was conducted nearly 10 years later in the federal capital of Pakistan, which is more diverse,

and arguably less conservative than KP. The significance of the overlap in findings thus lies with the relative lack of importance of space or time in influencing understandings of Pakistani citizenship. Perhaps this indicates an overwhelming success of the Pakistani nation building project as Islam as a national identity, at least within government schools.

Implications for Policy Making

How citizenship is understood and taught in any country needs to be analyzed for its contribution to or negation of social cohesion and social justice. In developing curriculum, there is a need to balance national unity with the recognition that creating a homogenous notion of a citizen especially one rooted in something as powerful as religion has the potential to create a culture of acceptable violence against those who do not fit within that identity. Education contributes to this through curriculum, but also through every day school practice. When the school reproduces notions of citizenship through how it is managed, which characteristics of students are considered successful, and how classes are taught, they contribute to this cultural violence. For women teaching girls and promoting passive femininity, they are playing their own part in reproducing that culture. That is not to say it is necessarily their fault, they too have learned how they must navigate their lives as illegitimate citizens.

However, the current political climate of Pakistan impedes resistance to the status quo. Men and women have lost their lives for raising issues of inequality and violence in Pakistan. Changes to the curriculum are resisted by religious parties and teachers (Usman, 2012). Dr. Bernadette Dean, a Christian Pakistani educationalist, was recently forced into exile after threats to her life, for working on a more secular curriculum intended to be more inclusive of all Pakistanis. Although she was one of a committee, the rest of whom are Muslim, she was targeted because of her religion (Sarwari, 2015). This is an example of the hegemonic power and threats of direct violence that limit agency for resistance. Therefore, until the government can uphold its end of the citizenship contract by ensuring the safety of those working to create a more inclusive curriculum that promotes equality of all Pakistani citizens, it will be very difficult for any meaningful changes to be made.

The political nature of the social sciences curriculum also impacts the type of training teachers in these subjects receive. Social studies teachers discussed the lack of in-service professional development training. They argued that teachers of math, science and English often participated in trainings delivered in coordination with international organizations, but social studies, Urdu, and Islamic studies teachers were never invited to participate in these trainings.

In my experience working with international donors, I also found that donors tend to not engage with training of social science subjects due to the level of political sensitivity involved. And usually, without the support of international donors, the government cannot afford to provide any meaningful in-service training programs. Pre-service training focuses on the content of the curriculum and somewhat on pedagogy. Therefore, leaving teachers whose responsibility it is to teach students about their roles in society are denied further training or time for reflection on how their classroom and school practice impact students as citizens, or even learn new teaching techniques that lend themselves to encouraging active citizenship or critical thinking among students.

Looking to the Future: Further research in citizenship education

To gain a fuller picture of citizenship education, case studies should be undertaken in a variety of settings to capture how citizenship is being taught and understood by students varies across this vast and complex country. Most immediately, a similar study should be conducted in a boys' model school, to identify the differences in citizenship education as experienced by boys and girls.

I hope that this case study has shown that we, as researchers (and policy makers), must acknowledge that schooling is not only about curriculum or pedagogy, but about the socialization of students for their expected roles as citizens within their community, state, and world. This is not particular to Pakistan by any means; it occurs in schools around the world. Even as I wrote this thesis, I was constantly reminded of my own education in the United States and the ways in which we are indoctrinated into our roles as patriots and citizens. While our ideology is not based in Islam, we are taught to perform citizenship in a way that favors the dominant groups. And as the U.S. continues its 'war on terror', it has become obvious that our own ideas of who is a legitimate citizen are being narrowed, and those who do not fit within that group are facing more and more violence in all its forms. This narrowing of citizenship identity seems to be increasing throughout the world, and the divide among us seems to be growing. Researching citizenship education -inclusive of curriculum, pedagogy, and school practice- as a lens to illuminate inequality and the potential for violence should be undertaken in a variety of contexts. Only then will be able to understand the extent to which schooling serves as a micropolitical site for the reproduction or mitigation of violence.

With chains of matrimony and modesty

You can shackle my feet

The fear will still haunt you

That crippled, unable to walk

I shall continue to think

-Kishwar Naheed, Pakistani poet and activist

(Quoted in Jafar, 2005)

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Appendix A: Teacher Biographies

Pakistan Studies Teachers

Sadia

Sadia was my focal point teacher. She is an Associate Professor of Pakistan Studies with more than 30 years of experience teaching in the case study school. She grew up in the Islamabad area and comes from a family that is well connected in certain government agencies (specification cannot be further made for purposes of anonymity). She has an MSc and an MPhil in Pakistan Studies and a B.Ed.

Irum

Irum is an Associate Professor of Pakistan Studies with 25 years' experience working in the case study school. She is from a military family and grew up in various parts of Pakistan, though she is originally from Punjab. She is unmarried and comes from a middle-class background. She found it difficult to fit in with some of the other senior teachers who were from the elite class and was once a member of the Women's Action Forum

Abida

Abida was a Pakistan Studies Teacher with 10 years' experience and an Msc in Pakistan Studies. She was originally from Islamabad, but had been posted to a small rural school for 2 years before returning to Islamabad to take this position. Abida struggled to balance the traditional expectations of her in-laws with her career.

Language Teachers

Sharmeela

Sharmeela was a visiting lecture in English was from an upper-middle class family in Punjab. She was new to teaching and had an MPhil in American studies. She was the teacher who was most free to express her opinions in the interview with me as well as in informal conversations. She was known by the other teachers and the vice principals as outspoken.

Laila

Laila is a newly appointed Urdu lecturer with a few years of teaching experience. She grew up in a conservative part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and attended government schools. She has a Bachelors' of Education and moved to Islamabad with her husband for his position.

Faiza

Faiza was an Urdu teacher with an MSc in Urdu who had been teaching at the school for 3 years. She came from a rural Pashto speaking family, who she says valued girls' education as much as boys. She came to Islamabad with her husband for his job.

Other Social Science Teachers

Aleeza

Aleeza is an Assistant Professor of Political Science with about 25 years of teaching experience. She has a master's degree in political science and is from a small city in Punjab. She also has family in several countries and was planning to move the United States in the near future.

Aala

Aala is a lecturer in home economics. She moved to Islamabad from a large city with her husband for his work. She comes from a large city and speaks Pashtun as her first language. She holds a MSc in Home Economics and wanted to take this job to be with her children who went to the school.

Vice Principals

The Vice Principal Colleges

She had over 30 years teaching and serving as a vice principal in this school. She comes from a liberal, wealthy family in Lahore. She is married to a well-known academic who is the vice chancellor of a prestigious university in Islamabad. She started working at the school because she enjoyed spending time with the students. She retired during the last few days of my data collection in 2014. She was my main point of contact as I prepared to conduct my research and oversaw my research while I was there.

The Vice Principal Schools

She is from a middle-class family and is also near retirement age. I had very little interaction with her despite my research being conducted in the school section. This seemed to be related to the power dynamic with the Vice Principal Colleges.

Appendix B: Teacher Interview Guide

1. Tell me about yourself. Where are you from? Where did you grow up?

2. If you had to describe yourself in 3 words what would they be?

3. Why did you decide to be a teacher in your subject?

4. What do you like about this school?

5. What would you like to see improved?

6. Tell me about the students at this school. What is their background?

7. Tell me about your favorite student, the student that you think has the brightest future (don't tell a name). Why is she your favorite student? What qualities does she have? What is her family background?

8. Tell me about a student that you find difficult in class (don't tell a name). Why is she difficult? What qualities does she have? What is her family background?

9. Do you have students in your classes that are from minority groups or are not from Islamabad? Can you tell me about them? How do they fit into the class? What problems do they have in class?

10. What do you think is important for students to leave school knowing about being a Pakistani? (What are their rights? What are their obligations?)

11. How do you teach about these things? (in class, role modeling, etc.)

12. Do you think this is different for girls and boys? How?

13. What issues is Pakistan currently facing? Which issues are most important?

14. What conflicts are going on in Pakistan? What do you think is causing the conflicts? Who can help improve the situation causing conflict?

15. Do you think it's the role of the school to teach students about conflict? Or should this be left for families to discuss?

16. Does the school do anything to help with issues in Pakistan?

17. What do you think educated women in Pakistan like yourself and your students can do to improve the situation in Pakistan or even in the world?

18. Is there anything else you would like to share?

Appendix C: Sample Teacher Interview Transcript

Dates and names have been omitted to maintain anonymity. Name used is pseudonym.

RESEARCHER: Start with your degree….

ABIDA: I did my degrees from XXXX university then I belong to XXXX I am from Punjab. Father was a GSP, (government). He was shifted to Islamabad. We settled in Pindi and Islamabad before I was born. My education is from the government schools. All my education is from government schools even the university….

RESEARCHER: Why did you decide to be a teacher and why did you decide to do Pakistan studies?

ABIDA: Because my family background was that we were not allowed to do jobs in the offices or the other… because I am the only one doing job as a teacher, no one has any job. Other sisters are not doing any job.

RESEARCHER: Why did you or your parents decide that you should teach?

ABIDA: Because I was only allowed to do the job as a teacher. If I must do a job, it should be as a teacher…. I left my job in 2010 when my in-laws said I cannot do the job. I am the only daughter in law. And then because I was the only daughter in law to take care of the family. But then I cleared the government test and my in-laws said that because I cleared the test for the lectureship, grade 17, my father in law said you must join the job. Then I got informed that I have interview on that day. In the interview we have people from Punjab, KP and Baluchistan. I got selected for XXXX. With the permission of my father in law. My husband didn't want me to because we don't have financial problem. My husband is…. My father said if it is a gov't job, you should not leave that job. Then my marriage ceremony was held in October 2XXX. Then 3.5 years I passed here in XXXX, come back on Friday here and then back to XXXX on Sunday. After my marriage I passed very difficult times because of a lot of things and adjusting to new family. I didn't get the time to meet my own family members. I missed a lot my mother, my sisters, my brothers. My sister in law got married with me on the same day. She conceived earlier than me. And then when I was in XXXX I just wanted to sleep when I came back and my husband is so nice, he did not disturb me, he said if you want to sleep, just sleep. That is why I took a lot of time to conceive. Usually my mother in law, she never talked about this issues, but then one day there was no one else in the home and she said, what is the problem why have you not conceived yet? I said no there is no problem and I said I have a back pain. She said maybe this is some other problem. I was so stressed that I talked to my husband that day and told him I must conceive because I have to live with you. Immediately. Then I tried and I conceived in XXXX. My condition was so miserable after the conception that I remained on leave for 9 months including summer vacation. The doctor strickly prohibited me to travel anywhere and then I was on bedrest for 3 months. My baby was born on XXXX…. After then I went back to XXXX with my mother in law because my baby was so weak and he has a permanent fever. My father in law said I have to go back to my job in XXXX and that my mother in law has to come with me. She was not willing, but because he said she must, she did. She went with me and we spent 1 year and 2 months there. After that I came here on deputation in April 2XXX.

RESEARCHERS: So finally you are living with your husband…. If you had to describe yourself in 3 words what would they be?

ABIDA: Not confident… just after marriage. I was a bit confident before marriage, but now there is too much…

RESEARCH ASSISTANT: Social pressures of the family

ABIDA: I had spent my life very comfortably with my parents because I have a lot of sisters and I never worked. But after marriage I have a lot of duties and I find it difficult to manage everything. I came to know about the drawbacks of me after marriage. They are saying you are not good daughter in law, you are not good mother, etc.

RESEARCHER: What something good about you?

ABIDA: I always try to be honest. With my job, with my children, I try my level best. I think a lot about matters and then finally do nothing.

RESEARCHER: What kind of matters?

ABIDA: Personal matters. Even my husband is so confident, so loving, so caring about me. He never discusses bad things about me. He supportive of me. …

RESEARCHER: What do you like about this school? Compared to XXXX?

ABIDA: I like that I am living in the home because I am on deputation with my husband and family. All the teachers here are good. But in XXXX it was also very good. Here all the teachers are very education and behave in very good way. Secondly, you have to teach in English, this is a small problem, but if the students understand your knowledge it's ok. Students are good.

RESEARCHER: What is good behavior of students?

ABIDA: Students listen to me. They learn it. They cooperate with me. They take the copies here and there and they do it and they listen to me.

RESEARCHER: What could be improved?

ABIDA: The syllabus is not meeting the requirements of the current situation. The books are not good, they don't learn from the books. (other inaudible). This is the main flaw in the system. Even if the student is good, she is not getting good marks… we tell them you have to learn all the things word by word.

RESEARCHER: Tell me about the students of the school and what is their background?

ABIDA: Some of them are the children of the servants who are working here and getting free education from the college side. They belong to the poor class, mostly the students are from the middle class. Because the fee is not much, 150, which is affordable to the middle class. (22:48).

Then the elite class, it is you can renowned and the application is very good.

RESEARCHER: Even today?

ABIDA: Yes, even today. The first model college of Islamabad, that is why the parents of the elite class prefer this school.

RESEARCHER: Even now?

ABIDA: Even now, not all of the elite class, but some of the high class parents prefer this school. All type of the students we see sitting in the class.

RESEARCHER: Earlier we were talking and XXXX says she doesn't know even which class the students come from…

ABIDA: From their sight, from their behavior, from their language we came to know. You can say from the sight of the students we can see … we can judge. Even at the school level, the difference is too much.

RESEARCHER: yeah, even at the school level you can judge…

ABIDA: Because it is 40 to 50, maximum 60 students, the teacher knows about the students' background. The most students are from the middle class.

RESEARCHER: Are the students friends with their same class or do they mix?

ABIDA: All the students are friends.

RESEARCH ASSISTANT: What about the teachers, do you think the teachers behave differently…

ABIDA: No, I think that if the student behaves well, then we treat them well.

RESEARCH ASSISTANT: I am not talking about specifically, but in general?

ABIDA: I think … mostly we can say the intelligent or the dull students get the attention of the teachers. Those that are mediocre can pass, but the intelligent students are fighting to keep their position and the dull ones...

RESEARCHER: Tell me about a favorite student.

ABIDA: xxxx is a favorite student of mine because she is always neat and clean. Her copies are SO good. Copies are completed and behavior with every teacher is very good. She participates in the class, you must participate in each and every topic in the class. After the completion of the class, she must come to the department and ask if she has any questions. She takes material. And even if I am wrong, she comes to me separately and says, "Madam, this is not right." And that is why she is my favorite student. Even then, her result is not… she is not the 1,2,3rd position. She has some spelling mistakes in her papers, that is why she is not in the top. Even so she is one of my favorite students.

RESEARCHER: What about a student you find difficult?

ABIDA: I have discussed with you some of the students from the elite class. Not taking interest in the lecture. They are just sitting like… not taking interest in the lecture. Not bothering the teacher, not respecting you. And um, their result is weak. But their parents don't care. Even the behavior is not good. She always talks like the teacher is a servant of hers. … She is so rude…. But she has the support of the parents, that is why there is nothing we can do.

RESEARCHER: Do you think the parents don't care about her results because they don't expect her to continue her studies or it doesn't matter what her results are…

ABIDA: She cannot clear the board exam, even then her parents don't care. I am shocked, then what is the purpose of coming here if you don't want to learn anything, if you don't want to listen anything. She is not taking interest in any of the subject. She failed many of the 9th class exams, but she is in 10th class now.

RESEARCHER: So do you have students in your class from minorities, like different religions or ethnic groups?

ABIDA: In this college I didn't experience this, but in XXXX there was a Hindu student. But the only problem is that she could not understand, she did not want to study the Islamiat. But some of the students told she is against Pakistan, so I asked her why she is against

Pakistan and she said her parents told me Pakistan is not good and like this. She was not taking interest in the islamiat subject so ethics subject was offered instead. Otherwise there was no problem. She was against the ideology of Pakistan and said there was no need of Pakistan.

Some of the students are here of the Christian.

RESEARCHER: Do they come from the Christian community that's just here?

ABIDA: Most of the Christians are at the gov't school because they belong to the minority. But some of the students are, but in the very less number. But they don't have any difficulty, instead of the islamiat, they can take the ethics. Otherwise, all other subjects they can take. They don't like the Islamiat: But all of the things we discuss in the classroom, they don't mind …

RESEARCHER: Do you think there are just 1 or 2.

ABIDA: Maybe 1 or 2 in 250.

RESEARCHER: What about ethnic minorities?

ABIDA: Mostly in the people in Islamabad are Urdu speaking. But in the class there are Punjabi speaking, pashto is also there. Sindhi and Baluchi is very less.

ABIDA: The Baluchi students come in grade 8. They are the competent ones from there, but they have a difficultly competing with Islamabad students because the quality of education is very bad there. They want to compete and they are very good students, but as far as their English is concerned, they have a difficulty to understand the language, but they are very hard working.

RESEARCHER: Are they friends with other students?

ABIDA: They are a separate group. In the recess they have a separate group and eat in a separate group. They discuss their problems, but they are good with other students. And they wear a different class. In 10C there are 6 students. I don't know how many students. There are a lot of Baluchi students are not good in studies. In section D the students are not so good.

RESEARCHER: What are the responsibilities and rights you would like your students to know about as citizens of Pakistan?

ABIDA: Responsibilities toward the school?

RESEARCH ASSISTANT: No, what they should know about their rights before leaving this school….

RESEARCHER: What it means to be a Pakistani Citizen.

ABIDA: They should be Patriotic.

RESEARCHER: What does it mean by patriotic… if I don't know what that means, how would you describe it?

ABIDA: Even with the difficulties, with the problems, you must love your country. Just like in a family, you have a lot of problems. Like if you have a lot of problems you have to love your country. Whatever circumstances you are living here, you should love your country. You must be, you must know well the ideology of Pakistan, you must respect the ideology of Pakistan. There should be no, you can say discrimination against your class, your

religious sect, should not be discriminate. It does not matter, you should treat everyone as a Pakistani citizen.

RESEARCHER: Do you think there are different rights and responsibilities in terms of being a citizen for boys and girls? What do you think they are?

ABIDA: Mostly the girls, after getting education have to be restricted at home. Now things are changing, but still it is the same. Because I see very good girls from very good families get married after education, because it is required islamically, as far as the religion is concerned the girls must be married, it doesn't matter for the boys, but for the protection of the girl, she must be married. If she must manage the home… whether it's the responsibility to the country or not, it is the girls' responsibility. It is… to handle the problem of a country it is the matter of the boys.

Even the share of each and every government are women, even though our society doesn't let them in.

RESEARCHER: Are the women in parliament usual the sisters and daughters of politicians?

ABIDA: They are also from the elite class and the whole family is in politics, then their men are also in politics. Otherwise in the middle and lower class, women are not in the politics… now some of the middle class some of the women are going into politics. But it is the responsibility the girls to look after the children, to look after the home. That is there responsibility. And boys have to be well educated. It is the general concept that boys must do all these things about the country. The burden of the country or the responsibility of the country (?).

RESEARCHER: What are some of the issues that Pakistan is facing?

ABIDA: The most important is the religious sectarianism is too much.

RESEARCHER: You mean between the Shias…

ABIDA: Between the Shias and the Sunnis and there are so many sects here. We got the Pakistan on the religious basis and then we are going to fight with each other on the same point, then what is the point of the ideology of Pakistan. So they are showing that… there was no need for the establishment of Pakistan because they want to flight about the minor differences. So the major problem is the fighting between religious sects. Then the political unrest. The government… the political instability the conflicts are there, the murders are there.

RESEARCHER: What about the issue of Afghanistan… how is this impacting…

ABIDA: I think the main problem is corruption. If you have a good relation, you can do each and every thing. There is no problem if you relations, then there is no ??. And there is the problem of education…

RESEARCHER: In the issue of corruption, does the school do anything to stop this or do you think they are showing them how to do this?

ABIDA: It must be stopped. In each in every department, the corruption must be stopped.

RESEARCHER: But does the school do anything to stop it?

ABIDA: The administration is under pressure. Like XXXX, who is going for the election. Because they're from the poor class, they must give the admission of the (inaudible) otherwise, they can be murdered. They must give admission for the child of a secretary or minister.

RESEARCHER: And I think that's really makes it impossible to stop, so how can education stop this? Or is it the role of a teacher or a school to change this? It seems like many people want this to change, but they are stuck in the system.

ABIDA: It can be stopped at the higher level, the policy makers can stop it for the betterment of the country. Otherwise the poor class, the middle class they can't stop it. Even they think that all of these things are not good, but they do. You can say they are restricted. They can't do anything.

RESEARCHER: Does the school teach anything about the sectarian violence or do they leave it to the parents?

ABIDA: No no no, mostly if there is a bomb blast, students discuss in the class. There is a bomb blast, They talk about so many people were murdered, you can say lost their lives, then what will happen. Mostly we discuss… we want to make the students, that it is not the matter, you should not take attention, it is the problem of many countries, many Islamic countries are like this. You have to face the problem, it no problem. We discuss in the class mostly whenever this is an incident in Rawalpindi. On the day before yesterday there was a bomb blast. The students were so worried. They discussed that they saw this on the television and we discuss that no it is a part of the war against terrorist and we have to face some things like that. We say, no bhita (daughter), we do not want this, but still there are some groups that want to make the Pakistan weak, or like this. So we mostly discuss like this. Even then the students discuss with the parents when they got worried. They discuss with the friends that so many lives are lost. We must discuss in class, whenever such things happens they discuss with me and other teachers, like madam what do you think. It should be happen that we make the students relax. And to some extent we cannot justify.

RESEARCHER: But it affects them, I think it's natural, but do they get more worried when it's close here in Pindi than if it's in Waziristan or Bannu?

ABIDA: Even then the students have some… (inaudible)

RESEARCH QUESTION: What about this question?

RESEARCHER: Yeah, you answered some, but what other types of conflicts…?

ABIDA: These are the problems of Pakistan.

RESEARCHER: Yeah, we already discussed this… We just have this one left. Does the school do anything else to deal with the issues you mentions, the sectarianism, or corruption, or even natural disasters?

ABIDA: We discuss these problems as friends.

RESEARCH ASSISTANT: What's the role of the school?

ABIDA: In the 2005 earthquake, the school had a lot of contribution… I was in university, but all the schools in Islamabad did a lot to contribute.

RESEARCH ASSISTANT: What about other issues

ABIDA: Like the political? We can discuss but we can't do anything

RESEARCH ASSISTANT: Religious issues…

ABIDA: With the religious issues, we want to avoid because if there is a shia in the classroom it makes the difficulties. Sometimes some of the issues are discussed within the

teachers like there is a different thing in the Shia and Sunni, a different way of offering prayers. The small problems, but they become a big problem, so that is why we avoid to talk about them.

RESEARCHER: There are both Shia and Sunny students and teachers here?

ABIDA: Yeah, even deobundi

RESEARCHER: What is the percentage in this school?

ABIDA: Many Shia students, mostly are the rich, who have settled in Islamabad, but still the sunni are more.

RESEARCHER: Nobody is from Islamabad I think that's good, then it makes everybody more tolerant.

ABIDA: Even in the Sunni there is a lot of subsect.

RESEARCHER: What do you think educated women in Pk like yourself and your students can do to improve the situation in Pakistan?

ABIDA: We can educate or students as far as I am a teacher. I can put the positiveness in the students. You must face all these difficulties whether in the family, in the school or in the country. And the educated one, you can play your part to be a positive one. You can play your part at the home. If your family members are with you, you can solve their problems. Because you are the educated one, you are not the ignorant one, you won't cause problems to others but can instead solve the problems of others. It will be a service to the nation. To some extent you are going to provide a little service to the nation. Not at the bigger level, and if some of the students got the opportunity then it will be your success because … it can play the part at the national level because if she gets the position in any department and industry, the behavior will be with you.

RESEARCHER: Do you think your students have more opportunities?

ABIDA: They will have more opportunities because things are changing and the family background is different. I come from the, not even the middle class, you can say lower middle class. Then there are the many students that belong to the good families, they can play their part, I think so. That is why I must talk to my students, if they have the opportunity, they must play their part.

RESEARCHER: Anything else you would like to tell me?

ABIDA: We always discuss these things, but we are not doing anything practically. Even the NGOs are doing a lot, but we are not sincere, it's impractical just for showing off. Seminars are there, workshops are there, but there is no practical benefit of them. No satisfactory steps are being taken for the country. For the nation building, for the ideology of Pakistan, for the students, even we have a lot of, there is a directive of government but still society is on the same track… but the still the set-up of the government is the same, the joint family system is the same. There is some stage, but even the educated one ignore it.

Appendix D: Student Focus Group Guide

1. What grades are you in?

2. What are your ages?

3. What do you like about your school?

4. What could be improved?

5. Tell me about the qualities of good teachers

6. What are the qualities of teachers that you do not think are good?

7. What do you think you will be doing in 10 years from now?

8. What are some problems you think Pakistan is facing?

9. Where do you hear about these problems?

10. Do you discuss them at school?

11. Do you do anything in your school to help with these problems?

12. What can you do to help when you grow up?

13. Do you have any heroes that are women? Who? And why are they your hero?

Appendix E: Student Union Member Focus Group Guide

1. What grades are you in?
2. What are your ages?
3. Tell me about Union Council/ Civic Society. What do you do? What are your responsibilities?
4. Why did you decide to join?
5. If there is an election process, can you tell me about it?
6. What do you like about your school?
7. What could be improved?
8. Tell me about the qualities of good teachers
9. What are the qualities of teachers that you do not think are good?
10. What do you think you will be doing in 10 years from now?
11. What are some problems you think Pakistan is facing?
12. Where do you hear about these problems?
13. Do you discuss them at school?
14. Do you do anything in your school to help with these problems?
15. What can you do to help when you grow up?
16. Do you have any heroes that are women? Who? And why are they your hero?

Appendix F: Sample Research Journal Entry

January 16, 2014

Today we went to the school and chatted with Sadia and Abida in the Pakistan Studies department. We are starting to have a good rapport with teachers that we see every day. I have suggested that each week I am there that we sit in different departments so that we can get to know those teachers well too. If they trust that I am not going to ask them anything that will be reported to the school administration or publicize their names and statements, then I'll be able to find out more information. Samina told me that a lot of the teachers who didn't want to have an interview were afraid of the 'publicity' so I need to work on these relationships or they won't talk to me. [research assistant] overheard Sadia telling others that I am nice, etc. so I also hope that helps build some trust.

We talked briefly to one of the admin staff men about the political posters displayed outside of the school. These are for the union members for the model schools admin/low-paid staff. We asked who they were, and he described them. And then we asked whose permission they need to put them up and they said they get permission from CADD (Education Dept) so not just the school admin, but the government.

We observed Adiba's grade 10 Pakistan Studies Class. Grade 10 has 5 sections, three science and two arts sections. Sections are divided by level (good students in section A, etc.) I am not sure if the arts sections are a choice as an alternative to science or if they have to take arts if they don't score well enough for science. I need to find this out.

The class consisted of about 25 students all had desks and almost all had books. The walls were covered with neatly written English charts and things made by students, but it was not creative work. Basically I think they are copied from the books. But will find this out.

This class was behind in the syllabus, so the teacher was trying to cover a lot of information in one class. Taught in the traditional style, she stood at the podium, which she would bang with her hand when she wanted them to be quiet. She read what was written in the textbook (in English) and then would ask students what certain words meant and when they didn't answer, she would just tell them and keep reading. One girl was asked to stand and give an answer, she didn't know, so the teacher told her to sit down and asked another girl. She answered and the teacher curtly said, good, sit down. At the end of class, the students started to get really giggly, I think because we were there. And then teacher had to stop.

Content of the class:

They are talking about poverty being unacceptable in the country, but students don't' engage with information so they can't really understand what this means. Same thing with the fact that 3 of 5 children in Pakistan are not in school. But, what does this actually mean to them? They ARE in school. They don't understand what it means to not be in school. Engaging with this information would maybe spark something in them to change these realities.

TEACHING METHODS: Students should discuss power, lack of education, etc. (social issues) in order to comprehend how these things actually affect them and the people of their country.

The whole lecture was about quotes of Jinnah (founder of Pakistan). These quotes and the vision of Jinnah for Pakistan are very different than the reality of Pakistan today. Other quotes were about how Pakistan should be peaceful. "Peace within, peace without." Meaning they should not engage in violence within the country or with other countries. Also mentioned the

quote where he says that religion is not the business of the government and everyone is free to go to their temples, churches and mosques.

Then the book says nepotism is wrong and that it should be an egalitarian society. These things are not happening now. I wonder if students truly understood these words if they would question the way things are. She also covered the concept of nation building very quickly.

After this she did the exercises from the book which were fill in the black questions and true or false. They didn't know a lot of the answers, but they were also squirrelly at this point, so that may have been part of the problem.

The class went 15 minutes too long, but I felt like it was short. She said after that she just had to finish that chapter, but usually she takes much more time on each topic. They also said that all their secondary school and up classes are done through lecture method, which is just the teacher reading the textbook.

Appendix G: Sample Participant Information Sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR TEACHERS

STUDY TITLE

Citizenship Education and School Practice in Government Schools in Pakistan

INVITATION PARAGRAPH

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

The National Education Policy 2009 states a vision for Education in Pakistan by 2030. Many of the goals involve concepts that are considered a part of citizenship education including national cohesion, democracy, global citizenship, and human rights. The purpose of this study is to understand how these concepts and others relating to citizenship are currently conceptualized and developed at policy and curriculum level and why these are considered important in Pakistan at this time. Then this study seeks to understand how these concepts are understood at the school level (by teachers and head teachers and students) and how these understandings are enacted through school practice. School practice in this case will include school management, teaching methodology, teacher/student relationships, student activities, and teacher role modelling. Finally it is hoped that the findings of this study could suggest areas where school practice could be changed to ensure that Pakistan meets its vision for 2030 in the areas of citizenship education and improve the quality of life for many Pakistanis.

ABOUT THE RESEARCHER:

My name is Ann Emerson; I am a PhD Candidate at the University of Sussex in England and am currently working as the Child and Youth Development and Protection Coordinator for the International Rescue Committee here in Pakistan. I am originally from the U.S. but have been working in several countries in education including six years' experience in Pakistan. I worked with the RISE project after the 2005 earthquake where I coordinated with the Ministries of Education in AJK and KP to train 10,000 teachers in student-centered teaching methods. I then worked with teachers from all over Pakistan on the Ed-Links project. I have been interested in Education in Pakistan since I first arrived here because of my wonderful experiences coordinating with people from the government sector and other non-government organizations. I also recognize the number of challenges faced and hope that my research can, in a small way, contribute to the continuing improvements to education in Pakistan.

 WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

You were chosen to take part in the study because you are a secondary school teacher in the school that has been selected for the study by the Ministry of Education.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form or if you prefer you may give verbal consent. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IF I TAKE PART?

You will be asked to take part in a participatory workshop with the other teachers and the head teacher of your school, participate in an interview and you may be asked to allow me to observe your class or other activities you are involved in at the school. Interviews will be recorded with your permission. If you do not wish to be recorded, I will take notes about what you have said. You may choose not to answer any questions asked or may ask me not to observe at any time without giving a reason.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE DISADVANTAGES AND RISKS OF TAKING PART?

There are no known or anticipated risks of this research other than the risk of privacy. However, no one beside the researcher will know the response the respondents will give. Interviews, workshops, and observations will be done anonymously (i.e. names, positions, and school name will not be included in the study).

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?

There will be no direct material or financial benefits to participants. However, it is hoped that the research could identify areas where school practice is already promoting the citizenship skills discussed in the 2030 vision and suggest areas of school practice that could be improved to ensure that Pakistan meets its vision for 2030 in the areas of citizenship education.

WILL WHAT I SAY IN THIS STUDY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

All information collected about you will be kept strictly confidential. Your name, position, and school will not be used, and I will be the only one who will have access to the information collected.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY?

The results of the study will be used for my doctorate thesis. I will plan to publish it as an article for an academic journal.

MY RESPONSIBILITIES AS A RESEARCHER:

I am obligated by the University of Sussex ethical standards to not breach confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. In the report, I will not disclose the identity of any of the participants. My research has been approved by the University of Sussex and I have the written permission of the Ministry of Education and have agreed to all conditions set forth by them.

CONTACT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

My mobile phone number while in Pakistan is …………… and my phone number in the UK is +44 (0) 7530411512. My email address is a.emerson@sussex.ac.uk. If you have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, or should like to verify my status as a PhD candidate at the University of Sussex, you should contact my supervisor, Dr. Mario Novelli (Senior Lecturer at University of Sussex), at M.Novelli@sussex.ac.uk.

Thank you for taking time to read the information sheet.

Ann Emerson

Doctoral Candidate at University of Sussex, UK

Child and Youth Protection and Development Coordinator, International Rescue Committee, Pakistan

dd/mm/yyyy

Appendix H: Sample Participant Consent Form

CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS

PROJECT TITLE: Pakistani Women and Social Change: The Role of education in promoting civic and social values in girls

I agree to take part in the above research project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- Participate in the group workshop

- Allow the researcher to take notes during the workshop and take photographs of any visual material we produce

- Have my classroom and other school activities observed

- Participate in a one hour interview that may be audiotaped with my consent

I understand that anonymisation will be done to prevent my identity from being made public.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to answer any questions at any time and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way. I also understand that I can withdraw my data; however once my data will started being analysed from March 2014, the withdrawal of my data will no longer be possible.

I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential.

Name:

Signature

Date: