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Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities in History Textbooks of Elite Schools in Pakistan: A Qualitative Content Analysis

Abstract

Given its colonial legacy, Pakistan has attributes to be labeled as an elitist state whereby a precious chosen few can govern and influence all spheres of life. It is important to make elites conscious of their roles and responsibilities towards the state. The task of developing active and informed citizens comes under the term citizenship education. Therefore, it is desirable to explore the status of citizenship education in elite schools in Pakistan. This research study explores how history textbooks taught in elite schools of Pakistan are preparing its aristocracy for active and responsible citizenship. Qualitative content analysis of History textbooks of class 8 was conducted, focusing on themes related to citizenship rights and responsibilities. The findings revealed that the textbooks promote exclusion and elitist interest that convey only information and fail to inculcate the sense of responsibility in the elites of the society. The content of the textbooks should be in sync with the required personas of responsible elites. The findings of the study can help policymakers in policy formation and textbook development.

Keywords: Citizenship rights and responsibilities, elite schools, content analysis, history textbooks

Introduction

Elites are understood to be “a distinct social group within a society which enjoys the privileged status and exercises decisive control over the organization of the society” (DiCaprio & Robinson, 2014, p. 4). Studies by (Husain, 2000), (Hussain, 1979), and (Talbot, 2009) narrated that based on colonial background, Pakistan has characteristics to be tagged as an elitist state (Shoukat, Gomez, & Cheong, 2017). These elites can easily manipulate, dominate, and control the affairs of the state and society. Moreover, the aristocracy in Pakistan not only controls an enormous amount of power and wealth but also plays a decisive role in shaping the opinion of society and setting an example for the masses to be followed. Neither the role of elites can be underestimated nor their responsibilities as a citizen towards the state can be overlooked.

Indebted with the obligation of developing informed and responsible citizens, the term “citizenship education” gained popularity within the spectrum of education. The task of cultivating a sense of responsibility, nurturing the notion of social justice and human rights, and developing the ability to perform civic and political duties comes under the umbrella of citizenship education. Textbooks play an important role in the cultivation of citizenship among students because textbooks are the mechanics of social engineering. In the contemporary society where educational institutions are highly politicized and commercialized, the content of the textbook is never simply an even-handed or unbiased selection of knowledge, somehow appearing in front of the students. In fact, it is always a part of a selective notion or ideology (Apple, 2012). Narratives and practices of “citizenship” are produced and enacted through this discourse (Hausendorf & Bora, 2006). Content analysis is useful to disclose the ideologies conveyed through the text (Fairclough, 2013). Keeping in view the importance of citizenship education and the role

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of elites in Pakistan, this research study explores the content of history textbooks taught in grade eight of elite schools.

Literature Review

Citizenship Education

The government is not intrinsically self-perpetuating, so there is no reason to think that “citizens” born under any government will naturally come to develop dispositions, skills, and knowledge to serve it. Citizenship education is needed to train and educate them about their rights, responsibilities, and duties towards the community. In general, citizenship education is viewed as a way of teaching students how to live in a particular context (Veugelers & de Groot, 2019). Gagnon and Pagé (1999) divide citizenship into four broad domains, i.e., national identity, social, cultural, and supranational belongingness, citizenship rights, political and civic responsibilities. These macro concepts are not mutually exclusive of each other but are dependent on each other. The focus of the current study is limited to citizenship rights and responsibilities.

Citizenship rights ensure anti-discrimination measures to maintain social justice and equal access to politics and socio-economic standards to all sectors of the society. These include fundamental rights, political rights, social and cultural rights—along with anti-discrimination measures taken to promote equity and equality in society. Fundamental rights refer to the rights that people own by virtue of their human nature. They are also labeled as human rights, the rights that are recognized and protected by human rights charters or constitutions. These human rights are based on shared values of equality, justice, fairness, and dignity (Gagnon & Pagé, 1999). Social rights include the rights to an adequate standard of living, adequate housing, and food, the right to the highest attainable standard of health, the rights to education and social security (Hunt, 2017) whereas cultural rights are associated with the protection of collective identity characterized by a distinct culture. It also includes the right to enjoy one’s own culture and participate in the cultural life of the community. Moreover, political rights refer to the right to vote and participate in political affairs and services without any discrimination (Hunt, 2017).

Parallel to the citizenship rights is the responsibilities needed to be fulfilled by the residents of the state. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) listed three orientations of good citizens: personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented. Thornton and Jaeger (2007) and Biswas (2014) listed five dimensions of responsible citizenship. It includes understanding civic and political culture, participation in civic and political life, appreciation for diversity application of lifelong skills for societal benefit, and personal accountability. The first dimension develops the understanding of process, values, and system of civic and political culture, and then it leads to the second phase that displays a desire to act beneficially for its members of the community (Biswas, 2014). These may also include the legal obligation to vote or risk incurring penalties provided for by law (Gagnon & Pagé, 1999). Appreciation for diversity leads to the acknowledgment of the role and rights of minorities in the community. The fourth dimension allows its citizen to acquire and use their knowledge and skills for the benefit of their community. Skills for conflict resolution, communication, and attitudes like tolerance and patience come under this section. A sense of personal accountability is a must for a responsible citizen. Walne (2003) defines personally accountable citizens as who accept the consequences of their actions without blaming or making accuses when things go wrong. It also involves moral accountability.

Citizenship Education in Pakistan

Literature shows that citizenship education is a contested term around the world (Weinberg & Flinders, 2018). In Pakistan, this contested term has further been the victim of confusion and controversy, largely due to the political ideologies of the governing bodies. In 1947, the first education conference was committed to producing citizens with the skills and attitudes to create a democratic society (Dean, 2005). Next, during the Zia regime, citizenship education in Pakistan was Islamized, and a “democratic citizen” was now supposed to be a “good Muslim” only. However, since this was more of a political Islam (Akhtar, Amirali, & Raza, 2006), the true spirit of Islamic teachings of equality and social justice were not realized, and the deleterious effect of an elitist and exclusivist curriculum on the national unity was recognized (Ahmad, 2004). As a result, during the Musharraf era, a liberal-democratic and pluralistic reform agenda for citizenship education was proposed aiming to produce “enlightened citizens.” However, unfortunately, due to lack of proper planning and ill management, neither the honest, tolerant, and peace-loving citizens were produced during the Islamization of the curriculum nor informed, tolerant, and democratic citizens were developed during the enlightened era (Khokhar & Muhammad, 2020; Muhammad & Brett, 2019).

Research studies conducted to explore the status of citizenship education in Pakistan underscores that the notion of citizenship education has been treated incompetently. Consequently, we have failed to produce active and informed citizens who can develop their sensitivity towards social responsibilities to the extent that they become agents of social change (Naseer, 2012). It is asserted that even after six decades of independence, we failed to establish the required system of education for citizenship rights and responsibilities (Bilal & Malik, 2014).

Dean (2005) claimed that the curriculum and textbooks do not allow students to realize and appreciate the cultural diversity and rights of the minorities. In a study conducted by Faria and Dean (2011), children expressed their fear of being denied basic social rights. Moreover, it states that there is little room to address the issue of rights and responsibilities in Pakistani schools. Hina, Ajmal, Rahman, and Jumani (2011) argued that the curriculum does not impart awareness in the students about the active role they could play in realizing their rights and responsibilities towards the state neither does the citizenship education develop the traits of reflective thinking, analysis, and creativity in the students. Muhammad and Brett (2017) reported that the policy documents, curriculum, and textbooks are oblivious towards the ethnic and cultural diversity, equality of all citizens, and there is a need to adopt the strategies of progressive pedagogy for students to make them responsible citizens. Pirzado (2019) states that there is a lack of will, unclear guidelines, shortage of professional development, and supporting materials for human rights education in Pakistani schools. The absence of proper methodology for citizenship education may have alarming consequences such as deterioration of responsible attitude in students, an increase in materialistic tendencies in teachers, and a negative effect of the stratified educational system (Syeda, 2012).

Socio-economic classes serve as a foundation for the stratified educational system in Pakistan. These schools are broadly categorized in elite-English medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madras. Public schools lack adequate infrastructure, teaching-learning facilities, and have a high teacher-student ratio. Moreover, most of the students in public schools are also deprived of basic human necessities. Worries of bread and butter hardly allow them to understand and act upon the concept of “citizenship.” Whereas, on the other hand, elite private schools provide their high fee-paying clients with the opportunity to engage themselves with the best possible teaching-learning facilities, excellent infrastructure, and foreign-trained teachers. As compared to the public schools in Pakistan, they are in a far better position to broaden children’s sense of responsibility towards civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural affairs of the society. Students of elite schools have a better stage set to raise their voice and play their role as an active and informed citizen.

The focus of the current study is elite schools, and as the name suggests, these schools serve the aristocracy of Pakistan who is able to influence all spheres of society and governance (Mills & Wolfe, 2000). The studies with respect to oligarchical control in Pakistan revealed that the country is bestowed with military elites, bureaucratic elites, political elites, agricultural elites, religious elites, and industrial elites (M. A. Ahmed, 2017). Sub-elite class in Pakistan is composed of media elites, talk-show anchors, journalists, columnists, professional elites. Judicial elites, lawyers, and nonprofit organizations (M. A. Ahmed, 2017). The contribution of these elites in drawing the present socio-economic landscape of Pakistan cannot be ignored.

There is a need to align the elite’s abilities and potential towards the desired benchmarks of human rights and social cohesion. The views of young students regarding the concept of citizenship, rights, and responsibilities are a aperture into how Pakistan is likely to evolve (Lall, 2014). Pakistan is a signatory to many international treaties and conventions that serve to protect human rights: for example, Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (Pirzado, 2019). Education for citizenship rights is indispensable, not only for the realization of the aims of these treaties but also for the progress of the nation as a whole. Alongside the citizenship rights are the responsibilities needed to carry out. Delivering information or developing lower-order thinking skills is not enough to bring the desired change. Pakistan needs to develop social capital that is not only skillful but also demonstrate a responsible attitude to work for the benefit of the community. Educational institutions are ideal places to contribute to the development of required social capital.

The schools—where the crafting of the minds of these ruling elites takes place—employ ample monetary and nonmonetary resources of Pakistan. We need to know if the textbooks help them to come out from their utopian world and introduce them to the ground realities of the state and make them loyal and responsible citizens. This research study is intended to contribute to the area through content analysis of textbooks taught in the elite schools of Pakistan. The present study is set to answer the question of how citizenship rights and responsibilities are presented in the history textbook of elite schools.

Methodology

Qualitative research methodologies are dominant in the field of history education (Maposa, 2015). The answers to the questions posed by this study were investigated through qualitative content analysis of the history textbooks concerning citizenship education.

Textbooks are the most effective tool for breaking stereotypes or constructing prototypes in the minds of the students. The discourses of this multi-billion industry (Swanson, 2014) serve as signifiers of citizenship education and as indexes of citizenship identity, status, or value and hence cannot be overlooked. The content cannot be restricted to the description of language or words independent of the form and function it serves to human affairs (Rogers, 2004). Qualitative content analysis is a method for systematically describing the meaning of the qualitative text. It is done by classifying material as instances of the categories of a coding frame (Schreier, 2012).

The study purposively sampled schools, textbooks, and grade levels according to the following criteria. Textbook selection involves the choice of relevant texts to be used as a source of data. The subject history was selected because history and citizenship are considered as a natural partner (Crick, 1998), and an approach to citizenship is a norm in Social studies classroom (Myers, 2006). The Social studies course includes history and geography also, which reflects current policy discourses, emphasizing community cohesion, and the agenda for citizenship education (Faas, 2011). Elite schools were selected on the bases that the income in these schools represents less than 1% of the families in Pakistan (Gardezi, 1991; Qadeer, 2006).

The books selected for the study are taught in grade 8 because students of this grade fall under the age bracket when he/she develops the sense of civic responsibility (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, & Agrusti, 2016). Hina et al. (2011) argued that citizenship education for the young generation at the secondary level is of great importance. Two books were published by Oxford University Press titled *Pakistan History, Culture and Government* (B1), and *Pakistan A Historical and Contemporary Look* (B2), written by Nigel Smith and Farooq Naseem Bajwa, respectively. The third book, titled *The History & Culture of Pakistan* (B3), was published by London based Peak Publishing Company and was written by Nigel Kelly. The selected books are used in most of the elite schools to prepare their students for O' level examination, and it is made sure that the students comprehend the content thoroughly to achieve good grades.

The approach for qualitative content analyses used in this study was developed by Elo and Kynga (2008). The selected textbooks were read several times to become familiar with the data. An appropriate unit of analysis was selected after becoming immersed in the data. The units of coding were used to develop open codes from the data. All similar codes were collected in the analysis matrix to organize them into appropriate categories. Categories under citizenship rights were fundamental rights, political rights, social rights, cultural rights, and anti-discrimination measures. Under the head of education for responsible citizenship, categories were developed based on civic and political participation, development of skills, personal accountability, and appreciation for diversity. Based on the categorization matrix, all the results in each category were synthesized into an integrated result.

Findings

Representation of Citizenship Rights

Citizenship rights serve as a tool for fighting inequalities and ensure social justice. It starts with fundamental rights or human rights that are recognized and protected by the constitution. The three books talked only once about fundamental rights while mentioning the document of Objective Resolution that was passed on 1949. B1 emphasizes that "fundamental rights shall be guaranteed including equality of status, social, economic and political justice, freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, and association" (p.129). And B3 was even more precise that "All fundamental human rights should be guaranteed" (p.121). No explanation in any book was given about what comes under the umbrella of human rights, social, economic, and political justice or the process, values, skills, and dispositions required by students to establish such citizenship rights. Mostly the content of the books remained mute concerning the elaboration of basic social and cultural rights given to its citizens by virtue of constitutions. Furthermore, it was hushed concerning the rights of children, women, the elderly, and immigrants. Human rights violations, disenfranchisement, and discontent of the unwashed masses prevailing in our society and waiting to be addressed by the political elites were not mentioned in any of the books. In addition, regarding the leaders that were supposed to serve as a role model for the nation to fulfill the basic human rights, it was mentioned

that article 48 states that “all actions of the president are deemed to be legal even if they violated fundamental rights” (B2, p.186).

Political rights refer to the participation of the individuals in politics of the state and vote without any discrimination, fear, or repression. The opposite was the message delivered by the books. For instance, B2 states that “as expected convention Muslim league won by a huge majority as only Basic Democrats were allowed to vote (p.164)” who after all owned their influence on the system, and B3 spells that “the referendum was whether the people wanted the process of Islamisation to continue in Pakistan. However, it was also announced that a yes vote would also mean that the people of Pakistan wanted Zia to continue as president” (p.154). And B3 states that “people of East Pakistan had always been poorer and had not been involved in the decision-making process of government” (p.128). B2 underscores that “the winning parties of NWFP and Baluchistan could run their provinces with a free hand as long as they supported the PPP in National assembly” (p.177). These narratives delivered how the political rights of the masses were exploited in the past just as a passing reference. Moreover, they seem to convey that it is okay to bypass the masses of their right to vote or to participate in politics to remain in power. The narrative that politics are meant for upper-crust only was further fortified through statements like “Nawaz Sharif, an experienced businessman from a successful industrial family” (B1, p.214), “Bhutto was himself from a wealthy landowning family” (B1, p.162), “Liaquat Ali Khan was born in an aristocratic family” (B1, p.122) and “not surprisingly the majority of the successful candidates were landlords or tribal leaders and had won on the bases of clan or personal loyalties” (B2, p.187). Such anecdotes tone up the young elite minds that it is the only right of the elites to lead polity, and masses are to only serve or obey them unquestionably. The narrative that common people were not worthy of participation in policy-making was also established; for example, by stating that “he (Ayub Khan) particularly admired graduates of Howard University in Boston. Therefore, successful were his policies” (B1, p.142). The native proletariat was once again excluded from the right of civic and political participation, leaving the ground for elites to decide their fortune.

Social rights share their foundations with political rights (Gearty & Mantouvalou, 2010). Analysis under this head reveals that just like political rights, in case of social rights also most of the attention was given to the elites. The privilege enjoyed by elites through different political eras has been mentioned, whereas the suffering of masses and their deprivation of social rights due to these political policies were largely ignored. Only B2 included short essays regarding the pathetic conditions of education and the health sector in Pakistan. However, most of the content was more oriented towards delivering the statistics only rather than developing the conscious of the students that these issues should be addressed. On the whole, the content of the three books was completely zipped with reference to what social rights are, why they are important, what is the status of social rights in Pakistan, what are the problems in realizing the social rights of the nation and how these problems could be solved. However, the high cost endured by the common people in lieu of their social rights to the upper class was mentioned. For instance, B2 states that “22 industrial families controlled 66 percent of the country’s industrial assets and 80 percent of its insurance and banking service” (p.165) and (B3 “much of the increased productivity was due to mechanization, which could generally be afforded by big landowners” (p.131). Also, B1 mentions that “Ayub Khan friends in the army and industry were making fortunes out of land speculation in the new city” (p.146). Consequences of keeping the elites oblivious and insensitive towards the poor condition of social rights in the country are reflected in the current statistics of Pakistan. It shows that violation of basic human rights and social rights in Pakistan is not surprising at all. 22.8 million children are deprived of the right to go to school, more than 200 million people are malnourished, and 20 million are homeless (Unicef, 2018). Also, it ranks 157th out of 189 countries with respect to the human development index 2018 (Haider, 2019). In addition, based on the current trajectory, there is a little chance that Pakistan will meet its health, water, sanitation, shelter/housing, nutrition, and education-related MDGs, which have a major impact on poverty reduction and economic growth (Jensen, 2019).

Cultural rights refer to the protection of collective identity marked by a distinct culture. Language serves as a flagship for a culture. The language of common people was ignored by stating that “Urdu and Bengali would be the official languages of Pakistan. However, it was also accepted that for the following twenty years, English would remain the actual official language of Pakistan” (B1, p.136). Selecting the language of a precious chosen few as an official language and ignoring the language of the majority clearly indicate the barrier imposed on cultural rights and civic and political participation of the masses. The other side of the coin also denotes the assimilation with the elite’s customs and lifestyles. To hole up the administrative incompetence of the government, one-unit scheme was introduced, and the explanation was given that “there will be no Bengalis, no Punjabis, no Sindhis, no Pathans, no Balochis, no Bhawalpuris, no Khairpuris. The disappearance of these groups will strengthen the integrity of Pakistan” (B3, p.127) or that B2 writes that “the amendment allowed the government to ban parties felt by it to be

against the “sovereignty and integrity” of the country” (p.178). It seems that a message was given to students that instead of achieving integrity through the allocation of resources based on justice, equity and equality, it could be achieved through threatening the cultural rights of the people.

All three books were not only generous enough to mention anti-discrimination measures taken by some politicians to relax the sufferings of masses but were also honest in mentioning that these policies were unsuccessful because either they were against the interests of the privileged class or in turn were used to facilitate elites only. For example, it was narrated that Bhutto’s economic policies failed because “vested interests, such as business owners and landowners, were completely against his economic policies” (B1, p.160) also B3 states that “the law was designed to eliminate corruption (or misconduct in any public office). But, it allowed the ruling elite to remove those who it did not approve of” (p.121). Furthermore, it was also mentioned that when Bhutto introduced administrative reforms to hire professionals for the state, “political appointments were made where patronage was more important than merit or seniority” (B2, p.179). The narrative was established that the success rate of anti-discrimination measures has not been very encouraging because elites know how to take this opportunity to strengthen their own power.

The narratives that fail to develop the consciousness of the students about the rights of masses have inevitable consequences. They are silently excluded from the socio-economic policies and from the right of civic and political participation, and then the nation is caught in the vicious circle of poverty and political instability. This makes the country a convenient target for its adversaries. The exploitation of rights causes inequalities, rebellious attitude, brain drain, dependence on foreign aid, and agenda. With these issues, there is little room for the progress and prosperity of the nation.

Education for Responsible Citizenship

Alongside the rights are the responsibilities to understand and participate in politics and civic society. Responsible citizenship is not only about the individuals themselves but also about being interested in the social and political environment (Altıntaş & Karaaslan, 2019). The content of the textbooks under this section was explored to check if the political and civic culture of Pakistan was presented in a way that would encourage the elites to develop values, skills, and dispositions to play an effective and responsible role in polity.

Civic participation is referred to as a free-willed involvement in any non-government institution at a local level, and it seeks to clout the political decision-making process in the interests of a particular locality (Gagnon & Pagé, 1999). The analyzed books were completely silent towards the process and the importance of civic participation. It fails to develop the consciousness of the students that good governance, accountability, and transparency cannot be achieved without the involvement of civilians in the governance process. Pakistan is facing consequences of keeping young citizens ignorant of their civic responsibility in the form that those in power operate to a different set of rules that are focused on self-interest rather than public good (Yousaf, Ihsan, & Ellahi, 2016).

The political scenario of Pakistan was explained in detail in all the three books. National assembly, the hub of politics, was referred as a place “where wealth was flaunted, and fortunes were made overnight” (B2, p.187). The understanding developed by the text was that the politics should be governed at both national and international levels through the rule of “might is right” and that this might have the right to stay in power by hook or by crook. The concept of participation in political life that is regulated by laws, the constitution that governs the functioning of democracy, electoral process, and principals of justice and equity were not elaborated or emphasized. Instead, by stating that “illegal actions of political and military elites to seize power and ending the constitutions were justified by the federal and supreme court as fair” (B1, p.134), a green signal is given to the students to show irresponsible attitude towards law and the electoral process.

Moreover, the books demonstrate that rather than our personal interest and sovereignty, the decisions regarding our international affairs were driven by mighty interests by adding that “Sharif was persuaded by US president to withdraw all Pakistani forces from the Indian held territory behind the line of control” (B3, p.175), and Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan which are bound hand and foot by enslaving agreements with the USA on military and economic aid (B1, p.197) and that “Pakistan firmly committed itself to an American cause: (B1, p.196) or “Pakistan was allowing itself to be used as an American military and espionage base” (B2, p. 210). Even Benazir’s “greatest achievement” was acknowledged as “she made an official visit to the United States in 1989, to meet with President Bush and other government officials” (B3, p.161).

The connotation was developed that criteria for success of the political parties were the foreign aid received by its leaders: For instance, “She (Benazir) realized the vital importance of American aid to Pakistan” and “this aid enabled Pakistan to enjoy rapid economic development” (B3, p.179), “Loss of US Aid” (B3, p.162), and “American aid virtually stopped” (B1, p.212) were mentioned as one of the reasons for the failure of Nawaz Sharif in two books. Benazir Government also failed because “the withdrawal of US aid was a serious blow to Bhutto’s government” (B3, p.179).

The mantra of “dependence on foreign aid” successfully indoctrinate future leaders or politicians that economic and military independence cannot be achieved without foreign aid. All three books were loaded with statements like “Industrial development was carried out with the help of loans from USA, Germany, and the UK,” “Whilst industry was improving rapidly, Pakistan was increasingly dependent on foreign aid” (B3, p.131). China granted Pakistan a \$800 million interest-free loan (B3, p.182), Canada gave \$40 million dollars towards the development of railway (B3, p.184), United States signed a \$4.2 billion military and economic aid package with Pakistan (B2, p.209), Soviets agreed to give Pakistan a £11 million loan (B2, p.210), Pakistan desperately needed economic and military support from USA (B1, p.196). In the 1950s, in return for aid and military support, Pakistan sided with the USA (B1, p.201). The content failed to inculcate that by exploring natural resources, nurturing social capital, and establishing good governance, the targets of economic and military independence can be achieved.

Schulz et al. (2016) explained that responsible citizenship not only includes cognitive aspects of learning but also focuses on the development of attitudes towards aspects of civic life and skills to actively participate in the life of communities. Most commonly, this includes having knowledge of democratic systems and institutions, skills for communication and conflict resolution, patience, and tolerance (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). The primary purpose of the textbook content was simply the transmission of the knowledge rather than preparing the students for responsible and participatory citizenship. Only the factual information was given, the ideas were not presented for exploration, interpretation, elaboration, and exemplification or critical reflection in the history textbooks (Muhammad & Brett, 2015) that could develop the skills of conflict resolution and communication. The dispute of Kashmir, separation of East Pakistan, brawl on Kargil and Siachen glacier are evident that leaders presenting Pakistan at international forum needs to polish their communication and conflict resolution skills otherwise Pakistan will have to face more such issues in future. Moreover, the lack of tolerance displayed by political and religious leaders in the form of “control democracy” or “Islamic socialism” should come to an end.

The narratives that fail to develop the concept of personal accountability are less likely to develop responsible citizenship in students. The books elaborated on the problems caused by political and military leaders in power. For instance, it was mentioned that the government “failed to maintain law and order and allowed the economy to decline” (B1, p.211), the bureaucracy involved currently consumed a large proportion of the health budget (B2, p.195), the reforms failed to have the impact they were intended to have due to poor management (B2, p.193), the government was not well placed to deal with these (food) shortages, (B3, p.123) or even that “Asif Ali Zardari was accused of taking rake-offs on government deals” (B3, p.161) and was also accused of political murders (B3, p.165). With all the incompetency and corruption of the leaders, it was mute regarding the need for accountability for what they did. In other words, it delivered the message that neither the leaders of the past were held accountable for what they did, nor the leaders of the future should worry about being held accountable. As a result, unsurprisingly, since independence, Pakistan has failed to witness accountability in its true sense (S. H. Ahmed, 2018).

Failure to develop a sense of personal accountability leads to the blame game. For instance, it was mentioned that separation of east and west Pakistan was due to the fact that “No proper dialogue took place with the elected representatives in Pakistan” (B1, p.156) and “lack of leadership in the army with a loss of will or to take vital decisions” (B2, p.171), but instead focusing on the need for accountability the chapter concluded by blaming India that it was keen to see the breakup of Pakistan (B1, p.156).

A responsible citizen needs to appreciate and celebrate the diversity of the country’s population. The content of the analyzed books fails to acknowledge the cultural, racial, ethnic, and religious diversity of Pakistan. For example, the books underscore that since the early ages of Pakistan, the political parties that stand for their linguistic, ethnic, or regional rights were curbed by stating that there is a “little respect for any political parties that undermine the unity of the people of Pakistan” (B1, p.131) or “Bengalis were under-represented in Pakistan army, civil service, and judiciary” (B2, p.168). The level of appreciation of the diversity can be judged through the fact that the Bengalis which were 55% of the population had to struggle for their political, social, economic and linguistic rights (B3, p.134-135) and realizing their rights were considered as a threat to the national unity and

cohesion by stating that “Pakistan would become a loose federation of states under a weak central government with hardly any power” (B1, p.153).

Other than the four provinces (Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan, and KPK) in Pakistan, there are also self-governing states, federally-administered, and semi-autonomous tribal territories in Pakistan. All these regions are ethnically, culturally, and linguistically different from each other yet an integral part of Pakistan. The books were silent regarding their rights, problems, political participation, role, and contribution towards the state. If students are not taught about the cultural diversity existing within their national boundaries, they tend to perceive it as a liability rather than an asset to accommodate. Furthermore, there is a little chance that they will develop a responsible and welcoming attitude towards their civic and political participation. Rather, the exclusion of some Pakistanis from the narrative of the textbooks might cause violence and aggression against excluded people (Emerson, 2018).

The above results have specific implications as these books are taught to “a precious chosen few who are able to influence all spheres of society and governance” (Mills & Wolfe, 2000). Nonetheless, at the same time, the discourse keeps them oblivious towards the “all spheres” of society. The legislature, the executive, the judiciary, and the media are all led, dominated, and influenced by leaders produced by these elite schools. As their books are silent and insensitive towards the rights, contribution, problems, and roles of our multitude, so are the mindsets of the elites and, in turn, the socio-economic policies of the state.

Conclusion

The present study was an attempt to probe the status of citizenship rights and responsibilities taught via history textbooks to the elites of the society. The findings of the present study are akin to previous studies.

The status of citizenship rights in the textbooks was also not very encouraging. Fundamental rights were limited to freedom of expression and equality of status, and there was no elaboration of the social, cultural, and political rights of the citizens. The findings strengthen the literature that the Pakistani schools do not follow any formal or structural teaching of human rights education (Iqbal, 2005), and there has been a dearth of evidence of teaching children about human rights in Pakistan (Pirzado, 2019). Rashid (2005) states that the present world is largely concerned about the millions of children that are deprived of the basic right given the lack of education. However, a matter of greater concern is the content of the discourse to which the privileged children are getting exposed to. There is a need to pay attention to the narrowing of horizons, especially of children, that illiberal and intolerant education can produce. Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci (2011) recommended that it is important to advance human rights education and peacebuilding efforts in Pakistan, and this can be done by incorporating it in the educational institutions that are largely owned by the private sector.

The domain of education for responsible citizenship cannot be seen through rose-colored glasses. The results revealed that the social capital we are investing in our future is deprived of the sense of personal accountability, appreciation for diversity, and life skills. The situation may have alarming consequences, as discussed in the literature. Lall (2012) warned that given the lack of civic and political participation of masses and paucity of rights and responsibilities, there is a little chance that Pakistan will come up with a solution-oriented generation. Furthermore, Shah (2011) was concerned that the term accountability and responsibility have been hollowed out from discourses and can result in a break up of social order. One rule of effective citizenship is that authority goes parallel with responsibility and accountability (Moon, Crane, & Matten, 2006). Mostly the leaders in Pakistan inherit authority as family enterprise or legacy and repel responsibilities as abominable. Moreover, their educational system is inclined towards commercialism and cannot afford to offend their high fee-paying clients by making them study what seems to be not of their interest. As a result, the content of the textbooks continues to facilitate the vicious circle of irresponsible elites. The education system should support liberal democratic values (Muhammad, 2019) and channelize civic participation in governance (Javaid, 2010) to save Pakistan from the antiseptic notions of irresponsibility and unaccountability.

The important role of the elites in transforming society is evident in the history of human civilization. Moreover, at present, the need for the transformation of Pakistani society is evident. The exclusive, elitist, and knowledge-based didactic transmission of knowledge cannot help us to transform our society, because it divests individuals of their accountability to the physical and social world, and it does not require any interrogation of privilege and power. Instead, we need inclusive, participative, and value-based citizenship education that can orient our aristocracy from the fancy flights to the ground realities of the society. The content of the textbooks should be enriched enough to develop loyalty and a sense of obligation in elites to address the civic and political problems in

their society. They need to acknowledge the rights of the masses and develop a responsible attitude towards the state. Schools should strive to cultivate a responsible attitude in the elites of the system as they are always in a better position to enjoy the opportunity for engagement, action, and voice in society.

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