'Us' and 'Them': Analysis of History Textbooks Studied in Pakistani Schools

"Nosotros" y "ellos": análisis de los libros de texto de historia estudiados en las escuelas de Pakistán

Ashar Johnson Khokhar

Forman Christian College

Abstract

Textbooks are the only source to communicate information considered true, of unquestionable accuracy and whose authenticity could not questioned by anyone. The states, in collaboration with the textbook regimes employed textbooks to impart a certain notion of identity, of 'us' and 'them' through constructing and presenting a state narrative to pupils. The suitable study method for this study was qualitative content analysis and 9 history textbooks were analyzed in this study. The books were selected for their being published by the state textbook authorities. The analysis of textbooks revealed that textbooks writers used representation (positive and negative), unification, avoidance, and trivialization strategies to create the images of 'us' and 'them' through the images of invaders and conquerors and the social, cultural, political, economic, and religious influences and impact on Indian subcontinent and its people. This study recommends that the history textbooks designing exercise should be approached as a discipline covering all historical information about people, culture, lands and achievements.

Key words: history instruction, history textbooks, textbook content, identity, lower secondary education, foreign countries, Indian subcontinent.

Resumen

Los libros de texto son la única fuente para comunicar información considerada verdadera, de incuestionable precisión y cuya autenticidad no podría

ser cuestionada por nadie. Los estados, en colaboración con los regímenes de los libros de texto, emplearon libros de texto para impartir una cierta noción de identidad, de "nosotros" y de "ellos", mediante la construcción y presentación de una narrativa estatal a los alumnos. El método de estudio adecuado para esta investigación fue el análisis de contenido cualitativo y en esta se analizaron 9 libros de texto de historia. Los libros fueron seleccionados para su publicación por las autoridades estatales. El análisis de los libros de texto reveló que los escritores utilizaron estrategias de representación (positiva y negativa), unificación, evasión y trivialización para crear la idea de 'nosotros' y de 'ellos' a través de imágenes de invasores y conquistadores, de lo social, cultural, político, influencias económicas y religiosas, y del impacto en el subcontinente indio y su gente. Este estudio recomienda que el ejercicio de diseño de libros de texto de historia se aborde como una disciplina que cubra toda la información histórica sobre personas, cultura, tierras y logros.

Palabras clave: instrucción en historia, libros de texto de historia, contenido de libros de texto, identidad, educación secundaria inferior, países extranjeros, subcontinente indio.

Introduction and Background of the Study

Constructing and shaping a nation's identity is the core purpose of a state's education process, and a state employs the teaching of history as a tool to realize this purpose. A state's education regime (including textbook publication authority) choose texts (prose and poetry) for pupils presuming that these texts would construct and shape their identity as conceived by the state and propagated and naturalized through the textbooks. The state, through the textbooks presented to pupils a notion of their identity through their history narrative found in history and social studies textbooks. These narratives not only inform pupils about themselves (present), their past (history) but also about their relationship with other nations (Green, 1997; Phillips, 1998; Vickers 2013). The history textbooks (textbooks) carried with them the authority of accuracy and authenticity of historical narratives, and this made the historical narrative given in the textbook above criticism. The messages originating from the textbook narratives are more acceptable to pupils as those are the only source of information available to pupils and teachers, thus making them the official version of different historical events (Apple, 1993, 2014, 2003). The textbooks have ascribed the role of legitimizing the established

structure (political, social, cultural and social) in society as they are "geared to the teaching of the national past and to generating an identification with it" (Berghahn & Schissler, 1987, p. 1), and they also contain ethnocentric myths, stereotypes, and prejudices (Apple, 1996, 2004).

Pakistan planned its curriculum and textbook policies as per the textbook guidelines prepared by UNESCO in collaboration with the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research. This document looked at education and textbooks as a tool to resolve conflicts by promoting mutual understanding through the history narrative of a nation and different groups, ethnic and religious (Pingel, 2010). The countries all over the world, because of the mass migration, has been working to develop inclusive history textbooks, as the mono-ethnic, mono-religious societies become multiethnic and multireligious societies (UNESCO, 2006). The Government of Pakistan (GoP), being the signatory of the United Nations Charter, stated that they (the Federal and the Provincial Ministries of Education) should ensure that textbooks are free of all types of biases and stereotypes (social, cultural, political, ethnic and religious) and represent an inclusive, multicultural and multireligious society (GoP, 2009).

Aim and Significance of this Study

The history and history narrative were presented to pupils just history through history textbooks but also through the Urdu and English textbooks (both are taught as core subjects). All these three subjects became interwoven because of the similarity of the content found in these textbooks. These textbooks were also used to construct a certain Pakistani identity through constructing 'us' and 'them'. The 1971 incident of separation of East and West Pakistan (the former became People's Republic of Bangladesh) further reinforced the state's presentation of 'them' and construction of 'us'. This study focused on history textbooks taught in elementary schools for the sole reason of the impressionable age of pupils at this stage of their learning and whatever information they heard or read became part of their construct of who they were, who they are and who they will be, that is, past, present and future. Their inability to question and check the authenticity of the information bolstered the state to present its narrative as true and authentic information.

The textbook writers (would be referred to as writers) and the textbook regime in Pakistan chose to focus on a certain historical era of the subcontinent and intentionally excluded a certain historical era and personalities from the historical narrative presented to pupils in history textbooks. This study focused on analyzing the images presented to pupils of different invaders and conquerors in history textbooks. The construction of these images also shaped pupils' perceptions of 'us' and 'them' where some were presented as 'us' and some of them were presented as 'them'. The content selection (which era and historical personality to be given space in textbooks and which should not be given any space) though should be an academic activity, but it became a politicized activity in Pakistan. The content was selected to construct and perpetuate a specific notion of Pakistani identity (Durrani, 2008, 2013; Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Fazila-Yacoobali, 1999; Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985; Jalal, 1995; Mohammad-Arif, 2007; Naseem, Ghosh, McGill, & Mcdonald, 2010; Saigol, 2003; Yaqian, 2011). The images created of invaders and conquerors stayed with pupils for the rest of their lives and became part of their belief system, shaping their views about 'us' and 'them', Muslim, Hindus and the Europeans.

Literature Review

The history textbooks were considered a site where national identity or identities were shaped however conflicting they may be. It was argued that "there is no single narrative of the nation" (Ozkirimli, 2005, p. 69) and "different members of the nation promote different, often conflicting, constructions of nationhood" (Ozkirimli, 2000, p. 228). It was suggested that there was "no such thing as one national identity" because "different identities are discursively constructed according to the audience, setting, topic and substantive content" (Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009, p. 4). States used narration as a tool to produce, circulate, and strengthened the national image and write and portray their origins in the myths of time and space. These mythicized narratives created a romanticized history of a nation and made a nation a character in the narrative, making it the main character of the national story's plot. Identity construction was a continuous process, and it was always taking shape because of the appropriated national narrative found in textbooks.

The national narrative was either complementing and reinforcing the existing narrative or opposing a certain identity or some aspect of the national identity. It was suggested that "identities by themselves do not exist; they are constructed by identity narratives" (Martin, 1995, p. 15).

History textbooks were revised many times and each revision exercise was rooted in political forces demanding changes in history textbooks and the national identity narrative. The two forces continued to influence the textbook revision exercise in Pakistan which were wars with India (1948, 1965 and 1971) and influential religious groups' desire to transform Pakistani society into an Islamic society through the education system and textbooks. The latter was initiated by an army ruler, General Zia-ul-Haq, who later became President of Pakistan under a political system that he created and promoted in close collaboration with the religious and religiopolitical parties. The drive to Islamize education resulted in the trend of construction of mosques in educational institutes, especially universities. The other direction was Islamizing textbooks which resulted in changes in all textbooks, including math and science where. The writers in these textbooks added chapters on Muslim scientists and highlighted the inventions and discoveries by Muslims.

A few studies investigated how state and its textbook regime in Pakistan constructed its nation-building and identity narrative (Ahmad, 1971; Islam, 1981; Jahan, 1972) found that the ruling elite in Pakistan did not focus on nation-building but on constructing a certain notion of identity to sustain their hegemonic control. The little attention paid to nation-building contributed to ethnic, sectarian and religious violence amongst different ethnic groups and amongst different Muslim sects. The defeat of the Pakistan Army in the Eastern wing of Pakistan resulted in the emergence of East Pakistan as a separate country, named Bangladesh. The history narrative shaped around this incident also reignited the state-building and identity debate in Pakistan. The emergence of Bangladesh was a negation of the One-nation theory considered the sole foundation of the demand of a separate Muslim state in the Indian subcontinent because Bangladesh was also a Muslim majority state. The Islam as a uniting force of all Muslims irrespective of their regional, ethnic, linguistic and cultural difference collapsed because the linguistic and ethnic difference overshadowed people's religion, that is, Islam (Ali, 1999; Qasmi, 2019). This incident fortified the identity narrative of West Pakistan (also called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan) and by which Islam and Pakistan

became synonymous, and the narrative was interweaved, and each one's survival became entwined.

The 70s and 80s history narrative of Pakistan presented Hindu India as the arch-enemy of the Muslim state of Pakistan, and this became the theme and focus of the second education and curriculum revision exercise. This revision exercise was also dubbed as the beginning of the Islamization of education and curriculum in Pakistan. The curriculum changes made in textbooks were well documented and researched (Alavi, 1991; Ali, 1986, 1992, 1993; Aziz, 1993; Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985; Jalal, 1995; Khan, 1985; Kizilbash, 1986; Kurin, 1985; Zaidi, 1988). This study read these studies and analyzed the findings of these studies which could be summarized as (1) Pakistan as an idea took birth at the time of the arrival of first Muslim traders in the Indian subcontinent which was ruled by Hindus; (2) Muslim ruler from Arabia and Central Asia came to support Muslims who were harassed and persecuted by Hindu rulers; (3) Islam was a superior religion and local population (Hindus) were impressed by the teachings of Islam which were different from the caste-base social structure of society under Hindu rulers; (4) Muslim rulers inspired by the teachings of Islam changed the Indian subcontinent and established systems and procedures to build a society on the principles of justice and equality.

The evidence of the continuation of the earlier identity construction narrative found a place in the latest education policy that took shape in the war against terrorism and to eradicate religion-based violence. The policy stated the purpose of education as "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" (GoP, 2009, p. 17). The Two-nation theory and the Objective resolution documents were quoted as the sources of inspiration for the purpose of educational places, practices, procedures and curriculum. The Objective Resolution was passed by the first constituent assembly of an independent Pakistan, after the sudden death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, also called Quaid-e-Azam (mean a great leader) in 1948. This document was opposed by the members of the constituent assembly belonging to religious minorities, but their opposition was counted as mere fears founded on misconceptions of the Islamic teachings (Fazila-Yacoobali, 1999; Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985).

There are interesting aspects of the whole process of presenting and passing of this resolution. The document stated that the newly created state of Pakistan would follow the "principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam"; the Muslims would be free to live their lives, both the "individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah" and the state would provide "adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures" (GoP, 2012, p. 1). The opposition to the Objective Resolution came not only from the members belonging to religious minorities of the constituent assembly but also from secular-minded Muslim parties. The leader of the Opposition parties in the constituent assembly, Birat Chandra Mandal, who was from East Pakistan, argued that Mr Jinnah envisioned a secular state and not a religious state. He opposed the idea of preferential treatment given to Islam as he argued on behalf of the religious minorities of the both East and West Pakistan

> state must respect all religions: no smiling face for one and askance look to the other. The state religion is a dangerous principle. Previous instances are sufficient to warn us not to repeat the blunder We know people were burnt alive in the name of religion. Therefore, my conception is that sovereignty must rest with the people and not with anybody else....[T]he words "equal rights as enunciated by Islam" are–I do not use any other word–a camouflage. It is only a hoax to us, non-Muslims. There cannot be equal rights as enunciated by Islam. It goes without saying that by introducing the religious question, the differences between the majority and the minority are being perpetuated, for how long, nobody knows (GoP, 1949, pp. 3-4).

The two-nation theory idea that emerged during the Pakistan movement became an essential component of the constitution of Pakistan, and the Objective Resolution documents strengthened and reinforced the distinction between the people and the cultures of the Indian subcontinent.

The textbook regime presented historical events to pupils in textbooks that were false (Aziz, 1993), and through these representations, they created Hindus as the 'other' in history textbooks. Aziz (1993) identified fallacies found in history textbook and his work continue to influence the history textbooks studies in Pakistan. The studied conducted after Aziz (1993) expanded the scope of studies to social studies, English and

Urdu textbooks and extended the focus to other aspects such as identity, inclusivity, construction of 'us' and 'them' (Ali, 1993, 1999; Durrani, 2008, 2013; Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Durrani, Dunne, Fincham, & Crossouard, 2017; Giunchi, 2007; Gulab & Khokhar, 2018; Jalal, 1995; Khokhar, 2017; Khokhar & Yaar, 2020; Mohammad-Arif, 2007; Powell, 1996; Rahman, 2011; Saigol, 2003, 2005; Yaqian, 2011; Zakaria, 2018).

Research Methodology

The suitable research approach for this study was qualitative because that data was found in the form of text. The purpose of this research was to identify 'us' and 'them' through the presentation of persons and events in history textbooks and this could only be studied by analyzing the data (history textbook content) using qualitative content analysis (QCA). It helped in deciphering and decoding the messages communicated to pupils through the portrayal of different Muslims invaders and conquerors. This research approach and method was selected because it could provide "an in-depth, intricate and detailed understanding of meanings, actions, non-observable as well as observable phenomena, attitudes, intentions and behaviours" (Gonzalez, Brown, & Slate, 2008, p. 3).

QCA is widely used in textbook analysis and evaluation studies, especially in arts, humanities and social sciences disciplines. Neuendorf (2017) explained it as "systematic, objective" which allowed researchers a "careful examination" of the language used in textbooks "predicted relationship among variables measured in the content analysis" (p. 72). The technological developments and advancements contributed to making the data analysis process simpler and faster. The Computer-assisted (or aided) qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), such as Nvivo and MAXQDA offers tools that supported researchers capacity to transcribe, code, classify, categorize huge data and also to interpret, content analysis, discourse analysis, grounded theory methodology, etc. (Bloor & Wood, 2006; Neuendorf, 2017). The complexity of data due to its naturalistic settings of history textbooks also played a part in selecting QCA for data analysis.

History textbooks taught in elementary schools (grades 6 to 8) and published by three state-mandated textbook boards, Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board (PCTB), Sindh Textbook Board (STB) and Khyber

Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board (KPKTB), were selected and analyzed in this study. This set of textbooks was selected for history was part of the subjects taught as core subjects making it mandatory for every pupil to study these textbooks. These textbooks were read (the first reading) and a list of invaders and conquerors, Muslims and non-Muslims, was prepared. The textbooks were marked for the chapters and sections in different chapters where writers portrayed different invaders and conquerors. The second reading of textbooks was used to identify words and phrases used to portray personalities, lifestyle, governance style and structure and the influence of their rule on the Indian subcontinent.

The analytical framework used in this study was derived from Wodak et al. (2009) and Klerides (2008) work. The former studied interview data while the latter used textbook data to analyzed identity construction, including the construction of 'us' and 'them'. These studies analyzed using similar discursive strategies which contributed to the construction, reconstruction, deconstruction, and strengthening their identity or identities. The textbook data in this study also took cues from these studies while it thematically derived strategies found in the history textbooks after a careful analysis of the words and phrases used to portray different invaders and conquerors in textbooks (see Table 1).

TABLE I. List of Discursive Strategies Used to Analyze Portrayal of Invaders and Conquerors

Strategy 1: Presentation of invaders-conquerors (positive and negative)
Strategy 2: Unification (establishing a link)
Strategy 3: Avoidance (minimizing differences)
Strategy 4: Trivialisation (foregrounding)

Findings and Discussion

The first image of Indian subcontinent presented to pupils was of Indus Valley Civilization (IVC), and the textbooks writers created and presented to pupils, the people, the society and its culture using positive representation strategy (see Table II). This image resembled with the Muslim rule and Muslim rulers (see Table II), and the writers set out to create a link between these two eras, a non-Muslim and Muslim era in

the Indian subcontinent. The writers employed the unification strategy and found similarities between the two different religions (Islam and Buddhism). The portrayal of Hindu rulers and society under Hindu rulers were portrayed as opposite to what was said about IVC through the religious differences identified and highlighted by the writers (see Table III). The IVC was presented using positive representation while the Hindu society and Hinduism were presented using negative representation strategy. The writers mentioned the roots of Buddhism, that is, Hinduism but did this with the intention of informing pupils about the discontent found in people about the societal structure, social values and practices of Hinduism and society founded on Hinduism. The writers trivialized the contribution of Hindu rulers and did not mention the great buildings constructed by different Hindu rulers in the Indian subcontinent. The writers created two different images of society that existed under Hindu and Buddhist rulers through a comparison of these two religions (see Table II and III). The other intention of writers was to identify devastating effects on the majority of the population, of Hinduism and the societal structure founded on it by highlighting the differences between these two religions. The writers presented the society founded by Buddhist rulers based on the principles of justice and equality, positive representation strategy, while the Hindu society founded on Hinduism was portrayed using negative representation. The Hinduism was presented as cruel that promoted injustice and inequality. This representation was opposite to how Buddhism and Islam were presented, a positive influence on society while Hinduism affected society in a negative way (see Table II and III).

A careful analysis of history textbooks also showed that writers created two opposite profiles of Hindu rulers and Muslim rulers (see Table IV). The Hindu rulers were presented using a set of adjectives (cruel, unsympathetic, no civic sense, fighting and quarrelling all the time, taking advantage of others' generosity, compassion and kindness), using negative representation strategy while the Muslim rulers were presented using positive representation strategy assigning positive attributed to the rulers such as peaceful, kind, generous, welcoming, a developed community, developed city, etc. The state also employed the trivialization strategy as it chose to highlight IVC sites existed across Pakistan such as Moen-jo-daro, Harrrapa and in northern Pakistan; the buildings, monuments, and artefacts found a place in history textbooks; while there was nothing from the Aryan (Hindu) civilization or era (Amstutz, 2019).

The positive representation of IVC, the negative representation of Aryan civilization was used to connect Muslim rule and Pakistan to IVC and not with Aryan civilization, which was reminiscent of Hinduism and Hindu influence. The attributed assigned to Buddhism and IVC were the same the writers ascribed to Islam and Muslim rule in the Indian subcontinent (KPKTB, 2017a; PCTB, 2017a; and STB, 2017a).

TABLE II. Profiles of Indus Valley Civilization and Muslim Rulers

Indus Valley Civilization	Muslim rulers
It was a religious state, and its citizens followed the Buddhist religion. It was an agriculture-based society, and they were peaceful farmers. They developed complex governance and tax collection system. They built stores to store food (grains) which were either collected as tax or purchased by the state from the farmers. They build cities which had all the amenities such as sewage, roads, public meeting and recreation places. They had a rich culture, which was evident from the artefacts discovered from the sites found in Pakistan. The society loved knowledge and academics flourished under the generous, tolerant and welcoming king and the ruling system.	Muslims rulers were brave, intelligent, lenient, generous and kind. They supported the poor and needy by allocating resources to support these groups in society. The Muslims demonstrated religious tolerance and supported the Hindus by allocating land and financial resources to build temples. They followed the Islamic tradition of seeking knowledge and opened schools (Islamic), build mosques and made them into teaching-learning places. They supported activities that resulted in the development (developed infrastructure and improved agriculture), art and literature flourished under Muslim rulers.

These profiles are extracted from (KPKTB, 2017a, 2017b; PCTB, 2017a, 2017b; STB, 2017a, 2017b)

TABLE III. Profile of Hindu and Buddhist Religion

Hinduism	Buddhism
The Hindus society was based on caste system where Brahman caste played the most important role in Hindu society. They read, write, interpret religious texts (Vedic). The religious ceremonies and rituals for the ruling and warrior castes were grand and lavish. The low caste or untouchables were not allowed to read any sacred texts (Vedic).	Buddhists society was based on principles of equality and did not believe in discriminatory system, that is, the caste system. The rulers provided amenities to all and did not discriminate against anyone because of one's belonging to a certain ethnic or social group. The religious rituals were simple.

These profiles are extracted from (KPKTB, 2017a, 2017b; PCTB, 2017a, 2017b; STB, 2017a, 2017b)

The conquerors and invaders from Central Asia and Arabia were presented to pupils after the IVC and Aryan civilizations. This set of conquerors and invaders were given most of the space in history textbooks. The writers presented the arrival of Muslims invaders from the Arabian Peninsula as protectors of Muslims traders and their families who were living in the Indian subcontinent and engaged in trade between the Arabian Peninsula and the Indian subcontinent. The textbook writers presented the Muslim commander (Muhammad Bin Qasim) a pious Muslim and a brave warrior who defeated a huge army of the Hindu ruler. The war between Raja Dahir (Hindu ruler) and Muhammad Bin Qasim (Muslim ruler) was presented as a turning point in the history of the Indian subcontinent. The Muslim army and its commander was portrayed as an exemplary Muslim whose lifestyle and values they practised, presented Islam different from the Hindu religion and Muslims as more compassionate compared to Hindus (KPKTB, 2017a, 2017b; PCTB, 2017a, 2017c; STB, 2017a, 2017b).

TABLE IV. Profile of Muslim and Hindu Rulers

Muslim Rulers	Hindu Rulers
Muslims rulers were brave, intelligent, lenient, generous and kind. They supported the poor and needy by allocating resources to support these groups in society. The Muslim demonstrated religious tolerance and supported the Hindus by allocating land and financial resources to build temples. They followed the Islamic tradition of seeking knowledge and opened schools (Islamic), build mosques and made them into teaching-learning places. They supported activities that resulted in the development (developed infrastructure and improved agriculture), art and literature flourished under Muslim rulers.	They always planned against Muslims rulers and Islam. They used all methods, including alliances with the Europeans to weaken Muslims rulers and their rule the subcontinent. They wanted the Hindu religion to become the state religion, and their states (Hindu states) would promote Hindu teachings, rituals and customs. The contribution in the fields of arts, sciences and culture was insignificant. The majority of the population which was made up of low caste Hindus and untouchables did not have access to basic amenities and could not live in an area close to the ones where upper-caste Hindus lived.

These profiles are extracted from (KPKTB, 2017a, 2017b; PCTB, 2017a, 2017b; STB, 2017a, 2017b)

Most of the Muslim rulers beginning with Muhammad Bin Qasim were assigned positive qualities, both as military commanders and civilian rulers. The qualities assigned to Muslim rulers by textbook writers

revealed the positive representation of Muslim rulers and the negative representation of non-Muslim, Hindus and Europeans. The Muslim rulers as military commanders were portrayed as brave, courageous, caring, compassionate. They did not attack Indian subcontinent because they wanted to expand their kingdom to the Indian subcontinent but because the Hindu rulers attacked and supported the groups and individuals who were against the Muslim rulers of the Central Asian kingdoms. That was the reason they attacked Hindu rulers and conquered the lands ruled by Hindu rulers. They never settled in the conquered lands and went back to their lands after nominating someone as the ruler of the land who would remain loyal to the conqueror (KPKTB, 2017a, 2017b; PCTB, 2017a, 2017c; STB, 2017a, 2017b).

The writers presented Muslims rulers of the Indian subcontinent as a positive influence on the Indian subcontinent and its people as the writers highlighted their works and achievements such as The Grand Trunk Road, mosques, mausoleums (Taj Mahal), castles, gardens and palaces. These were presented as a great architectural achievement of Muslim rulers because through these the Islamic architecture was introduced in the Indian subcontinent. The writers presented Muslim rulers of the Indian subcontinent as wise and intelligent; they were the ones who introduced a system of tax collection, established communication system, law enforcement system and departments or ministries to look after different state matters, especially, defence, trade, communication, agriculture and, education (KPKTB, 2017a, 2017b; PCTB, 2017a, 2017c; STB, 2017a, 2017b). The writers assigned negative attributed to Hindus, especially the upper caste Hindus as the writers presented them as insensitive, hard-hearted and indifferent to the pain and suffering of the majority of the Hindu population who happened to be falling in the lower castes as per the Hinduism's concept of division of society into different groups. The portrayal of Muslim rulers was opposite to the representation of Hindus and Muslim rulers were presented as compassionate, caring and generous as the focus of the welfare projects and public works was the welfare of everyone in their kingdom; be it the digging of public wells or construction of roads and inns for poor travelers; starting schools and places of learning (schools and madrasa) including awarding scholarships to pupils, teachers and scholars from poor and disadvantaged families and communities by providing them financial resources and scholarships (KPKTB, 2017a, 2017b; PCTB, 2017a, 2017c; and STB, 2017a; STB, 2017b).

The other invaders identified by Avari (2007); and Bose and Jalal (2017) were "Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Shakas and Huns before the eighth century, as well as Arabs, Persians, Turks, Afghans and Mongols between the eighth and the twelfth centuries" (Bose & Jalal, 2017, p. 22). The textbook analysis revealed the selected choice of invaders and conquerors as the writers focused only on Muslims (KPKTB, 2017a, 2017b; PCTB, 2017a, 2017c; and STB, 2017a; STB, 2017b) and the writers chose not to inform pupils about the contribution of Hindu rulers and Hindu kingdoms in the development of the Indian subcontinent. The writers presented Muslim rulers as the saviours through using positive representation strategy and Hindu rulers as the negative force which kept Indian subcontinent backwards and devoid of any development. The writers at the same time used trivializing and avoidance strategies by not mentioning their architectural wonders of Hindu rulers and kings such as palaces, gardens, castles, temples etc.

The writers in the same vein connected the IVC with the Muslim rule and Muslim rulers and they presented the Muslims as the rightful owner of the great civilization and Islam as the rightful replacement of the Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent. The writers highlighted the positive aspects of Buddhism and Islam through positive representation strategy and the negative aspects of Hinduism by using the negative representation strategy. The former (IVC and Muslim rulers) contributed to the development of the land and its inhabitants while the latter was a destructive force not only of the land but its people as well. The Aryans were portrayed as Hindus, and the writers traced the origin of caste-based society to Aryans. The IVC and Muslims and Buddhism and Islam shared values, equality and justice for all and it was opposite to Aryans and Hindus (KPKTB, 2017a, 2017b; PCTB, 2017a, 2017c; and STB, 2017a; STB, 2017b).

The use of the trivialization and avoidance strategies were also evident from the events that were presented as the precursor of the wars and the after-war incidents, especially the treatment of the conquered people. The writers chose to represent attacks from the Hindu rulers as the only reason for the wars between Hindu and Muslim rulers. The writers did not inform pupils were not told about the post-war incidents such as destruction of temples, burning of properties, the expulsion of population from the conquered lands, and taking women and children as slaves. The conversion of Hindus to Islam was due to the superior message of Islam

and not because of the cruel and crushing taxation system imposed by Muslim rulers on the vanquished people. The imposition of Islamic tax was the one of main reason of conversion of Hindus in large numbers to Islam (Avari, 2007; Bose & Jalal, 2017; Thapar, 2015) as they could not afford to pay such a heavy tax and the only way to avoid this tax was their conversion to Islam.

> I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that everyone who repeated the creed and became a Mussulman should be exempt from the jizya, or poll-tax imposed on non-believers. When this information came to the ears of the people at large, great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honour of Islam. Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and, adopting the faith, were exonerated from the jizya and were favoured with presents and distinctions (Lane-Poole, 1906, as cited in Al-Sahli, 2013, p. 39)

The writers chose to present European invaders as they presented the Aryans, that is, ignorant, cruel, greedy, enemy of Islam and Muslims though the writers also presented them using positive representation strategy especially their public works such as establishing European style schools, colleges and universities, hospitals, public transport (roads and railway) and communication (radio). The writers presented the British as the one who attacked the Indian subcontinent because they were attracted to the wealth found here and not because they were threatened by the Muslim rulers. It was the European who attacked Muslims, and this was in line with what the writers said about the Hindu rulers. These two groups, Hindus and Europeans, were grouped and presented as the enemy of Islam. The practices and policies of the British supported Hindus and resulted in their dominance in all areas such as trade, commerce, education, government jobs, agriculture etc. The British took away the lands and businesses once belonged to Muslims under different pretexts and gave it to Hindus. The discriminatory practices of the British Raj resulted in more Hindus selected as government servants as compared to Muslims. The writers blamed the British of the downfall of Muslims in every area be it education, business and trade and government jobs. The writers decried the establishment of European and Christian schools and colleges and called it an effort on the part of the Europeans to convert people from lower social and economic segments of Indian society to Christianity (KPKTB, 2017c; PCTB, 2017c; STB, 2017c) and the imposition of European and Christian values on Muslims of the Indian subcontinent.

Conclusion

The historical narrative constructed of Muslim conquerors and rulers in history textbooks presented them as heroes, the saviours and messiah whose arrival in the Indian subcontinent proved beneficial to the majority of the population (low caste Hindus). The Hindu rulers were not only a nuisance to the local population but also to the neighbouring countries as they continued to attack Muslim lands to expand their rule. The invasions by Mahmood Ghaznavi's (from Central Asia) were the result of Hindu incursions in his kingdom to conqueror his kingdom. Though he came and went back to his kingdom whatever ransom and booty he collected from the Hindu rulers and used for a good cause, that is, propagation of Islam and expansion of Islamic rule. This was just one example among many found in history textbooks where Muslim rulers were praised for all the incursions and invasions. The only exception was Babur, who married a few Hindu women from the upper caste Hindu families to strengthen his rule. His most hated work by the Pakistani historians was Din-e-Elahi (Religion of God), an ideology made up of religious teachings of all major religions practised in the Indian subcontinent. The state narrative of Mughal rule in the Indian subcontinent was represented using both positive and negative representations, Babur an example of negative representation. The writers and textbook regimes chose to present selective historical eras historical events and personalities, for example, the Hindu rulers and their contribution was an example of trivializing strategy where writers chose to ignore Hindu rulers and Hindu society (Qasmi, 2019).

The positive representation and unification strategies were used to construct a historical narrative to connect IVC and Muslim rule in the Indian subcontinent. The writers unified different Muslim rulers through the religion and created 'us' and 'them,' and presenting Babur as 'them' for his rule did not serve Islam and Muslims. The 'us' was constituted of Muslim rulers starting from Muhammad Bin Qasim, including Mahmood Ghaznavi, Delhi dynastic rule and conservative Mughal rulers. The 'them' comprised of Hindu rulers and some Muslim rulers, who married Hindu women to appease Hindu rulers and appointed them advisors and ministers. The writers employed strategies of avoidance and trivializing strategies whereby the differences between IVC and Muslim rulers were minimized, differences between Islam and Buddhism but differences

between Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam were brought forward and presented to pupils.

Islam as a religion was presented as a political ideology which promoted a universal society where all people are equal in the eyes of God (Muslim called God as Allah), and the divine messages received by prophet Muhammad contained the principles and rules that would build an ideal society. The earlier studies (Alavi, 1991; Ali, 1986, 1992, 1993; Aziz, 1993; Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985; Jalal, 1995; Khan, 1985; Kizilbash, 1986; Kurin, 1985; Zaidi, 1988) also found references to Hindu religion where it was presented as inferior to Islam and Hindus worshipped idols and accepted the caste-based foundations of society. The Hindus who did not have an alternative to Hindu religion earlier found the Islamic values of equality, justice and fair society attractive and converted to Islam in large numbers. The textbooks writers presented the Indian subcontinent as removed from the rest of the world, its land and people, which were now connected with the rest of the world through Islam., a religion which was followed in Asia and Africa and Muslims who lived in Asia, Africa and Europe. The history textbooks portrayed Muslims as a homogeneous group, minimized the differences amongst different sects and superior to Hinduism (Chughtai, 2015; Durrani, 2013; Durrani et al., 2017; GoP, 2009; Joshi, 2010; Qasmi, 2019). The state used economic development coupled with religion (Islam) as a tool to achieve its state-building objectives.

Bibliographic References

Ahmad, M. (1971). Failure of nation-building in Pakistan? *Pakistan Forum, 2*(3), 7-14.

Al-Sahli, H. A. (2013). Turks in India, their presence and contributions to Islam and civilsation: An historical and analytical study. *West East Journal of Social Sciences, 2*(2), 12-23.

Alavi, H. (1991). Nationhood and communal violence in Pakistan. *Journal of Contemporary Asia, 21*(2), 152-178.

Ali, M. (1986). *Tareekh aur roshni*. Lahore: Nigarshat.

Ali, M. (1992). Akbar in Pakistani textbooks. *Social Scientist, 20*(9), 73-76.

Ali, M. (1993). *In the shadow of history*. Lahore: Progressive Publications.

Ali, M. (1999). *History on trial*. Lahore: Fiction House.

Amstutz, A. (2019). A Pakistani homeland for Buddhism: Displaying a national history for Pakistan beyond Islam, 1950–1969. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, 42*(2), 237-255.

Apple, M. W. (1993). The politics of official knowledge: Does a national curriculum make sense? *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 14*(1), 1-16.

Apple, M. W. (1996). *Cultural politics and education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Apple, M. W. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum* (3rd ed.). London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Apple, M. W. (2014). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age*. New York: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (Ed.) (2003). *The state and the politics of knowledge*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Avari, B. (2007). *India, the ancient past: A history of the Indian sub-continent from c. 7000 bc to ad 1200*. New York: Routledge.

Aziz, K. K. (1993). *The murder of history: A critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Berghahn, V. R., & Schissler, H. (1987). *Perceptions of history: International textbook research on Britain, Germany, and the United States*. Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers.

Bloor, M., & Wood, F. (2006). Computer-assisted data analysis. In M. Bloor & F. Wood (Eds.), *Keywords in qualitative methods* (pp. 35-38). London: SAGE.

Bose, S., & Jalal, A. (2017). *Modern South Asia: History, culture, political economy*. New York: Routledge.

Chughtai, M. (2015). *What produces a history textbook?* (Doctoral dissertation), Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Durrani, N. (2008). Schooling the 'other': the representation of gender and national identities in Pakistani curriculum texts. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 38*(5), 595-610.

Durrani, N. (2013). Pakistan: curriculum and construction of national identity. In M.-E.-R. Ahmed (Ed.), *Education in West Central Asia. Education around the world* (pp. 221-239). London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Durrani, N., & Dunne, M. (2010). Curriculum and national identity: Exploring the links between religion and nation in Pakistan. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 42*(2), 215-240.

Durrani, N., Dunne, M., Fincham, K., & Crossouard, B. (2017). Pakistan: Converging imaginaries in an Islamic state. In M. Dunne, N. Durrani, K. Fincham, & B. Crossouard (Eds.), *Troubling Muslim Youth Identities: Nation, Religion, Gender* (pp. 77-125). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fazila-Yacoobali, V. (1999). A rite of passage: The partition of history and the dawn of Pakistan. *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies, 1*(2), 183-200.

Giunchi, E. (2007). Rewriting the past: Political imperatives and curricular reform in Pakistan. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung, 29*(4), 375-388.

Gonzalez, L. E., Brown, M. S., & Slate, J. R. (2008). Teachers who left the teaching profession: A qualitative understanding. *Qualitative Report, 13*(1), 1-11.

GoP. (1949). *The constituent assembly of Pakistan debates (official report of the fifth session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan debates)*. Karachi: GoP.

GoP. (2009). *National education policy 2009*. Islamabad: GoP.

GoP. (2012). *The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. Islamabad: GoP.

Green, A. (1997). *Education, globalization and the nation state*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gulab, F., & Khokhar, A. J. (2018). Content analysis of language textbooks (English, Urdu, Sindhi) for inclusivity. *Journal of Education & Social Sciences, 6*(1), 55-71.

Hoodbhoy, P. A., & Nayyar, A. H. (1985). Rewriting the history of Pakistan. In A. Khan (Ed.), *Islam, Politics and the State* (pp. 164-177). London: Zed Press.

Islam, N. (1981). Islam and national identity: The case of Pakistan and Bangladesh. *International Journal of Middle East Studies, 13*(1), 55-72.

Jahan, R. (1972). *Pakistan: Failure in national integration*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Jalal, A. (1995). Conjuring Pakistan: History as official imagining. *International Journal of Middle East Studies, 27*(1), 73-89.

Joshi, S. (2010). Contesting histories and nationalist geographies: a comparison of school textbooks in India and Pakistan. *South Asian History and Culture, 1*(3), 357-377.

Khan, M. A. (1985). *Islam, politics and the state: The Pakistan experience*. London: Zed Books London.

Khokhar, A. J. (2017). *National identity clarity or confusion: English and Urdu Textbooks* Paper presented at the Canada International Conference on Education 2017, Toronto, Canada.

Khokhar, A. J., & Yaar, M. (2020). Islamic habitus in English language textbooks produced by boards in Pakistan. *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization (JITC), 10*(1), 288-310.

Kizilbash, H. (1986). *Pakistan curriculum jungle, An analysis emerging out of the SAHE consultation on the undergraduate core curriculum in Pakistan*. Lahore: Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE).

Klerides, L. E. (2008). *The discursive (re) construction of national identity in Cyprus and England with special reference to history textbooks: A comparative study.* (Doctoral dissertation), University of London, London.

KPKTB. (2017a). *History for class 6*. Peshawar: KPKTB.

KPKTB. (2017b). *History for class 7*. Peshawar: KPKTB.

KPKTB. (2017c). *History for class 8*. Peshawar: KPKTB.

Kurin, R. (1985). Islamization in Pakistan: A view from the countryside. *Asian Survey, 25*(8), 852-862.

Martin, D. C. (1995). The choices of identity. *Social identities, 1*(1), 5-20.

Mohammad-Arif, A. (2007). 6 Textbooks, nationalism and history writing in India and Pakistan. In V. Bénéï (Ed.), *Manufacturing Citizenship: Education and Nationalism in Europe, South Asia and China* (pp. 155-181). New York: Routledge.

Naseem, M. A., Ghosh, R., McGill, J., & Mcdonald, W. C. (2010). Construction of the 'Other'in history textbooks in India and Pakistan. In *Interculturalism, Society and Education* (pp. 37-44): Brill Sense.

Neuendorf, K. A. (Ed.) (2017). *The content analysis guidebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Ozkirimli, U. (2000). *Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Ozkirimli, U. (2005). *Contemporary debates on nationalism: A critical engagement* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

PCTB. (2017a). *History class 6*. Lahore: PCTB.

PCTB. (2017b). *History class 7*. Lahore: PCTB.

PCTB. (2017c). *History for class 8*. Lahore: PCTB.

Phillips, R. (1998). *History teaching, nationhood and the state: A study in educational politics*. London: Cassell.

Pingel, F. (2010). *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision*. Paris, France: UNESCO.

Powell, A. (1996). Perceptions of the South Asian past: Ideology, nationalism and school history textbooks. In N. Cook (Ed.), *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays on Education, Religion, History and Politics* (pp. 190-228). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Qasmi, A. U. (2019). A master narrative for the history of Pakistan: Tracing the origins of an ideological agenda. *Modern Asian Studies, 53*(4), 1066-1105.

Rahman, T. (2011). 12 images of the 'other'in school textbooks and Islamic reading material in Pakistan. In L. Yates & M. Grumet (Eds.), *World Yearbook of Education 2011: Curriculum in Today's World: Configuring Knowledge, Identities, Work and Politics* (pp. 177-191). New York: Routledge.

Saigol, R. (2003). History, social studies and civics and the creation of enemies. In A. Zaidi, S. (Ed.), *Social Science in Pakistan in the 1990s* (pp. 159-200). Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences.

Saigol, R. (2005). Enemies within and enemies without: The besieged self in Pakistani textbooks. *Futures, 37*(9), 1005-1035.

STB. (2017a). *Social studies for class 6*. Jamshoro, Sindh: STB.

STB. (2017b). *Social studies for class 7*. Jamshoro, Sindh: STB.

STB. (2017c). *Social studies for class 8*. Jamshoro, Sindh: STB.

Thapar, R. (2015). *The Penguin history of early India: From the origins to AD 1300*. London: Penguin.

UNESCO. (2006). *The UNESCO guidelines on intercultural education*. Paris: UNESCO.

Vickers, E. (2013). Introduction: History, nationalism, and the politics of memory. In E. Vickers (Ed.), *History education and national identity in East Asia* (pp. 11-40). New York: Routledge.

Wodak, R., De Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Liebhart, K. (2009). *The discursive construction of national identity* (A. Hirsch, R. Mitten, & J. W. Unger, Trans. 2nd ed.). Edinburgh Edinburgh University Press.

Yaqian, W. (2011). *Defining the Pakistani nation in history education: An examination of Pakistan Studies textbooks.* (Master dissertation), National University of Singapore, Singapore.

Zaidi, S. A. (1988). Religious minorities in Pakistan today. *Journal of Contemporary Asia, 18*(4), 444-457.

Zakaria, A. (2018). By rewriting history, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh are threatening the very identity of their people: India is going down a path its neighbours have walked decades ago. Retrieved from https://scroll.in/article/print/871352

Contact address: Ashar Johnson, Khokhar, Forman Christian College (A Chartered University, Faculty of Education, Department of Education). Ferozepur Road, Lahore, 54600, Pakistan. E-mail: asharkhokhar@fccollege.edu.pk