

Religion and Citizenship Education in Pakistan: The Case of Gilgit-Baltistan

by

AMAN, Nazim

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Statement of Originality

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Abstract

This study is aimed at understanding the dynamics of citizenship education in Gilgit-Baltistan (GB), a politically disputed territory in the north of Pakistan characterised by religious and political anxieties. Because of being a part of Pakistan for all practical matters, albeit without due representation in national forums such as the parliament, the discourses of citizenship and citizenship education in GB are shaped by the overarching context of Pakistan and by contesting narratives of the interrelationship of state and religion.

The study is aimed at understanding the dynamics of citizenship and citizenship education discourse in GB through the lens of teachers' understandings of these concepts and practices. The study is also illustrative of Pakistan's citizenship education discourse and an example of a Muslim context. This study is a qualitative enquiry. The data has been collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews with native teachers (n-16) teaching Pakistan Studies (PKS) to students at secondary and higher secondary levels in GB. Thematic analysis has been used to analyse the data. The study has been conducted at the cross-cutting edge of politics, religion and education. A comprehensive conceptual framework has been developed to make sense of the complexity of citizenship and citizenship education phenomena. The framework is developed by placing the debate, on the one hand, in the web of religiopolitical and educational dynamics of Pakistan, in general, and GB, in particular, and, on the other hand, by invoking academic literature on citizenship and citizenship education.

The research findings have shown that teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship and citizenship education as universal (abstract) concepts are not replicas of citizenship and citizenship education as developed in Western discourses. It has been revealed that citizenship's social and moral dimensions are dominant compared to its political aspect. The purpose of citizenship education was understood lie in developing virtuous and morally

responsible citizens contributing to humanity's development. Nevertheless, the concept of morality was not explicitly linked with an individual's political praxis, thereby privileging the social and moral dimensions over political aspects of citizenship. The dominant trend among the teachers showed that Islam dominates their imagination in their conceptualisations. The findings of this study show that the teachers are trying to create a conceptual basis of citizenship within Islam by linking equality, diversity, and human rights as inherent to Islamic teachings. Thus, a desire for Islamizing citizenship at the intellectual level was seen to be a dominant trend.

In terms of their understanding of the curriculum of Pakistan Studies and other subjects promoting citizenship education, it was found that teachers contest many dominant narratives presented in the curriculum. They consider the dominant narratives to be more aimed at developing a nation, defined in religious terms, at the cost of denying the country's internal diversity. Therefore, citizenship education discourse promoted through PKS is seen to have failed to integrate Pakistan's religious and cultural diversity.

Regarding GB, the findings have shown that their understanding of citizenship and citizenship education is significantly shaped by the interplay of political and religious anxieties specific to Gilgit-Baltistan. The findings have revealed that educational discourse is used to spread political ignorance and breed historical and cultural ignorance, resulting in the construction of what I have called a discourse of self-alienating citizenship education. As an effect of such a discourse, self-alienated and docile citizens are produced, who are kept unaware of their history and culture and remain engaged with the official narratives about the history and culture of Pakistan in an uncontested manner. Such a discourse is aimed at maintaining the practical hegemony of the state through its institutions and is meant to attain legitimacy of the practical hegemony through education. The self-alienating citizenship education discourse is found to have underpinnings of depoliticising practices, and

citizenship education is used both as a tool of maintaining practical hegemony and as a technique of attaining the legitimacy of control through education. However, as a byproduct of such a discourse, an alternate discourse of failed citizenship also seems to be developing, which can only be harnessed by promoting a discourse of transformative citizenship.

Keywords: Citizenship, citizenship education, Islam, Pakistan, Gilgit-Baltistan



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Contribution to the Publications

While working on the thesis, the following two articles/chapters were published. Although these articles are not drawn on my thesis but I have used few paragraphs from the literature review to add to the articles/chapters. My contribution in these two publications has been made as a first author and a co-author, respectively.

Hunzai, N. A., Naz, S., & Zhao, Z. (2021). Multiculturalism in the Muslim world: A case of Pakistan. In C. Halse, & K. J. Kennedy (Eds.), *Multiculturalism in turbulent times* (pp. 192-207). Routledge. <https://10.4324/9781003090090>

Zhao, Z., & Hunzai, N. A. (2021). Religious education in China: Religious diversity and citizenship building. In K. J. Kennedy, & C. K. J. Lee (Eds.), *Religious education in Asia: Spiritual diversity in Globalized times* (pp. 12-27). Routledge. <https://10.4324/9780429321351-2>

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List of Abbreviations

AKU-EB	Aga Khan University-Examination Board
CCE	Civic and Citizenship Education
CE	Citizenship Education
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
Edu	Education
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulations
GB	Gilgit-Baltistan
IR	International Relations
KIU-EB	Karakorum International University-Examination Board
KKH	Karakorum Highway
KNM	Karakorum National Movement
KPK	Khyber Pakhtun khwa (A province of Pakistan)
OBOR	One Belt One Road
PBUH	Peace be Upon Him
PKS	Pakistan Studies
PPC	Pakistan Penal Code
PS	Political Science
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (Pakistan's ruling political party)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is aimed at introducing this thesis. It consists of two sections: The first section is intended to introduce the research problem in detail. It includes a statement of the research problem, the research context that includes the context of Pakistan and the context of Gilgit-Baltistan (GB), and a brief overview of citizenship education discourse in Pakistan which provides the context for developing the research aims and research questions. The significance of this study is then described in latter part of this section. The outline of the thesis and a brief introduction to all the forthcoming chapters are provided in the second section of this chapter.

Introduction to the Research Problem

This thesis is aimed at understanding citizenship education discourse in the context of GB, Pakistan, an internationally acknowledged disputed territory, under the control of Pakistan, due to its presumed linkage with the Kashmir dispute. It is characterised by different anxieties due to its politically disputed status and the religious composition of its population in comparison with the religious composition of the rest of Pakistan in terms of the majority-minority relationship of Sunni and Shia Muslims. The study has focused on the understanding of citizenship and citizenship education among teachers as a window to understanding citizenship and citizenship education in Pakistan, in general, and in GB, in particular. Teachers are the focus because most studies in Pakistan, as discussed in upcoming sections, have been based on textbooks or curriculum analysis while not giving enough consideration to the role of teachers. Teachers are important because their role is central to the educational process as the curriculum and policies are filtered through the teachers' lenses. Their personal views and personal philosophies may support or challenge the narratives presented in the

curriculum, and, thus, their perspectives matter for any citizenship education discourse. Therefore, this study has explored the in-depth perspectives of Pakistan Studies teachers (n=16) on the phenomena of citizenship and citizenship education through a qualitative research inquiry and the use of in-depth semi-structured interviews, with the help of thematic analysis, both as a research methodology and research method. The analysis of the findings has been carried out at three levels to encompass the conceptualisation of the phenomena among teachers as a universal (abstract) concept, as an official discourse reflected in the curriculum and as a matter of lived reality observed in the context of GB. In order to understand the dynamics of citizenship education in the context of Pakistan and GB, it is important to be familiar with the respective contexts. Thus, a brief introduction of these contexts is provided below.

The Context of Pakistan

Pakistan is a Muslim majority country where Islam plays a central role in varied human engagements ranging from politics to education. One of its explicit areas of influence is in education, where it plays a vital role in constructing educational narratives and practices. The educational policies of Pakistan seem to claim their inspiration from Islam as an ideology for life. Almost all the policies developed both in historical and contemporary contexts seem to emanate from Islam, with changing positions and preferences adopted by changing regimes (Siddiqui, 2016). The reference to Islam is at its most vivid in citizenship education discourses characterised by debates about the interrelationship of state and religion or Islam, which leads to the conceptualisation of ‘competing perspectives’ on what is to be thought of as citizenship education (Ahmad, 2004). However, the diversity of interpretations and practices of Islam complicate the interrelationship of state and religion. These debates become complicated due to the internal cultural and religious diversity and the power relations within society. The majority of the population are Muslims and follow Sunni

denominations of Islam, whereas the Shias, with their varied denominations, are fewer in number though they make up a significant part of the population. Ahmadis make up yet another group claiming to be Muslim but as the state does not recognize them as such and has declared them to be non-Muslim. Pakistan is also home to other religious communities, including Hindus, Christians, Sikhs and others.

Apart from religious diversity, Pakistan is characterised by linguistic, ethnic and regional diversity as well. At times, these different manifestations of diversity also open up fault lines of difference, leading to tension and sometimes violence periodically. The four major provinces, including Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan, and the disputed regions of Pakistani Administered Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan, reflect this diversity in its various forms with the concomitant challenges and opportunities.

The Context of GB

Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) was formally known as the Northern Areas of Pakistan. It is at ‘the crossroads of South, Central and East Asia’ (Howe & Hunzai, 2019 p.14) and situated in the north of Pakistan, bordering China, Afghanistan and Indian Kashmir. It is spread over an area of 72,499 square km with an estimated population of 1.5 million. The context is characterised by linguistic, cultural and religious diversity. There are four branches of Islam followed by its inhabitants: Shia, Sunni, Ismaili and Nurbakhshi (Dad, 2016a). Unlike the other parts of Pakistan, it is the ‘only Shia-majority region in the Sunni-majority country’ (Hunzai, 2013, p. 1) and is thus characterised by ‘religious anxiety’ (Ali, 2008, p. 8) in relation to the paradoxical nature of the majority-minority relationship.

The region is also characterised by ‘territorial anxiety’ because of its political status.

Historically, it has been subject to double colonisation under British and Kashmiri rule from the mid-nineteenth century until India’s partition in 1947. The area is not a part of Kashmir but

has been linked with the Kashmir dispute in the post-partition saga. Under various UN resolutions, it has been declared as a disputed territory. It is a disputed territory at multiple levels in terms of its relationship with Pakistan and Kashmir and in terms of the claims of India on the region. It is even disputed that it is disputed (Sökefeld, 2017). GB has been a contested field of legitimacy in terms of the endeavours of British and Kashmiri rule. The same desire and the endeavours of legitimacy continued with its association with Pakistan in the post-1947 era and these had varying degrees of similarities and differences with practices of colonial regimes. At times, the continuity of colonial legacies and the present political discontents makes it challenging to draw a line between the colonial and post-colonial periods. In many ways, the shifting ‘modes of dominations’ have perpetuated a sort of ‘post-colonial colonialism’ in the area (Sökefeld, 2005 p.939).

Currently, GB is controlled by Pakistan. It does not have the status of a province and, as such, is not represented in the national forums such as the national parliament of Pakistan. It may be ‘loosely defined as a centrally-administered, partially empowered and economically dependent part of Pakistan’ (Hussain, 2018) which is politically isolated but administratively controlled within the political arrangements of Pakistan. The region has been pushed into a state of liminality and political marginalisation. A power vacuum has developed in the society, squeezing out space for political representation. The vacuum is currently being filled by religious/sectarian, nationalist, ethnic and regional forces (Dad, 2016a), leading to a more polarised society.

Thus, the region is characterised by religious and political anxieties. These anxieties have created a context for yet another anxiety that is educational. In education, the policy and the curriculum are designed and controlled by the federal government of Pakistan.

Therefore, educational policy and the curriculum are the same as those taught in other provinces. This is reflected in the fact that even the textbooks used in the region’s

public/government schools have been developed in another province, Punjab or KPK, as GB does not have its own textbook board. Private schools in the area choose different publishers, but primarily, all educational materials are developed in line with the guidelines of Pakistan's national curriculum and education policy.

The school practices may have commonalities with other provinces in the country. However, it is yet to be seen how citizenship education is understood and practised in this context and how it is characterised by religious, territorial and educational anxieties that cumulatively lead to a dilemma of citizenship for the residents of the area in terms of their perceptions of whether they are or are not citizens. This study contributes to this issue which hitherto, has remained largely an ignored area of engagement.

A Brief Overview of Citizenship Education Discourse in Pakistan

One of the objectives of education in Pakistan is the preparation of young students for their role in society (Dean, 2008), which, in common parlance, is considered an important aspect of citizenship education. It involves preparing students with the knowledge, skills and attitudes which may enable them to understand and participate in the affairs of society. In the most generic sense, citizenship education is about instilling citizenship, albeit citizenship conceptualised in varieties of ways in varieties of contexts. However, common to the contemporary approaches to citizenship education is that they tend to promote the 'knowledge' and 'praxis' dimensions of citizenship. The knowledge dimension includes educating students about civic and political structures and the processes of a nation-state. It also includes educating students about global political structures and processes too. The other dimension involves preparing students for civic engagement, particularly preparing them for political participation (Haste, 2004).

Citizenship education is delivered, in varieties of ways, by all the nation-states across the globe to prepare their future citizenry according to the needs and the vision of each respective nations. It is used as a strategy ‘to support the values, structures and priorities of individual nations’ (Kennedy, 2012 p. 127) and thereby, it is of interest for both democratic and authoritarian regimes. Democratic regimes use it to consolidate, protect and promote democratic processes and institutions, and the authoritarian regimes use it to strengthen the legitimacy of their rule (Kennedy, 2019). Therefore, it is a contextual phenomenon depending upon the context in terms of time and space.

In order to develop an idea of citizenship education in Pakistan, it is pertinent to understand some key aspects of the education system in Pakistan. The education system in Pakistan is characterised by operating a type of ‘educational dualism’: madrasa, and a modern education system (Sikand, 2005). The madrasa system is primarily a system of education in religious education which focuses on disseminating religious education. Children belonging to poor socio-economic backgrounds generally go to madrasas. The modern system of education is primarily secular in nature and meant to address the modern needs of the state, society and individual. However, the modern system of education is also defined by another binary, public versus private. Public schools are run by the government. The majority of students in Pakistan study in public schools. Public schools primarily deliver education through Urdu. There are also private schools that are defined by a hierarchical system of education. The hierarchy is representative of the socio-economic inequalities and stratification of Pakistani society. There are elite English-medium schools attended by the elite class, high-fee schools and low-fee schools, each attended by children of different economic backgrounds. The educational dualism, religious versus modern, represents two different worldviews and represents two different approaches to education. As a result, students end up with different and sometimes conflicting orientations. In this way, various approaches to citizenry arise over

time, which may not have a common basis for understanding one another (Sayeed, 1990). A survey study conducted by Rahman (2004) showed that the students attending these two different education systems have differing and even contradictory views on various issues of civic importance such as tolerance.

The majority of students in Pakistan attend public or low-fee private schools. In these schools, there is no separate subject on citizenship education, as such. Citizenship is taught primarily through Social Studies. Subjects such as Islamic Studies, Urdu and English also incorporate some aspects of citizenship. Social Studies is taught as a general knowledge subject in Grades I and II. From Grade II to Grade VIII, it is taught as Social Studies, and from Grade IX to Grade XII, it is taught as Pakistan Studies (Ali & Karim 2021). Schools up to Grade X are termed high schools (secondary schools), whereas intermediate college covers Grades XI and XII. Schools covering Grade VIII to Grade XII are known as higher secondary schools. From Grade IX and onwards, Civics is offered as an elective subject. However, Pakistan Studies is a compulsory subject that every student has to begin studying after entering secondary level and until they have completed their four-year university degree no matter what major subject they choose. Thus, Pakistan Studies is a core subject promoting citizenship education in Pakistan.

The discourses on citizenship and citizenship education show a shifting pattern in Pakistan. A detailed discussion is included in the third chapter of this thesis but it suffices to mention here that citizenship education in Pakistan is highly influenced by contesting discourses on Islam. The ‘basic controversy’ in citizenship education relates to the relationship between religion and state (Ahmad, 2004). There are two major competing perspectives, theocratic and liberal democratic, each seeking to establish a diametrically opposite relationship between state and religion. The theocratic perspective seeks to establish what is imagined to be an ‘Islamic state’ by defining citizenship strictly in a religious manner. Proponents of this approach equate being a ‘good Muslim’ with being a ‘good citizen’. Meanwhile, those who follow the liberal-

democratic approach define citizenship in pluralistic terms and emphasise the need to separate religion from the affairs of the state (Ahmad, 2007). In both cases, engagement with Islam characterises the citizenship discourse in Pakistan. A synoptic review of the history of Pakistan shows the tension between these two forces, which is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947. It is one of the few countries in the world that has come into existence based on religious communal lines, and the recourse to ‘religious nationalism’ played a vital role in justifying its creation as a separate homeland for the Muslims of India (Sayeed, 1990). From the beginning, the concept of citizenship in Pakistan has been intimately linked with nationhood. The analysis of the literature shows that the official discourse of citizenship in ‘contemporary Pakistan’ appears to be preoccupied with the ‘construction of nationhood’ defined primarily in religious terms rather than pursuing ‘a right based construction of citizenship’ (Saigol, 2014 p. 192) based on the values of participation, civic equality, appreciation and inclusion of diversity, and justice.

The literature analysis demonstrates that a religiously inspired narrative of citizenship has seized the political imagination and that over decades, the state has lost its equilibrium in relation to the religious right due to the Islamisation of Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s (Rahman, 2012). At that time, a Sunni fundamentalist Wahhabi version of Islam affected all spheres of life, ranging from the constitution to education. Consequently, ‘multicultural citizenship’ could not be promoted, thereby effectively leading to a myopic vision and a bias towards internal religious and cultural diversity along with an antagonistic approach to the external ‘other’, especially India. Moreover, the fixation with the issues of nationhood implies a conceptualisation of citizenship more as a matter of forced emotional attachment to an ‘imagined Islamic community’ defined by the state rather than relating to the relationship between state and citizen defined primarily in terms of rights and responsibilities.

The analysis of the citizenship education discourse as reflected in policies and textbooks indicates that it is reflective of changing conceptualisations of citizenship. It shows shifting narratives of citizenship in educational policies and curricula. In the formative phases of the creation of Pakistan, the discourses on citizenship education, as reflected in the textbooks, were accommodating and ‘outward-looking’ (Saigol, 2014). However, in the aftermath of Bangladesh’s secession in the 1970s, a change in the overall orientation of citizenship education can be perceived; this was dominated by a security paradigm resulting in strengthening antagonism towards India. The orientation changed again during the 1980s under the influence of the Zia-ul-Haq’s Islamisation endeavour. Zia tried to Islamise every aspect of life, including education (Dean, 2008). The inscriptions of Islamisation proved to be so deep that the subsequent regimes could not wholly reverse them. The overall orientation of education thus changed, resulting in education becoming a tool for inculcating and promoting so-called Islamic ideology defined from a Sunni conservative perspective of Islam (Haqqani, 2018). Citizenship education in contemporary Pakistan seems preoccupied with constructing loyal, disciplined, and good Muslims (Saigol, 2014; Durrani and Dunne, 2010; Iftikhar, 2007), with a commitment and loyalty to an ‘imagined Islamic community’ of Pakistan. It seems to miss the core job of preparing students for their role as citizens who should be aware of their rights and duties and be able and motivated to partake in informed participation in society’s civic and political affairs.

The synoptic review of the literature demonstrates that narrow approaches characterise the discourse on citizenship education. It is characterised by ‘indoctrination’, ‘exclusion of minorities’, ‘hostility to India’, and a ‘gender-biased perspective’ (Lall, 2008; Leirvik, 2008; Dean, 2008; Iqtidar, 2012). At times, ‘citizenship education’ and ‘Islamic education’ become synonymous (Dean, 2008 & 2013). The state uses religion not only to define minorities but

also to define the majority in a way that positions minorities, including Muslims with a different Islamic orientation, as differentiated (Iqtidar, 2012).

The literature indicates that the overarching focus of studies on citizenship education (Ahmad, 2004; Dean, 2005; Ahmad, 2007; Dean, 2008; Saigol, 2014) have examined policy and curriculum dimensions. Lall (2012) focuses on students' perceptions and part of Dean's (2005) study deals with the school context. There have also been some studies on teachers' perceptions (Brett & Muhammad, 2017; Muhammad, Masood, & Anis, 2019), but the focus has been more on the dimension of identity. The studies seem limited in their scope in terms of dealing with the broader conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education. Almost all of these studies have focused on the provinces of Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and KPK. GB seems to be missing from this intellectual spectrum of work citizenship education, except in a study conducted by Nosheen Ali (2008), who tried to look at 'a textbook controversy' in GB that resulted in violence in the region in 2004/2005.

Ali's (2008) emphasis has been more on conflict dynamics and their linkage with textbooks and the state formation process. She, however, did not place her study in the broader context of citizenship education in Pakistan, but mainly focused on GB. She argues that the state tends to develop 'sectarianised citizens' in GB as part of the state formation process. Therefore, her study focuses more on the issue of sectarian violence and state formation rather than citizenship education as such.

The Aim of the Study

The broader aim of this study is to understand citizenship education discourse in a complex Muslim context, GB, where Islam and socio-political anxieties, which are specific to the region, play a role in shaping the discourse on citizenship education. It aims to understand how teachers with diverse religious orientations but who share a unique political status make sense of citizenship and the discourse of citizenship education while teaching a subject that is

not specifically reflective of the existential conditions of the context, GB, but has been developed to address the broader needs and aspirations of Pakistan.

In order to address this objective, the study aims to understand the following: a) teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education; b) the factors playing a role in constructing their perceptions c); teachers' perspectives as a lens through which to understand the dynamics of citizenship education in GB; d) the broader context of Pakistan; and e) GB as an illustrative example of the dynamics of citizenship education in Muslim societies.

Research Questions

In order to meet the stated objective of the research, this study intends to fill the research gaps on citizenship education in Pakistan by focusing on the context of GB, which is unique within the political structure of Pakistan. It will focus on teachers' perceptions as a lens through which to investigate citizenship education discourse in GB. Studies conducted on citizenship education to date focus on textbooks and curriculum guidelines. However, attempts have not previously been made to understand teachers' perceptions within the broader context of Pakistan in terms of comprehending citizenship beyond its identity dimension and the rights-based framework. So, this study attempts to fill this gap in the knowledge. It is also an illustrative example of the dynamics of citizenship education in Muslim societies. The choice to select teachers as participants is justified due to the importance of their role, which is a widely acknowledged phenomenon in education. They play a central role in the educational process as policies and the curriculum are always filtered through them. What they teach and how they teach are inherently linked with their understanding and philosophy of education. They are the mediators between policy and practice and act as a 'bridge between the intended and implemented curriculum' (Lee & Fouts, 2005, p. 9). Therefore, they are both recipients and providers of citizenship education in terms of what contributes to their thinking and the

sense of being the key figure taking decisions and acting upon them about what to teach, how to teach, and whom to teach (Lee & Fouts, 2005). Their understanding of citizenship is inextricably linked with how they implement the curriculum. Therefore, studying teachers' perceptions about citizenship is important as it offers a window for understanding the state of citizenship education in GB. Thus, keeping in mind the gaps in the literature and the aims of this research, this study seeks to answer the following main research question (MRQ):

MRQ: How do Pakistan Studies teachers in the politically disputed territory of Gilgit-Baltistan make sense of citizenship and citizenship education while teaching a syllabus oriented towards Pakistan's overall needs and aspirations and does not address the many types of complexities of Gilgit-Baltistan?

In order to address this question, the following research questions (RQ) have been developed.

RQ1. How do teachers make sense of the concepts of citizenship, citizenship education and the 'good citizen'?

RQ2. How do teachers see the role of the PKS curriculum in fostering citizenship education in the context of Pakistan?

RQ3. How do teachers make sense of citizenship and citizenship education discourse in the politically disputed territory of Gilgit-Baltistan?

The Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in the fact that modern nation-states, both Eastern and Western, use citizenship education to prepare their citizenry for the expected roles that different states envision for them. As discussed before, one of the objectives of citizenship education in democratic societies is 'to consolidate democratic processes and values', and likewise, it is used by authoritarian regimes 'largely to bolster regime legitimacy' (Kennedy, 2019, p. 1). The importance of citizenship education for democratic societies has further been increased by the rise of social and economic conditions wherein the fundamental values,

norms and institutions of democracy are being challenged. The rise of populist nationalism, globalisation, fundamentalism and the negative use of social media poses new challenges for democratic consolidation. In such a situation, democratic nation-states need to prepare their future citizens for the challenges of the 21st century. The challenge for modern democratic societies is to prepare their citizens for roles which are not only limited to participating in the taken-for-granted democratic landscape but also for protecting democracy from deconsolidating forces. In this way, citizenship education in democratic societies has altered to focus on protecting and strengthening democracy (Kennedy, 2019).

Managing the plurality of religions is yet another important challenge for modern secular states. On the one hand, modern secular states have to remain committed to the principle of 'religion being a matter of private conscience'. However, on the other hand, states constantly need to intervene to manage religions for the sake of harmony and political security. These apparently oppositional aspirations of the state lead to a paradox which Turner calls the 'paradox of modern liberal states' (Turner, 2012). The challenge of managing Muslim minorities in non-Muslim secular states is a useful example of this paradox. Thus, the challenge of managing religious diversity leads to debates about the interrelationship of religion and citizenship in modern societies.

Therefore, managing religions, mainly in Muslim majority societies, is an important area of intellectual engagement. Pakistan is a Muslim majority country with a history of both dictatorship and democracy. Currently, it is democratic, albeit encompassing varying degrees of interpretation about the strength of democracy. It is one of the very few countries driven by ideological aspirations underpinned by religious nationalism (Haqqani, 2018). Islam is the state religion of Pakistan, thereby, having implications for the people living in the country who come from religious backgrounds other than Islam. Pakistan is a Sunni Muslim majority state, and even this has implications for Muslims from other denominations. Therefore,

studying the relationship between religion and citizenship education in the context of Pakistan is relevant.

Studying citizenship education in Gilgit-Baltistan is also equally significant as a first-of-its-kind study in Pakistan to explore the issues of citizenship education in a context that is otherwise characterised by citizenship dilemmas because of its politically ‘liminal status’ (Dad, 2016a). Secondly, studies to date have focused mainly on the political dimensions and exploration of power dynamics in this region, both in historical and contemporary contexts. At the same time, some contemporary studies focus on teaching and learning in the area but very few studies, such as the one conducted by Ali (2008), try to look more at the socio-political dimension of education. Ali’s work is more focused on sectarianism and state formation in GB, however, with its implications for the development of a ‘sectarianised’ citizenship. Although there have been studies on citizenship education focusing on the other provinces in Pakistan none so far have focused on citizenship education in this disputed territory which has its specificities in terms of religious and territorial anxieties, as discussed in the introduction. Therefore, the proposed study can be regarded as a pioneering study on citizenship education in this context. Studying teachers understanding of citizenship and citizenship education is important because they are the key mediators between theory and practice. The syllabus is filtered through the outlooks and perspectives of teachers, and therefore, teachers play a vital role in implementing citizenship education.

Outline of the Thesis

This section provides a brief overview of the outline of this thesis. As stated clearly in the first section of this chapter, this research study aims to study citizenship education discourse in GB by situating the case in the broader context of Pakistan, where Islam plays a vital role in shaping citizenship and citizenship education. In order to address the research question systematically,

this thesis is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter has introduced the study area and developed the research questions based upon a brief overview of the scholarship available on citizenship education in Pakistan. The second chapter introduces the complex context of GB, which is shaped by political and religious anxieties. It gives an overarching picture of GB by highlighting its strategic location and how the broader political dynamics involving big powers have shaped its political destiny. It also discusses the contemporary ambiguous political status of the area in detail, providing the context for an appreciation of the complexity of citizenship issues and, subsequently, citizenship education.

The third chapter gives an overview of citizenship education discourse in Pakistan by situating it in a historical context. It analyses the available scholarship to argue that the Pakistani state has moved towards the religious right, reflected in citizenship education discourse. It demonstrates that shifting discourses of citizenship education reflect the shifting policies of the Pakistani state towards the religious right with its negative implications for society.

The fourth chapter has attempted to develop a conceptual framework by which to understand the nexus of religion, citizenship and citizenship education and its operationalisation in a politically disputed territory. It specifically discusses how religion and modernity interact with each other, with concomitant implications for citizenship issues in modern societies. In this chapter, citizenship discourses, as developed in Western intellectual thought, are deliberated, and furthermore, the relevance of these conceptual categories for East Asian and Muslim societies is analysed at length. A particular discussion on the conceptual basis of citizenship within the Asian context has been presented to develop a lens through which to understand citizenship phenomena in Muslim majority contexts. James Banks' (2017) conceptualisation of the typology of citizenship and discourse on Social Citizenship has been used to make sense of citizenship conceptualisations. In contrast, Kennedy's (2019) framework for future citizenship education, along with Freire's (1993) critical approach to education as discussed in

his magnum opus *Pedagogy of Oppressed* have specifically been used as analytical categories for analysis. These frameworks have been used with the realisation that they cannot fully grasp the complexity involved in the context but contribute significantly in identifying many dimensions of the phenomena of citizenship and citizenship education.

The fifth chapter is on the research methods and methodology employed in this study. It consists of two sections. The first section discusses the challenging environment in which this study has been conducted. It discusses how this study was conducted from its inception to completion in a time of crisis, starting with the eruption of Hong Kong protests and ending amid the COVID-19 pandemic crisis. These two crises posed severe challenges for conducting this research from the qualifying presentation for the proposal to the completion of this study. It discusses how with the outbreak of COVID-19, research plans and processes were delayed and had to be adjusted. This section tells the story of conducting research in a time of crisis, which made this endeavour emotionally, physically and psychologically consuming and trying. It is, indeed, a story of hope and fear and giving a chance for hope to prevail.

The second section discusses how this study used thematic analysis as the method for data analysis and the methodology. Thematic analysis is considered a methodology because it gives autonomy to the researcher in choosing and explicitly stating its underpinning theoretical presumptions, which is a fundamental condition for any research methodology.

The chapter has discussed in detail the theoretical considerations underpinning the methodology. It has also discussed in detail the research methods used in the study. It includes details of the data collection process and phases of data analysis that have been used in this research study. Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight present the findings and their analysis, albeit without being explicitly informed by the theoretical lens.

The findings in Chapter Six address RQ1 and seek to understand teachers' comprehension of citizenship, a good citizen and citizenship education as general concepts. In Chapter Seven, the findings answer RQ2; additionally, these findings sought to understand teachers' perceptions of the role of Pakistan Studies in developing an understanding of citizenship education. The findings in Chapter Eight answer RQ3 and discuss teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education within the context of GB. The findings in these chapters are intimately interlinked and furthermore, these findings are welded together to answer the main research question in Chapter Nine.

In Chapter Nine, there is a detailed discussion of the findings in the light of the available scholarship and theoretical framework, which has already been enunciated in Chapter Four. Thus, in Chapter Nine, there is a discussion and analysis of the findings related to RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3 through a conceptual framework that, in unison, develops an overarching perspective on citizenship and citizenship education in GB. By taking the example of GB, a new concept of citizenship is identified, which is referred to as 'self-alienating citizenship'. The last chapter depicts the conclusion of the entire process, with an overall summary of the study in a condensed form. Here, in this chapter, it is sought to connect the preceding chapters in order to depict a picture of the features of citizenship education discourse in GB, which is also illustrative of both Pakistan and Muslim society. Therefore, this chapter demonstrates how Islam cannot be removed from citizenship imagination in a Muslim context.

CHAPTER TWO

THE COMPLEX CONTEXT OF GILGIT-BALTISTAN: HISTORICAL PREDICAMENTS AND CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

In this chapter, the complex context of GB is discussed in an expository manner. It is argued that GB is characterised by religious, political and territorial anxieties, which are predominantly shaped by exogenous and endogenous factors. The broader political dynamics in historical and contemporary contexts have played a vital role in shaping political and territorial anxieties, thereby making citizenship in this area as an unsettled issue. Moreover, its politically ambiguous status has caused developing internal polarisation, and consequently failed citizenship in the region.

Introduction

Gilgit Baltistan is an internationally acknowledged disputed territory under the control of Pakistan. It is situated in the northern part of Pakistan bordering China, Afghanistan, and Indian Occupied Kashmir and is spread over 72400 square km and sporadically populated with around 20 persons per square km. The area covers the mountain ranges of the Himalaya, Karakorum and Hindukush. The mighty mountains and lofty peaks include the second highest peak in the world, K2, and another four 8000m-high peaks; the longest glacier outside the polar region; and beautiful river valleys and side-valleys, all of which make GB one of the most spectacular places in the world. However, a large part of the region is uninhabitable because of height, slopes, and other issues, like mountain desert (Sökefeld, 2014). More often than not, it has been described for its natural environment and its beauty, overshadowing its people, history, politics, and the shape of society in most cases.

It is divided into three administrative divisions: Gilgit, Skardu and Diamer. These divisions comprise ten districts, each of which have cultural, historical and sociological specificities

and share commonalities. Furthermore, GB is a highly diverse area in terms of language, religion, and ethnicity from a sociological perspective. There are around 25 ethnolinguistic communities (Dad, 2016a). There are five primary languages spoken in the area: Shina, Balti, Khwar, Wakhi and Burushaski. Shina is mainly spoken in Gilgit, Chilas and Astore; Balti is spoken in Skardu division which is made up of Shiger, Skardu and Ghanchay; Khwar is spoken in parts of Ghizer; Wahi is spoken in upper Hunza Gojal; and Burushaski is spoken in central Hunza, Nagar, parts of Gilgit and parts of Ghizer. There are also people, though very few, who speak Pushtu, Gujri and Punjabi (Sökefeld, 2014).

These languages are spoken in different valleys, which have remained independent princely states for centuries without much cultural interaction. Consequently, an indigenous lingua franca could not be developed. Therefore, in contemporary times, Urdu, the national language and lingua franca of Pakistan, is used as a lingua franca by the inhabitants of these regions for inter-communication among people with different linguistic backgrounds.

English is the official language, but sometimes Urdu is also used in official communication. The growing role of English indicates its status as a ‘language of education’ (Sökefeld, 2014). However, the media of instruction in educational institutions are both Urdu and English. These are supported by locally spoken languages in respective areas which are used as pedagogical tools within the classroom settings, thereby making the teaching process much more complex but, in many instances, more student friendly.

Politically, GB is an internationally acknowledged disputed territory. Both India and Pakistan claim it. However, it is administered and controlled by Pakistan. Its political status has been kept ambiguous by Pakistan in a calculated manner for the last seventy years, and that is against the wishes of the people of GB. It has been forcefully wedded to the Kashmir issue. It has been pushed into a ‘state of liminality’ (Hong, 2012) and has been dealt with as if it is on

the ‘periphery’ by Pakistan (Ahmad, 2015). The Kashmiris claim that it is part of Kashmir, whereas the local people assert their distinctiveness and thus deny being part of Kashmir. It is thus disputed in many senses. Sometimes, it is disputed that it is even a disputed territory (Sökefeld, 2017). Historically, it remained under the colonial rule of the British and Dogra rulers of Kashmir. The British colonisation ended in India in 1947, leading to the creation of India and Pakistan. Thus, it was a watershed in the political history of the Subcontinent. In the case of GB, this moment represented the beginning of political ambiguity and a continuity of the imprints of colonial legacies through shifting modes of domination, thereby marked by a post-colonial colonialism prevailing in the region (Sökefeld, 2005). The shifting modes of domination make the decisive point of post-colonialism contested in the case of GB because the colonial legacies have continuously dominated the political imagination and modes of governance in GB since the independence of Pakistan.

In order to understand the political conundrum of GB, it is crucial to understand: a) the political arrangements and organisations that continued to exist in these areas, now comprising GB, before the colonial rule of the British and Kashmiri rulers; b) the political context and the nature of colonial rule in the area; c) the complex relationship of GB with Pakistan after 1947; d) the current political arrangement of GB in the context of broader contemporary politics.

The chapter will argue that GB is characterised by religious, political and territorial anxieties predominantly shaped by exogenous and endogenous factors. The broader political dynamics in historical and contemporary contexts have played a vital role in shaping political and territorial anxieties. Its politically ambiguous status has caused internal polarisation in the region along ethnic and sectarian lines, and consequently, a ‘failed citizenship’ (Banks, 2017) seems to dominate the political imagination.

Traditional Political Configuration

Traditionally there have been two distinctive political systems that prevailed in the area for centuries. First, there was a non-centralised and a kind of egalitarian political system that prevailed in the areas in the southern part of the current GB. These areas are now roughly part of the Diamer district. The political affairs of the community were regulated by a group of men, called *Jirga*, who had an equal say in the system. However, not all men of the area could become *Jirga*. Membership was based on men belonging to particular *qoms*, communities/social classes while others were excluded (Sökefeld, 2014). In this sense, it was not egalitarian as such, but the absence of centralised rule characterised the system.

The other political organisation was marked by a politically centralised system that prevailed in most of the parts of current GB. There were independent dynastic states or principalities, including Hunza, Nagar, Punyal, Skardu, Shiger and Khapulo. The local rulers ruled these independent states called *Mirs* or *Rajas* and they existed for as long as a millennium or even more in different areas. Although the rulers always needed the support of a significant proportion of the population, fundamentally, it was a hereditary system of rule with fierce competition among the siblings for the throne (Sökefeld, 2014). The king enjoyed being the head of all administrative, legal and judicial affairs. However, decisions were made in an assembly of notables of the area representing different localities. An inbuilt system of governance and management of natural resources was undertaken by the different office bearers appointed by the rulers. The competition among the people to attain certain positions in the system of governance was a natural corollary. However, because of the division of society into different classes, people belonging to the upper social hierarchy enjoyed more access to the royal courts and thus, were more politically and socially privileged and influential than the lower classes. The royal officials usually belonged to the upper social

classes, and social class defined the nature of the assignments that individuals could be involved with.

The salient features of this system included an epicentre of power lying within the society, and thus indigenous systems of governance with their unique characteristics were developed. A system of accountability and access to the royal court was possible for ordinary people. Nevertheless, the people from higher social strata always had greater access and influence. Since these societies were agro-based, the cultivable land available was limited, and therefore a terrible level of poverty was part and parcel of peoples' lives. High taxation on crops, dairy milk products, husbandry and forced labour called *bagar* in the Shina language or *rjaki or baap* in the Burushaski language was yet another feature of these societies (Sökefeld, 2014).

The level of cultural interaction among these states was low because of the geographic nature of the region, as most of them were separated by large mountains, long glaciers, high peaks and passes. There were fierce hostilities, however, between the states, and regular attempts were made to conquer one another. For example, the ruler of Yasin, Gohar Aman, conquered Gilgit, and the Ahmad Shah from Skardu expanded his control in most of Baltistan in the early decades of the 19th century (Ali, 1990). These states also had shifting allegiances to neighbouring external powers and thus politically mattered even in the broader political context. For example, Hunza mattered because of its geographic position and linkages with the neighbouring powers, including its relations with China and linkages with Tsarist Russia, which triggered the British to invade and conquer Hunza in 1891 (Kreutzmann, 2020).

The Great Game and Colonial Rule in GB

The significant changes in the political history of the whole region in current GB started in the 19th century. The Dogra ruler of Jammu, Raja Gulab Singh, started to make incursions into the mountain regions of Baltistan and Gilgit in the late 1830s. He was a vassal to the

Sikh empire of Ranjit Singh in Punjab and was mainly interested in taking control of passes and the routes passing through these areas. He took over the control of Baltistan in 1842, and his rule remained unchallenged. However, his troops faced challenges in Gilgit and were evicted by force by the alliances of local rulers led by Gohar Aman of Yasin (Ali, 1990; Sökefeld, 2014).

After the demise of Ranjit Singh in 1839, the British defeated the Ranjit's empire and took control of it. Raja Gulab Singh shifted his allegiances to the British. After taking over Ranjit Singh's empire, the British sold Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh for 7.5 million rupees under the 'Treaty of Amritsar' in 1846, which resulted in the princely state of Jammu being established and Kashmir falling under the suzerainty of the British Empire. Raja Gulab Singh, now, became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Under the treaty, 'the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee' was ceded to Maharaja Gulab Singh (part of the text of the Treaty cited in Kreutzmann, 2008 p. 204). Accordingly, some areas of Gilgit-Baltistan, including parts of Baltistan and Astore, became part of Kashmir. These areas did not, however, include Chitral, Ghizer, Gilgit, Nagar and Hunza. Although the troops of Gulab Singh made inroads to Baltistan and Gilgit before the treaty of Amritsar, his rule over Gilgit was only established after the death of Gohar Aman in 1860 (Sökefeld, 2017). However, the Dogra troops tried to extend their control over local principalities, including Hunza and Nagar, though they faced tough resistance from the rulers of these areas and ultimately, were unable to extend their control to these areas. Although the Kashmiri rule in Gilgit was not 'warranted by the Treaty of Amritsar', 'in the beginning of Kashmiri domination in Gilgit, the British and the Kashmiri discourses on the legitimacy of rule in Gilgit converged' (Sökefeld, 2005 p. 946).

It is worth noting that the Treaty of Amritsar was a treaty made between two colonial forces which did not involve local representatives even though it redefined their territorial

boundaries. No ruler in the region was consulted before the area was annexed as part of Kashmir. The ambiguous demarcation of boundaries also demonstrated the lack of knowledge of the colonisers about the area. Thus, it may be inferred that through the Treaty of Amritsar, the colonising forces tried to redefine the identity of local areas in a manner marked by the conspicuous ‘absence of local stakeholders in the decision-making process and the lack of knowledge of foreign rulers about the region’ (Dad, 2016b).

Meanwhile, the broader political context, which was being influenced by what is known as the ‘Great Game’ in the 19th century (Hopkirk, 1990), significantly contributed to redefining GB’s political identity and territorial boundaries. The broader global political context ‘in the second half of 19th century until the end of First World War can be perceived as the climax period of imperial intervention, the division of the world and concomitant boundary-making’ (Kreutzmann, 2008, p. 202). It was in this global political context that ‘in high mountain border regions of Inner Asia, contesting superpowers of their time such as Great Britain and Russia have shaped border demarcation and delineation’ (Kreutzmann, 2015 p. 276).

These contesting powers fought a secret war in the passes and deserts of central/inner Asia, including the frontiers of the subcontinent through the representatives of their secret and military services. As part of their broader political objective, Russia and the British started to explore and charter the areas of GB. They embarked upon a mission mapping the area and connecting with the local rulers in the second half of the nineteenth century (Hopkirk, 1990). Thus, GB started to become ‘an important site of the great game’ (Sökefeld, 2014, p. 13) and ‘a prime example of politico-territorial boundary-making and socio-economic transformations in space and time’ (Kreutzmann, 2015, p. 276). The Russian and British representatives of secret and military services began to visit the areas and played a vital role in this secret war. The Russian officer Captain Gromchowsky and British Younghusband are noteworthy as having tried to explore these areas with the aim to make maps and build

relations with local rulers. The rival officials even met at different stages of their journey in the high mountains (Hopkirk, 1990).

This contestation for control between the two empires triggered fear among the British about a possible invasion of India by Russia through passes and mountains connecting the border areas, such as GB, with then Tsarist Russia. One after another, the British sent representatives to report on the mapping and information in relation to possible intrusion via these passes and mountainous regions. Reports and enquiries confirmed, on the one hand, the assumptions of the British ‘that the northern mountains were impassable for a large Russian army’ and, on the other hand, that there was ‘weakness of Kashmiri administration on the Northern Frontier’ (Kreutzmann, 2008, p. 203). Thus, the ‘making of a frontier’ (Durand, 1974) through ‘boundary making was part of a strategy [of the British] to consolidate spheres of influence across borders and significantly affected the areas which are now parts of Gilgit-Baltistan’ (Kreutzmann, 2015 p. 280).

Establishing British Rule

Within this broader political context of the Great Game, the British established the ‘Gilgit agency’, at first in 1877 and later in 1889, in Gilgit. They established Gilgit Agency because ‘their trust in [the] Maharaja’s [of Jammu and Kashmir] willingness and ability to ward off Russian advances in the Great Game was limited’ (Sökefeld, 2017 p. 3). As a result of their lack of trust in the capacity and willingness of the Maharaja to safeguard British interests in the frontiers, they immediately began to protect and pursue their interests through their direct representatives and appointed Colonel John Biddulph as the first political agent in Gilgit (Biddulph, 1880/1977).

He met with double opposition from the Maharaja and the rulers of neighbouring areas of Gilgit. The Maharaja considered the appointment of the political agent to be part of a British

surveillance strategy, and thus, the Maharaja's representative in Gilgit boycotted him.

Meanwhile, the neighbouring rulers of Hunza, Nagar and Yasin associated him with the Maharaja's rule, and therefore he was unable to win the confidence and trust of these rulers. However, this agent reported to the British government on poor governance based upon injustice and oppression (Biddulph, 1880/1977). The British closed the Agency in 1881 as part of a change in policy (Sökefeld, 2005).

Meanwhile, a British officer, Younghusnad, came to Hunza in 1877 and unexpectedly met with a Russian Captain Gromchowsky during his expedition; this Russian captain was on his way back to Russia after meeting with the ruler of Hunza. On his return, Younghusband shared his report with the British government, which made the British more attentive to any possible incursion by Russia through the passes and mountains of Pamir (Hopkirk, 1990). This may explain why the British re-established the Gilgit Agency in 1889 and sent Algernon Durand as their political agent.

On assuming his position, Algernon tried to dissociate himself more from the Maharaja's rule. On the one hand, he made himself militarily strong by adding 'Kashmiri Imperial Service' with the already stationed 'Gurkha' soldiers. He also tried to win the trust of the local people by employing strategies in opposition to the Maharaja's rule that seemed to be more public friendly. For example, the Kashmiri authorities kept many hostages and he sent them home, and whenever people offered him gold in support of their requests, he would accept it symbolically by simply touching his hand without actually taking it. Moreover, he creatively used cultural strategies to develop 'consensual domination' by arranging an annual cultural/social assembly called *Jalsa*, wherein rulers of surrounding principalities and their representatives would participate under the political agent's patronage. By joining in these activities, the rulers were tacitly accepting British superiority. All of these factors contributed

to building an image of British rule that was superior to that of Kashmiri rule (Sökefeld, 2005).

Despite all these strategies, the Hunza ruler, however, was still not ready to accept British domination and continued to try and connect with Russia. He defied the orders of the Indian government to allow access to the British. It was only at this point that the British made a decision to turn their ‘symbolic superiority’ into ‘real domination’, attacking Nagar and Hunza backed by military force (Sökefeld, 2005). The rulers of both principalities fled to China. In Hunza, the local political leaders adopted a diplomatic policy and welcomed the British on their arrival. The British took over Hunza in 1891 and appointed another ruler from the same original royal family. They gave him internal autonomy over internal affairs, thus causing minimal disruption to the prevailing political system (Knight, 1991).

By now, it was clear that there was ‘dual control’ in the area with overlapping and distinctive spheres of influence. ‘Gilgit became the locus of dual control: it housed both the Kashmiri administration of the Gilgit Wazarat’ and ‘the British administration of the Gilgit Agency’ (Sökefeld, 1997, p. 63). Kashmiri control was limited to Gilgit *Wazarat*, comprising Gilgit Tehsil, Bunji and Astore only, under the command of a Maharaj governor, *Wazir-e-Wazarat*. Meanwhile, the principalities adjoining Gilgit, which included Hunza, Nagar, Punyal and Yasin, were indirectly controlled by the British political agent whose decision-making took precedence over the Kashmir governor in almost all the affairs in Gilgit (Sökefeld, 1997). It was natural that by now the two colonial powers, the Kashmiris and British, were political rivals, competing with each other. The competition was not ‘only for the actual political control over the area and its people but also for the legitimacy of that control’ (Sökefeld, 2005, p. 944).

The British ‘relied on techniques of impression management’ (Goffman cited in Sökefeld, 2005, p. 49) and tried to present themselves as kind rulers rather than colonisers and ‘usurpers of power’. In addition, the British used another strategy to further assert their rule by creating a local paramilitary force, the Gilgit Scouts. People from Yasin, Gupis, Gilgit, Nagar and Hunza were recruited to this paramilitary force upon the recommendation of respective rulers. It was not merely a military force but had the aim of strengthening the bonds between the people and British rulers and gaining the loyalty of the local rulers. Thus, it is clear that the British discourse on legitimacy to rule was based more upon strategies of domination by power than by force. The British rulers presented themselves as strict but benevolent rulers (Sökefeld, 2005).

Moreover, British methods of rule remained successful in contrast with Kashmiri rule which was perceived as being more greedy and corrupt. The oral narratives and local anecdotal references also indicate that local people’s perceptions of Kashmiri rule saw them as oppressors (Ali, 1990). Both the British and Kashmiris were foreign rulers, but the British managed to develop a cultural and social bond with the people of the Gilgit Agency. They developed more cordial relations than the Kashmiris. The Kashmiri rulers prohibited the slaughtering of cows and the local people highly resented this rule. There were many other things, including high taxation on agricultural produce and forced labour, *begar*, which contributed to the negative impression of Kashmiri rule. Moreover, the British strove to construct a discourse of legitimacy for their rule by employing techniques of domination underpinned more by domination by power than domination by violence or by force and thereby, they tried ‘to blur a definite distinction to a certain extent and to prevent the emergence of consciousness of a clear contrast and opposition between British colonizers and local colonized’ (Sökefeld, 2005, p. 970).

The rivalry between the two colonial powers came to an end in 1935 when the British took the Gilgit Agency on lease from the Kashmiri rulers for sixty years. The British government decoupled GB after taking it on a lease (Hussain, 2020). The Maharaja of Kashmir was planning to join the 'Indian Federation' hoping that the areas under the Gilgit Agency would also become part of the Federation under Jammu & Kashmir. The British government rejected his position and maintained that the areas under the Gilgit Agency were under the suzerainty of Kashmir but not, as such, part of it. They took administrative measures to decouple the Gilgit Agency from Kashmir. One such measure is reflected in the census of 1941 where the population figures for the Gilgit Agency were not added to the population for Jammu and Kashmir and the people of GB were declared to be subjects of the 'Crown' but not state subjects as such (Sökefeld, 2017). This was at a time when global political dynamics were undergoing significant changes. World War II and the subsequent partition of India in 1947 opened a new chapter for GB and its people.

Post-partition Saga: The Complex Relationship of GB with Pakistan

The partition saga of 1947 brought about political changes in the broader context of India. As a natural corollary of the partition plan, the British had to retreat from India. In parts of India, the British had direct rule, though 563 princely states existed at partition. These states were ruled by their respective princes and were under the British government's suzerainty, and thus, the British had only indirect rule in these states. As part of the partition plan, the Indian independence act was promulgated by the British government and these states were given a choice about whether to join Pakistan or India or otherwise remain independent (Bangash, 2015).

Maha Raja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir 'deliberately postponed any decision about accession to either side' (Kreutzmann, 2008, p. 205) because he wanted to remain

independent. So, he made a standstill agreement and sent it to Pakistan and India for their signatures. Pakistan signed it but Jawaharlal Nehru and Lord Mountbatten, on the Indian side, deferred signing and opted for internal discussion on the issue.

In October 1947, the tribal militia from Pakistan invaded Kashmir and forced Hari Singh's army to evacuate Muzafarabad Kashmir. According to the census of 1941, 77.1% of the population was Muslim compared to 20.1% who were Hindu in Jammu and Kashmir (Kreutzmann, 2008). They were ruled by a Hindu ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh. Since Indian partition was primarily based upon religious communalism, it was natural that the local Muslim people supported tribal militia in their fight against the Maharaja's army. Hari Singh asked for support from India. The Indians offered their conditional support and asked Hari Singh to get accession with India. He agreed on an instrument of accession but included terms intended to maintain a certain level of autonomy within the state. The then governor-general of India, Lord Mountbatten, conditionally accepted the instrument of accession but on condition that once the uprising settled, the fate of Kashmir would be decided through plebiscite and thereby, the accession of J&K with India was declared on October 27, 1947 (Hussain, 2019).

The Gilgit Independence War/Movement (*Jang-e-Azadi-e-Gilgit*)

In the post-partition saga, parallel developments were taking place in Gilgit. Just two weeks before the partition, the British returned the Gilgit Agency to the Kashmiri Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, who sent his representative Brigadier Ghansara Singh to charge the Agency administration. He assumed charge of the governorship. The Gilgit Scouts, which the British had developed not only to fulfil its military objectives but to strengthen its bond with the community, was under the command of two English officers, Major Brown and Captain Matthew. The Gilgit Scouts was a paramilitary force of local soldiers and junior

commissioned officers. However, they did not like the Kashmiri rule and thus staged a revolt on November 1, 1947. The governor was arrested, and this local paramilitary force effectively put an end to the Maharaja's rule. It is generally called the *Jang-e-Azadi Gilgit*, the Gilgit Independence Movement/War. Gilgit's independence from Dogra rule was declared, and the Islamic Republic of Gilgit was established on November 1, 1947. This day is remembered as *Yome Aazadi-e- Gilgit*, Gilgit Independence Day, in popular narrative. Meanwhile, the Gilgit Scouts sent an instrument of accession to the governor-general of Pakistan, Qaid Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The newly established republic of Gilgit only survived for 16 days as the government of Pakistan sent a political agent, a junior bureaucrat, to take charge of Gilgit Agency on November 16, 1947. Thus, the Gilgit Agency, which had been established during the colonial rule continued to operate until 1974 with the continuation of colonial modes of domination and governance (Dad, 2016a).

Nevertheless, another narrative about the watershed development of November 1, 1947 maintains that the Gilgit revolt was fundamentally a coup d'état against the rule of the Maharaja. This version of events asserts that the plan was hatched by William Brown, who was head of Gilgit Scouts. He orchestrated the plan because he wanted Gilgit and Baltistan to be annexed with Pakistan. He wrote a book, *Gilgit Rebellion*, detailing the series of events connected to the revolt. From a holistic perspective, it becomes understandable that he wanted to annex Gilgit and subsequently Baltistan with Pakistan (Wolf, 2016). The British government had already taken a firm stance on decoupling Gilgit from Kashmir, and the British patronage of revolt seems to be an extension of the British strategy of decoupling Gilgit from Kashmir (Kreutzmann, 2008). A plausible explanation of British policy in attempting to couple Gilgit with Pakistan was that the leadership of the Indian congress was more inclined towards Russia. Although the Great Game ended long before India's partition, its influences were still apparent. It seems, therefore, plausible that the revolt of November 1,

1947, was implicitly supported by the British government so that any possible influence of Russia could be curtailed by annexing GB with Pakistan.

This revolt against the rule of the Maharaja extended to Baltistan, and the troops of the Gilgit Scouts forced Dogra rulers to quit Baltistan. Subsequently, the entire Gilgit-Baltistan region was annexed to Pakistan by 1948. However, subsequently and intriguingly, Pakistan did not formally accept its accession but kept it under its control by sending a junior bureaucrat to administer regional matters. This was at a time when India and Pakistan were at war in Kashmir. The Indian leadership approached the UN to request intervention. The UN Security Council passed a resolution asking for a ceasefire and declaring the state of Jammu and Kashmir to be disputed; it called for a fair plebiscite to be conducted under UN supervision so that the people could be allowed to decide whether they wished to be the part of Pakistan or India or to remain independent (Hussain, 2020). Pakistan wedded GB with the Kashmir issue 'in an anticipation to gain more votes in a possible UN plebiscite to resolve the Kashmir dispute' (Ahmad, 2015 p.102). However, no such plebiscite has taken place in more than 70 years because the Resolution passed by the UN is contained in Chapter VI of the UN resolutions, an issue which means it cannot enforce it. This means that Pakistan and India have been left to act upon this Resolution voluntarily. Unfortunately, GB, having gained liberation from Kashmiri rule, has been forcefully made a hostage to the Kashmir dispute due to historical twists and turns.

In general, the people of GB were in favour of Pakistan. People wished to be a part of Pakistan because the people of GB were Muslims. In this context, early on, Pakistan's control of GB was underpinned by a 'high degree of legitimacy and consensus, but this credit was rapidly spent and rarely renewed' (Sökefeld, 2005, p. 963). State-sponsored historian Dani (1989) has later attempted to Islamise the desire for accession with Pakistan. Dani maintains that:

It is the spirit of *Jehad* [religious war against infidels] that inspired the people of Gilgit and Baltistan, and they enrolled themselves voluntarily to fight along with their men of Gilgit Scouts. The blood of the martyrs who died in the battlefield, the material and the moral support that the entire people of this Zone gave for the fight for freedom and their voluntarily offer to integrate their land with Pakistan prove the will of people to cut themselves away from the Maharaja and throw away his decision to join with India. (p. 401)

Ahmad Hassan Dani, a Pakistani historian, wrote on the 'History of Northern Areas of Pakistan' upon the request of Zia-ul-Haq, who had a pronounced agenda of Islamisation in Pakistan. Having been supported by Zia's regime, Dani tried to paint the freedom struggle of Gilgit and Baltistan in Islamic colours, and therefore he did not hesitate to declare the Independence Movement of Gilgit as *Jehad*.

In contrast to the official version, the local political discourses, whether they are nationalist or otherwise, seek to make sense of the historical events related to *Jang-e-Azadi*, the Independence Movement/War of Independence from different positions; however, what seems common to all is that the events of independence are not seen merely 'as the expression of the desire to join Pakistan [but] they are also taken as symbols of the ability of the people to revolt against foreign rulers in general and, still more generally, as a token of their potential independence' (Sökefeld, 1997, p. 63). Thus, these contesting discourses on *Jang-e-Azadi* and subsequent attempts at accession are born out of the womb of the historical experiences of Pakistani rule in the area.

Post-colonial Colonialism

After receiving the instrument of accession in 1947, the Pakistani authorities ruled the area by employing the same old colonial methods of domination and subjugation. GB was a province

of the princely state of G&K during the period of Dogra rule and thus used be represented in the state assembly. People had the right to appeal to the High Court. However, once in control, instead of adopting an inclusive political policy, Pakistan administered these areas through a political agent and, as mentioned above, the Gilgit Agency continued to function till 1974. Pakistan extended its Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) to GB, which were implemented in the tribal areas of Pakistan. These regulations concentrated all the judicial and administrative powers for the region in question in a political agent and deprived people of their fundamental right to appeal in any court of law against any order imposed by the political agent. With FCR, peoples' liberties are abolished. (Ahmad, 2015). Opposition to the FCR started to surface, but these objecting voices were silenced in the name of Islamic unity. The Gilgit League, a political party that was formed in 1957, is a case in point. It was formed in 1957 against FCR but was banned by the Ayub government (Sökefeld, 2005; Ahmad, 2015). Pakistani administration continued to rule in the colonial style. They maintained the office of the political agent and political and judicial reforms were not introduced.

From the outset, the system of governance in Pakistan was characterised by centralisation. In the case of GB, the centralised system of governance was coupled with administrative control and political marginalisation and subjugation. The level of education in Gilgit-Baltistan was extremely low at the beginning of the annexation of Gilgit and Baltistan with Pakistan and, therefore, a very well-thought-out political movement with the support of the masses which may have been able to challenge the practical hegemony could not establish itself. The people who played a decisive role in the independence movement had a military background but not any political grounding as such in order to develop a workable political road map for GB. However, there existed dissatisfaction with the Pakistani method of governance, which continues to this day; it can be observed that 'local people and leaders of freedom movement see existing structure as a continuation of colonial rule' (Dad, 2016a, p. 7).

Rise of the Indigenous Political Movements and Failed Reforms

It is, however, important to take stock of the historical developments and recognise that the struggle for political rights started mainly in the 1960s and onward. During the 1960s, young people started migrating to cities in Pakistan for education, albeit in smaller numbers. Here they had exposure to different political ideologies and organisations. After returning to their respective areas, these young educated people started to take on political roles in their respective areas. In Nagar and Hunza, they began to question the despotic rule were living under. On the other hand, from a broader perspective, the subjugating nature of Pakistani rule was also questioned. The practice and the ‘general neglect of GB’ on the side of Pakistan provided the pretext for a rise in nationalist voices. Pakistan did not give ‘liberties’ and the ‘right to self-rule’, and thus the emergence of periodic nationalist voices was an understandable phenomenon (Ahmad, 2015).

In 1970 when a headmistress and some other teachers were dismissed from service, a protest broke out in Gilgit. The leaders of the protest were arrested. In order to release them, people stormed the police stations. The non-local officers ordered the Gilgit Scouts to open fire straight protestors, but the local troops refused. This incident is often called the *Inqillab-e Gilgit*, the Gilgit Revolution by local people. Soon after this protest, the movement leaders established *Tamzim-e-Millat*, Organization of Nation, which was a nationalist party that consisting of the people from the Shia, Sunni and Ismaili sects. Thus, it was a representative body of all religious sects. It demanded the abolition of FCR and ‘sought equal political status for the region in the political system of Pakistan. Its emergence on the scene of Gilgit-Baltistan represented a turning point as the local society mobilized against what was perceived as a form of discrimination’ (Dad, 2016a, p. 8). Many of the leading political leaders of this movement were incarcerated in order to crush the movement. Another important political organisation that arose was *Gilgit-Baltistan Jamhuri Mahaz*, the

Democratic Front of Gilgit-Baltistan. *Jamhuri Mahaz* took a different position and demanded accession of Gilgit-Baltistan with Kashmir.

Contrary to *Tanzim-e-Millat*, the *Jamhuri Mahaz* was rooted more in the Sunni areas (Sökefeld, 2017). Their demand for the accession of GB with Kashmir was driven by the fact that they wanted to turn the Sunni minority into a majority through annexing GB with with Kashmir. Although *Tanzim-e-Millat* had support from all the sectarian groups, it drew maximum support from the Shia community. Thus, we can see those religious anxieties were expressed in two different forms with two different objectives. The nationalist aspirations were being filtered and articulated through religious and sectarian lenses.

When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed power in the 1970s, he took a keen interest in the region. He pardoned the incarcerated leaders and started to introduce reforms. He abolished FCR and dissolved princely states. Moreover, he abolished *beggar*. He introduced a quota for the students of Gilgit-Baltistan. Bhutto managed to achieve popularity with the majority of educated people in GB. However, on the political front, he did not introduce any substantial reforms. A body named the ‘Northern Areas Advisory Council’ was created. For the first time, elections were conducted to elect the 16 members of the Advisory Council in 1970. The Council had the power to identify and sanction development-related projects and a limited budget, but it did not have the right to legislate. Popularly, people wanted the region should be made part of Pakistan constitutionally and for it to become province. Bhutto’s regime, however, neither addressed this demand nor tried to lay the foundations for genuine political reform, which could otherwise have provided an enabling environment for meaningful political engagement with the people (Sökefeld, 2005; Ahmad, 2015).

Although Bhutto abolished the political agent’s office, he replaced it with more robust bureaucratic control and made both Gilgit and Baltistan two separate districts. At the same

time, he introduced political reforms in Kashmir by establishing different political institutions and offices in the Kashmir region. They were given a legislative assembly, along with courts that included their Supreme Court and High Court. He established offices of the president and the prime minister. Likewise, the public service commission was also established in Kashmir, the primary job of which is to recruit bureaucrats to run the region's affairs (Ahmad, 2015).

Although Bhutto initiated some reforms, he primarily consolidated and strengthened the bureaucratic rule in Northern Areas. It is crystal clear that despite maintaining that GB is a disputed region and part of the Kashmir dispute, the government of Pakistan treated Kashmir and GB in two different ways. GB has been pushed into a position where it is somewhat like a province but without being fully recognised and treated as a province

With Zia-ul-Haq's (r.1977-1988) ascent to power, no further progress was made in terms of political reforms in Northern Areas as he imposed martial law. The reforms introduced by Bhutto were not further extended and improved. Instead, he 'labelled GB [then Northern Areas] as "Martial Law Zone E", after the four Pakistani provinces (Zones A-D), while AJK was not declared a Martial Law Zone'(Sökefeld, 2017, p. 10). This also demonstrates that, over time, the government of Pakistan has consistently tried to push GB towards semi-provincial status. However, at the same time, full provincial status was not granted. Zia-ul-Haq's regime brought about changes in the administrative structures of Northern Areas by reorganising them into three districts. As a result, the administrative control was further strengthened. Zia's era was characterised by political suffocation at the national level. However, the struggle of political parties for democracy continued. Parallel to political development at the national level, in GB, 'a movement for the Determination of the Constitutional Position of Northern Areas started to demand for constitutional integration of Northern Areas into Pakistan and electoral rights for the population' (Kreutzmann, 2008, pp. 209-210). The demand, however, has never been addressed up to now.

After the demise of Zia-ul-Haq, democracy was restored in Pakistan, and the phases of democratic rule continued from 1988 to 1999. Benazir Bhutto established the Northern Areas Council in 1988 and turned the Northern Areas Council into the Northern Areas Legislative Council in 1994 by introducing the Legal Framework Order (LFO). The structure of this council was such that it introduced new positions, namely for a chief executive and deputy chief executive of Northern Areas. Although the Council used to be an elected body, only the house leader could become the deputy chief executive of Northern Areas. The minister of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas used to be the chief executive of the Council by designation, and he was not an elected representative of the people. Thus, this set-up maintained power within Islamabad, and that power was not transferred to the people as such. In 1999, the elected government of Nawaz Sharif was toppled by General Pervez Musharraf in Pakistan. In 2007, Pervez Musharraf created the Northern Area Legislative Assembly. It was structured so that the leader of the house could now become the chief executive. The Kashmir Affairs and the Northern Areas minister is now made chairman of the legislative assembly. One of the significant features of Musharraf's initiative was that he gave the legislative assembly the right to amend the Legal Framework Order (Holden, 2019).

The Current State of Governance and the Shifting Political Context

In 2009, Pakistan's People Party introduced the 'Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self-Governance Order 2009'. This Order changed the name of the Northern Areas to Gilgit-Baltistan, attempting to give an identity to the region through a proper name. Accordingly, the legislative assembly became Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Assembly. Through this Order, the offices of the chief minister and governor were created. The leader of the legislative house was to be the chief minister and thus have the power to form a cabinet. The overall structure of the assembly was based upon the structure of other provinces except that the legislative assembly has limited areas of legislation and thus limited financial and

administrative power. A parallel body known as the GB Council was also created, consisting of 15 members with eight federal government representatives and seven elected representatives. The Council had greater scope for legislation as compared to the legislative assembly. It was headed by the prime minister and thus, was much more powerful than the elected legislative assembly. ‘The Order reifies[ed] the liminality of Gilgit-Baltistan by defining the region as “province” without giving it actual jurisdiction over subject matters provided under the legislative list for provinces’ (Hong, 2012, p. 9).

Despite being a key step towards empowerment and self-rule, however, the Order did not delegate powers to the assembly to ensure self-rule as the key areas of legislation were kept under the ambit of the Council. Moreover, it removed the right of the legislative assembly to amend the Legal Framework Order (LFO). And additionally, the Order was ‘only an executive order, promulgated by the President pursuant to his constitutional power, not an act of parliament; it thus lack[ed] [as] such parliamentary consent and oversight’ (Howe & Hunzai, 2019, pp. 17-18). As a consequence, it is not a part of the constitution of Pakistan, and thereby GB is not a constitutional part of Pakistan.

In 2019, a new Order, known as the ‘Gilgit-Baltistan Order-2018’, replaced the previous Order of 2009. According to this order, Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Assembly has been renamed the Gilgit-Baltistan Assembly. It has dissolved the Gilgit-Baltistan Council, and the Council’s powers have been transferred to the assembly to extend its scope in terms of legislation. However, this order has given the Prime Minister of Pakistan direct control over important regional matters related to minerals, oil, strategic roads, railways, and others (Howe and Hunzai, 2019). The Prime Minister has been empowered through this order as a final authority on legislation and policies of government though this is not the case for other provinces. He wields the power of a viceroy in Gilgit-Baltistan far in excess of the power he has over the rest of the provinces. In this sense, Order 2018 is not significantly different from

the previous 2009 order as it does not address the core issue related to the constitutional status of Gilgit-Baltistan. Above all, the order does not address the core questions of the constitutional status of the region and representation in national forums but tries to incorporate GB economically and politically without giving it provincial status. With this policy of ‘calculated ambiguity’ (Ali, 2019), GB is currently being administered under Order 2018.

Pakistan further sanctions the calculated ambiguity or the uncertain political status of GB in the verdicts of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. One such example is the ruling of the Supreme Court of Pakistan in a case between *Al-Jihad Trust vs Federation of Pakistan* made in 1994. After around five years, in 1999, the court ruled that:

People of Northern Areas [Gilgit-Baltistan] are citizens of Pakistan for all intent and purposes and, like other citizens of Pakistan, have the right to invoke any of the fundamental rights and liable to pay taxes and other levies competently imposed. Said people are also entitled to participate in the governance of the area and to have an independent judiciary to enforce, inter alia, the fundamental rights (cited in Holden, 2019, p. 4).

The court also highlighted the importance of the strategic location of GB, but regarding the representation of Northern Areas (GB) in the parliament, it maintained the following:

Court cannot direct that the people of Northern Areas [Gilgit-Baltistan] should be given representation in the Parliament as, at this stage, it may not be in the larger interest of the country because of the fact that a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations is to held (cited in Holden, 2019, p. 4).

Another example of sanctioning the policy of calculated ambiguity is the rulings of the Supreme Court of Pakistan in the case *Civil Aviation Authority v. Supreme Appellate Court*

Gilgit-Baltistan. The court passed judgement on 17 January 2019 and categorically maintained that its ruling should not impact the status and the nature of the Kashmir issue. It further validated the key points of the Al-Jihad Trust as mentioned above. The verdict maintained in paragraph 13 that:

Pakistan has responsibilities in relation to two regions, AJK and Gilgit Baltistan. In 1948 UNCIP recognized the establishment of local authorities (as distinct from the government of Pakistan) for the territories. We are, of course, concerned with Gilgit Baltistan alone. The region has not been incorporated in Pakistan as it is considered to be part of the disputed state of Jammu & Kashmir. However, it has always remained completely under Pakistan's administrative control.

Thus, it is clear that the legal positing of Pakistan on Gilgit-Baltistan is based upon the resolutions of the United Nations, as the Supreme Court of Pakistan has referred to the organisation in two historic decisions about the fate of Gilgit-Baltistan. Thus, the UN resolutions have offered a context in which Pakistan is able to keep GB hostage over the Kashmir issue. As a global organisation, the UN plays a key role in maintaining this environment through its resolutions passed about Kashmir and GB which have forced Pakistan to maintain a calculated ambiguity towards GB, which then has implications for its people. This is an instance of how global polity and culture shape and influence individuals through a trickle-down effect through nation-states and its organisation to the extent that the citizenship rights of some individuals are challenged under the pretext of protecting the same rights of some others. This is clearly the case in GB and Kashmir.

The Political Ambiguity of GB and the Changing Political Context

The calculated ambiguity surrounding the status of GB is sanctioned by the court verdicts and governance Order 2009 and Order 2018. They provide a context in which residents of GB are

prevented from participating as full citizens in political and economic affairs and concomitant decision-making processes. Since they do not have representation in the national forums, the residents are barred from taking part in decision-making processes related to development activities (Howe and Hunzai, 2019). The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a case in point in this regard.

CPEC is part of the Chinese ‘One Belt One Road’ (OBOR) initiative, consisting of the Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. OBOR is a trillion-dollar investment aiming to strength Beijing’s economic leadership with an inclusive and open policy to build regional connectivity and promote trade by linking Asia, Africa, and Europe. It is considered to be part of China’s endeavour towards ‘inclusive globalization’, which ‘embodies a framework for globalization that is different from neo-liberal globalization’ (Liu & Dunford, 2016, p. 336) which has facilitated the expansion of private property in an unregulated universal market but failed to contribute to poverty alleviation and decrease social equality. As an alternative to neoliberal globalisation, OBOR is presented by China as inclusive because it ‘involves the identification of shared interests and joint efforts to secure outcomes which may be mutually beneficial’ (Liu & Dunford, 2016, p. 336). Thus, according to this perspective, OBOR is seen as an endeavour to bring about inclusive economic development. However, an alternative perspective frames the OBOR initiative as part of China’s economic expansionism. However, the capacities of different polities will dictate how they harness the opportunities offered by this mega economic initiative.

China and Pakistan remained connected for centuries, even before they became modern polities. They had deep connections with shared boundaries and the Old Silk Road playing a vital role in boosting cultural and trade relations. Thus CPEC can be viewed as an extension of the historical legacy between the two countries. On the one hand, it represents long-lasting cooperation between China and Pakistan and, on the other hand, embodies the shared

aspirations to build a prosperous future (Rizvi, 2014). The construction of the 1150km Karakorum Highway (KKH) has been a precursor to CPEC. KKH played a pivotal role in boosting trade relations between two countries. It was ‘driven by a geostrategic and political agenda whereas CPEC is a manifestation of the shift in China’s policy from geo-economics to economic geology’ (Dad, 2018). CPEC is primarily a land-based connection between China and Pakistan. It connects the western part of China with the Arabian Sea, and will allow China shorter access to the Middle East and beyond for the transportation of Chinese goods and oil from the Middle East. It includes projects related to infrastructural development, energy, and communication; it’s a multibillion-dollar project and has been hailed as a ‘game changer’ or even ‘fate changer’ for Pakistan.

The decisions about CPEC are made at national forums such as the National Assembly, Senate and Council of Common Interests of Pakistan. Ironically, GB has no representation in these forums. Moreover, different institutions and committees have been formed at the national level to deal with matters related to CPEC, but GB is kept away from these committees because of its politically unsettled status. Thus, in practice, it is excluded from all decision-making processes related to this mega-development. CPCE has brought massive investment to Pakistan, and Special Economic Zones are planned for development. It is ironic that apart from excluding GB from the decision-making process, it is also ‘treated differentially’ in investment distribution. Not a single project or Special Economic Zone is planned for GB from the CPEC package. GB’s exclusion further exacerbates its feelings of marginalisation (Howe & Hunzai, 2019, pp.17-18). Only two projects are indirectly related to parts of GB, including the fibre optics going through the area and the CPEC route of more than 600 km going through GB. GB is the gateway to CPEC but is due to benefit least from the project.

Exposing a politically disputed territory, which is already suffering from marginalisation, to a mega-project such as CPCE makes it more vulnerable. It may cause further suffering if GB is not adequately included in the project, but in order for things to change, GB's political status needs to be settled. There are always fewer investment chances in an area with an ambiguous political status. Thus, keeping GB in limbo will adversely affect its destiny. On the other hand, keeping GB in limbo resolving these issues may also not favour Pakistan and China because GB is the gateway to CPEC. Because of its strategic location, Western powers have already made inroads into the area through social development initiatives. CPEC is primarily 'an economic endeavour' not supported by 'social development' (Dad, 2015). Excluding GB from the project on the pretext of its ambiguous political status runs counter to the inclusive development policy envisaged for the OBOR by the Chinese leadership.

The shifting power dynamics in global politics also have implications for CPEC. The Western powers, especially the US and the regional competitor India, have, at times, expressed their concerns about the international legal foundations of CPEC passing through a disputed territory. China is increasingly becoming a competitor to the US on the global political stage. The cold war between China and the US has already begun though it is not a cold war of two distinct ideologies like that of Russia and the US; it is technological and economic (Moini, 2021). The US has expressed concerns about CPEC, considering it to be part of China's economic expansionist plan. The unsettled political status of Gilgit-Baltistan could be a pretext for creating hindrances in terms of developing the CPEC route through this region.

In this context of CPEC, the incumbent government of Pakistan is considering making GB a 'provisional province'. Whilst this may ensure that a balance is maintained between Pakistan's long-term position on the Kashmir dispute and the on the other hand may take leverage from the emerging politico-economic scenario which is developing as part of CPEC.

Pakistan's desire is seen as an attempt to provide legal coverage to CPEC-related investment but not as an attempt to address the long-standing demands of the people of Gilgit-Baltistan (Sökefeld, 2016). Thus, it can be concluded that, on the one hand, GB gets differential treatment in mega-development projects because of its uncertain political status. However, on the other hand, in order to give legal coverage to heavy foreign investment in the form of CPEC, there seems to be a possibility of rearticulating its political status.

Moreover, because of the uncertain political status, the internal situation in GB has become vulnerable due to the absence of citizenship – a natural corollary of keeping GB in political limbo. Continuous political marginalisation and unsettled political status underpinned by development challenges have led many to take refuge in nationalist narratives. Different nationalist voices have different agendas ranging from autonomy to independence but without enough mass support. The Karakorum National Movement (KNA) and Baloristan National Front (BNF) have a narrative revolving around nationalism in Gilgit-Baltistan (Ahmad, 2015; Sökefeld, 2017). More recently, left-orientated political figures and movements inspired by left-wing politics have greatly influenced young people to create awareness and challenge the status quo in Gilgit-Baltistan. One such example is Baba Jan, who was incarcerated for ten years for speaking out for those affected by a natural disaster at Ata Abad Hunza. The flawed system of governance, unemployment, poverty, lack of basic facilities, power crisis, land grabbing in the name of conservation, and increasing social and economic disparities make the left-wing and nationalist narratives attractive to the young generation (Ahmad, 2015; Ali, 2019).

Moreover, the interrelationship between the state and the individual has fallen prey to confusion because of the ambiguous political status. The interrelationship between state and individual is defined by citizenship. In the case of GB, the social contract and mechanism for supporting this relationship is missing because of the absence of a legal, social contract

between the individual and the state. As a result, group identities are being consolidated. Sub-group ethnic and religious identities are becoming stronger even beyond the region's boundaries, thereby making society more polarised (Dad, 2016a).

Thus, apart from the exogenous politico-economic forces, the internal dynamics in the region are also alarming. They may generate ambivalent attitudes towards the state, resulting in 'failed citizenship' (Banks, 2017). In order to transform failed citizenship, it is necessary not to keep GB in limbo and to give the people space in the political arrangements of Pakistan in a way that may ensure their right to self-rule.

Conclusion

Broad political dynamics in historical and contemporary contexts have played a vital role in pushing GB into a state of political ambiguity. Contrary to GB's wishes, it has been unwillingly wedded to Kashmir, an area which has now become an internationally acknowledged disputed region. However, it is important to note that it is part of the Kashmir dispute though it is not part of Kashmir. For more than 70 years, Pakistan has dealt with GB as a peripheral region. It has controlled the region through colonial modes of governance by excluding the people of GB from decision-making processes and depriving them of representation in national forums such as the National Parliament. The continuous denial of inclusion and concomitant political marginalisation has provided a context for the development of reactionary political ideologies. Moreover, depriving people of opportunities to participate in political processes has led to the consolidation of group identities on religious and ethnic lines, which cumulatively contribute to developing a more polarised society. However, the recent China Pakistan Economic Corridor project seems to provide yet another context, out of its own need for legal coverage for the investment, which is forcing

Pakistan to seriously consider an end to political ambiguity in this region albeit without compromising on the Kashmir issue.



CHAPTER THREE

SHIFTING DISCOURSES OF CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

This chapter discusses citizenship and citizenship education in Pakistan. It reviews and analyses the available scholarship to develop an overall understanding of citizenship education discourse in Pakistan. In order to reach an understanding, it is important to comprehend how citizenship is conceptualised in Pakistan; therefore, the first section of this chapter discusses the features of citizenship discourse which have evolved in Pakistan. The second section discusses citizenship education discourse and depicts how it reflects the shifting notions of citizenship promoted by changing regimes in Pakistan. A brief conclusion follows this section.

Citizenship Discourse in Pakistan

Pakistan came into being as an independent state on August 14, 1947. It is one of the very few countries that came into existence based on religious nationalism and ideological aspirations (Haqqani, 2018). The history of religious nationalism in Pakistan can be traced back to the colonial period when Indian Muslims faced various levels of discrimination by the British government and the Hindu majority. In this context, ‘nationalism in the sub-continent of India and Pakistan remained subservient to loyalty to the Muslim community’, and religion became a ‘consolidating force’ that provided a ‘group consciousness’ to Muslims (Sayeed, 1990, p. 89). The rationale for creating Pakistan was underpinned by the ‘two-nation theory’, which argued that the Hindus and Muslims of India essentially constituted two different nations, each having a different civilisational character. In this way, Islam was deployed as a key identity maker for Muslim nationalism and the *raison d’être* for the creation of Pakistan. Thus, the Muslim political

leadership justified Pakistan's creation to protect and promote the cultural identity of Muslims and avoid discrimination by the Hindu majority (Sayeed, 1990).

However, it is important to note that the political leadership of the 'Pakistan movement' consisted of educated, secular people who used Islam as an 'abstract idea' (Devji, 2013), a unifying force to unite Muslims. They understood Islam as a civilization, promoting free-thinking and religious pluralism rather than merely a religious or political ideology (Ahmed, 2011).

Muhammad Ali Jinnah is considered to be the founding father of Pakistan. He and his political associates wanted Pakistan to be a progressive country where people of different faiths, including religious minorities, could practice their faiths and be treated as equal citizens. Addressing Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947, Jinnah said:

You are free; you are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in the State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste, or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State ...

We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state. Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in the course of time, Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not so in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State (cited in Malik, 2002, p. 6).

Such was the overall road map provided by Pakistan's founding leader regarding the civic equality of its citizens. However, after Jinnah's death, in 1948, there was an ongoing debate between those who wanted Pakistan to continue as a progressive state and those who wanted a theocratic state. By the 1980s, the conservative religious impulse prevailed over Pakistan's secular and progressive aspirations. In contrast with Jinnah's vision, 'the Pakistani state rather

than guaranteeing equal rights and equal opportunities to its Muslims and non-Muslim citizens, began to encourage obscurantist forces' (Malik, 2002, p. 8), and 'religious identity was integrated into state ideology' and 'state institutions' became 'the guardians of Islam and its interests' (Nasr, 2001, p. vii). These developments emboldened conservative religious tendencies and opened the door for the Islamisation of both state and society in Pakistan.

While the Muslim League had used 'religious nationalism' as a rationale for Pakistan's creation, state institutions colluded with religious parties to justify the Islamisation of all spheres of human interaction, from daily life to politics (Nasr, 2001). This shifted the teleology of the state from the elimination of injustice and inequality to the imposition of an essentialist, conservative Sunni account of Islam that not only ignored the internal diversity of Muslims but opened the way for the persecution of non-Sunni Muslims.

Towards the Islamisation of Pakistan

After Jinnah's demise, Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan introduced the 'Objectives Resolution' in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which outlined new goals for the state and the basis for its future constitution. The 'Resolution' stated that 'sovereignty over the entire universe belonged to God Almighty, while the elected representatives of the people had been delegated powers to exercise their will within limits imposed by Him' (cited in Ahmed, 2011, p. 85). The Resolution provided a legislative basis for the state's shift from a 'Pakistani nationalism' to a kind of 'religious/Islamic nationalism', which was eventually incorporated into the constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973, and which is still current today (Haqqani, 2013).

Most of Pakistan's early political leaders studied at the modern, progressive Aligarh Muslim University and understood Islam as a civilisation promoting free-thinking and religious pluralism rather than merely a religious or political ideology (Ahmed, 2011). The Resolution,

however, was a turning point in Pakistan's history because it defined the State in Islamic terms and opened 'the door for further legislation based on the interpretation of Islam by a parliamentary majority' (Ispahani, 2018, p. 224).

This status emboldened religious parties such as Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) to push plans to transform Pakistan into a conservative Islamic state, and they went about this by demanding that the Ahmadiyya community be declared non-Muslim and that the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Sir Zafarullah Khan, who was an Ahmadiyya (Ahmadi) be removed. Debates about the Ahmadi controversy started at the beginning of the 20th century when the Muslim cleric, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad from Qadian in Punjab, declared himself a new prophet of Islam and the 'Jesus Christ re-sent to reform the world' (Rais, 2007, p. 117). His growing number of followers and their claims that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was the Messiah/Mehdi or Mehdi-i-Mauood or the promised prophet greatly angered religious scholars and leaders (Malik, 2002, p. 10).

It was against this political background that violence broke out in 1953 in Punjab, particularly in Lahore. As a result, many Ahmadis were killed, and their properties looted. Order was restored by the imposition of martial law in Lahore. However, the violence had long-term effects (Ahmed, 2011), which were reflected in the decision to rename the country the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan'; the violence led also to the provisions of the 1956 constitution, which made it mandatory for the head of state to be a Muslim, thereby effectively defining non-Muslim minorities as second-class citizens.

In 1958, General Ayub Khan imposed martial law, and in 1962, he introduced the second constitution. He initially removed the epithet 'Islamic' from the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' to signal his secularist views but soon reintroduced it in response to 'the tide of intolerance that had engulfed the country since partition' (Ispahani, 2018 p. 226). The

‘martial law rule’ continued in Pakistan from 1958 to 1971. The separation of East Pakistan in 1971, which brought Bangladesh into existence as an independent state, was a significant setback for Pakistan. ‘The Pakistani state used the symbol of Islam to reinforce the two-nation theory’ (Rahman, 2012, p. 309), but the separation of East Pakistan represented a collapse of its foundational premise. While the Bengalis were Muslims, ‘they were Bengalis first and, therefore, wanted a land for Bengalis’ (Zaidi, 1988, p. 447), demonstrating the domination of territorial and linguistic affiliations over religious identification. However, the Pakistani state, instead of rethinking the state ideology, continued to emphasise Islam as a solution for curbing ethnic polarisation and as a binding force for national cohesion.

Democracy and the Constitutional Discrimination of Minorities

Despite the collapse of the two-nation theory in 1971, Islam still dominated Pakistan’s political imagination. The democratically elected regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto promulgated the 1973 constitution with the unanimous agreement of all the political parties. However, it maintained the Islamic provisions of earlier constitutions. It went further by declaring Islam the ‘State Religion of Pakistan’ and reiterating that all laws must comply with ‘the Injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah’ and that ‘no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such Injunctions’ (Ispahani, 2018, p. 226).

Bhutto wanted to muster the political support of the masses by appealing to their religious sentiments. In a bid to do so, while also exposing his insecurity on account of his secularism, Bhutto established the Ministry for Religious and Minority Affairs to develop programmes that would strengthen his political base, such as providing government subsidies for pilgrimage to Mecca. However, in the early 1970s, demands to declare the Ahmadiyya community non-Muslim resurfaced and street protests by religious mobs erupted across the country. As a result, prominent Ahmadi families, their homes and their businesses were

attacked; people suspected of being Ahmadiyya were harassed and beaten, and several thousand were killed (Rais, 2007, p. 118).

In September 1974, to quell the protests, Bhutto's elected secular government found itself forced to amend the constitution by declaring the Ahmadiyya sect non-Muslim (Haqqani, 2013, p. 11). As a result, Clause 3 of Article 106 of the Constitution, which mentions minority communities, was amended to include 'persons of the Qadiani group or the Lahori group (who call themselves "Ahmadis")' (cited in Ispahani, 2018) and a new clause was added to Article 260 to try to define who was and was not Muslim:

A person who does not believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of The Prophethood of Muhammad (Peace be upon him), the last of the Prophets, or claims to be a Prophet, in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever, after Muhammad (Peace be upon him), or recognises such a claimant as a Prophet or religious reformer, is not a Muslim for the purposes of the constitution or law.

(Clause (3) Article 260, The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan)

This development consolidated the state's authority to judge the faith of its citizens contrary to citizens' understanding of themselves. The Ahmadiyya (Ahmadis) community considered themselves Muslims but suddenly became a non-Muslim minority in the Islamic State of Pakistan, and their claims to the Islamic faith became an offence under the law. These developments were clear signs that Pakistan was losing its equilibrium to the religious right, contrary to the concept of a progressive, secular state laid out by its founders (Rahman, 2012).

Three years after the exclusion of the Ahmadiyya community, more protests against the Bhutto regime erupted. In order to try and appease the religious populace and their political parties, Bhutto banned alcohol and nightclubs and declared Friday, rather than Sunday, the

weekly holiday, but these measures were insufficient to keep him in office (Haqqani, 2013, p. 11). In this way, the democratically elected government initiated constitutional discrimination against minorities, legalised religious intolerance and paved the way for Islamisation under the military rule of Zia-ul-Haq.

Islamisation and its Impacts on the Current State of Society

The Zia-ul-Haq regime lasted from 1977 to 1988, and during this time, the role of Islam in the state's affairs intensified (Haqqani, 2013). In February 1979, Zia changed the overall orientation of the constitution by altering the concept of judicial review. Instead of laws being judged in the light of the constitution, 'the higher courts were now given jurisdiction to establish Sharia benches [Islamic courts] to determine whether a law was repugnant to Islam' (Ispahani, 2018, pp. 228–229).

Zia-ul-Haq's regime also amended many provisions of the constitution in accordance with the Sunni interpretation of Islamic law. Specifically, the blasphemy laws, the Hudood Ordinance and the Law of Evidence (Qanoon-i-Shihadah) had negative implications for society by increasing the marginalisation of and discrimination against religious minorities and women in general, and the Ahmadi community, in particular.

Of all these laws, the blasphemy laws had the longest-lasting impact in terms of their influence and implications for multicultural citizenship. The blasphemy laws in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) were originally covered under the Offences Relating to Religion embedded in the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and first introduced by the British colonial government in 1885 'to outlaw the inflaming of religious hatred' and to develop 'tolerance' so as to create a highly pluralistic Indian society (Malik, 2002, p. 18). After the independence of Pakistan, these laws continued to be part of the PPC Section 295 and remained unaltered until Zia-ul-

Haq's regime. Then, driven by his Islamisation agenda, Zia added two new clauses, B and C, to Section 295 of the PPC in 1982 and 1986, respectively. Clause B relates to the desecration of the Holy Qur'an, the Divine Scripture of Islam. It states that:

Whoever willfully defiles, damages or desecrates a copy of the Holy Qur'an or any extract thereof or uses it in any derogatory manner or for any unlawful purpose shall be punishable with imprisonment for life.

(Section 295(c), The Pakistan Penal Code XLV of 1860)

Likewise, in his efforts to muster the support of religious, political parties and the populace in general, Zia also added Clause C, which states that:

Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, or by any imputation, innuendo, or insinuation, directly or indirectly, defiles the sacred name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) shall be punished with death, or imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to a fine.

(Section 295(c), The Pakistan Penal Code XLV of 1860)

A lawyer filed a petition in court and challenged the provision of life imprisonment. He argued for the death penalty in blasphemy cases, and the Federal Sharia Court upheld this in October 1990. Since then, the death penalty has been the sole punishment in all blasphemy cases (Malik, 2002). Consequently, the result of Zia's Islamisation agenda was that 'he made blasphemy punishable by death and made it possible for police to arrest individuals accused of blasphemy' (Haqqani, 2013, p. 6).

However, according to the blasphemy laws, a complaint of blasphemy can only be registered by a male Muslim, thereby effectively privileging Muslims over others. This has implications for citizenship as a transcending concept providing civic equality for its citizens. Similarly,

denying women the right to initiate a case of blasphemy not only deprives them of equal citizenship rights but imposes double discrimination against any woman who belongs to a religious minority group.

Julius (2016) discusses the arguments both for and against the positive and negative implications of blasphemy laws for religious minorities and women. On the one hand, because the law is equally applicable to Muslims and non-Muslims alike, it is not discriminatory. It is also argued that these laws are meant to protect the people accused of blasphemy and, thus, protects minorities who may be vulnerable to such accusations.

However, on the other hand, there is evidence that there have been cases where people have used the provisions of these laws for personal vendettas against others, with 95% of cases reportedly based on personal animosity. As a result, the blasphemy laws have been used chiefly against minorities and women and rather than protecting them; they are used as a pretext to harass, physically beat and even bring about the death of the accused.

Likewise, ‘Qanoon-i-Shihadat’ (the Law of Evidence), introduced in 1984, has also contributed to a prevailing state of unequal citizenship since it asserts that the evidence of two women or two non-Muslim men equates to that of one Muslim man (Malik, 2002). This law has served to increase the power and status of Muslim men relative to the rest of the population, specifically women and non-Muslim men. The ‘Hudood Ordinances’ of 1979 were another hallmark of Zia-ul-Haq’s Islamisation endeavour; amongst other things, they specifically discriminated against women. The Hudood Ordinances were a set of laws that criminalised adultery and sex outside marriage, including in the case of rape. Moreover, proving rape became almost impossible because a woman had to have four witnesses who had observed it and testified that a rape had occurred. As a result, the Law of Evidence and the Hudood Ordinances furthered the ‘disempowering [of] women’ (Ispahani, 2018) and legal ‘discrimination based on religion and gender’ (Malik, 2002, p. 19).

The plight of Ahmadis also worsened during Zia-ul-Haq's regime. In 1984, Sections 298 (B) and 298 (C) were added to the Penal Code through the promulgation of Ordinance XX in order to bar the Ahmadiyya community from using Islamic symbols and names, thereby making it a punishable offence for the Ahmadiyya community to publish literature to propagate their faith. This also included a ban on using the word 'mosque' for their place of prayer, and even the use of typical Muslim greetings, such as Assalam-o-Alaikum (Peace be upon You), could land them in jail (Rahman, 2012). As a result, many Ahmadis were 'tried and convicted under this law for calling themselves Muslims or using the word mosque for their place of worship', and 'the ordinance further consolidated the Ahmadis' exclusion from the nation and the entire ummah' (Malik, 2002, p. 21).

The above developments demonstrate that from the inception of the state, Islam has grasped the political imagination of Pakistan because it was used to justify the creation of Pakistan to avoid political discrimination in a Hindu majority state. However, the pioneering leaders espoused a progressive and liberal interpretation of Islam. Likewise, the Muslim recourse to religious nationalism in undivided India was meant to avoid discrimination in the hands of the Hindu majority. It is, however, ironic that over the decades, a conservative Sunni interpretation of Islam has become dominant, and the same minority, since becoming the majority, has been emboldened to legislate against minorities in the desire to construct an imagined Islamic community. Zia's Islamisation pushed this narrative to an extreme, thereby effectively constructing a discourse of apartheid citizenship.

As a result of these processes, the state has moved increasingly towards the 'religious right' (Rahman, 2012), and the ambitions of conservative Islam have compromised the dream of building multicultural citizenship. The Pakistani state has become trapped in the business of chasing Islamic ideology rather than pursuing its citizens' interests and well-being. Legal and

institutional frameworks are employed to impose this Islamic ideology strictly, and education is used to inculcate it in young people (Haqqani, 2018).

What is more worrying is that since the 1980s, Zia's Islamisation has caused intensive religious radicalisation and intolerance in society and penetrated deep into people's social psychology. As a result, any open discussion on sensitive issues can cost someone his or her life. In 2011, for example, the governor of Punjab, the biggest province of Pakistan, was assassinated by his security guard for speaking in favour of a Christian woman, Asia Bibi, accused of blasphemy. Likewise, the then Federal Minister for Minorities, Shahbaz Bhatti, a Christian by faith, was assassinated because he demanded a revision of the procedures of these laws. These incidents indicate how deeply Pakistani society has become steeped in the Islamisation of Zia-ul-Haq's regime to the extent that it has contributed to the development of a cultural psychosis where fear and religious intolerance have become a dominant feature of society.

The Shifting Discourses of Citizenship Education

Before discussing the shifting discourses of citizenship education in Pakistan, it is pertinent to consider the historical legacy that Pakistan shouldered on its creation. Pakistan inherited a system of education that was marked by 'educational dualism' (Sikand, 2005). On the one hand, there were religious madrasas with roots in centuries-old Islamic traditions of learning, and, on the other hand, there was a modern system of education which was primarily the product of modernity. The two systems of education were essentially manifestations of two different competing worldviews developed in two different matrices of culture and history.

The modern education system was primarily a manifestation of modernity, whereas the traditional madras system was representative of the traditional education system, developed primarily in Muslim societies (Rahman, 1984; Sayeed, 1990). Muslim experiences with all

forms of modernisation in India, including education, were coupled with their colonial experience. Therefore, there have always been competing approaches towards the modern education systems, each arguing for or against their adoption. This tension is reflected in divided Muslim attitudes towards acquiring modern education, particularly in English.

There were fundamentally two kinds of approaches. The repulsive attitude of conservative Muslims towards modern education was, on the one hand, buttressed by their apprehensions about cultural extinctions in the hands of British colonisers and on the other hand, it was interpreted as being incompatible with the teachings of Islam. In contrast, Muslim modernists such as Syed Ahmad Khan and Allama Muhammad Iqbal argued for modernisation to be embraced in all fields of life in general but in the field of education in particular, without altogether jettisoning Islamic traditions; they considered this approach to be the only avenue for Muslim survival (Sayeed, 1990). The theoretical debates on the competing perspectives on the nature of Muslim responses to modernity are considered in detail in the next chapter. Suffice to say at this stage, that at the time of its creation, Pakistan's education system was marked by this duality which was representative of a broader debate about Islam and its compatibility with the modern ways of life.

Madrasa education primarily aimed to provide religious education, whereas the modern education system introduced by the British was meant primarily to address the colonial needs of governance. Accordingly, 'the aims and objectives of the British education system were threefold: the preparation of disciplined and civilised colonial subjects, the provision of lower administrative staff for government machinery, and presumed economic benefits' (Ali & Babur, 2010 p. 9). In this complex scenario, there were three different groups of Muslims of India towards education. The religiously conservative segments favoured madrasa education; another group favoured the English education system introduced by the British colonisers. A third group tried to find a way to combine the two together (Ali & Babur, 2010). What is

apparent from the above brief discussion is that defining the role of Islam in education has been a critical consideration in Muslim societies, particularly since their exposure to modernity, in the form of colonialism or otherwise. This challenge continues to grasp educational imagination in the post-independent era in Pakistan. Developing an educational system informed by a worldview derived from Islamic traditions but equally relevant in the context of the 21st and 22nd centuries is challenging for Muslim societies.

A Progressive Vision of Citizenship Education

‘In the face of ideological background struggle for Pakistan’, it was largely assumed that the founding leaders of Pakistan wanted to have an education system that would bear the stamp of its ideology, Islam, in such a way that it remained ‘true to its Islamic ideals and yet [was] sufficiently progressive to enable necessary modernisation’ (Rahman, 1984, p. 110). This approach was reflected in Jinnah’s vision of education. While addressing a social function arranged for members of the constituent assembly on August 16, 1947, he asked educationists to develop such a system of education to address modern life’s practical needs while also reflecting national history, culture, and ideals. He stated, ‘Now that we have got our own state, it is up to you to establish a viable, productive and sound system of education suited to our needs. It should reflect our history and national ideals’ (cited in Rahman, 1984, p.110).

Despite being engulfed in myriad migration challenges, the government of Pakistan summoned an education conference on November 27, 1947, just three months after the creation of Pakistan. The then education minister, Fazlur Rahman, expressed the same aspirations identified by Jinnah. He stated, ‘we have now before us the opportunity of reorienting our entire education policy to correspond closely with the needs of the times and to reflect the ideals for which Pakistan as an Islamic state stands’ (Appendix B in Siddiqui, 2016, p. 279). In his speech, he tried categorically to differentiate between the concepts of an

‘Islamic state’ and ‘theocratic state’ and maintained that Islam stands for ‘complete social democracy and social justice’.

In his speech, Fazlur Rahman highlighted ‘citizenship training’ as the second element among the three elements of education to focus on in the policy. While elaborating citizenship training, he stated that ‘Our education must, therefore, instill into the young mind the fundamental maxim of democracy, that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance and it must aim at cultivating the civic virtues of discipline, integrity, and unselfish public service’ (Appendix B in Siddiqui, 2016, p. 283). Furthermore, he emphasised the need to educate students about their ‘responsibilities’ and highlighted ‘physical training’ as an important aspect of citizenship training. Inculcation of spirituality and moral ideals was, in itself, a separate element that Fazlur Rahman highlighted in his speech: ‘On the whole, spirituality and morality deriving from Islam appeared to be the main virtues inspiring educational decision-making in the Pakistan Educational conference in 1947’ (Siddiqui, 2016, p.35).

Likewise, another key policy document was produced by the ‘Commission on National Education’ in 1959, headed by S.M. Sharif and also known as the ‘Sharif Commission report’. Among other things, the report emphasised its objectives as ‘being trained manpower, educated citizenry, national development, social justice, a sense of unity, nationhood, competent leadership and a social welfare state’ (Siddiqui, 2016, p.36). Inculcating patriotism was yet another important objective that the commission set out. It emphasised the need for national unity and religious values to be translated into actions. Islamiyat, Islamic Study, was recommended as a compulsory subject for Muslim students at the primary and middle level. It was, however, proposed that it should be optional above the middle classes. The overall orientation of the report was inspired by the same aspirations as those of its founding leaders, education being seen as creative and progressive in its orientation but, at the same time, informed by the ideals of Islam.

As reflected in the initial policy frameworks and the speeches of the founding leaders of Pakistan, these aspirations indicate that they wanted to create a system of education reflecting Islamic ideals and progressive in its orientation with a belief in democracy as a form of governance. The renowned intellectual Fazlur Rahman (1984, p. 111) holds the position that ‘at the time of its inception, Pakistan’s leaders were generally highly liberal, and, while they wanted to inform their educational system with an Islamic orientation, this Islamic orientation, in their eyes, was not only tolerant but positively liberal’.

The challenge, however, was that the aspirations of these founding leaders could neither be translated into a compacted and coherent vision nor implemented in the programmatic activities inspired by an informed and detailed policy framework in the newly created state. The aspiration to develop an education system informed by ‘creativity’ and ‘Islamic orientation’ remained an empty slogan. Serious efforts were not made to translate these aspirations into a coherent vision and policy framework. The bureaucracy of the newly emergent country was trained primarily to meet the administrative needs of the colonial era, and as such, they were incapable of imagining and translating such aspirations into meaningful action. Instead, a fear of becoming trapped in the old madrasa education system scared them away from any venture to inform education with the fundamental concepts of Islam. They could neither expunge Islam from the overall educational spectrum nor develop a well-thought-out educational policy incorporating a creative spirit of education informed by the concepts of Islam. Islam remained in the policy framework, but only as a platitude creating a sense of euphoria in the minds of a reader (Rahman, 1984).

The introduction of Islamic Study as a compulsory subject could meet students’ needs only in terms of introducing them to the concepts of how to be a practising Muslim. It was a mechanical approach implying the dichotomy of religious and the secular education because Islamic concepts derived from an overarching worldview that may have been consistent with

both Islamic values and the needs of time could not be creatively integrated into the educational system. A reinterpretation of Islam was required, not in the sense of ‘a theological interpretation of certain symbols’ but in the sense of ‘reworking and restructuring of sociomoral principles’ that may ‘form the basis for viable social Islamic fabric’ (Rahman, 1984, p. 124). In a way, this was a failure in terms of not being able to create an education system rooted in society’s cultural fabric.

However, it was encouraging that the founding political leaders who imagined Pakistan and the subsequent rulers, civilian rulers or the General Ayub, with his military regime, were progressive as far their understanding of Islam was concerned. Nevertheless, the failure to create an education system informed by the creative integration and reinterpretation of Islam left the country with no choice but to adopt most of the British colonial education system with the cosmetic colouring of an Islamic orientation. Thus, the education system perpetuated the deep colonial imprints but in a new political context marked by the creation of Pakistan as an independent state, which had aspirations to develop an educational system meant to prepare youth not only for material progress but with the teleological dimension of moral and spiritual development. Their concern for developing a sense of unity and nationhood was a natural desire for any newly developed country. However, the overall orientation of leadership was progressive as they were aspiring to develop a society with social justice and civic equality for all its citizens.

The textbooks on History and Civics developed in the 1950s and 1960s show this progressive and inclusivist approach towards people of different religious and cultural backgrounds. Textbooks published immediately after independence took a liberal and inclusivist approach. Saigol (2014) has tried to show how the textbooks published during these years showered praise upon Rama, Buddha, Christ and Mahatama Gandhi. She shows,, from an example of a history textbook published in 196 how ‘the Hindu God Rama and the founder of Buddhism,

Gautama Buddha, feature right after the Holy Prophet of Islam, Muhammad (PBUH), Jesus Christ and Abraham’, and suggests that it is interesting to note that these figures were ‘depicted as kind, gentle, just, caring, sympathetic and non-violent, and full of mercy and love’ (Saigol, 2014, p. 177). She continues by giving yet another example of a civic textbook published in 1953, which was found to underscore the importance of ‘civic virtues and religious tolerance’ and which emphasised ‘the neutrality of the state with regard to religion, gender, social class or ethnicity’ (p.177). Underscoring the principle of the equal application of the law for all state citizens was another key aspect that the textbook was found to highlight.

Given the current religiously biased educational landscape of citizenship education, which will be discussed shortly, it is difficult to imagine the Pakistani educational landscape as pluralistic to such an extent in its orientation. The textbooks were comparatively much more progressive in terms of reflecting a vision that was ‘outward-looking’ and focusing on ‘constructing a modern nation enjoying good relations with the world’ (Saigol, 2014, p. 177). Thus, we see that the citizenship education discourse was comparatively inclusive and liberal in its outlook.

Over time, however, the orientation of citizenship education changed in terms of promoting ‘anti-India nationalism’ with an ‘inward-looking’ approach (Saigol, 2014). This happened due to the parallel political and developments occurring in the broader political context of society. The war of 1965 contributed to growing security anxieties in power circles, which reached a climax in 1971 when Pakistan was split, and Bangladesh came into existence as an independent country. Following on from this, the elite sitting in Pakistan’s power corridors began to consider ethnicity as the biggest challenge for national integration and embarked upon policies suppressing provincial aspirations while, once again, promoting Islam as a unifying force (Cohen, 2005). ‘The official nationalist discourse took on a far more negative,

defensive and inward-looking posture' (Saigol, 2014, p. 177). A 'defensive nationalism' underpinned Islam, and two-nation theory was used to construct the idea of the internal and external enemy.

In a way, 'the loss of East Pakistan' was a failure of the old discourse of religious nationalism based upon the idea of Islam, as discussed in the first section of this chapter. However, the ruling elite took shelter in the same old discourse instead of realising that the creation of Bangladesh had grown out of a long history of discrimination. Failing to create a sense of participation and equitable economic justice for Bengalis contributed to the creation of Bangladesh, partially due to the failure of Pakistan to accommodate diversity by developing an environment wherein justice and a sense of participation were cherished. The ruling elite used 'religious symbolism' to suppress political, economic and ethnic issues such as 'economic discontent', 'political dissent' and 'ethnic nationalisms' (Durrani & Dune, 2010).

Thereby, the idea of Islam as a unifying force continued to be reflected in the state's narrative. Security anxieties now justified this position, and the idea of the enemy within and outside started to be reflected in social studies textbooks where the security paradigm started to dominate, defining the citizen as a 'defender of Pakistan's ideological and territorial boundaries. The state then came to have a privilege over citizens as if the citizens are meant to serve the state but not the other way round. Inculcating loyalty, discipline and commitment with the nation became a hallmark of citizenship education discourse. The textbooks started reflecting a 'more inward-looking, a negative and anti-India form of nationalism' (Saigol, 2014).

The Long-lasting Impacts of Islamisation on Citizenship Education

With the ascent of Zia to power, the ideology of militarization, underpinned by Islamic ideology and primarily defined in a Sunni/Hanafi and Deobandi/Wahhabi frame of thought,

permeated into citizenship education discourse. The subsequent social studies textbooks, including those for Civics, Pakistan Studies and Social Studies, overwhelmingly projected the national security paradigm. The concept of the citizen was rearticulated as a defender of Islamic ideology and as a defender of the territorial integrity of Pakistan. As a result of the dominance of the security paradigm, the state became privileged over the citizen and themes of obedience, discipline in the sense of regimentation, and the idea of the loyal citizen began to be reflected in the overall educational discourse. In order to imbue students with a feeling of loyalty, state and nation were represented as family and the citizen was expected to be faithful and loyal just as a family member remains faithful to a family. Secondly, loyalty was inculcated by representing soldiers and martyrs as heroes in opposition to all those who disagreed with the state narrative who were framed as villains and traitors (Saigol, 2014).

This dichotomous representation continues to dominate until now in the textbooks. A ‘loyal citizen’ idea continues to be the defining feature of citizenship education discourse (Shahid & Takbir, 2021). The heroes depicted in the textbooks are mostly soldiers, and there are few references to people who have done great jobs in other fields. In a nutshell, textbooks not only represent the good citizen as someone who is ‘loyal and obedient’ but also represent the idea that ‘the supreme expression of citizenship is the readiness to lay down one’s life for the country’ (Saigol, 2014 p. 184). Thus, citizens are subservient to the state, as if citizens are for the state, not the state for the citizens.

As part of broader Islamisation endeavours, Zia tried to Islamise education. He announced a new educational policy that was pronouncedly aimed at Islamising education to establish an Islamic theocratic state. Islamic ideology was deliberately added to the syllabus. Developing ‘true Muslims’ was a key mark of this policy. Separate curricula and institutions were established for girls. In this way, the policy defined citizenship in an exclusionary manner wherein good citizens were equated with good Muslims, thereby excluding non-Muslims in

the country. Successive democratic governments did not implement significant changes except in terms of adding to the policy about their aspiration to develop the country's workforce (Dean, 2008).

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the Musharraf regime began 'Education Sector Reform', which included, among other things, the 'de-Islamisation of textbooks' and madrasa reform. During his tenure, the national curriculum 2006 was developed, which aspired to provide education to all citizens of Pakistan and considered all citizens as equal. His idea of 'enlightened moderation' (Musharraf, 2006) was an attempt to accommodate the fundamental premise of 'Islam as a *raison d'être* of Pakistan' in modern times without succumbing to the fundamentalist narratives of Islamisation. However, his reform agendas were unable to erase the deep imprint of Islamisation, and the idea of Islamic ideology continues to shape citizenship education discourse. Subsequent democratic regimes have aspired to develop a democratic Pakistan but have not been able to rethink the entire state narrative of nationhood conceptualised in religious terms through an essentialist interpretation of Islam. This phase is characterised by the 'will to strengthen the democracy in Pakistan' (Dean, 2008).

The incumbent government of Imran Khan has embarked upon reforms in the education sector and is currently working on developing a Single National Curriculum (SNC) in different phases. It has been announced that at primary level, the new curriculum will be implemented from August 2021. However, there are concerns expressed by academics that the current reform efforts of the PTI government may lead to further Islamisation in Pakistan even going beyond the regime of Zia-ul-Haq (Nayyar, 2020; Hoodbhoy, 2020). Moreover, its role in terms of reducing social inequality is also questioned. The SNC is criticised for focusing only on the curriculum aspect while merely mentioning other dimensions, such as quality and access, without any plans and programmes to improve them across different strata of society (Bari, 2020).

The Contemporary State of Citizenship Education Discourse

It is important to note that all the education policies in Pakistan are profoundly influenced by Islam and Islamic ideology, which is then reflected in the citizenship education discourse. As elaborated above, the shifting approaches to Islam during different regimes have implications for citizenship and citizenship education. Overall, citizenship education discourse seems fixated on constructing a national identity defined in terms of a Sunni conservative interpretation of Islam. As a result of religiously inspired nationhood, ethnic, linguistic and regional identities are not considered. The emphasis on an essentialist account of Islam does not appreciate internal and external religious diversity. Moreover, the emphasis on religious nationhood eclipses the real focus of citizenship, which is about the civic equality of its citizens, especially religious minorities and women (Saigol, 2014).

The academic literature demonstrates that in Pakistan, citizenship education has ‘not been given enough importance’ nor have ‘appropriate approaches ... been used for developing informed and participatory citizenship’ (Dean, 2005, p. 35). Therefore, it is incorporated as a cross-curricular theme. It is taught primarily through the Social Studies curriculum at the primary and elementary level and through Pakistan Studies at the secondary and higher secondary level. Pakistan Studies is taught even at the undergraduate level and as a compulsory subject, and the themes related to citizenship are taught more explicitly through Pakistan Studies. Apart from Pakistan Studies, it is also taught through Civics, an optional subject offered in secondary and higher secondary levels. At the undergraduate level, it is offered as an elective subject as Political Science. The themes related to citizenship may also be found in Islamic Studies, Urdu, and even English, compulsory subjects taught from pre-primary to undergraduate level.

Moreover, the overall ‘curriculum guidelines require textbooks to emphasis upon Islam as a national ideology’ and thereby the ‘good citizen’ is equated with the ‘good Muslim’ (Ahmad

2004, p. 39). National identity is defined in relation to Hindus, and thereby it excludes non-Muslims. The school textbook produces hatred towards India based on religious differences articulated and encapsulated in Islamic ideology (Lall, 2008). It appears that Pakistan has become trapped in the business of chasing Islamic ideology rather than pursuing its well-being, and that education is used to inculcate that ideology in young people (Haqqani, 2018).

The textbooks reflect Pakistan more as an Islamic state than a country with a majority Muslim population. In doing so, the internal diversity of the country is also ignored. The country's religious diversity is not apparent in the textbooks (Nayyar & Salim, 2005); instead, developing a cosmetic identity in the name of Islam lends the education discourse an essentialist Sunni Hanafi/Deobandi interpretation of Islam. It is used to construct an 'imagined Islamic community' based on the Islamic ideology that stresses the primacy and permeation of Islam in state affairs.

In spite of this, students are not educated in such a way that they may become participatory and democratic citizens because the 'organisation and management of schools and most teaching and learning practices are not conducive to the preparation of democratic citizens' (Dean, 2005, p. 51). Students learn some basic knowledge and values but not the skills and values which prepare students to participate in democratic life. Neither are values such as 'civic mindedness' and 'critical consciousness' encouraged in schools, nor are 'decision-making and problem-solving' skills taught. The teachers teaching citizenship education follow mostly 'authoritarian pedagogies', which do not support the development of democratic and participatory citizens (Dean, 2008). It has also been observed by Nazir (2010) that the educational practices in Pakistan are characterised by authoritarian and bureaucratic inaction reflected in the transmission model of teaching, thus leaving little space for participatory and democratic approaches to education.

A study conducted by Lall (2012) has found a lack of a participatory dimension of citizenship among the youth of Pakistan. She argues that the young people of Pakistan are more like half parochial citizens in terms of being ‘parochial in action but not in understanding’ (p. 73). She argues that the relationship between the state and the individual is characterised by alienation. The young people of Pakistan are alienated from the state because citizenship as a form of national identity, a contesting concept in Pakistan, dominates the other dimensions of citizenship, including its aspect related to rights and participation. It has been observed that the urge to develop a national identity overshadows the other aspects of citizenship education. Muhammad and Brett (2017) have also found that most teachers, while teaching about identity issues, tend to repeat and follow the textbook, which emphasises a narrative of national identity based upon the values of Sunni Islam. Thus, they tend to ignore multiple levels of identity, including the cultural and global dimensions of this issue.

It can be observed that citizenship education discourse in Pakistan seems fixated with constructing a national identity defined in Islamic terms rather than preparing for citizenry in a rights-based framework with the required knowledge, skills and attitudes. One of the important reasons for this fixation with the identity dimension is the political context of Pakistan. The claims to nationality in Pakistan are derived neither from a ‘historical right to a common territory’ nor from a ‘membership in a blood-based community’ but from the ‘fact of belonging to a shared religion’ of Islam (Devji, 2013). Thus, the subject of Pakistan Studies, which is primarily a subject used to teach citizenship education, strives, predominantly, to develop and strengthen national identity underpinned by the narrative of religious nationalism and, as such, and as discussed above, other dimensions of citizenship such as political participation, political literacy and concomitant dimensions of knowledge and praxis are eclipsed.

The literature overview on citizenship education in Pakistan also indicates the dominance of identity in citizenship education discourse. A few studies, such as the one conducted by Lall (2012), have tried to bring the citizen-state relationship dimension of citizenship explicitly into research. So, there is a suggestion that studying citizenship education with the help of broader theoretical concerns of citizenship and citizenship education can help highlight the important role of citizenship education. Moreover, most of the studies mentioned above focus on documentation or curriculum analysis (Ahmad, 2007; Dean, 2008; Saigol, 2014; Shahid & Takbir, 2020) and students' perceptions (Lall, 2008; Durani & Dunne, 2010). Part of Dean's (2005, 2008) work is focused on pedagogical issues. Few, however, have made teachers the focus of their study, except for Brett & Muhammad (2017), Muhammad, Masood & Anis (2019). They, however, focused specifically on the identity aspect of the issue, but not on the broader dimensions of citizenship education as such. None of the above-mentioned studies examines the case of GB. Only Ali's (2008) work, as discussed in the introductory chapter, focuses on GB and engages with some aspects of citizenship education. However, it does not frame the citizenship and citizenship education issues in the broader context of Pakistan, nor does it invoke citizenship and citizenship education theories as such.

This study will contribute to filling the gap in knowledge by selecting a different context and focusing on teachers' perceptions. The context of GB is complex and different from other parts of Pakistan and, since there are already studies on aspects of citizenship education which focus on textbooks and curriculum guidelines, attempts have not been made to understand teachers' perceptions within Pakistan. So, this study will fill this gap.

Conclusion

The analysis of the literature on citizenship education discourse indicates that the idea and practice of citizenship in Pakistan is based on strengthening nationhood defined primarily in religious terms instead of promoting a rights-based approach to citizenship. Since 1971, when

Pakistan took on its current form, citizenship education discourse was comparatively modern and progressive. However, the loss of East Pakistan, with the creation of Bangladesh, followed by the Islamisation of Zia-ul-Haq, changed the overall orientation of education. The penetration of the security paradigm underpinned by Zia's pronounced Islamisation policy within education rearticulated the concept of the good citizen as a loyal, obedient, disciplined defender of the state's territorial boundaries and ideological aspirations. Moreover, narratives of the good Muslim as a good citizen made citizenship education discourse an apartheid discourse that seems to negate its citizens' civic equality. The discourse is more complicated in the case of GB since it is characterised by other religious and political anxieties, as discussed in Chapter Two. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical issues which will help in the development of a conceptual framework for the analysis in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This study is conducted at the cross-cutting edge of religion, politics, and education in a context characterised by religious and political anxieties. These anxieties jointly contribute to issues relating to citizenship and citizenship education discourse. This chapter develops a conceptual framework through which to understand citizenship and citizenship education in GB, Pakistan, by developing a specific configuration of concepts drawn from the literature on religion, citizenship and citizenship education. In order to understand the phenomenon of citizenship and citizenship education in GB, it is vital to understand it within the broader context of Pakistan. As discussed in the previous chapter, there are competing perspectives on the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education discourse in Pakistan and these are greatly influenced by debates about the role of Islam in state affairs. In order to conceptualise the role of religion, the conceptual framework begins by addressing how shifting notions of religion are employed to make sense of its role in modern societies.

The second part of the conceptual framework deals specifically with citizenship concepts primarily developed in Western contexts. It is understood that broader discourses of citizenship are developed in the Western context, which is radically different from that in Pakistan, and therefore they may not reflect the complexity of the Pakistani context. Nevertheless, they are crucial launch points that may partially help in understanding the phenomena of citizenship in Pakistan. Thus, they are used more as analytical categories to explain certain aspects of citizenship in Pakistan. Specific discussion on ‘social citizenship’, Banks’s (2017) typology of citizenship and the conceptual basis of different shades of citizenship developed in Western discourses are discussed.

The intellectual basis of citizenship developed in Western contexts cannot wholly reflect the contextual issues of a citizenship phenomenon outside a Western context. Therefore, in the third part of this chapter, the conceptual basis of citizenship outside Western contexts is discussed. Broader Muslim responses towards modernity which provide the grounds for rearticulating the intellectual basis of citizenship in Muslim societies, including Pakistan, are considered, in particular.

With an appreciation of the complex interplay of concepts and context, the fourth part of the chapter discusses frameworks for citizenship education. Kennedy's (2019) framework of citizenship education and Freire's (1993) concept of education, as discussed in his *Pedagogy of Oppressed*, has been discussed in order to draw some key concepts from these frameworks and configure them in a particular fashion for an affective analysis of citizenship education discourse in Pakistan and GB. Thus, the overall analysis of citizenship and citizenship education in GB is informed by constellations and configuration of multiple concepts drawn from the literature on religion, Islam, citizenship and citizenship education. The discussion in the following sections will cumulatively frame the intellectual approach for understanding the dynamics of citizenship education discourse in GB in particularly and in Pakistan in general.

Shifting Conceptions of Religion in the Modern World

The debate about the interrelationship of religion and citizenship can be conceptualised as part of the broader academic debate about the role of religion in the modern world, specifically in society, in general, and in politics. Any discussion about religion in modern times has to be considered in the context of modernity. Modernity, as a modern development in human history, emerged in Europe, with its origins in renaissance and reform (Valade, 2001). Whilst it is of Western origin, it tends to be universal and global in its reach. It proved to be a turning point in human history. It is characterised, among other things, by rationality, science, industrialisation,

capitalism, secularisation, individualism, nationalism (nation-state system) and many other concepts and processes (Kaviraj, 2005), which simultaneously impacted the human ‘built and lived environment’. It challenged the prevalent ideas, ideals, and institutions and resulted in the ‘quantitative transformation of practices’ and ‘qualitative ruptures’ in human world views (Sadria, 2009, p. 07).

It has been acknowledged that a phenomenon called modernity is not a single homogeneous process; instead, it is constitutive of many processes which may be isolated and distinguished. While theorising the relationship among these processes, some argue that a symmetrical understanding is most pertinent. They believe that these processes are functionally dependent and hence may arise together. Another perspective asserts that these processes may emerge sequentially. This sequential approach to the nature of relationships among these processes is considered the dominant view in social theory (Kaviraj, 2005). However, in either approach, modernity is considered constitutive of all these processes, which may act in a combined but uneven way in different contexts. Nevertheless, the critical point is that these multiple processes lead to the differentiation of many spheres of human activities. Thus, it is about the differentiation of the different spheres of life, including religion, economy, politics and scientific rationality, which started to enjoy relative autonomy (Bruce, 2003).

In pre-modern times, religion was diffused through all the human activities, including politics, economics and explanations of the universe; now it is more marginalised but has also been differentiated and distinguished itself as a separate entity and the ‘process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols’ is called secularisation (Berger, 1990, p. 107). This theory of differentiation is considered the backbone of secularisation theory. Furthermore, it is suggested that religion is a private affair under the conditions of modernity and that its role in the public domain will cease to be a considerable phenomenon (Parker & Hoon, 2013). In this sense, the

secularisation thesis can be regarded as a sub-theme of modernity that has led to the differentiation of religion from the secular domain and secularisation does not simply refer to the decline of religious belief and practice. Therefore, Casanova defined secularisation at three levels in terms of: a) differentiation of varied spheres of human engagement; b) the decline of religious beliefs and practices and c) the marginalisation and confinement of religion to the private realm. He also argued that secularisation is more about the differentiation of varied spheres of human engagements (Casanova, 2011).

This dominant feature of differentiation as a subtheme of modernity with its ‘capitalist and rationalist ethos’ has led to a belief in the linear progression of human history in which, with the advancement through human history, human beings will become more and more rational and the role of religion will be continue to be reduced from the public domain. With increased rationalisation, the belief in religion and religious practice will decline. This belief has led certain people to assert that the decline of religion will be concomitant with the rationalisation of societies. In some extreme cases, it was assumed that religion would disappear as a superstition not adhering to the spirit of rationalisation (Bruinessen & Howell, 2007). From 1960 onward, this secularisation model of how the world would deal with religions under the conditions created by modernity has remained central in sociological approaches to religion (Parker & Hoon, 2013).

However, a shift was observed from the 1980s when religion started to remerge in the public domain in various ways. The Iranian revolution, the Islamisation of General Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan, the rise of RSS in India and other developments in different parts of the world challenged the differentiation thesis of secularisation. The challenges of multiculturalism in the US and Europe and different parts of the world, begotten by the forces of globalisation, further led to the understanding of religion in contemporary societies becoming much more complex than had ever been anticipated. The secularisation theory that served as the ‘basic

paradigm for the study of religion' began to be questioned by the 'empirical evidence' that challenged its basic assumption about the decline of religion (Berger, 2014, p. ix). The rise of religious fundamentalism and Islamic fundamentalism is a vivid example of a religion attempting to assert itself in the public domain. The emergence of ideas such as 'post-secularity' (Habermas, 2006), the 'clash of civilisations' (Huntington, 1996), 'dialogue between civilisations' (Khatami, 2012) and the 'clash of ignorance' as presented by Imam Shah Karim al-Hussaini known as His Highness the Aga Khan IV (2002), are some of the responses, though they differ from one another, which attempt to grapple with these challenges. These developments and responses indicate that the role and place of world religions have become further complicated in the modern world. Secularisation theory cannot fully answer questions around the complexity associated with the place and role of religion in contemporary times.

Having realised the limits of secularisation, Berger came up with a more nuanced and alternative paradigm of 'pluralism' to explain the phenomenon of religion in the modern world. He conceptualises pluralism at two levels; one relates to the peaceful coexistence of different religions, and the second considers the coexistence of religious and secular discourses without which modern society could not exist. Religious pluralism is a conspicuous phenomenon with enormous consequences for individual faith, religious institutions and the state. In terms of individual faith, pluralism undermines the taken for grantedness of any religious tradition. It changes the nature of religious institutions as they become voluntary associations and ultimately, alters the nature of the state because it has to deal with the concomitant issues of pluralism politically. The other kind of pluralism that he discussed relates to the coexistence of religious and secular discourse. He argues that religious people cannot avoid operating through secular discourse, and therefore, there is not a stark dichotomy of faith or secularity, but both faith and secularity are inseparable as they interact dynamically. A religious person can continue

to remain religious while remaining engaged in a secular space (Berger, 2014).

In this sense, for Berger, modern society is characterised by pluralism and while the role of religion is vivid, it has a different orientation, character, and relationship with the secular state. It is, therefore, logical to believe that the place and role of religion cannot be underestimated in modern societies. However, managing the plurality of religions is yet another critical challenge for modern secular states. On the one hand, they must remain committed to 'religion being a matter of private conscience'. However, on the other hand, they constantly need to intervene to manage religions in the name of harmony and political security, leading to a paradox that Turner calls the 'paradox of modern liberal states' (Turner, 2012). The challenge of managing Muslim minorities in non-Muslim secular states is a powerful example of this paradox.

It is important to clarify that the theory of religious pluralism, as presented by Berger (2014), is primarily a response to the social realities of Western societies, predominantly liberal nation-states. Christianity mainly dominated the discourse of religion in the Western context until the rise of global migration and globalisation, which has contributed to making the West more pluralistic in its composition. In Asia, there has been an inherently higher degree of religious pluralism compared to that in the European or Western context at large. However, the ongoing existence of plurality has not translated into the peaceful coexistence of multiple religious traditions such as Islam and Hinduism in India and even Buddhism and Islam in Myanmar (Kennedy, 2020). Apart from interreligious plurality, there is also a lot of intra-religious plurality. A case in point is Islam with its multiple 'communities of interpretations' (Daftary, 2005). Thus managing religious pluralism, be it inter-religious or intra-religious, is challenging for the modern nation-states in Asia. It is potentially more complicated because religion in most Asian contexts is 'so embedded in social and political systems that it is sometimes difficult to tell where religion ends and politics starts' (Kennedy, 2020, p. 6).

Pakistan is a case in point, where religion and politics are inextricably intertwined, and the

considerations of Islam influence state policies because the dominant discourse on the creation of Pakistan thrives upon religion. Constitutionally, Islam has been declared the state religion and this has consequent implications for the equal citizenship of religious minorities, as discussed in Chapter Three. Thus, managing religious pluralism and promoting citizenship equality is challenging for all modern nation-states, both Western and Asian. This challenge of managing religions and people with diverse religious backgrounds in modern states leads us to debate the interrelationship of religion and citizenship in modern societies.

The Contesting Discourses of Citizenship

The word citizenship is used in a range of circumstances from academic circles to the discourses of political and everyday life. Within Western intellectual history, the idea dates back to the Greeks, who were the first to thoroughly explore the ‘idea and practice of citizenship’ (Heater, 1990). The Greeks made huge contributions to the field of political philosophy, for example, through the contributions of famous philosophers like Plato and Aristotle. Moreover, it has become a dictum in philosophical circles that all of Western philosophy is nothing but a footnote to the philosophy of Plato.

The details of the contributions made by Plato, Aristotle and other Greek thinkers are beyond the scope of this study but Aristotle undertook a thorough discussion of citizenship in his magnum opus *Politics*. He maintained that human beings are political animals, and, therefore, they can actualise their potential to the fullest only by participating in ‘the affairs of a polis, the city-state’. Greek society was such that social and political inequalities were present in conspicuous forms. Citizenship was one of the open expressions of this inequality. It was a privilege enjoyed by the few. Not all members of society were entitled to citizenship as it was considered a privilege specific only to office bearers of a city-state.

Moreover, it was hereditary. The idea and practice of citizenship were, thus, exclusive; women, children, slaves, foreign residents and the peasantry were not able to enjoy the status of citizenship and concomitant privileges such as owning land and other special treatment unique to citizens (Heater, 1990). Thus, the concept of citizenship that emerged in this era is generally known as ‘classical citizenship’. Heater (1990, 2004) discusses the key features of classical citizenship and maintains that this concept of citizenship included, among other things, participation in civic affairs, a focus on duty and civic virtues, valuing collective goods over the rights of an individual and placing public goods as superior to individual interests. What, however, differentiates it radically from modern conceptions of citizenship is that, for Greeks, citizenship was a privilege of the few not all.

The Modern Discourses on Citizenship

The modern discourses of citizenship are primarily dominated by modernity and conceptualised more as a form of political identity linked with the modern nation-state (O’Byrne, 2003). Therefore, one of the essential features of citizenship is an individual’s legal and political status defined primarily in relation to the nation-state. It can also involve the transnational or sub-national status of an individual or a group defined in relation to transnational or sub-national entities such as the European Union or the status of an individual in a province. Thereby, citizenship may be conceptualised in terms of a political and legal status defined in relation to a nation-state, beyond the level of a state or below the level of a state or it may exist at all these levels simultaneously (Heater, 1999).

In common parlance, it may be referred to as membership of a political community. It is often linked with concepts of ‘belonging to a bounded political community’ and can refer to a ‘common culture’ that makes citizens able to agree on certain rights and responsibilities. Above all, it is referred to as the right to political participation and representation (Isin &

Turner, 2002). Thus, membership, rights, duties, participation, and representation of an individual in a political community, often interpreted as a state, are the core issues for citizenship discourse.

However, it is important that the contemporary discourses on citizenship extend the scope of community and that citizenship considers the relationship between an individual and a community. The community could be a political community residing in a state's territorial boundaries as it is traditionally conceived or a society in general where an individual is living or connected. Thus citizenship in this cultural sense is about the role and the status of an individual in an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). The scope and nature of the community can be local, national or global. The definition of an imagined community can even be extended to digital cyberspace, where an individual is connected with an imagined community within and beyond the territorial specification of a polity. The idea of 'digital citizenship' emphasises the right to internet access with an informed approach. Likewise, the idea of 'global citizenship' that seeks to define the individual as part of global humanity with specific responsibilities is another example of extending the definition of community from a politically bounded community to a global concept of community.

Central to establishing the link of the individual with the community defined in any manner, however, is the state's role in facilitating or creating hindrances for establishing the interrelationship of the individual with the community. In this sense, digital citizenship or global citizenship may be treated as a dimension of citizenship that makes sense only in relation to the concept of a polity.

It is important to realise that the interrelationship of individual and community is constituted and constitutive of many processes and factors. It is considered a matter of political or cultural identity and links to an individual's ability and right to participate in a political

process. Therefore, citizenship is constitutive of many factors. Heater (1990) identifies five constitutive elements of citizenship ‘namely identity, virtue, and the legal, political and social aspects of the status’ and considers them all preconditions for the idea and practice of citizenship to prevail. The nature of the relationships between these factors and how they have been conceived in different contexts leads to the conceptualisation of what Heater (1990) calls different ‘strands of citizenship’. These strands include classical citizenship, liberal citizenship, social citizenship, national citizenship and multiple citizenships. Analysis of these strands may inform our understanding of different aspects of citizenship. As discussed above, ‘classical citizenship’ emerged in the Greek city-states.

‘Liberal citizenship’ emerged in the context of modernity, providing the context for ‘human rights and ‘universal suffrage’. In a way, the liberal conception of citizenship appreciates the equality of human beings, and thus it is more emancipating in its outlook because it accepts, at least in principle, such equality.

The extension of liberal citizenship to the economic sphere is known as ‘social citizenship’ (Lee & Fouts, 2005). ‘Social citizenship’ had a greater focus on rights than duties. It maintains that people have an equal right to participate in ‘civic life and the government’. The role of government is construed as being to redistribute the wealth of a country in an egalitarian way. It focuses on the rights of an individual within the territorial boundaries of a nation-state (Heater, 1990; Lee & Fouts, 2005). Marshall also conceptualised citizenship in a framework that prioritises the rights of an individual that must be protected and given by a state. For Marshall, citizenship is about an individual’s civil, political and social rights within a nation-state. These rights are institutionalised through courts (judiciary), parliament, which embodies a state’s political participation and social welfare activities such as providing health facilities and other social services to its citizens (Isin & Turner, 2007). He, however, underplayed the role of political struggles, the aspects of women’s contributions to

citizenship and many other emerging perspectives such as environmental rights, in the conceptualisation.

However, it is worth noting that social citizenship places greater responsibility on the shoulders of the state in terms of ensuring the rights of its citizen. However, the British philosopher Crick (1998, 2007) extends the scope of responsibility beyond the state by incorporating what people can also do for each other, both at the local and global level. In this way, the role of civil society becomes critical, along with the state, in conceptualising citizenship in terms of delivery of rights to its citizen. The Crick report (1998) is thought to have been underpinned by republican presumptions about promoting general good through active participation (Crick, 2007).

Turner (1997) also emphasised the social dimension of citizenship in his conceptualisation of citizenship. He maintains that societies face challenges relating to ‘scarcity of resources’ and ‘social solidarity’ and, therefore, ‘allocative and integrative requirements’ become critical for maintaining a just and orderly society. This struggle for ‘redistribution’ and ‘recognition’ of different strata of society is a core issue of citizenship.

These different strands of citizenship indicate one important aspect: citizenship, in all its complexity, involves polity or state and the rights and responsibilities realised through that polity. The polity provides the context for the rights and responsibilities of an individual. Additionally, it provides a basis for observing different levels of citizenship, which may involve the transnational or sub-national status of an individual or a group defined in relation to transnational or sub-national entities such as the European Union or a province (Heater, 1990). Therefore, the dominant idea of citizenship is mainly linked with an individual’s legal membership of a state with the concomitant rights and responsibilities, referred to as ‘national citizenship’: the ‘passive and active membership of an individual in a nation-state with

certain universalistic rights and obligations at a specified level of equality' (Janoski, 1998, p. 9). Thereby, it invokes concepts of inclusion and exclusion, affecting eligibility for certain rights and corresponding obligations. In this sense, citizenship is about the nature of the individual's relationship with the state measured, mainly but not exclusively, in terms of the rights and obligations of an individual or a group in a given state.

There are, however, contesting discourses that articulate the interrelationship of rights and obligations in a variety of ways. The civic republican and liberal discourses are considered to be dominant with citizenship discourse. The liberal discourses of citizenship primarily privilege rights over responsibilities, whereas the republican discourses of citizenship privilege obligations over rights (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). However, citizenship is enacted in different ways in different states. In the case of England, where citizenship education has remained an important area of engagement, is important. In 1998, the Crick report defined three major constitutive elements of citizenship in England: social and moral responsibility, political literacy, and community involvement. However, in the aftermath of the London bombings, identity and diversity were added as a fourth dimension of citizenship. Similar debates have occurred in other contexts, such as Australia and Canada (Davies, 2012).

Similarly, in the US and likewise in other Western democracies, citizenship education discourses were, at one point, dominated by an 'assimilationist conception of citizenship' focusing on developing a common national culture in a given context so that a diverse group of students is able to internalise the national culture and fully participate in the civic community of a nation-state (Banks, 2008). Such an approach has implications for sub-cultures and a diverse body of students as the assimilationist approaches contributed, on the one hand, to the eradication of varied cultures and languages and, on the other hand, it also leads to the alienation of different groups (Banks, 2004).

Moreover, global immigration and the internal diversity of nation-states has challenged the assimilationist conception of citizenship. It has raised questions about how to develop civic communities that may reflect and incorporate the diversity of subcultures under the ambit of overarching shared values and the objectives of a nation-state that may harmoniously weld subcultures together. In this sense, managing unity and diversity has become an important preoccupation of citizenship education. Maintaining a balance between diversity and unity is identified as being necessary because unity without diversity leads to hegemony, and diversity without unity leads to disintegration and Balkanisation. In this way, the idea of ‘multicultural citizenship’ is relevant and cultural identities and national aspirations become important (Banks, 2008). Kamlicka & Norman (1994) proposed addressing the issues of multicultural citizenship through ‘differentiated citizenship’, a way of addressing the issues of diversity by promoting equity among different groups who are otherwise socially, economically, culturally and politically differentiated.

Banks (2017) argues that, in the 21st century, the phenomenon of citizenship has become further complicated due to increased ‘global migration, [the] quest of diverse groups for equality and the rise of populist nationalism’ (Banks, 2017, p. 366). He provides yet another typology of citizenship that may support an understanding of the complexities associated with these challenges. He maintains that when varied groups, such as religious minorities or immigrants, are not provided with equal citizenship rights, they are structurally excluded. As a result, they do not internalise the values and ethos of states, but instead, develop ‘ambivalent attitudes’. ‘Group allegiances and identities’ emerge and thus, they do not subscribe to the overarching and shared goals of the nation-state. In a way, the state fails to integrate these groups and thus develops what Banks calls ‘failed citizenship’. In contrast, some groups have been endowed with citizenship rights, accepted as legal members of the

polity and integrated structurally with the right of participation which leads to ‘recognised’ and ‘participatory citizenship’ (Banks, 2017, p. 367).

Nevertheless, the real challenges emerge from the phenomenon of failed citizenship.

Providing opportunities for diverse groups to maintain their sub-communal identities while constructing a nation within which they are integrated is a challenging job. Attaining a balance between unity and diversity is always challenging. Unity without diversity leads to repression and hegemony. Similarly, diversity without unity can disintegrate and stratify a nation (Banks, 2017). Therefore, maintaining a balance is essential and it can be attained by recognising the sub-identities of different groups in a country, which may be welded together to form an overarching nation. This is possible by promoting what Banks calls ‘transformative citizenship,’ which seeks to structurally integrate minority groups through the promotion of cosmopolitan values. It leads to a more inclusivist approach as it is concerned with actions and policies which lead to the implementation and promotion of policies, actions, and changes consistent with the higher human values of social justice, equality and human rights and, therefore, the actions and policies promoted by transformative citizens can transcend existing local and national laws and values in modern liberal states.

However, it is important to take stock of the contexts for the above frameworks in explaining citizenship. They are primarily Western concepts. Generally, the citizenship agenda, in the West is driven by the rights and responsibilities of an individual. It is primarily dominated by Western narratives and values stemming from the enlightenment project. It is rooted in Western imagination and based on the ideas of liberal individualism, wherein promoting human rights is considered the primary objective of citizenship. The liberal discourse of citizenship presupposes a specific notion of the human self that is rooted in individualism. Democracy aims to promote an environment where an individual can enjoy the liberty to attain individual rights within the framework of human rights. Therefore, the concepts of

‘human rights, ‘individual rights’, and ‘democracy’ are important elements in Western citizenship discourse (Heater cited in Lee, 2004, p.2 6). The individual is the central focus of analysis in political and economic spheres, which then permeates all spheres of human engagements.

The Conceptual Basis of Citizenship in Non-Western Contexts

The universality of Western imagination, reified through its varied universal notions and practices such as citizenship, has been challenged both from within and outside the framework of modernity. Post-modernists, with a direct lineage from modernists, rejected any kind of essentialism or what is called the ‘incredulity towards metanarratives’. However, another response stems from the Asian region, and is often referred to as ‘Asian modernity or Asian values debate’; it seeks to replace one set of universals with another set of values. Needless to say, it is ‘as open to post-modernist critique as is the western imagination’ (Kennedy, 2004, pp. 12-13, 15). However, it opens up the epistemic space for the possibility of multiple modernities with workable models in action. In many ways, this desire for a multi-levelled pastiche is ideal and represents the reality of Japanese/Chinese/Malaysian polities (Kennedy, 2004).

In most East Asian traditions, such as Chinese, the relationship between individuals and the collective is seen as two sides of a coin in terms of citizenship. The self is valued and has a wealth of meaning with a core focus on the idea of ‘self-cultivation’, which is a term used to ‘refer to a continuous process of self-enrichment and self-actualisation’ (Au cited in Lee, 2004a, p. 27). As such, it contains a moral dimension and a sense of collectivity. The East Asian traditions focus on the development of individuality rather than individualism and the development of relations with society that may create harmony and balance in that society. Therefore, rather than focusing on citizenship and politics, they tend to focus on morality,

and, therefore, moral education is a term which is used instead of citizenship education in most East Asian countries (Lee, 2004a). In the light of this, we need to consider the concept of the human self in developing our perspective of citizenship. It implies that there are different conceptualisations of citizenship in varied contexts depending upon varied factors such as the notion of the human self, which is inspired by the cultural and religious traditions of respective societies. Bearing in mind these contextual specificities in Asia alongside general concepts of citizenship, Lee (2004b) has identified spirituality, harmony and individuality as three distinctive values which feature in the Asian concept of citizenship. Likewise, Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004, p. 293) have also ‘identified six main themes’ that ‘seem particularly relevant to the construction of citizenship education in Asian countries’ (p.293). Some of the themes are common to both Asian and Western discourses, but at the same time, there are few which are specific to the Asian context in terms of the higher degree of emphasis made on them. One such theme is that ‘Asian citizenship education is characterised more by conceptions of moral virtues and personal values than by civic and public values’ (Ibid., p. 293). These studies indicate that various factors underpin the nature of the conceptualisation of citizenship and that one a balanced perspective is important in conceptualising citizenship such that both the context and concept need to be welded together harmoniously. As such, complexity needs to be carefully thought through and Muslim contexts may be considered another factor which adds to this complexity.

In Muslim societies, the issues of citizenship in particular and politics are greatly influenced by the interrelationship of religion and politics. ‘The idea that religion and politics should be separated is relatively new, dating back a mere three hundred years, but the idea that they are distinct dates back almost to the beginnings of Christianity’ (Khaki et al., 2017, p. 81). In Western societies, the separation of religion and politics is thought to be the consequence of a differentiation of different spheres of human activity, begotten by modernity, as discussed in

detail in the first part of this chapter. However, in Muslim societies, the interrelationship between religion and state has a different history and it has not followed a single pattern, as different polities in Muslim societies, both in historical and contemporary contexts, have employed religion in different ways. For example, the Abbasid caliphate and the Fatimid caliphs tried to give an overwhelming space for Islam, whereas the Ottomans kept it subservient to the state (Lapidus, 1996).

In the modern era, Muslims' attitudes towards this interrelationship were primarily influenced by their overarching responses to modernity with regard to the compatibility of religious and modern ways of life. In a way, it is dependent upon how tradition and modernity are conceptualised in Muslim contexts. Muslim responses from the nineteenth century onwards can be categorised on a spectrum with three broadly different positions (Jafri, 1988; Sayeed, 1990).

The first is that of the religious-right Islamists, who argue for an incompatibility of the percepts of Islam with those of modern ways of life. They consider the modern era to be characterised by '*Jahiliya*', the pre-prophetic Muhammad (PBUH) era of ignorance, and therefore do not hesitate to argue for war to be waged against modern ways of life. They are not prepared to accommodate their religious precepts according to the changing realities of the time; they want to change society according to their religious precepts. For those who think in this way, the ideal society is in the past and therefore, they urge a return to what they consider pure, original and pristine religious precepts and practices both at the individual and communal levels. Their desire to return to the past may be considered a distinctive feature of their approach. Syed Qutub (d.1966) of Egypt and Abul Ala Maududi (d.1979) of Pakistan may be considered representatives of this ideology with differing emphases in terms of their Islamisation methods. Their ideas underpin and feed Islamic fundamentalism or Islamism or, more generally, political Islam.

The fundamentalists aspire to bring religion back to the political stage while anchored in an intellectual framework outside the framework of modernity (Al-Azmeh, 1993). According to this position, the ideals and values of Islam cannot be translated into social life without having an Islamic polity or 'Islamic state' (Ahmad, 2008) and an Islamic society can only be established by establishing an Islamic state. In a way, they try to normalise the faith and provide an essentialist account of Islam in opposition to the plurality of interpretations and practices of Islam, which have been a dominant feature of Muslim societies both historically and in contemporary contexts. The proponents of this approach seek to establish what is imagined to be an Islamic state by defining citizenship in a strictly religious manner.

However, it is crucial to consider that the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism has presented itself as a threat to the universalisation of Western imagination by challenging modernity from out of the reference to modernity (Sadria, 2009).

This approach has become a global phenomenon. Before the Afghan war, most political Islamic movements were struggling within and against nation-states. However, in the post-Afghan war period, Jihadists have scattered to different parts of the world (Farid, 2008).

Osama Bin Laden redefined the traditional concept of Jihad, moving it from a state-centric endeavour to a global war. With the globalisation of human life in different spheres of human engagement, Jihad has also become global like other aspects and practices of human life (Devji, 2005).

Jihad is driven by a desire to universalise what it considers to be Islamic values. In this sense, some scholars recognise a clash between Western universal values and Islamism, a clash between universalism and two opposing fundamentalisms, referring to Islamic fundamentalism and Western, particularly American, fundamentalism (Ali, 2003). In this context, the concept of citizenship as perceived through Western liberal frameworks is contested. The idea of Umma as an international Islamic political community and the

contested notion of the universal Caliphate is presented as an alternative to the modern but parallel political system (Qutub, 2000) educationally, as embodied in Madrasa education, which is radically different from modern education in its pedagogy, context and objectives. The second position is held by those who may be called ‘Islamic/Muslim modernists’. They seek to develop a harmonious relationship between Islam and modernity by rethinking religious thought to provide specifically Islamic answers to the challenges of modern life. They argue for a reinterpretation of Islam in a way that may respond to the challenges of the modern world. Sayed Ahmad Khan (d.1898) and Muhammad Iqbal (d.1938) from the Indian subcontinent and Jamal al-Din Al-Afghani (d.1897) and Muhammad Abduh (d.1905) from Egypt are key representatives of this strand of thought, though they hold varying positions and interpretations on the nature of Islam and modernity. Along with many others, Fazlur Rahman and Abdul Karim Soroush, originally from Pakistan and Iran but forcefully exiled from their respective countries for modernist interpretations of Islam, may be considered their heirs in terms of promoting modernist Sunni and Shia interpretations of Islam respectively. The proponents of this view present a counter position to that of Islamists’. According to this, Islam is primarily faith and no prophet has ever been asked to establish a state or run the affairs of a government. They argue that Islam is not necessarily linked with the state, nor should its objective be to acquire political power. The primary job of religion is nurturing an individual and helping him/her uplift his moral, spiritual and intellectual position because spirituality and morality are key aspects of ‘religious calling’. (Khaki et al., 2017). Thus, they argue for a pluralistic outlook of Islam and that of Muslim societies. The proponents of such a view, which may be referred to as a liberal-democratic approach, define citizenship in pluralistic terms and emphasise the need to separate religion from the affairs of the state (Ahmad, 2008).

The third position is taken by those who argue that tradition, Islam, and modernity are inherently incompatible and that they cannot be reconciled and, therefore, adjustments should be made according to changing realities instead of trying to make Islam compatible with the changing world. Furthermore, they see religious worldviews as incapable of adding meaning to modern development and thus consider the debate irrelevant (Sayeed, 1990).

S. Parvez Manzoor (1991) distinguishes two trends of responses among Muslim scholars when dealing with the issues of religion and modernity. He maintains that the crucial problems of modern civilisation are politics and science, and, therefore, it is expected that Muslim intelligentsia should come up with a coherent response to understanding these issues while engaging in an intellectual endeavour. Manzoor (1991) distinguishes between two kinds of responses. One is that of *ulema*, the traditional scholars trained in Islamic teachings, and the other is that of Muslim intellectuals. Muslim intellectuals are ‘Islamically-minded and motivated thinker[s] who, for the propagation and dissemination of his or her ideas, writes principally in a modern western language’ (p. 115).

Ulema are often considered to be ‘more conservative, rigid and narrow-minded in their approach to contemporary problems’ owing to ‘the lack of their acquaintance with the modern world’ (pp. 113-114). Abul Ala Maududi and Syed Qutub are two examples of traditional scholars who have never engaged with issues of contemporary relevance such as science and technology, issues of the environment, development and questions of epistemology in its broader sense (Sardar, 1986). ‘The *ulema*, though conscious of the detrimental effects of western science on Muslim societies, do not have any profound knowledge of its world view or ethos’ (Manzoor, 1991, p. 126). Thus, their myopic vision cannot help them to develop a creative synthesis and guidance for Muslim societies, which may be workable and may help societies progress in terms of peace and prosperity.

In contrast, most Muslim intellectuals who have made a significant impact on the minds of Muslims, such as Syed Amer Ali, Ismail Raji al-Faruqi and many others in the twentieth-century and even beyond that, have attempted to deploy ‘western concepts and vocabulary’ and have been found to be ‘apologetic’ in their approaches. They presented Islam as an ‘ethically undemanding doctrine’. Moreover, most Muslim intellectuals were influenced by Sufism (Islamic mysticism). They were the sole ‘interpreter and transmitter of ideational currents of modernity’, and the ‘modern thought reaches[ed] Muslim youth only after it has been filtered by the Sufi mind’ (p. 125). As a consequence, a quietist approach to political philosophy has overwhelmed the political imagination. Consequently, the most challenging job for Islamic thinking is to develop a socio-political definition of justice rooted in Islamic intellectual traditions and consistent with the changing realities of the modern world, as argued by Manzoor (1991):

The most challenging problem for Islamic thought today is quite simply to delineate, in the light of the Quranic consciousness, the contents for justice within the socio-political framework of modern civilisation, and where these demands of universal justice cannot be met supply rational arguments for challenging modernity itself. The gruesome and excruciating problem for Muslim intellectual is that whereas the moral imperatives of his faith are quite explicit and not negotiable, the traditional remedies for implementing these imperatives, indeed all inherited answers to social justice, in his perception, have lost their efficacy in changed realities of today... the heart of the problem for Islamic thinking for both [*Ulema* and Muslim intellectuals] lies in the search for a contemporary socio-political definition of justice. (p. 117)

Thus, delineating the political aspect of Islam, focusing on moral and ethical aspects of human life, becomes relevant. However, it is a huge job for Muslim intellectuals to come up with such coherent political thought. Fazlur Rahman and Abdul Karim Soroush are two,

among many others, who have tried to highlight the political and ethically demanding aspect of Islam in their writings. They have both challenged the traditional approaches to the Qur'an in order to reorient Muslim thought. According to Rahman (1984), the Qur'an is not only a 'devotional' or 'a pietistic text' but it also has practical and political application because the prophetic mission was directed towards the moral improvement of the individual in a concrete and communal sense. Therefore, the Qur'an has a practical purpose, and that purpose has to be materialised in communal action. He argues that it is necessary to find the underlying unity of the Qur'an, so that Muslims are able to understand the specific '*weltanschauung*' worldview presented by it. According to him, this *weltanschauung* can be constructed by employing an interpretation of the Qur'an consisting of a 'double movement'. He maintains that:

in building any genuine and viable Islamic set of laws and institutions, there has to be a twofold movement: First, one must move from the concrete case treatment of the Qur'an – taking the necessary and relevant social conditions of that time into account – to the general principles upon which the entire teaching converges. Second, from this general level, there must be a movement back to specific legislation, taking into account the necessary and relevant social conditions now obtaining. (p. 20)

Rahman (1984) maintains that the Qur'an was a response through the Prophet's (PBUH) mind to the 'moral-social situation of the prophet's Arabia'; therefore, with a 'historical mindedness', one has to be aware of the historical situation to which the Qur'an was a response. Thus, according to the principle of deduction, guidance for modern issues can be drawn. Rahman (1984) has highlighted the communal and ethical aspect of the Qur'an, which could provide insights for rethinking political issues, including those related to citizenship. He did not, however, elaborate a compacted political philosophy consistent

with the modern world and anchored in Islamic thought, though he did push Islamic thought on this important dimension.

However, it is unfortunate that there is not enough space for such intellectuals within Muslim societies because of the profound influence of traditional *ulema* in politics.

Rahman's progressive spirit was unacceptable in religious circles, and he had to flee Pakistan in 1968 because of life threats from religiopolitical parties in the country.

Rahman's exile is illustrative of the limited space for critical engagement in Muslim societies.

Nonetheless, the role of Islam can be seen in the political affairs of Muslim polities because all Muslim polities engage with Islam albeit with different interpretations of Islam.

One example is the idea and practice of citizenship in Southeast Asian Muslim countries.

In Indonesia and Malaysia, the debate about citizenship is shaped by the 'evolving attitude and interpretation of Islamic norms and regulations' (Kloos & Berenschot, 2017, p. 201).

There is a growing number of Islamic organisations seeking a more literalist interpretation of Islam; however, various voices are arguing for contextualised interpretations of religious injunctions. In both cases, Islam plays a vital role in shaping the interpretation of the nature of the relationship of citizens with the state (Kloos & Berenschot, 2017), each representing one of the two contesting discourses on Islam in terms of the contesting notions of citizenship.

Similarly, a contrast between Saudi Arabia and Iran is another distinct example of two significant but different interpretations of Islam, Sunni and Shia, are being enacted in the public discourse and political affairs of society. Among the countries subject to Sunni Islam, Turkey and Saudi Arabia represent two different interpretations enacted on public discourse. The story of Pakistan is yet another example of how citizenship and citizenship

education have become contested in a way which is highly influenced by the narratives of Islam. This has already been discussed in the previous chapter.

The discussion in the above paragraphs indicates that different cultures and traditions play a vital role in developing multiple conceptualisations of citizenship in varied contexts and one of the important factors to play a role in the overall dynamics of citizenship is religion. Contrary to secularisation theories, religion has found ways and means to express itself in a variety of forms in different contexts. Within liberal states, managing religious pluralism has implications for citizenship discourse, whereas, in Muslim contexts, the multiple interpretations of Islam and other factors play a vital role in the conceptualisation and reification of citizenship discourses. Beyond from their internal specificities, all nation-states are being influenced by globalisation to various degrees and extents. In the web of these contesting ideas and practices, citizenship discourses are characterised by contextual specificities and commonalities, which then pave the way for the possibility of multiple citizenship education discourses.

However, it is important to realise that there are shared problems, concepts, and issues across the globe that make the analytical categories of citizenship relevant to societies worldwide. For example, the nation-state plays a critical role across all societies. Moreover, the challenge of preparing students to participate in the overall development of society and understand their roles and responsibilities as citizens in an interdependent world (Banks, 2004) is a global challenge. Therefore, curricula, teachers and policies do matter, and likewise, students' agency is central. Though defined differently in different contexts, instilling a concept of citizenship in students is the primary job of citizenship education with verities of frameworks.

The Frameworks of Citizenship Education

Different nation-states use civic and citizenship education as part of their curriculum to mould future citizens. This can be through 'a policy initiated by a government, a program run

in a school, a lesson taught by a teacher or an activity experienced by a student' (Kennedy, 2012 p. 123). Citizenship education is taught as a compulsory or optional subject depending upon the particular policy decision of a state. It can be delivered as a single subject or via a cross-curricular theme embedded in different social science subjects or as part of co-curricular activities (Kennedy, 2008). However, the content of citizenship education is 'often less codified and less formalised compared to other subjects' (Troney-Purta et al., cited in Kennedy, 2012, p. 123).

The primary objective of citizenship education is the preparation of citizens for their role in society; it is the central objective of all citizenship education programmes and involves the acquisition of certain knowledge, skills and values. Whether democratic or authoritarian, all the nation-states use citizenship education as part of the school curriculum. However, the nature and form of citizenship education vary depending upon the vision of respective societies regarding the roles and the kind of citizens they want to produce.

Various names are used for the subject, such as citizenship education, civic education, civic and citizenship education or moral education depending upon the different context. For example, in the United States, it is called civic education; in the UK, it is called citizenship education; in Australia, civic and citizenship education; in China, political, ideological or moral education; and in Hong Kong, it is called civic and moral education. However, it is important to recognize that citizenship education, in its varied forms and with its varied objectives, is promoted in almost all nation-states ranging from democratic, semi-democratic to authoritarian regimes. Most democratic states use citizenship education to promote and strengthen democracy. Likewise, authoritarian states use it to strengthen their legitimacy and therefore, it is used across all countries to prepare the students with the different roles that the respective countries expect from their citizens (Kennedy, 2019).

In this endeavour, schools play a vital role, but other factors, including the broader environment, family and media, also play a vital part in preparing students for their roles. Therefore, citizenship education is a contextual process developed to respond to contextual needs and values (Kennedy, 2019). It is an apparent phenomenon that states are not working in isolation. They are influenced by a multitude of factors, including globalisation, fundamentalism and many other endogenous and exogenous forces that emerge at different times, and citizenship education has to take stock of all the factors that influence the expected roles that a state may envision for its citizens. In this sense, citizenship education is a contextual phenomenon but is also connected with regional or global dynamics.

In its generic nature, one may say that citizenship education is about instilling citizenship, albeit citizenship conceptualised in varieties of ways in varieties of contexts. In common parlance, citizenship is defined in a more legal way as referring to one's status and thereby, it is about the rights, responsibilities, and identity of individuals as members of a nation-state. However, on a much deeper level, it is more about participation in decision-making processes which may require thought about the broader interests of a community beyond one's personal preferences and interests. It includes a knowledge dimension that may help an individual understand society, particularly in terms of political structures and processes, and participation to promote the common good of society. These multiple aspects of citizenship make it a complex concept characterised by a tension between its narrow definition, as a legal status; a definition that defines it more in terms of knowledge and skills required for participation; and finally, a much broader definition that is constitutive of the combination of knowledge, skills and dispositions that makes constructive engagement possible in terms of promoting the general good of society (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). The very question of how to inculcate citizenship constitutes the domain of citizenship education.

Haste (2004) maintains that there have been two important approaches to citizenship education, emphasising the knowledge or praxis dimension of citizenship. The first approach suggests that by equipping students with the desired knowledge and information about citizenship, students may be able to understand and participate in the affairs of society. It is generally represented by the traditional model of civic education that subscribes to the idea that equipping students with knowledge about political institutions and structures is enough to motivate students to be active citizens. This approach was based upon cognitive theories of learning that primarily focused on learning activities merely as a cognitive function.

However, the praxis model assumes practical and theoretical dimensions and argues for the need to engage students practically in various activities and different tasks (Haste, 2004).

The emphasis on the praxis dimension of citizenship education has led to what is known as new civics, which is grounded in recognising the civic experiences of youth in terms of making them understand and construct meaning from the challenges, issues, processes and social dynamics of society and which cumulatively lead to citizenship education. The new civics model is based upon cultural theories of learning, which highlight that the learning results of an individual are not only resultant from teaching information. Instead, they come about as a result of the interactions of individuals with the broader culture through dialogue and actions within a social context (Carretero et al., 2016).

Thus, citizenship education across different countries may be conceived more as a combination of knowledge, skills and specific values and dispositions. The knowledge may include knowledge about political and civic structures, processes, rights and responsibilities and many other factors; skills may include intellectual and social and participatory skills underpinned by specific values and dispositions (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). Moreover, the values and dispositions may differ in different regimes and states depending upon the overarching nature of the state.

In societies which are democratic or have democratic aspirations, citizenship education is primarily used to strengthen the democracy's institutions, processes and values (Kennedy, 2019). Thus, it is primarily aimed at consolidating democracy in its various manifestations. Nevertheless, the common challenge for all citizenship education programmes is developing unity and cohesion in societies characterised by internal diversity which have become more diverse due to global migration. Maintaining a balance between diversity and unity is a challenging task. The traditional assimilationist notions of citizenship cannot respond adequately to the challenges of diversity as the internal polarisation and marginalisation of communities may develop sub-group identities and loyalties underpinned by ambivalent attitudes towards the state and thereby challenge the national identifications and cohesion of society. Instead of developing cohesion in the society, this can lead to the development of 'failed citizenship'. Therefore, cultural citizenship, differentiated citizenship or transformative citizenship narratives have emerged to address diversity with its concomitant conceptualisations in educational discourses.

Additionally, new challenges have been posed by the situation created by the contradictory but coexisting forces of globalisation and nationalism. Globalisation became a buzzword in the 1990s, in reference to 'economic integration', 'technological innovation', 'greater mobility, unprecedented improvement in communication, and many other areas. It has squeezed time and space to the extent that the world has become a global village metaphorically speaking. It is underpinned by the economic neo-liberal view that argues for the promotion of free trade across borders. The rationale for trickle-down effects of the free market is used to justify such free trade. The hope of job creation as a result of investment is proposed as yet another rationale that has been used to justify the neo-liberal world view. The state's role has been redefined as being to protect and provide a conducive environment for free trade. It redefined the concept of state by abdicating it in practical terms to the maximum

extent of its social responsibilities towards its citizens. In a way, it throws the citizen into the ocean of the global market to survive on his own without depending upon the state. The individual becomes a ‘self-regulating citizen’ (Kennedy, 2019). Globalisation, underpinned by the neo-liberal view, has tended to support global capitalist companies and corporations but not poor citizens of a state.

The other implication of globalisation for citizenship is the rise of the ‘global citizen’ or ‘global citizenship’. This is an old concept dating back as far as Greek time, but it has emerged more fully on the intellectual spectrum within the overall context of globalisation. Oxley & Morris (2013) propose a typology of ‘Global Citizenship’ (GC) and identify its eight principal conceptions, which are grouped into two broad forms, namely ‘cosmopolitan’- and ‘advocacy’-based conceptions of GC. The cosmopolitan conceptions are considered mainstream and include ‘political, moral, economic and cultural forms’ of GC. Advocacy-based forms of GC are considered alternative conceptions and include social, critical, environmental and spiritual conceptions of GC.

The re-articulation of citizenship discourse with the addition of the epithet ‘global’ has led to rethinking in terms of citizenship education programmes and courses to help students acquire the necessary knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to work in and beyond nation-states. Many countries such as the US, China, Canada, South Korea and many European countries have started to add curricular content aimed at helping students develop a global orientation in their outlook and approach. These contents are grouped under the title of ‘Global Citizenship Education’ (GCE) (Goren and Yemini, 2017, p. 170). Owing to its importance, international non-governmental organisations such as UNESCO and Oxfam have also been advocating for Global Citizenship Education in different ways as well.

While considering global citizenship, Dill proposes two main approaches to GCE, which he refers to as the ‘global competencies approach’ and ‘global consciousness approach’. The former helps students equip themselves with the required ‘skills to compete in a global society, whereas the latter provides students with an orientation of life that is empathetic and culturally sensitive and stemming from a humanistic outlook and values (Dill, cited in Goren & Yemini, 2017, p. 171).

There are, however, concerns expressed by different scholars about the possibility of global citizenship. Parekh argues that GC is impossible because of the perceived absence of a global ruling authority such as a global state or global governance. He rejects the idea of the ‘global citizen’ with ‘no political home’ but instead argues for the idea of a globally-oriented citizen (Cited in Oxley & Morris, 2013, p. 303). Moreover, the globalised world does not negate the role of the nation-state. The nation-state’s model continues to dominate the political imagination. The robust structures of governance in states, increasing focus on national security in the wake of September 11, 2001, and the financial crisis of 2008 have propelled the nation-state model to a central position with more power and strength and thus continue to grip the political imagination. This is what Kennedy (2010) calls ‘neo-statism’. One implication of neo-statism is the strengthening of state-centric citizenship, and the narrative of global citizenship or global citizenship education is thus only a dimension of citizenship education discourse.

Thus, within this citizenship education discourse, ‘citizenship education programs should help students develop thoughtful and clarified identifications with their cultural communities and nation-states. It should help them to develop clarified global identifications and deep understandings of their roles in the world community’ (Banks, 2004, p. 300). Such conceptualisations of citizenship education presuppose the broader aspirations of society for democracy not just in the sense of some institutional practice but as a regime type. The civic

and citizenship education curriculum in democratic countries expects their students to be proficient in two areas. First, they are required to understand their civic context, which influences them, and second, they must be motivated and willing to participate in the political process. However, these expectations presuppose a commitment and support among students for democratic processes because the discourses on civic and citizenship education in democratic societies presume democracy either as a given of the contemporary political landscape or an aspiration which all societies strive to achieve (Kennedy, 2019).

Thus, objectives of citizenship education programmes have remained focused on the ‘consolidation of democracy’ (Kennedy, 2019). The programmes aim to equip students with the necessary knowledge, skills, and dispositions that may help them to understand democratic institutions, develop democratic values, and engage them in the political sphere of society through various engagements. As such, the notions of the ‘good citizen’ have been proposed within the Western context. However, the notion of the good citizen has a long history dating back to Plato.

In modern Western political history, however, the narrative runs through Kant’s typology of ‘positive citizens’ and ‘negative citizens’ to Banks’ (2008) typology of the ‘legal’, ‘minimal’, ‘active’, and ‘transformative’ citizen. Another important typology of the good citizen was proposed by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), and was used as a basic theoretical framework by certain researchers such as Li and Tan (2017) to study civic education and the notions of good citizens. The framework suggests three kinds of citizens: ‘personally responsible citizens’, ‘participatory citizens’ and ‘justice-oriented citizens’. The fundamental question they asked related to the kind of citizens needed to support democracy and democratic society. The answer lay in developing justice-oriented citizens. Nevertheless, what is important to note is that this framework, like other citizenship education programmes and frameworks, presumes democracy as a given feature of the political landscape.

However, this basic presumption about democracy is under question. The rise of populist nationalism with the simultaneous strengthening of right-wing politics, global terrorism, global migration, and globalisation has created conditions leading to the deconsolidation of democracy. Kennedy (2019) has argued that ‘globalisation’, ‘populism’, ‘fundamentalism’ and the ‘negative use of media’ are contributing towards this ‘deconsolidation of democracy’, and therefore, a framework for citizenship education needs to be developed that not only strengthens democracy but also prepares students to defend it from democratic deconsolidation.

Kennedy (2019) argues that students must be equipped to assess the claims challenging democracy critically and, therefore, they need to be equipped with the knowledge and skills that may enable them to critically assess both consolidation and deconsolidation processes of democracy by critically evaluating information, competing perspectives, and being able to make decisions grounded in moral and ethical orientations and values. He argues for the need to develop future citizen as ‘knowledgeable citizens’, ‘engaged citizens’, and ‘tolerant citizens’.

Knowledgeable citizens are conceived not only as having information but also being aware of political structures and equipped with critical thinking skills, making them capable of understanding and approaching issues with a critical outlook. Engaged citizens are expected to be engaged in the issues, particularly in the realm of politics. Here, it is important to emphasise that the theme of participation is central to the citizenship education discourse and that there are many dimensions to participation such as engagement in ‘conventional political activities’, ‘voluntary community activities’, ‘activities that seek to change political and social directions’ and engagement in ‘self-regulating activities’. In this context, critical understanding of the issues and practical involvement with a commitment to improve things can be a distinctive feature of engaged citizens. The tolerant citizen is expected to cherish

commonalities and find rationales for difference. An inclusivist approach and regard for all humanity is yet another feature of a tolerant citizen.

In preparing knowledgeable, engaged and tolerant citizens of the future, Kennedy (2019) considers the role of the ‘school learning environment’ and the ‘community learning environment’ to be pivotal. He identifies specific characteristics of these environments, which he considers necessary for facilitating the development of any citizenship education framework. Accordingly, the school learning environment should be characterised by at least four essential features: preparation of teachers to ‘professionalise CCE’, willingness and commitment of school leadership in terms of providing ‘leadership for civic learning’, a clear and explicit articulation of the curriculum with allocated time so as to create ‘CCE curriculum space’ and the adoption of ‘pedagogies of engagements’ which may ‘promote authentic and dynamic learning’ (p. 58).

Likewise, he emphasises the need to take into account the changing environment wherein social media plays a vital role as an alternate civic engagement site. The nature of civic engagement on social media is of a ‘non-conventional nature’, and any framework of citizenship education which aims to develop future citizens must take this into account.

Likewise, the role of ‘peers and parents’ in terms of influencing ‘personal citizenship values’ and the role of ‘community organisations’ in contributing to ‘networked learning’ should also be considered because these factors may play a vital role in constructing future citizens (p. 59).

The concepts discussed in the frameworks mentioned above will be used to explain different dimensions of citizenship education discourse in Pakistan as they deal with the issues of citizenship education that may arise in a context that may be democratic or aspiring to democracy. Although there is debate about the spirit and strength of democracy in Pakistan,

the role of powerful institutions is considered a key factor which influences the overall political dynamics of the country. However, the context is one in which democratic aspirations with contesting views play an important role in shaping political imagination. It is, in principle, an independent sovereign state with a constitution that provides the basis for the rule of law and protection of fundamental rights. It has a functional parliament with representative democracy and thereby meets the minimum requirements of a democratic state. Thus, this study has configured different concepts from the above-explained citizenship education frameworks as analytical categories through which to analyse Pakistan's citizenship education discourse.

However, to understand aspects of citizenship education specific to GB, Paulo Freire's (1993) concept of education has also been used. Freire avoids the use of the word citizenship, but he offers up a philosophy of education that seems relevant to areas in which people remain oppressed through education. His *Pedagogy of Oppressed* (1993) discusses how education cannot be a 'politically neutral activity' and how it can be used as a 'tool of oppression'. He argues for the transformation of education as an emancipatory activity through '*conscientizacao*', conscientisation, or critical consciousness, which requires individuals to understand the social, political and economic contradictions and act to transform society.

According to Freire, human beings are 'beings of the praxis, differ from animals, which are beings of pure activity. Animals do not consider the world; they are immersed in it. In contrast, human being emerges from the world, objectify it and transform it with their labor' (p. 106). 'Praxis', according to Freire, is both 'action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it' (p. 60). In this sense, education should be the 'practice of freedom' not the 'practice of domination'. Heater (1990) maintains that for Freire, 'the purpose of education for the politically, socially and economically oppressed is to render them critically aware of this reality and so strengthen their will to exact reform' (p. 139). It is,

however, important to mention that Freire insists on the need to ‘teach students to combine critique with hope’ so that the students may be taught ‘to critique the injustice in the world’ but also be able ‘to formulate possibilities for action to change the world to make it more democratic and just. Critique without hope can leave students disillusioned and without agency’ (Banks, 2003, p. 18). The strength of Freire’s critical approach is that it has a teleological dimension for transformation of society that is also spurred by hope.

The main reason for oppression for Freire is the ‘banking concept of education’, which promotes and strengthens the ‘fear of freedom’ among the oppressed and makes them ‘confuse freedom with the maintenance of status quo’ (Freire, 1993, p. 18). It is an act of depositing, in which students are depositories, and the teacher is the depositor. The scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing and storing the deposit. It establishes a hierarchical relationship between students and teachers in such a manner that inquiry and praxis are not promoted. It makes students deposit and memorise more than engaging critically with the issues, and therefore it ‘minimises or annul the students’ creative power’ and ‘stimulates their credulity’ towards serving the ‘interests of the oppressors’ (p. 54). It alienates the person from the world by developing a sharp dichotomy between the individual and the world that he/she may inhabit, which makes him/her unconsciously unconcerned about what is happening out there. In a nutshell, the banking concept of education contributes to maintaining the status quo and continuing the practice of domination by ‘changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them’ (Freire, 1993, p. 55).

By contrast, the ‘problem-posing education’ helps develop ‘consciousness as consciousness intent upon the world’. It replaces the vertical relationship between the teacher and the student with a horizontal relationship that can be maintained through a dialogical process that helps both teacher and student become a co-partner in learning. ‘Through dialogue, the

teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist, and a new term emerges teacher-student and student-teachers' (Freire, 1993, p. 62). This redefines students as active agents who can contribute and can bring about transformative change in society.

Freire, although focused on the issues of pedagogy as also uses them as a window to demonstrate how patterns of domination are maintained through education and how they can be transformed through '*conscientizacao*', 'conscientisation', or 'critical consciousness, which makes education as an emancipatory activity by invoking the concept of praxis which means an 'action illuminated by theory and reflection'. The idea of praxis is at the heart of citizenship education because the modern discourse of citizenship education also emphasises making students aware of their existential reality in terms of political structures, processes, and the environment, whether they are local, national or global. They also seek to prepare students to participate in society, especially at the political level. The emphasis on political participation is important due to the fact that the realm of politics is what significantly influences the human existential situation.

Freire's concept of education can help explain the dynamics in GB because it is the only region under the control of Pakistan where 'imprints of colonialism' are continued in the 'so-called post-colonial period'. 'Post-colonial colonialism', as discussed by Sökefeld, was introduced in Chapter Two along with the concept of how it is continued through 'changing modes of dominations' (Sökefeld, 2005) in GB. The practice of hegemony, not in the Gramscian sense of controlling ideology but simply through 'a practical hegemony' of state institutions (Sökefeld, 2005), has become the hallmark of its political identity. These dominating practices are born out of the womb of political uncertainty and ambiguity within the area, which has been kept politically marginalised since the creation of Pakistan. Moreover, the religious anxieties shaped by the Shia majority's interrelationship with the Sunni minority in a country that otherwise has a Sunni majority have led to religious factors

filling the gap created by the lack of opportunities for political activism. In such a context, conclusions about citizenship and citizenship education issues may be sharpened by adopting some of Freire's approaches, too, especially in terms of his concepts of conscientisation praxis and the banking system of education.

Conclusion

In this chapter, an overarching conceptual framework has been developed to guide the analysis of this research project. It has been discussed how this study will be conducted across the areas of religion, politics, and education. Thus, a framework that may weld these aspects together in to support the construction of an overarching analytical frame of analysis was necessary. Pakistan came into being based on 'religious belonging'. Therefore, it is considered a kind of a 'Muslim Zion' (Devji, 2013) due to the centrality of the role of Islam as the rationale for its existence. Islam has played a central role in Pakistan since its inception. Therefore, in the first part of the chapter, the role of religion in the modern world, in general, was theorised in order to place the case of Pakistan in the broader framework of debate. The idea of the centrality of the role of Islam offers an overarching perspective by which to analyse the debates about citizenship and citizenship education in Pakistan and GB. It has invoked different concepts from the international literature on citizenship and citizenship education and configured them in a particular fashion to allow for analysis of the issues of citizenship and citizenship education as analytical categories. These include but are not limited to the concept of social citizenship, republican versus liberal perspectives on citizenship, elements from Banks' (2017) concept of citizenship typology and elements from Kennedy's (2019) framework on civic and citizenship education. In order to make sense of additional political and religious anxieties specific to GB, Freire's (1993) critical approach to education has also been invoked.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

This chapter primarily aims to discuss the methodological considerations and methods guiding this research project to address the research questions. The main research question is restated here : *‘How do Pakistan Studies teachers in the politically disputed territory of Gilgit-Baltistan make sense of citizenship and citizenship education while teaching a syllabus oriented toward Pakistan’s overall needs and aspirations and does not address the many types of complexities of Gilgit-Baltistan?’*

The chapter discusses the research methodology and methodological considerations adopted and tailored according to the requirements of the research questions and the needs of the research challenges. It is important to reiterate that this research has been conducted in a time of crisis, from its inception to its completion. Therefore, the challenges that provided an overall context for adopting and adjusting the research methods need to be appreciated and understood.

Thus, in the first part of the chapter, the research challenges have been discussed as a pretext for the research methods employed in this research project. The discussion on research challenges appears at the outset of this chapter because they frame any discussions which follow in this chapter. The second part discusses the methodological considerations that underpin the study. The third part discusses the research methods which are used to conduct the study, including discussions about data collection and data analysis. The last part discusses the ethical considerations and the issues of validity involved in the study, followed by a compacted conclusion at the end of the chapter.

Research Challenges

There have been several challenges that have affected this research project. The challenges made it apparent that conducting PhD research in times of crisis is emotionally and intellectually consuming and physically tiring. What follows is a description of the series of crisis that made the research project extremely challenging from its inception to its completion. The most challenging dimension of the research was faced during the data collection process.

The Hong Kong Protests

The journey from writing the proposal to the dissertation was carried out in an environment characterised by uncertainty, fear and anxiety. One of the crises that badly influenced this study was the political crisis and disruption created by the 2019-2020 Hong Kong Protests which began in the summer of 2019. The protests erupted in response to the ‘Extradition Law Amendment Bill’, and therefore, they are also referred to as the ‘Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement’. From June 2019 through to the end of the year there were periodic disruptions and concomitant disturbances. At times, it created such a difficult atmosphere that the university authorities formally called a meeting with non-local students and asked them to leave the city for their own safety.

Meanwhile, the Pakistan Consulate in Hong Kong also issued an advisory asking students to leave for Pakistan. The availability of studentship for a limited period of three years and the desire for timely completion of my degree were two key considerations that led to me deciding to stay on campus and continue working on the thesis proposal and preparing for a qualifying presentation. There was a significant risk involved with making this decision. In this context, it was natural to be emotionally affected and, at times, frightened by these

developments while staying on campus against all the advice of the university and consulate. Under these conditions of uncertainty and fear, my qualifying presentation was made successfully in December 2019. It was a significant relief to be ready for data collection.

The Outbreak of the Covid-19 Pandemic

By the end of December 2019, the researcher arrived in Pakistan in order to collect data, by the time the schools' winter holidays started in GB. Generally, winter holidays in GB start in January or at the end of December and continue until the end of February or mid-March. It was planned to enrich the literature review by making visits to local universities and libraries in Pakistan to look for literature produced in the Urdu language that could not be found on the internet. This was at a time when the COVID-19 pandemic had already started in China and began spreading to other countries.

By March, there was an outbreak in Pakistan too, and all the schools and colleges were closed. Just a day before the lockdowns and disruption of inter-provincial transportation, I arrived in GB, the data collection site. The intra-city and inter-city transportation were disrupted. Anxiety, fear and stress, coupled with rumours and despondency seemed to shroud the overall environment. These were natural corollaries of the sudden pandemic outbreak, especially in an area lacking even basic health facilities. The periodic lockdowns, which were called smart lockdowns, continued until the middle of September 2020.

The Challenge of Arranging Interviews and Shifting Strategies

In an environment that was disrupted by the pandemic, people were scared of meeting each other. Movement became almost impossible. It was a very challenging job to identify potential participants and convince them to take part and arrange interviews with these

teachers. The schools and colleges remained closed for almost an entire academic year. Thus, it was important to find other means and ways of approaching teachers without compromising the research rigour and integrity of the data collection process. Having remained a school & college principal in the area, I was privileged to have some contacts within the teaching fraternity. I utilised that cultural capital and invited certain individuals to participate through my teaching contacts. Requests were made to visit them at their homes, and they were kind enough to allow the visits. However, they had an untold apprehension that I could be a potential source of COVID-19 for their families because I had returned from Hong Kong, China.

At the height of the pandemic by June 2020, I had managed to interview only four participants. I decided to take another risk and started visiting different districts to approach teachers even during the lockdowns. On occasion, the police interrupted, and I was nearly arrested for violating lockdown and travelling in a personally hired taxi from one district/city to another, but thanks to the help of one of my friends working in the bureaucracy, I avoided imprisonment. The conditions were such that it was utterly challenging to continue with face-to-face interviews. It was at this stage that the decision was made to ask teachers for interviews via their mobile phones. After a struggle to obtain the contacts for teachers who were teaching in different cities, I managed to get telephonic/mobile interviews with six teachers.

From the middle of September 2020, lockdowns eased and schools and colleges opened with SOPs. I tried to approach teachers at the schools. However, because of the pandemic fear, or unavailability of teachers at schools or the commitment to compensate for the ways in which students had suffered academically during the lockdowns, most of the teachers were not keen to participate in interviews as they were not seen as being beneficial to

them. After another four months, I managed to interview six more participants face-to-face, by mid-December 2020.

The Unavailability of Basic Resources in the Field

A significant challenge that was very vexing during the data collection was the power/electricity and internet problem. GB is an area which is hard hit by a power crisis and an inadequate internet system. It was normal to have sixteen to eighteen hours of load-shedding/power disruption in a day, especially in Hunza and generally in GB. Thus, it was, at times, frustrating to work in such an environment. A fuel generator was arranged to overcome the difficulty, but arranging fuel daily was also challenging for such a long period.

Moreover, there was no 4G internet in the area. The internet was too slow. It took much longer than expected to download an article or an audio lecture. Since it is a mountainous region, periodic landslides causes internet fibre disconnection for hours and occasionally even for days. Sometimes, it was felt as if time had turned back. These challenges contributed to disturbing the smooth working of the research project.

The Pandemic and the Challenge of Mobility

The pandemic has impacted all spheres of human life and all strata of society in multitudes of ways. One of the vital areas of impact has been in terms of restricted mobility.

Globalisation is generally considered a breakthrough in terms of squeezing time and space but, based on the researcher's anecdotal evidence, the pandemic has again expanded space and expanded physical distances. Its impact is very obvious to researchers and students who have to meet deadlines for research projects, especially in the context of having to travel to a different country to collect data.

Upon completion of the data collection, it was challenging to plan a smooth journey back to Hong Kong. I spent around a month in Islamabad while returning to Hong Kong, waiting for space in a government-designated hotel for the compulsory 21-day quarantine period. Needless to say, making pre-travel arrangements in terms of getting tested to check for COVID-19 was in itself a psychologically tortuous process. In the post-arrival time, going through medical tests at the airport, waiting for hours for the result under heightened scepticism and uncertainty, and getting scanned by suspicious security personnel poured salt on the wound.

Getting Quarantined: A Prisoner or a Patient but Not a Hotel Guest

Moreover, the 21-days compulsory quarantine with periodic medical tests was another extremely frustrating experience. It was found easy to have free advice many mates and well-wishers to concentrate on study but incarceration in a single room, where even the freedom to step outside the room was prohibited, did not promote a creative sojourn. Staying in a hotel on regular days is quite different from being quarantined in a hotel room because quarantine redefines the notion of the hotel and transforms and defines the guest as a prisoner surviving under the fear of being defined as a patient with little chance of survival. It was a process of imbibing Foucault's (1997) 'Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison'.

After going through all these challenges and fighting against all the odds of a pandemic while engaging in a research project, still, the fight between the hope for completion of the PhD in time had to overcome the emotional crisis of the pandemic and the fear of failure. After all, struggle in itself is the meaning of life. However, it became very apparent from my journey that doing a PhD in a pandemic is a very emotional and physically tiring experience, but the hope of it being rewarding was what revitalized me ultimately. Having

discussed the overall research challenges that provided the context of this study, the following section now discusses the chosen research methodology and research methods.

Research Methodology: Some Considerations

This research project is an endeavour in qualitative research that seeks to study teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education in a Muslim context characterised by different anxieties. It is a globally accepted norm in academic research that every research endeavour is underpinned by certain philosophical assumptions that guide its overall process. Thus, it is of paramount importance that a researcher is aware of his/her assumptions because they play a vital role in shaping the research question, pattern of analysis, and tone of discussion. These assumptions include assumptions about the ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology constitutive of the 'interpretative paradigm' (Denzin & Linchon, 2011) or 'world view' (Creswell & Poth, 2018) of the researcher.

Different positions on these beliefs and assumptions inform various interpretative frameworks such as post-positivism, social constructivism, postmodern perspectives, pragmatism, feminist theories, critical theory and critical race theory along with many others. These interpretive frameworks then inform different research approaches/research methodologies such as phenomenology, grounded theory, discourse analysis, case study, and a whole variety of others (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Denzin & Linchon, 2011).

The Role of Interpretative Framework

Analytic methods involved in any research project need to be informed by a specific interpretative framework (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The interpretative frameworks are generally embedded in research methodologies that inform and shapes the analytical methods. However, a researcher may also construct an interpretative framework which can

then be used to underpin the analytical methods of the study as is the case with thematic analysis (Clarke et al., 2015).

Thus, qualitative analytical methods are generally grouped into two categories. Some of them are ‘tied to or stemming from a particular theoretical or epistemological position’ such as interpretative phenomenological analysis, narrative analysis or discourse analysis, whereas others are independent of pre-defined theoretical frameworks such as thematic analysis. They can be underpinned by certain theoretical or epistemological positions chosen by the researcher (Braun & Clark, 2006).

Why Thematic Analysis?

In the study at hand, a pre-existing research methodology underpinned by an inbuilt interpretive framework was not chosen because a single research methodology did not wholly fit with the overall needs of the research nor did it completely not fit in terms of addressing the nature of the research questions involved. This is due to the fact that methodologies are underpinned by ‘guiding theoretical assumptions and recommendations or prescriptions for particular kinds of research questions and ideal methods of data collection’ (Clarke et al., 2015 pp. 223-224).

Each methodology needs to be tailored to the nature of the questions consistent with the respective epistemological positions. For example, interpretative phenomenological analysis is rooted in epistemological phenomenology that focuses on understanding the essence of a conscious human experience of a phenomenon. Accordingly, the research question focuses on ‘ideography’ (Smith & Osborn, 2015). Likewise, in phenomenography, one of the primary considerations is to focus upon different ways of experiencing a phenomenon by the study participants. Thus, it focuses upon how a phenomenon is experienced differently (Matron & Booth, 1997).

This research project addresses, on the one hand, citizenship as a matter of peoples' lived experiences to identify not only a commonality of understanding but also the possibility of looking for diverse approaches. On the other hand, it also looks into how people interpret at their world's social construction in a politically disputed territory, including in the areas of citizenship and citizenship education, with a critical perspective. Thus, the research project has a wide range of focus research questions, which helps develop a holistic picture of citizenship education discourse in GB.

Imposing a pre-defined methodology would not encapsulate all the broad foci of the research question. For example, the study looks at finding a commonality of understanding for citizenship and citizenship education and how teachers experience it differently. It looks upon the role of the political and religious contexts in shaping their understanding. It also includes a critical look at the power relations which play out in the context of GB. The dynamic interplay between the different interpretations of Islam followed by the people and the dominant narrative of Islam imposed by the state is yet another consideration.

Thus, the overall research question involves numerous aspects of citizenship and citizenship education that are being deciphered in this study. It focuses not only on the essence of citizenship and citizenship education discourse and the different ways of experiencing or undertaking critical discourse analysis, but it also encapsulates a combination of certain elements of all these approaches. Therefore, imposing a single pre-defined research methodology would require converging all the foci into a single pattern by compromising the complexity of the issue or distorting the data and analysis of the phenomena in a specific fashion. Therefore, a pre-defined research methodology has not been adopted.

Adopting Thematic Analysis

By keeping in mind the broader foci of the research question and adopting a flexible theoretical framework, this study is guided by thematic analysis both as a method and methodology. It is chosen because of its flexibility in terms of allowing for a theoretical framework fitting to the research needs and also because of its suitability ‘to a wide range of research questions—from experiential questions about people’s lived experiences and perspectives and critical questions about the social construction of reality’ (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 228). It is adopted because it ‘offers an accessible and theoretically flexible approach to analyzing qualitative data’ (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.77).

Thematic analysis (TA) is ‘a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns [themes] within data’. When this analysis is conducted in relation to certain epistemological and ontological positions reflected in a theoretical framework, it qualifies as a methodology. These positions, epistemological and ontological, are chosen by a researcher (Braun & Clark, 2006). The possibility of owing to different epistemological and ontological positions can, on the one hand, open the space for building different theoretical frameworks to be used in the thematic analysis. On the other hand, the tools and techniques available in thematic analysis can also be used across different theoretical frameworks. Therefore, the distinctive feature of thematic analysis is its flexibility in terms of its usage across different theoretical frameworks and in terms of providing space for a researcher to choose his own epistemological and ontological positions instead of adopting or imposing a pre-defined research methodology such as IPA or discourse analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke et al., 2015).

However, this is not to imply that thematic analysis is a non-theoretical method or that it may presume a realist or an essentialist method. It is simply not wedded to any ‘pre-existing theoretical framework’. The flexible nature of TA provides space to develop a ‘good fit in’

research design by choosing a theoretical framework, research question, data collection method, and methods for conducting the research from the numerous identifiable methods (Terry et al., 2017). It needs to be underpinned by a theoretical framework such as critical realism or constructionism, and that it may be made explicit, keeping the nature of the research project in view. The theoretical underpinning chosen by the researcher and its widely used analytical methods qualifies thematic analysis to be a methodology equipped with both theory and an analytical method of analysis (Terry et al., 2017; Clarke et al., 2015; Braun & Clarke, 2006).

A Social Constructionist Approach

The thematic analysis in this study is underpinned by the constructionist framework that helps support the idea that ‘meaning and experiences are socially produced and reproduced rather than inhering within individual’ (Baun & Clark 2006, p. 85). It is, however, important to mention that terms such as constructivism and constructionism are also used interchangeably. Constructivism focuses more on the psychological and cognitive aspects of knowledge, wherein social reality is considered a mental construct involving cognitive processes. Therefore, constructivism is considered to be a cognitive and highly subjective process. By contrast, social constructionism focuses more on the social aspects of knowledge construction (Young & Colin, 2004; Galbin, 2014).

It emphasises that the construction of knowledge occurs within psychological and social spheres wherein culture and context play a vital role in constructing knowledge about a phenomenon or a concept (Fouts & Lee, 2005). In this study, social constructionism is meant to refer to an approach towards the knowledge that presumes that social context plays a vital role in constructing perspectives on social phenomena. It is inspired by Luckman and Berger’s (1966, 1991) social construction of reality that emphasises that people develop

knowledge of the world in a social context through their actions and interactions in society. The phases involved in constructing knowledge about the social world are ‘externalization’, ‘objectivation’ and ‘internalization’. It is essential to acknowledge that society, in this sense, exists both as a subjective fact and objective reality and that the knowledge about that reality is socially constructed through the phases as elaborated by Luckman and Berger (1966, 1991).

The thematic analysis conducted in this study is guided by the constructionist approach, which focuses more on the socio-cultural context in terms of its role in constructing the meaning and experiences of individuals than on ‘individual psychologies’ or ‘personal motivations’. In this research study, the broader political context of Pakistan, the interplay of religious and political anxieties which are specific to GB, the overall state of education and the role of Islam in state affairs and in influencing the perspectives of teachers are all looked upon as contributing to the socio-cultural context in order to help understand how teachers make sense of citizenship education discourse. In a way, the discourse is seen as ‘an effect of a range of discourses’ operating within the socio-cultural context of the study.

Research Method

Data Collection Methods

As has been clarified at the outset of this chapter, this research project seeks to study teachers’ understanding of citizenship and citizenship education in GB. In order to collect the data, semi-structured interviews with teachers engaged in teaching Pakistan Studies were conducted as it is considered the most common method of data collection used in qualitative research to explore how the world is perceived by the participants (King et al., 2019).

Before embarking upon the interviews, an interview protocol was developed, attached as Appendix-A to this dissertation. The interview questions were deliberately ‘flexible and open-ended’ and tended ‘to focus on actual experiences’ of teachers (King et al., 2019, p. 2) regarding citizenship and citizenship education so that the participants could be facilitated to express their ideas and so that their responses were not dictated or pushed in a specific direction.

The interview questions were constructed based upon two sources of interest: a cross-national study conducted on teachers' perceptions about citizenship in five different countries (Lee & Fouts, 2005) and then the specific contexts of Pakistan and GB where religion as a discursive practice influences and gets influenced by the state, society, and individual orientations. Different aspects of state narratives related to citizenship, contextual anxieties specific to GB and the consideration of personal orientations of teachers, and the available literature on citizenship and citizenship education provided the imaginative context for developing the interview protocol. Thus, the overarching orientation of interview questions was informed by both international studies conducted on the same topic and the contextual specificities of the study.

The interviews were conducted in English and Urdu. It is important to note that Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and the lingua franca of GB. The teachers chose to speak in Urdu most of the time. However, English terminologies and words were commonly also used as part of the process. Only one of the teachers chose to speak in English but sometimes switched to Urdu too. The questions were asked both in English and Urdu. This helped participants to fully understand what was being asked.

One of the critical factors influencing data collection was the COVID-19 pandemic situation that posed problems for free movement and made it difficult to meet teachers face

to face. The details of these challenges have been delineated in the section on ‘research challenges’, but alterations and adjustments had to be made to the data collection methods because of the periodic lockdowns and social distancing policy. When it was impossible to have face-to-face interviews, telephone (mobile) interviews were conducted. Out of a total of 16 interviews, 10 were face-to-face and six were telephone (mobile) interviews.

Recruitment of Participants

The study was conducted in Gilgit-Baltistan, a diverse region in its religious and linguistic composition. Overall, it is a Shia majority region. However, in certain districts, people belonging to the Sunni and the Ismaili religious denominations of Islam are in the majority. The Ismailis are in the majority in Hunza and Ghizer, Sunnis are in the majority in Diamer, and Shias and Nurbakhshis are in the majority in Nagar and the four districts of the Baltistan division. However, in Gilgit, the capital of Gilgit-Baltistan, there are many people belonging to each denomination of the faith. Selecting teachers with an explicit focus on faith denomination or a specific region may have caused the study to be more sectarian or biased in its outlook. Nevertheless, it was also crucial to incorporate diverse views should, and therefore teachers were recruited from schools where there was a heterogeneous composition of students belonging to different sects of Islam and areas of GB.

The second point of consideration in the recruitment of participants was that there are multiple systems of education in GB. Secular schools provide secular education, and some seminaries or Madrassas providing religious education only. The focus of this study is the secular education system. Within the secular education system, there are private and public schools. The participants for this study were selected from both private and public schools based upon the ‘purposive sampling’ method (King et al., 2019). The teachers teaching at public high schools and colleges (secondary and higher secondary schools) are commonly

transferred to different schools and engage with diverse student bodies with multiple faith and cultural backgrounds. Likewise, within the private sector, there are networks of school systems where teachers are rotated to different schools and thus exposed to diverse students.

Selections of Sample Size

The sample size selection is quite challenging for qualitative studies as there is no easy answer regarding the exact sample size required for qualitative research. Determining the ideal size of a sample depends upon a multitude of factors.

Determining the ideal number of data items depends on your research question and your theoretical approach as well as practical considerations (such as time frame for conducting the research, total time involved in collecting data and preparing it for analysis and the ease of recruiting participants, if used). The richness of individual data item is also relevant. Generally, fewer are required if individual data items (e.g. an interview) provide detailed, rich data (but keep in mind TA's focus on the generation of themes across data items; larger sample sizes can to some extent compensate for shallower data items) (Clarke et al., 2015, p.229).

Thus, it becomes evident that there is no given standard for selecting a sample size. It depends upon many factors. An important consideration that is agreed upon by the qualitative methodologists regarding the estimation of sample size is related to the concept of 'saturation' (Marshall et al., 2013). Saturation refers to a certain point in the data collection process when a researcher feels that almost no further significant issues are emerging from ongoing inquiry and that the researcher starts hearing the same opinions and ideas repeated over and over again. This again depends upon the research question,

theoretical framework, and objective of the research and skills of a researcher in deciding about saturation point.

The sample size also depends upon the research approach adopted by a researcher. It has often been observed that grounded theory studies tend to use 20 to 30 participant interviews, and case studies generally use 15 to 30 interviews (Marshall et al., 2013).

Within interpretative phenomenological studies, the sample size is usually kept small because of the depth of interviews central to phenomenological studies (Smith et al., 2009; King et al., 2019). In thematic analysis, the sample size varies depending upon the size of a project, richness of the data and other considerations discussed above. However, it is essential to have enough data items to allow a researcher to develop themes across them. Generally, 15 to 20 data items are recommended for conducting a thematic analysis in a large research project (Clarke et al., 2015).

In this study, 16 interviews (data items) were conducted with secondary (high and higher secondary (college) level school teachers who, along with other subjects related to social science, teach Pakistan Studies. Six of the interviews turned to be outstandingly rich in providing profound insights into the complexity of the phenomenon of citizenship and citizenship education in the context of GB. The remaining ten may also be ranked as offering deep enough data to the extent of meeting and fulfilling the demands of thematic analysis. The length of the interviews varied from 55 minutes to 115 minutes. These interviews were rich enough that it was possible to develop themes within and across the data items. The three chapters on findings illustrate the veracity of the claims about the richness of data.

In the section on ‘research challenges’ the challenges of conducting interviews in a pandemic situation were discussed. Fear was prevailing in the area because of the

pandemic. Convincing teachers to participate in face-to-face interviews was challenging because they could not differentiate between China and Hong Kong as such, and thereby, the researcher was perceived to be coming from the epicentre of the pandemic-stricken area, China. Some of them were even frightened to see the researcher. Moreover, because of the continuous lockdowns and subsequent closure of the schools and colleges, approaching the participants was frustrating and tiring.

Approaching participants, convincing them that the researcher did not have COVID-19, and then arranging and conducting a single interview took an average of 15 to 20 days. In some cases, it took around two to three months to get a single interview done. Moreover, at one stage, mobility became entirely impossible for an period and it was uncertain how long that would last. So, the alternative option of conducting telephone interviews was employed. Exploring different options for collecting data was inevitable, and this was why, along with 10 face-to-face interviews, six telephone interviews were also conducted.

Thus, under the given conditions, 16 interviews seemed more than sufficient for this project. The interviews turned out to be rich enough to provide sufficient data for analysis. Moreover, regardless of the challenges of data collection, the sample size meets the criteria set for thematic analysis for a PhD dissertation. However, it is noted that qualitative research with in-depth semi-structured interviews is meant to be illustrative but not representative of the phenomenon. Thus, the sample size is justified in all respects.

The Interview Participants

The interviews participants were teaching Pakistan Studies (PKS) and other subjects to the secondary and higher secondary levels. The alternative name for higher secondary school is intermediate college and it is most often referred to as college. The government schools use a

strict demarcation between high school and intermediate college to signify secondary and higher secondary schools. However, private schools adopt both the high school and college system and higher secondary school system models. The higher secondary school system starts from Grade 8 and runs to Grade 12. High schools usually start from pre-primary level and go up to Grade 10. Likewise, college starts from Grade 11, also referred to as first year, up to Grade 12, also called second year.

The participants were recruited for from public and private schools, representing higher secondary school and high school and college systems. It is essential to mention that teachers teaching Pakistan Studies also teach other subjects such as Urdu or English or Islamiyat in high schools and that it is not compulsory for a teacher of Pakistan Studies to have a degree in Pakistan Studies. Likewise, in colleges and higher secondary schools, teachers who have degrees in Political Science (PS) and International Relations (IR) may also teach Pakistan Studies. The description of the participants who were interviewed, which follows, illustrates the diversity of teachers' academic backgrounds. Pseudonyms have been used to ensure the identity of participants remains anonymous and the ethical dimension of research is adhered to.

S. No	Name	Male/ Female	Education	High School/College Higher Secondary School	Teaching Experience as of 2020
1.	Mr Karim Madad	Male	MA PKS	College	22 Years
2.	Ms Rashida Bibi	Female	MA PKS	High School	6 Years
3.	Mr Akram ud Din	Male	MA PS & MA Edu	School & College	22 Years

4.	Mr Ahsan Ali	Male	MA PS	College	22 Years
5.	Mr Zafar Khan	Male	MA PKS	Higher Secondary School	5 Years
6.	Mr Shah Wali	Male	MA PS	College	10 Years
7.	Ms Rabia Bano	Female	MA PKS	College	8 Years
8.	Mr Sangi Khan	Male	MA IR	High School	9 Years
10	Mr Lal Hussain	Male	MA PKS	High School	13 Years
11.	Mr Sher Khan	Male	MA PKS	College	7 Years
12.	Mr Ahmad Din	Male	MA PKS	High School	5 Years
13.	Mr Nisar	Male	MA PKS	Higher Secondary School	7 Years
14.	Mr Hussain Ali	Male	MA PKS	High School	8 Years
15.	Mr Azam	Male	MA PKS	College	8 Years
16	Ms Gul Bano	Female	MA IR	College	10 Years

Interview Types

The initial plan was to conduct face-to-face interviews only, but the situation caused by the pandemic required the exploration of alternative options too. Therefore, along with 10 face-to-face interviews, six telephone interviews were also conducted. The availability and willingness of the participants, the nature of the research questions and framing of interview questions, conducive environment, need to record the interviews and the need for consent from the participants to record the interviews were considered before conducting the interviews (King et al., 2019).

Face-to-face Interviews

As explained above, given the pandemic situation, it was not possible to conduct face-to-face interviews uniformly. One of the critical factors for conducting face-to-face interviews is the interview setting. It was the preference of the researcher to have a comfortable environment both for the researcher and the participant regardless of the site/place of each interview. Some of the interviews were home-based, whereas others were school-based. Three of the face-to-face interviews were conducted at the homes of the participants. Before conducting the interviews, the participants were careful to ensure that family chores and family activities did not interrupt the interviews.

The participants were briefed in detail, and they were kind enough to make arrangements to conduct the interviews in private guest rooms and to ask family members not to disturb us while the interviews were being conducted. One participant even asked his mother not to interrupt with tea while we were engaged with the interview. In the participant's culture, it is a sign of respect to offer tea or, if it is lunchtime, lunch to a guest. So, before starting the interviews, it was ensured that cultural practices would not interrupt the interview process.

Two participants chose to have their interviews at the researcher's home, and thus the researcher had much more freedom to interview in a much more conducive environment. Luckily, the participants had their own transport, and they were kind enough to pay a visit during a partial lockdown. The flip side of these interviews was that the visits were purely at participants' disposal. It took much longer for participants to plan and pay a visit because of lockdown issues. It was not possible to force them to visit, and therefore the researcher was utterly dependent upon their decision to travel or not.

Another five interviews were conducted school/college premises. Two of these interviews were conducted when schools/colleges were closed, but the teachers invited the researcher

privately to their offices at their respective schools. The environment was conducive as there was no hustle and bustle, which may otherwise be a feature of a school environment. The remaining three interviews were conducted during school hours in teachers' respective schools, but the teachers arranged quiet spaces for the interviews.

The most challenging part of the face-to-face interviews was arranging the schedules for interviews as they were subject to the availability of the participants and the researcher was not in control of timings nor did the researcher have the luxury of rescheduling or altering dates even if the interview had to be conducted during the lockdown. Once, the researcher narrowly escaped being imprisoned due to having violated the travel restrictions during a lockdown period.

Telephone Interviews

After the narrow escape from the imprisonment, the researcher had to explore other ways to collect data, such as remote interviews. 'Qualitative researchers tend to choose to use remote interviews for one (or more) of three reasons: physical distance from participants, availability of participants and the nature of interview topic' (King et al., 2019, p. 115). In this research endeavour, despite being in the same province/region, the pandemic expanded the space to the extent that those who would normally have been easily approachable were far away because of the lockdown. It contributed to making their physical availability challenging. Thus, 'physical distance from participants' and the problem of 'availability of participants' created by the pandemic situation made remote interviews justified. Remote interviews take a range of different forms; may be conducted by 'telephone' 'remote video', 'e-mail', and 'instant messaging' (King et al., 2019). Given the issues of power supply and internet challenges, it was not feasible to conduct remote video interviews as this would have required fast internet and an uninterrupted power supply. E-mail and

instant messaging methods are ‘asynchronous’ in terms of the time frame, and therefore they were also not appropriate as the study was based on in-depth semi-structured interviews which require a ‘synchronous’ interview style so that real-time follow up questions may be raised if necessary. Therefore, telephone interviews were chosen, and six telephonic (mobile) interviews were conducted.

Using telephone interviews as a method of data collection was in itself a new experience. In many ways, it was similar to face-to-face or ‘in-person interviewing’. However, it has its characteristics and considerations, which a researcher must carefully take into account and plan for. One of the key considerations was that while scheduling the interviews, the participants were briefed in detail about the nature of the interview and the possible duration of one hour. This specification of interview time helped to reinforce the point that a serious and detailed discussion of their views and experiences was expected so that they were mentally prepared. The participants were asked to choose a time when they were relatively free and in a comfortable setting so that there would not be any external disturbance, or at best, it should be minimised (King et al., 2019). Depending upon their availability, the participants decided the time and date of the interviews.

The participants were briefed in detail about the nature of the research, its objective, and the confidentiality of their identity before the interview. The interviews were recorded with the consent of participants for the purpose of transcription. Given the sensitive nature of the topic, only verbal consent was recorded. The participants were reluctant to provide written consent because it is something they do not come across frequently. So, only verbal consent was sought to ensure teachers that their confidentiality would remain fully intact.

Data Analysis

Transcription of Interviews

One of the basic requirements for analysing qualitative research is to transform oral data into a written form so that the researcher can move back and forth through them and may be able to develop cross-data item linkages and construct themes from across different data items arising from interviews. Therefore, one of the critical components of the data analysis was the transcription of the interviews. Transcription is a ‘translation from oral language to a written language ... a transcript is a translation from one narrative mode – oral discourse – into another narrative mode – written discourse’ (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2019, p. 2). While transforming an oral discourse into a written discourse, many things are abstracted. It includes the ‘body language and gestures, ‘tone of voice, the intonations and the breathing’ (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2019). It is a time-consuming activity in which a researcher needs to be deeply involved, and thus, it is not simply a matter of recording the spoken words on the paper but also interpreting them. It is considered an ‘interpretative act’ that involves constructing meaning and is not about simply putting words on paper or typing them into a computer (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Since there is no single way to conduct thematic analysis and no given set of guidelines for transcribing interviews for thematic analysis. ‘However, at a minimum, it requires a rigorous and thorough orthographic transcript – a verbatim account of all verbal (and sometimes nonverbal) utterances’ (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 88). Therefore, keeping in view the unavoidable need for transcription as a bedrock for data analysis, the researcher transcribed the interviews, which was a very time consuming, frustrating, but very engaging and enlightening activity in terms of understanding and internalising the data.

The researcher asked the questions in English and switched over to Urdu so that the

participants understood each question fully and the participants were given the freedom to use the language of their choice, English or Urdu. All the participants except one responded mostly in Urdu except for a few terms for which they used English. The participant who tried to express his ideas in English periodically switched to Urdu. Thus, the interviews were predominantly conducted in Urdu. Because of the unreliability of the power supply, it was not easy to type the transcriptions directly, and therefore the researcher himself transcribed the recorded interviews using paper and pen. The anecdotal experience of the researcher shows that transcribing with a pen and notebook proved to be much more beneficial in terms of developing an in-depth understanding of data; it allowed the hidden patterns and themes within and across the data items to be grasped quickly. After preparing the handwritten transcriptions, an academic friend was asked to help type them later so that they would be readily available in electronic form.

After making detailed verbatim accounts of interviews, the researcher then translated them into English. The researcher is privileged to have a multilingual background, understanding two of the local languages in the research context, and having a command of Urdu, the lingua franca and the national language of Pakistan. It is important to mention that most of Urdu's root words can be found in Persian and Arabic. The researcher's academic background in Persian literature and understanding of Arabic made it much easier to translate the Urdu transcripts into English with much more accuracy.

Phases of Data Analysis

Central to the objective of the analysis was to ascertain the repeated patterns of meanings across the data, and therefore six phases of thematic analysis as delineated by Braun and Clarke (2006) were employed. It is important to clarify that analysis is not something that can be readily achieved for such data and that it may be extracted with the help of certain

skills and techniques. 'Themes do not emerge from the data. Rather, analysis is constructed at the intersection of the data and the researcher's theoretical assumptions, disciplinary knowledge, and research skills and experience' (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 231). This implies that the researcher's subjectivity matters in the analysis.

The process of informal analysis began at the data collection stage when vague themes and 'patterns of meanings were started to be noticed' (Braun and Clarke, 2006). While conducting the interviews, some vague patterns of meanings and potential themes became apparent. These vague images and concepts were not just derived from the data alone but also the outcomes of the creative engagement with the data collection process. However, the researcher was careful to be reflective during the process and to be to draw conclusions based on the vague themes that could potentially restrict and narrow the data collection and analysis scope. After every interview, vague and rough images were noted that were later consulted during the formal analysis.

The formal analysis of the study was guided by Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of 'familiarization', 'coding', 'searching for themes', 'reviewing themes', 'defining and naming themes, and 'writing the report'. It is important to mention that the analysis involved continuous back and forth and that these phases were not meant to be rigid stages. They proved to be interactive and to influence each other because a change or alternation at one phase was used to influence the next stage. These phases of analysis were overlapping, especially the phases that involved the development of themes, including 'searching for themes', 'reviewing themes', 'defining and naming themes' and 'writing the report'. Therefore, these phases were not used as strict stages of analysis but as guidelines for it.

Moreover, the analysis was conducted in such a way that it simultaneously encompassed many phases at a time. The process of analysis involving theme development was a more personal abstract intellectual activity that was later given shape on paper. The ultimate objective of the analysis was to come up with patterns of meaning across teachers' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education so that a coherent and meaningful analysis of citizenship and citizenship education discourse could be constructed using teachers' perspectives as a window onto the phenomena of citizenship and citizenship education.

Familiarisation

Familiarisation with the data is a crucial phase for data analysis because without being familiar with the data, it is impossible to conduct any analysis. In this research project, data collection, transcription and translation were all completed by myself, which helped me to be 'immersed' in the data to the extent of achieving familiarity 'with the depth and breadth of the content' (Braun and Clark, 2006). Because of the pandemic, it took longer than expected to conduct the interviews and thus, there was enough time available to engage with an interview before the next interview was conducted. The waiting time for each interview was creatively utilised to transcribe and translate the previous one. This process continued until the last interview had been conducted. Because of my personal engagement with pen-paper-driven transcription and self-made translation, I had acquired enough understanding of and insights into the data with the completion of the last interview. By the time the last interview was conducted, I already had the transcripts and translations of earlier interviews, which were read repeatedly both as individual data items and as a whole.

After transcribing and translating all the data, repeated active readings were undertaken with a particular frame of reference in mind driven by the research questions and also in a frame of reference whereby the research question was deliberately not foregrounded. However, in both approaches, while reading the transcripts, there were certain considerations in the back of my mind. These included what makes participants understand citizenship, religion, diversity and other topics they spoke about, in this way but not in another way; what are the key assumptions and the worldviews which the participants hold but could not state explicitly; consideration of the context which the participants had inherited; and the academic background and nature of life experiences that they have had.

Coding

The familiarisation with the data through transcription, translation and readings made it possible to develop an overall picture of the data in relation to the research question. It enabled me to produce different codes identifying different data features that appeared exciting and relevant to the study. I started coding first with individual data items from each participant's interview and then repeated that with the entire data set consisting of 16 interviews.

During the process, different features and aspects of the data were identified which were potentially relevant to the issues of citizenship, citizenship education, curriculum issues, Islam, Pakistan Studies, Social Sciences, the concept of the good Muslim, diversity, the political status of GB, the interrelationship of GB and Pakistan and many others which were relevant to the overall research project. The relevant points were then coded with 'short phrases' that capture the vital dimension of the data segment. Sometimes, the words used by the participants were used, while on other occasions, the key aspects of a segment of data were rephrased in my own words in order to encapsulate the meaning articulated or

meant by the participant. I tried to do the coding for as many themes as emerged from the data. It so happened that sometimes a single segment of data was coded in two and even sometimes in three different ways to indicate that there was the potential to interpret the data for different themes.

It is important to mention that the coding process was ‘data driven’ and that a deliberate attempt to see through a theoretical lens was avoided. The only aim was to identify the relevant chunks of data that appeared important or unique or potentially relevant to the research question. That does not mean, however, that personal subjectivity was suspended. The beauty of qualitative thematic analysis is that it appreciates subjectivity, not as a problem but in the sense that ‘the subjectivity of researcher is seen as integral to the process of analysis. Within such approaches, an inductive approach to coding and theme development is common’ (Terry et al., 2017, p. 6).

Coding can be done electronically by using software such as N-Vivo, but in my case, there were issues with power supply, and therefore, manual coding was done through scribbles on the margins of the paper. This method was very interactive, and after identifying six to eight data items, I felt I was able to code efficiently and effectively. Sometimes, I moved back to the data items to identify additional codes from the same segments of a data item.

Searching for Themes

In this phase of analysis, different codes were categorised to form different themes. Similar codes were mixed to form the broader categories, and a table was made to group different codes. Some of the initial codes took broader heading/candidate themes under which other codes were categorised. The new candidate themes and sub-themes were also extracted from the codes. Clusters of similar codes were identified. In order to make the clusters of

codes, the process involved some degree of abstraction so that some analytical points could be identified as themes or sub-themes of the data. The themes were developed in such a manner that each of them represented some aspect of the data relevant to the research question. This involved condensing the codes into broader analytical points involving abstraction.

Reviewing the Themes

After developing ‘candidate themes’ or potential themes from the codes of data items, all the potential themes were reviewed to develop a more precise idea of recurring themes across the data. The candidate themes had already been developed in the previous phase, but they were reviewed at two levels (Clarke et al., 2015). First, the relevance of themes was checked with the ‘coded data extracts’ of data items. Thus, the review was collated more closely with the data items. In the process, data relating to codes forming broader themes were re-read to ensure a concordance of the themes with the data and that there was enough data available as evidence to support the themes. This review was internal to the ‘coded data extracts’ of the data items. In this process, some of the themes were found not to have enough evidence to support them. Thus, they were either renamed or put into another category of a potential theme. However, most of the themes had sufficient data grounding.

The second level of review was conducted across the data items; an analysis was conducted to check whether the themes developed across the data items collectively provided enough evidence to support the themes. Moreover, similar themes across the data items were clustered together, reflecting the pattern of meanings across the data set. The process helped develop a fair idea of different themes, interlinkages, and contributions to paint a broader picture of the data set in relation to the interview questions.

Defining and Naming the Themes

This phase of analysis involved defining and refining the themes in a compacted and coherent manner to present the essence of each theme with the data evidence to support it. In a way, the names of themes that had developed at earlier stages were finalised with certain alterations or changes. While naming a theme, the fundamental concern was that it should capture the essence of the presented theme. This phase also involved defining the themes in such a way that they became mosaic-like contributing to a broader picture about the understanding of citizenship and citizenship education. This involved a certain degree of abstraction and interpretation, and thus, the findings began to be written up in this phase.

Writing Up the Findings

After defining all the themes, they were placed under three major areas or key themes that jointly contributed to answering the research question on teachers' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education discourse in GB. These findings are reported in three different chapters addressing three key areas. The first area relates to teachers' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education as a universal concept or a phenomenon.

The second area relates to the teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education with reference to the context of Pakistan. The third area demonstrates teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education with reference to the specific local context of GB. These three parts are interlinked because the understanding of citizenship and citizenship education in the local context of GB is linked with the broader national context of Pakistan. Likewise, the understanding of phenomena in the national context is

shaped by teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education as a universal concept.

Research Ethics and Validity

Ethical Dimensions of the Research

This study involves critical discussions about the interrelationship of state and Islam in Pakistan and its implications for citizenship and citizenship education, particularly in the context of GB, which is politically disputed. It involves discussions about Islam and the state's role in promoting a specific interpretation of Islam and constructing a particular citizenship discourse primarily inspired by a Sunni interpretation of Islam. The study seeks to situate teachers' responses to this state narrative of citizenship and citizenship education as reflected in the curriculum in general and in the context of GB in particular. In a way, it involves the issue of how they engage with and negotiate between their own religious outlooks and the state's dominant narrative in a political context which is disputed. Therefore, it involves discussions about sensitive topics, which may create challenges for both the researcher and the participants if not appropriately managed.

A critical discussion on the role of Islam in Pakistan is always a matter of risk both in terms of the state and society. This is due to the fact that both the state and society have gone through a process of Islamisation, which has been discussed in the literature review section. Any radical positioning on the role of Islam could cost even one's life, and therefore one has to be careful to present a point of view in a balanced manner.

In such a context, interviews involving teachers of different religious backgrounds become sensitive and challenging. Discussions with teachers about Islam becomes sensitive, especially when people feel challenged with regard to their established beliefs. The

interviews had to discuss sectarian issues and their implications for citizenship without offending the participants. It was a challenging job to maintain that balance. Moreover, analysing with a focus on the sectarian dimension of citizenship could have led to the study becoming sectarianised. All of these considerations have ethical implications and implications for validity too.

The second sensitive issue is that of citizenship in Gilgit-Baltistan. Since Pakistan has adopted a policy of ‘calculated ambiguity’ towards GB, the space for political participation has been squeezed, as the people of Baltistan are denied the right to participate in national politics and no representation is given to the people of GB in national forums. The uncertain political status has created polarisation within society and has triggered nationalist sentiments, leading to the imprisonment of many people. These issues jointly contribute to making discussions on citizenship and political identity complex and sensitive as they may have implications for participants and the researcher.

Ali (2019), in her recent book on GB, mentions how she received phone calls and was forced by the state institutions to leave GB during her research. The government authorities who are sitting in power corridors, at times, may not feel comfortable with certain research projects that may critically focus on political dimensions of the disputed territory. They may become unnecessarily oversensitive. However, I believe that commitment to the public interest and researching issues of political reality cannot make a person unfaithful to his country; instead, the commitment to one’s land makes one more sensitive about raising issues of injustice.

However, despite being loyal to my homeland, I still needed to consider my own security and that of the participants. However, in the context of these challenges, the academic integrity of research cannot be compromised. Therefore, as significant effort was made to maintain a balance between academic integrity and contextual challenges. An attempt was made to strike

a balance so as not to compromise academically or trigger challenges for participants and the researcher.

Keeping these challenges in mind, an interview protocol was developed in such a subtle manner that, on the one hand, it helped me collect the data and, on the other hand, it did not lead to discomfort for research participants and me. Moreover, pseudonyms are used in this study to ensure participants' anonymity .

Before interviewing the participants, they were briefed in detail about the research and its purpose was fully explained to them. The participants were informed that the data would be used for the dissertation and subsequent publication of the research. Verbal informed consent was sought from the participants. It was impossible to get written consent because the participants were fearful of signing on paper to endorse their ideas, as it is considered challenging to discuss issues of a political nature in the region. Given the difficulties of conducting research in a pandemic, as discussed earlier, the researcher could not risk losing participants by pushing for written consent. Moreover, some of the participants were interviewed on the telephone as well. So, relying upon verbal consent was the only choice.

After getting verbal consent only, the interviews were audio-recorded. The data collected from these interviews are safely stored with three backups under my direct control.

Moreover, before embarking upon the research, approval from the human research ethics committee of the university was sought as part of the requirement.

Research Validity

Validity is an essential aspect of any research endeavour. 'Evaluating the validity of a research involves making a judgement about how well the research has been carried out, and whether can be regarded as trustworthy and useful' (Yardley, 2015, p. 257). In quantitative research, objectivity, reliability and generalisability are applied to check the validity of the

research. These criteria can easily be applied by using statistical measurements to check the validity of quantitative research. In scientific research driven by a positivist epistemology, the validity of results can easily be checked and verified through statistical tools. However, in qualitative research, it becomes difficult to decide how far the research findings may be genuinely representative of the social reality (Maxwell, 2013).

It becomes irrelevant to claim to grasp the reality, as may be possible when a research paradigm is conspicuously underpinned by a social constructivist approach which emphasises the social construction of reality, and thereby gives credence to human subjectivity and the role of social context in constructing the nature of social reality. It presupposes that social reality is not independent of our intervention because, as researchers we cannot bracket out our preconceptions, as Husserl argued (Tuohy, Cooney, Dowling, Murphy, & Sixsmith, 2013), nor is social reality a static thing out there.

Therefore, the concept of validity as a matter of reflecting the real world becomes irrelevant; instead, validity becomes more a matter of ‘trustworthiness’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘quality’ (Maxwell, 2013, p. 241). Given this issue of the irrelevance of validity defined in terms of representing the real world or presenting an objective reality or a truth as it is, validity can be approached from a different perspective by conceptualising it as ‘correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation or other sorts of account’ (Maxwell, 2013, p. 241). Thus, validity cannot be applied in qualitative studies as it is in quantitative studies, but this does not mean that it is entirely devoid of any criteria or principle. Every subjective interpretation, however illogical and incoherent it may be, carried out in the name of research cannot be justified on the pretext of relativism. In a nutshell, validity in qualitative research becomes a matter of considering how it might be wrong, and therefore, it needs to be driven by certain principles.

Yardley (2015) proposes some broad principles to take into account the issues of validity. He sets his criteria upon the principles of ‘sensitivity to context’, ‘commitment and rigour’, ‘coherence and transparency’, ‘impact and importance’ (pp. 264-267). This research study was very sensitive to Pakistan's political and religious specificities in general and GB. It took into account the relevance of Islam in the broader context of Pakistan and that of GB seriously because Islam, on the one hand, plays a vital role in shaping the competing narratives of citizenship and, on the other hand, it is one of the fault lines present in the context of Pakistan.

In GB, considering the role of Islam was much more critical because it is the only region in Pakistan where Shia Muslims are in the majority, in contrast to the rest of Pakistan where Sunni Muslims are in the majority. This majority-minority relationship between two crucial Muslim sects in GB and vis-a-vis Pakistan has implications for understanding citizenship and citizenship education. Conducting a study in such a context involves being aware of the sensitivities as any mishandling or offensive question to a particular sect while discussing citizenship issues could have negative implications. Foregrounding sectarian differences could also lead to a sectarianised outlook in the study. However, ignoring these realities could have made the study superficial. Therefore, the study tried to take stock of the contextual sensitivities without compromising on the academic requirements. It thoroughly investigated the teachers’ perspectives with due consideration of the contextual factors which shape their understanding.

Likewise, another critical factor that was taken into account was the political status of GB. Generally, people hesitate about discussing controversial issues openly. So, an interview mechanism was designed in such a way as to help participants to share their perspectives comfortably.

Apart from being sensitive to the context and contextual anxieties, the study has tried to show its ‘commitment and rigour’ by analysing with sufficient breadth and depth at all stages. To collect the data, in-depth interviews were conducted with teachers with a relatively different academic background and those engaged in shifting religio-cultural settings with students with different religious/sectarian and linguistic backgrounds. The religious backgrounds of teachers from different sects also contributed to enriching the data. Likewise, while conducting the analysis, the study was guided by the available literature. However, it also tried to find new insights into the phenomena of citizenship and citizenship education in terms of conceptualisation and undertaking a study in a context where there is a dearth of studies on the topic.

Although the study is not meant to represent Muslim societies, the insights discovered on the nature of citizenship and citizenship education are illustrative of a key feature of citizenship education discourse that may be found in other Muslim contexts. For example, there was an idea that the political dimension of education has not been given due importance in the educational imagination in GB and this observation could be relevant for most Muslim societies.

Moreover, every stage of the writing and every chapter clearly stated the steps involved in its writings. An attempt was made to weld all the chapters together in a coherent manner which cumulatively builds the overall edifice of the argument. It has been argued that GB's citizenship and citizenship education discourse is characterised by teachers' understanding of these concepts at three levels, as: a universal phenomenon, a national phenomenon, and a local phenomenon. The subsequent chapters do represent these levels and their contribution in shaping ‘a consistent whole’.

This study's 'impact and importance' can be seen through 'vertical' or 'theoretical' generalisation (Yardley, 2015) within this study of citizenship and citizenship education in a Muslim context. Most of the frameworks on citizenship and citizenship education have been developed either in the West or in well-developed East Asian contexts. They cannot grasp the complexity of the context of GB but help to understand the phenomenon partially. Therefore, I have used various theoretical frameworks as guiding frames of thought, but in light of the research findings, an attempt has been made to demonstrate that social citizenship and the moral imperatives drawn from the interpretations of Islam are privileged over the political aspect of citizenship. It has been shown that the internal diversity among Muslims contests an overarching state narrative as the teachers in this study have challenged the dominant state narratives presented in the curriculum. These findings could be illustrative of the Muslim context and a humble contribution towards the theorisation of citizenship and citizenship education.

The study contributes to a research area with a dearth of studies, especially on GB. This study has shown that the citizenship education discourse in GB is shaped by the interplay of many factors, such as religious and political anxieties specific to this region. It is hoped that this study will introduce a debate about citizenship and citizenship education in the context of GB. It may also trigger debates about alternative perspectives on citizenship and citizenship in Pakistan as it tries to problematise the essentialist account of Islam which is embedded in the dominant prevalent discourse.

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the research methodology and research methods used to guide this research project. Owing to the complexity of the research project, which required a theoretically flexible approach coupled with clarified analytical methods, it has identified

thematic analysis as an analytical method and a methodology underpinned by a constructionist approach. The research has been conducted in challenging times from its inception to completion. It was planned amid the Hong Kong protests and was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, which posed different challenges at all stages of the study. Despite being emotionally consuming and physically tiring, the academic requirements of the research activities have been followed carefully.



CHAPTER SIX

TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES ON 'CITIZENSHIP', 'GOOD CITIZEN' AND 'CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION'

Introduction

The findings in this chapter aim to address an important part of the research question that seeks to find teachers' responses on how do they understand three interrelated concepts on citizenship, a good citizen and citizenship education. The chapter is divided into three sections: I) Understanding citizenship, II) The good citizen, and III) Perspectives on citizenship education.

Understanding Citizenship

The findings have shown considerable variations in the understanding of citizenship. Some teachers showed a limited understanding of citizenship, whereas others showed a much broader understanding of it. What, however, seemed to be a dominating characteristic is that most of the participants tended to focus more on social dimension and moral dimensions of citizenship underpinned by a sense of religiously inspired morality than its political aspect. It was found that the engagement with the religiously inspired moral discourse was pervasive either in the shape of not giving enough consideration to Islam in the conceptualisation of citizenship or the attempts of Islamizing citizenship and its concomitants concepts. However, what tended to dominate overall conceptualisation is that the political dimension of citizenship was overshadowed by social and moral dimensions and by considerations of individual contributions for the growth of self and society. Following are the specific areas that have been found in the findings.

Citizenship as a Birthright

It has been found that some of the participants considered citizenship as a taken for the granted birthright of an individual and that thus the approach was characterised by a limited and narrow approach to citizenship. For example, Ms Rashida Bibi, one of the interview participants, said that “where we are born, it means we are a citizen of that place. For example, I am born in Pakistan; therefore, I am a citizen of it”.

The Documents Matter

Another teacher, Mr Nisaar, also tried to give a restricted understanding of citizenship. On the one hand, he was trying to present a more bookish understanding of citizenship, but on the other hand, he could not relate it to his context and thus seemed to have a limited view. He associated citizenship more with some legal documents such as having an identity card and passport as proof of being a citizen.

Researcher: What comes to your mind when you hear the word citizen?

Mr Nisar: When a person is in a state, in a political set-up, he will be a citizen ummm, right! When he has proof, he will be called a citizen. When he is having, I mean. umm prove[proof] of the identity of his country, so you can make sense that he is the person[citizen] of his country. Further, a citizen has to have many other important things. Rights should [be] there, which we call fundamental rights. Apart from it, security should also be for him, and according to western theory, there will be a discussion about the contract. We can call it that a citizen hands himself [surrenders] to a state. [It] means that he gives his authority to a legitimate government through the vote, which bridges citizen with the government [state].

Researcher: You talked about fundamental rights. Would you kindly explain that what did you mean by that?

Mr Nisar: Fundamental rights means a person has a life. It is very important that a person who is a citizen has strong security. After that, other things come [such as] freedom of speech. The freedom of movement will also come. He should be freely moving, can make an association or a party. He can protest also. So citizenship means you should have identification first—for example, an identity card. It means you prove that you are a citizen, and so rights are there.

Citizenship as Social Freedom

Likewise, a comparatively little more advanced level of understanding of citizenship has been found, which extends citizenship from being a matter of birthright to more as a matter of freedom of an individual to practice his religion and chooses the area of his profession or even join a political party on his choice or even make a new one. One of the participants of the interview, Mr Karim Madad, made this point.

Mr Karim Madad: Being a citizen means someone should have liberties to adopt and practice the religion of his choice, adopt the profession of his choice, and be given all kinds of liberties within the defined parameters of rule and regulation. The citizen has the right to join the political parties of his choice or make his own party, and that he must be given a conducive environment to enter the realm of politics within the limits of the rules and regulations of a country.

Citizenship as Having Opportunities as one's Right

The findings showed that some teachers tried to extend the scope of citizenship by conceptualising the individual's relationship to the state and extending it to society. Citizenship is conceptualised in terms of having the right to an individual's opportunities, which he/she should be enjoying in a state and society at large. Accordingly, citizenship is understood more as a matter of the right of an individual to have specific opportunities to get

grooming and develop his/her personality. Furthermore, the right to opportunities must start from home and gradually should extend to schools and subsequently to society. In the process, the role of the state would also be mattered. However, the findings have shown that the teachers realise that students in particular and people are either deprived of or do not have the required opportunities. One of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, emphasised the need to give opportunities, especially to students.

Ahsan Ali: What I understand from citizenship is that whosoever lives in a state or society has some fundamental rights he should be having. In other words, there are some opportunities and those opportunities should be given [available for him]. Especially, students should be given opportunities [of all kinds]. [First], it should be started from their homes, and then the opportunities should be available at the educational institutions. If students do not have awareness about the opportunities they are entitled to, their personality will not grow and develop... For me, citizenship is really about preparing students for global contribution, which is a big challenge.

Citizenship as Voluntarism

The findings showed that teachers understand citizenship more in contributing to society as part of voluntary services that may enable them to contribute to the betterment of society and that of the state. For example, one of the participants, Mr Akram-ud Din, while explaining the obligations that citizenship requires, maintained that contributing his services voluntarily for the betterment of society and state is part of his obligations that citizenship demands.

Mr Akram-ud Din: Being, you know, a person or inhabitant of this area. I participate in a voluntarily, you know, system through which I can do something for the welfare [and] betterment of this society. So, I have been involve[d] in many, you know, [in] voluntarily system in the past, so I had a chance to work on different positions

through which I availed various opportunities to support my new generations in terms of our social work that was my, we can say, my best choice... Furthermore, for the state, for the country, I should contribute my little bit of time wherever the state demands...

I was in scouting. When there was a disaster in upper Hunza and in, if I am not wrong, 2010. So, I have been involved in that, you know, relief operations, Ok; [in] rehabilitation of the people, those who have been [were] displaced from that disaster area. So, I [was] directly, indirectly involved with different government, you know, agencies [and] voluntarily system. Likewise, in 1992, heavy rainfall was happened in Gilgit Baltistan, so the roads were totally blocked here for one month, the upper Hunza was totally, you know, isolated. So we were that time scouts. We carried, you know, different necessity of life goods at putting on our backs, and we travelled long distances with 20 kg to 25 kg, you know, so that those goods may be provided to people.

Democracy and Citizenship

The findings showed that some of the teachers understand that there is an interrelationship between democracy and citizenship. For example, one of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, highlighted that strengthening democratic institutions can help to build equal citizenship and thus, the finding showed a coupling between citizenship and democracy. It is through democracy that the higher human values which underpin citizenship can be trickled down.

Mr Ahsan Ali: ...developing a sense of citizenship is more linked with the justice system of a country. These things [values] are related to the strengthening institutions. If democratic institutions are strengthened, then the fruits of these global human values will trickle down to the grassroots level. It

is then; you will get education and employment; your economy and finance will have a role [be strengthened]. If your country marches towards prosperity, you may produce good citizens who would benefit the state.

Another teacher, Ms Rashida Bibi, linked citizenship with the obligation of a person to cast the vote and said that “It is the duty of a citizen to cast a vote. [Therefore], those who are above eighteen years and have their identity card, it is their right and political duty that they should go to polling stations and participate in voting”.

Citizenship is About Learning to be Human

The findings showed that some teachers consider citizenship a matter of being humane in our conduct towards others in society. For them, it is about learning to be human. They understand citizenship in a broader sense wherein one’s conduct matters more like a parameter of civic sense and civic behaviour. This approach to citizenship seems to equate citizenship with one’s regard for humanity and being humane as a supreme value. Therefore, citizenship is considered to be more about practising humane behaviour in our conduct. It involves the ethical dimension of human life. One of the teacher, Mr Shah Wali, maintained that it is not possible to separate citizenship, *Shahriyat*, from the character of being humane, which for him is the essence of being a human being. He further maintained that in order to be a citizen, you really do not need to be in a city. Wherever you live, you can show and have the social, civic sense.

Mr Shah Wali: It is not essential that if someone lives in the capital like Islamabad or Gilgit or London but does not act like civilised, I do not consider him a good citizen. [By contrast] If someone lives in the mountains and fulfils all the criteria of being humane, humanity is a good citizen. For civic life, you no need to live at all in cities. I have seen people who have attained large degrees, but *Insaniat*, civic sense

underpinned by civility [humanness; the quality of being humane] which is, to me, is another name of *Shahriyat*, citizenship [with moral imperative] has not been shown by them in their conduct. So I do not call them citizen even if they have a PhD or post-doctorate if they do not follow this principle of *Insaniyat* [of being humane or having humanness]. And, if someone lives in the mountains, and his basic needs are not even fulfilled, he is the best citizen to me if he has complete social, civic sense.

Islamizing Citizenship

The findings showed that citizenship involves more as an ethical positioning wherein a person is expected to think and behave in a manner that should help him realise that humanity and being humane is the most important things. The ethical inspiration for citizenship is drawn from within the religious discourses of Islam.

Mr Shah Wali: To me, *Shahriyat*, citizenship, cannot be out of the teachings of the Prophet (PBUH). His teachings include all the aspects of your social life, all the needs of social life. The first thing that has been protected is human life, human honour and dignity. Likewise, a human's self-respect, regard and security of his family is also there. [So] you will see in real Islam that its teachings are about citizenship, and the state and likewise about your daily life, you will see there is no any sense of compulsion, and you will not be forced to accept Islam. You are a citizen of this country, that is all...

I think that the message of *Insaniyat*, civic sense underpinned by civility [of being humane or having humanness], is Islam's message. This is unfortunately not understood. Islam has focused on all these disciplines: civics, social studies, Islamic studies, ethics, political sciences, or international relations. We should have taught those who want to teach us *Insaniyat*, [civility and being humane]. You cannot

disconnect Islam and Abrahamic traditions from *Insaniyat*, humanity [civic sense directed by civility and humanness].

Apart from drawing the ethical inspirations of citizenship from Islam, the findings showed that the teachers are trying to give Islamic underpinnings for justifying human rights as an important ingredient of Islamizing citizenship discourse. In a way, *Islamizing human rights* was yet another key feature of citizenship discourse, as revealed in the findings. It has been observed that one of the teachers, Mr Shah Wali tried to justify that his religion, in reality, presents human rights and that they are the copy of the teachings of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). According to him, the west should not teach us human rights. They have already been taught to us by the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) in his Farewell Sermon, the final sermon made by the Prophet (PBUH) after his last pilgrimage.

Mr Shah Wali: ... Let us suppose you take the charter of human rights regarding humans, which the United Nations has developed in 1949-50 and got approved. It has thirty points. You keep these thirty points in one column. It is considered to be the *May'raaj*, the highest mark of human achievement. [However], it is not like that! You believe me, sir; I can show you the points of *Khutaba of Hajjatul- Wida*, the final sermon of Prophet of Islam [which he made after his last pilgrimage]. These [human rights] have been copied from this [the final sermon] and then copied in the world's constitutions. Likewise, the concept of fundamental rights has already been given by my Prophet (PBUH).

The findings showed that Islam has so deeply inscribed on teachers' overall attitudes and thinking differently. It was observed that teachers were trying to make sense of diversity and give justifications for accepting and promoting diversity from their understanding of Muslim history. They were found attempting to *Islamize diversity*. Mr Shah Wali was trying to justify

accepting and promoting diversity from within the Islamic intellectual framework, which, according to him, is sympathetic and accommodative of difference. He was trying to argue that understanding the objectives of Islamic law, *Sharia* is more important, which demands to protect property, life and self-respect and honour of all the people without any discrimination based on religion. He referred to *Mithaq-i Medina*, the Covenant of Medina, an agreement and a pact agreed by Muslims and Jews of Medina to live a peaceful life.

Mr Sahah Wali: If we look at the civic life in Medina and see the agreements, the *Mithaq-i Madina*. The agreements were made with the people who were not in Islam. The agreements kept a focus on protecting their property, their lives and their self-respect and honour. Their basic needs and social matters were kept focused. It has not been told in the objectives of *Sharia*, Islamic law, that one should become a Muslim first, and then all these matters will be decided [protecting property, life and self-respect and honour]. You read Imam Ghazali, Ibn Taimia or Ibn Khaldun's sociology. Ibn Khaldun has been the founder of citizenship studies. You read Islamic thought. You read Shah Wali Ullah. They all will tell you this. In the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), you will see a holistic picture of how one should behave in his life. God has sent down all the teachings about civic life. These teachings of Allah have kept all the basic needs of human being in view. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) not only provided us with these teachings but practically showed them in his conduct. But, unfortunately, they are given some other name.

Good Citizen

The findings have shown that the concept of a good citizen is intertwined with the social and moral aspects of citizenship more vividly. The concept of a good citizen is understood primarily but not exclusively in terms of a virtuous and socially responsible individual who

may contribute to society's betterment. However, the virtuous and socially responsible citizen is not conceptualised or imagined to have an effective role in the political sphere. Thus a good citizen seems to be understood more as an individual having predominantly a social role underpinned by a religiously inspired morality which is not extended to the political praxis with the same rigour. A 'good citizen' was further identified as someone conscious of his duties and responsibilities towards society and his country out of moral considerations. Moreover, it is a positive contributor, a virtuous individual and a socially responsible person defined in various ways. The findings showed that the teachers' conceptualisation of a good citizen did not consider the political role.

Serving the Nation and Country

The findings showed that one way of defining a good citizen was to define an individual in terms of the service that he/she may render for his/her nation and country. Thus good citizen was perceived more in terms of rendering services to society. One of the teachers, Mr Karim Madad, emphasised that good citizens should work hard in their respective fields so that they may be able to serve the nation and country.

Karim Madad: A good citizen must work hard, excel in his field, and should be serving his nation and country. He should know about his social responsibility. He should know how much he needs to be politically active. Moreover, he should know that to what extent he needs to be involved religiously.

Contributing to Society and Humanity

The findings also showed that a good citizen is conceived in terms of an individual's contribution to society and humanity. Thus, the strand of this understanding privileges society over the individual and makes it fulfilling for individuals to contribute to society as part of their self-making process and that the self is not divorced from society. Thus the moral worth

of an individual is determined by the contribution of the individual to society. One of the participants, Ahsan Ali, said that students need to be prepared for contributing to society. As the following passage may elaborate, he was concerned about Muslim society's abysmal conditions and non-contribution to human civilisation.

Mr Ahsan Ali: Students must be given opportunities to become good and successful citizens [who] should contribute to human civilisation. You [citizen] should contribute at international level... without having such product your country can not be developed, and as a consequence of this, you may not be able to make the desired contribution from your society and country. If you look [at the issue of contribution] with reference to the context of the Muslim world, the desired contribution towards [for example] science, development and towards [in] other fields is almost equal to zero. For this, students need to be given opportunities and rights. As long as you do not create that atmosphere and environment, you cannot produce such a product. It is not important that he [a good citizen] may accept every instruction of state... By accepting every instruction, you do not become a good citizen, but by contributing, you can be. The concept of contribution is missing in citizenship-related ideas in Pakistan. The youth has not been made ready to contribute to society.

Having Civic Role

The findings also showed that teachers consider that a good citizen's qualities include his social and civic services involvement. One of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, emphasised playing an individual's social and civic role in his society even starting from his local level. He considered education and degrees useless if the individual does not give his input to society and has no civic role.

Mr Ahsan Ali: To address the problems you [any individual] face daily [civic problems], you need to play a role in solving those problems. If that role is not there, then his degrees are of no use. You may be beneficial to yourself or your family but useless to society. I give an example. We have many medicine [medical] doctors. They open clinics and works like money-making machines. They do not have any contribution to society, nor research, nor a role in any problem of their society. As a teacher, I sit with the lambardar [tribe's head] of my village on issues of my village and contribute. But people of this profession [medical doctors] have no role.

Law-Abiding Citizens

The findings also showed that some teachers consider that being dutiful or law-abiding can make someone a good citizen. Mr Nisar emphasised that you[anybody] can not become a good citizen until you fulfil your responsibilities.

Mr Nisar: When you live in a state, you have rights and some duties upon you. You must full fill your duties such as pay tax in time. And you should follow the rules. For example, you must use indicators before turning left or right if you are riding a bike. You must follow traffic rules. These are small things which should be done. Some people say, for example, it is a small thing to switch off unnecessary lights. What it would matter if I do not switch off one light? But, you see, if everyone starts doing so, it could be in hundreds. So fulfilling these small things bring significant change. So, I think a good citizen must full fill these responsibilities.

Another teacher, Ms Rabia Bibi, also tried to define a good citizen's basic characteristics: following the state's rules and regulations. She was of the opinion that a good citizen, along with many other things, should respect the law and that he should be abiding by the rules and regulation introduced by the state.

Ms Rabia Bibi: There must be a specific relationship between a state and an individual so that he [individual] may be called a good citizen. For example, the state makes rules and regulations for the people. If you follow those rules and discipline, then you may become a good citizen.

Being Socially Responsible

The findings showed that a good citizen is considered to be someone who is a responsible person meeting all the expectations and demands of government, society, culture and religion. Mr Zafar Khan, one of the participants, maintained that to be a good Pakistani, one should be a responsible citizen. According to him, being a responsible person means that people should spend their lives according to what is demanded by the government, society, and culture. He defined responsible citizen by trying to draw certain principles from Islam. A good Pakistani thus is someone who implements those principles.

Mr Zafar Khan: Sir, as a good Pakistani, one should full fill what applies to someone from the government, or the society or from the culture. You know Pakistan has come into being on the name of Islam in which we talk about some basic principles like justice and equality and whatever others such as brotherhood. And then we talk about the constitution. So we have an Islamic Constitution with many things, but they are their only as far as they are written there. If their implementation is done correctly, then every Pakistani become a good Pakistani. For example, there are many evils in Pakistan. If every citizen tries to be good, respect the law or says that he will promote brotherhood or try to uphold justice or adopt justice, evils can be controlled. Being a Pakistani, if someone does not properly apply these principles [on himself/herself], he [/she] cannot become a responsible citizen or responsible Pakistani or a good Pakistani.

He further maintained that a citizen could become responsible if the state gives him his rights. However, the feeling of responsibility does not get developed if you are denied those rights.

Mr Zafar Khan: When government does not provide you with your rights properly, then that feeling of being a responsible citizen does not develop, and you do not feel to do what the government may ask you... [But] in general, we should respect the law, and I ask my students to respect the law, and I also try self to respect it. We do not accept corruption as our religion forbids it, and I speak against it.

The findings showed that being a responsible person has been defined in a much wider sense by some teachers. Mr Akram-ud Din maintained that there needs to be a balance between responsibilities and obligations and that he did not limit responsibilities which in one way or the other directly linked with the state regulations and injunctions. He also included moral and social responsibilities, such as helping others and caring for others, as preconditions for being a responsible citizen.

Researcher: What should be the characteristics, habits, or qualities which may be required, according to your thinking, to be a good citizen?

Mr Akram ud Din: There should be some, you know, a balance...means citizen should know about his responsibilities and obligations... So, he should know the obligations, which means being a citizen of a certain state, he should know his prime, you know, [responsibilities] objectives, and his mission and vision to live in a certain state. For example, whether he should cooperate with state laws, cooperate with the government policies, affairs, and matters, and from time to time, the state regulates some sort of policies and rules in the state. Being a citizen, he should cooperate with that policies and rules and regulations instead of violating that rules and policies.

And, the second thing is the duties of the citizens. For example, being, you know, a citizen, I should know some of my own, you know, responsibilities, how to live in a particular society or area, what are my own, you know, obligations or responsibilities being a citizen. For example, take care of my society, I should behave properly in my society, I should help and extend my, you know, help and support to other those how are in need, and this is, you know, basic some responsibilities as our religions permit us and allow us to do these types of support and assistance to others. So, likewise, we should exhibit maximum cooperation and support with our state policies wherever I live, so I should extend my full support.

Being Aware and Proactive

The findings have shown that being aware of society and having a will to play a proactive role have been considered important characteristics of a good citizen. One of the teachers, Mr Akram-ud Din, maintained that a good citizen must know what is happening in society. He should be able to identify the weakness and challenges that society is going through. He maintained that he should be critical of society's weakness and be ready to proactively contribute to change society by giving his input to address the weakness of society.

Mr Akram-ud Din: ...being a student [citizen], he should, you know, realise the situation [like] what is going in the society, and also make up the plan through which he can, you know, access to the main stakeholders wherefrom he can get support... being a citizen, ok, I should reflect the weak areas, you know, what is going in the society or the area, I should identify the things which are not properly going in proper, you know, inline or a direction I should identify. I should be critical to pass on some comments or critical points, analyse the situation, remove, and overcome the weak areas. So I should, you know, play my part as a citizen. And I should be more active, I should play the proactive

role being a student [citizen] because a citizen has that much capacity or potential that he can change the society, he can put his suggestions in front of stakeholder, and he can full [thoroughly], you know, convince the main stakeholders to do some certain, you know, good things for the state or country.

Being Virtuous

The findings showed that a good citizen is understood to be someone who has civility and ethical life. The moral canvass for civility is drawn from the specific interpretation of teachings of Islam, which according to Mr Shah Wali, Islam has a global appeal and demands from believers to be humane and show civic sense.

Shah Wali: The spirit of the teachings of Islam appeals to humanity and ask us to think about humanity. A good person [citizen] should follow the footstep of the Prophet in their conduct and follow his teaching. It requires a human being to do good deeds and stay away from bad things. A good person and a good Muslim is someone who has *Insaniyat*. ...It is [teaching about citizenship] to teach you basic principles and rules of a state so that you may become a good citizen; it is about teaching to be a good father, a good mother, a good grandparent or [about] becoming a good administrator of a district or a province or even a country.

Another teacher, Ms Rabia Bibi, was also trying to make sense of a good citizen in terms of an individual's good virtues and positive qualities.

Researcher: You mentioned that becoming a good citizen is important. What are things according to your understanding that can make a person a good citizen?

Ms Rabia Bibi: Sir, according to my thinking, in order to be a good citizen, it is important that you must be educated. You should have some characteristics [such as],

you must be honest, and there must be *Insaniyat*, humaneness [civic sense underpinned by civility and ethics]. So these are important to be a good citizen.

Researcher: You said *Insaniyat*, so what do you mean by that?

Insaniyat means that a human being should be taking care of [considerate to] others.

For instance, you must be respecting others and be compassionate to others.

The State' Role

The findings showed that teachers link the concept of a good citizen with the state. It has been observed that teachers seem to connect the concept of a good citizen in the framework of culture, religion and state, as one of the teachers Mr Akram-ud Din, highlighted.

Researcher: What makes someone a good citizen?

Mr Akram-ud Din: It depends upon the state policy or constitution [that] to what extend somebody can be good, you know, citizen because it depends upon the constitutional, you know, frame. There are some other things you know, things used by the state, such as religion, culture, and customs. So it includes, you know, many things to be a good citizen, but the primary responsibility rests upon the shoulder of the state, so its good policy and its good constitution make someone a good citizen.

Perspectives on Citizenship Education

The findings showed a deep linkage poor state of education with citizenship education. The teachers repeatedly expressed their concern on the poor state of education and shared that the education system does not prepare students to play an effective role in their self-development and contribution to the country, society, and humanity in general. The findings showed that citizenship education is trapped into the web of multitudes of factors explained below. These factors do not allow citizenship education to stand out to be a transformative and

transformational process for individual and society. It is not given due importance by the government and thus continued to be a neglected area. Among many other factors, the lack of qualified human resource and the absence of mechanisms of polishing the available pool of teachers through training contribute to further deteriorating Pakistan's citizenship education landscape.

Lack of Opportunities

One of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, discussed that the state of education in Pakistan is so poor that it does not provide students with the opportunities to prepare and educate them for citizenship.

Ahsan Ali: As long as you do not give opportunities, atmospheres and environment to students in educational institutions, you will not be able to produce such a product [which may contribute]...unfortunately, in our schools, colleges and even in the universities, the local ones, these [opportunities] are not available. In Pakistan, the state of social sciences, in general, is in poor condition. From Primary to university level, we do not give students opportunities of [learning and practising] citizenship. The kids [students] have not been told [taught] about it that you [students] have certain rights and that state has the responsibilities to fulfil. They should be taught that these are the opportunities that the state owes to you so that your personality as a whole may get developed.

The Problem of Curriculum

Another teacher Mr Karim Madad made the point that the curriculum does not deal with the issues of Citizenship as he stated below:

Mr Karim Madad: There is no even a single chapter on it. It starts with the creation of Pakistan and Islamic ideology and two-nation theory as its core topics. [However],

when students are taught about the constitution of Pakistan. They are taught about some basics of what are their rights and responsibilities according to the constitution.

Likewise, another teacher, Mr Nisar, also mentioned that the curriculum does not deal with citizenship education instead make students forcefully memorise irrelevant things. According to him, the syllabus is aimed at developing loyalty in the students.

Mr Nisar: Curriculum could not come out of all the old history. Students are taught about the fourteen points of Quaid-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, which he presented at least three decades before creating Pakistan with reference to Muslim rights in undivided India. We make students memorise all fourteen points. The remaining [syllabus] is [aimed at] developing loyal citizens who should not ask about anything but accept what is there in the book.

The Problem of Exam Driven Approach

The findings have shown that one of the barriers in going beyond the syllabus to teach about citizenship education is exam consciousness. The teachers reported that the external boards conduct the exams based on a specific curriculum and that the students remain under pressure because they need to secure more marks to get admission to any professional university or enter into a discipline of their interest. One of the teachers, Mr Shah Wali, said that when he tried to go beyond the syllabus and want to teach about GB, the students asked whether this will be part of the exam or not?

Mr Shah Wali: I was trying to give a lecture, apart from the given syllabus, on the political aspect and history of Gilgit-Baltistan. I still have notes. I can share it with you if you need. You know what was the question of every kid [student], sir, will there be a question in the exam from this long lecture? They were listening to me, hoping that a question will be in the exam from this lecture. It shocked me. I said,

look my son! I teach this so that you may be aware of your position, culture, and history... but this thinking is there.

Another teacher Ms Rashida Bibi also highlighted that they are bound to teach the syllabus given by the centre, federation and that their focus remains on helping students obtain good marks in the board exams.

Ms Rashida: We have to teach the syllabus of the federal [federal board]. We try to prepare students to get good marks. So we teach them so that they should get good grades and good marks. [Otherwise] you will not find on subjects of political rights and other things.

Mr Zafar Khan also shared the same concerns. When he was asked whether he discussed the issues impacting overall humanity the broader spectrum of people, he replied that he does so if he gets time after completing the examination syllabus. Otherwise, his priority remains to complete the syllabus.

Mr Zafar Khan: Sir, I will tell you that we need to prepare students on an exam basis. My target is always to finish the syllabus and prepare students for exams first. However, if I get time after completing the syllabus, I try to discuss, for example, CPEC and other things, sir!

Multiple Systems of Examination

The findings showed how multiple examination systems in GB have different implications for GB's overall state of education. The exams for secondary and higher secondary levels are generally conducted by examination boards that the Pakistan government recognises. Most government schools are affiliated with the government examination boards, including Federal Board and Karakorum University Board. The private schools have options to get affiliated with government boards or a private board known as the Aga Khan Board (Aga Khan

University Examination Board). The findings revealed that the teachers teaching at schools affiliated with the Aga Khan Board need to be more dynamic and thus more engaging for students even though the syllabus is drawn from the same curriculum.

However, most of the schools in GB are affiliated with the government examination boards, Federal Board or Karakorum University Board which relies upon traditional systems of examination and thus more restrictive in its approach and that it does not facilitate teachers to adopt such pedagogical strategies which may be helpful for citizenship education. One of the teachers, Mr Karim Madad, stated the following:

AKU curriculum (syllabus) is more updated than others. It is based upon Bloom's taxonomy. It (AKU syllabus) defines [teaching] activities for a teacher based on Bloom's taxonomy and provides standard learning objectives for every lesson. We, the government schools, are affiliated with the government examination boards, Federal Board or Karakorum Board. There is no professional way of teaching [practice]. [Most of] the teachers are unaware of how to teach. They are not updated about the developments in their subjects....No guidelines are provided with that may help teachers in teaching. There should be learning objectives with each chapter so that a teacher may confirm whether he has achieved the objectives or not. There should be a proper way of continuously judging [formative assessment system] whether students are improving or not. The curriculum [syllabus] does not bound a teacher in this regard. If the teacher takes the initiative himself, it would be a different case; otherwise, the system is such that only once an exam is conducted [in a year]. Based on that, some students are declared to pass, and some others are considered to fail. Above all, no rethinking is done on why children failed.

The findings, on the one hand, showed that there are different implications for citizenship education for having affiliation of schools to different examination boards and, on the other hand, the findings also showed that taking board examinations in itself a hindrance for citizenship education, especially in the cases when a teacher aspires to go beyond the syllabus and bring in the important topics and approaches into his teaching. An interview participant, Mr Ahsan Ali, while commenting on finding space for a teacher to negotiate with the curriculum in order to build citizenship, maintained that a teacher can try to discuss and bring the critical issues related to citizenship in his teaching but that he is restricted in many ways to do it openly and that it depends upon many factors. He found the board examination system more hindering than others, as we can see from the following quotation:

Mr Ahsan Ali: A teacher can say many things between the lines or even say openly and make them part of teaching... School management's role becomes critical. The role of the principal also matters as he/she encourages his teachers so that he [a teacher] may create such critical skills in students... You know, our issue is that our exams are conducted by someone else. The [examination] system is as backward as is our teaching system. So there is a vicious cycle. We have to teach for exams. If we do not teach specifically for exams, then our kids [students] will be failed. Ironically, our high ups in education who are sitting on top positions give target that the result of students should be good. They [students] should not be failed. They [the high ups] neither know nor are concerned about what product is being produced. They give certificates to students and send them to market. And, you know, people who are flooding the market, even PhDs, are highly incompetent. This is the tragedy of our system.

Lack of teachers' Training

The findings showed that teachers coupled teachers' training with the quality of education in general and citizenship education. They linked the poor state of education in general and citizenship education in particular with teachers' training. For example, one of the teachers, while comparing the multiple examination systems, stated the following:

Karim Madad: The Aga Khan Examination Board provides training to teachers. The teacher is supported about how to teach a given syllabus. He is professionally supported through periodic training in teaching and examination processes.

[Moreover] training is provided to teachers for three days a year to be trained on how to teach a specific subject and make question paper. [Teachers] in government schools [which are affiliated with the government examination boards] do not get any such support. During my twenty-two years of service, I never had a single training by my department which could have helped me learn how to help a [an academically or educationally] weak student improve, how should I teach such students so that they may improve.

The Problem of State Priorities

The findings showed that teachers are concerned about the lack of attention by the government towards education. They believe education has not been the priority of different regimes. Instead, the defence and the security have been placed on the top priority. One of the participants, Mr Karim Madad, highlighted this issue.

Mr Karim Madad: The country is poor. The main problem is financial. Most of the budget is spent on paying loans and on defence expenditure. A very negligible amount of budget is allocated for education. Moreover, because of corruption, professional

incompetence, and lack of sincere people, [the allocated] money does not trickles down.

Another teacher, Mr Shah Wali, also maintained that since the creation of Pakistan, education in general and citizenship education, in particular, have never prioritised by successive regimes.

Mr Shah Wali: What do you think is the objective [priority] of our state? You look at the budget for this fiscal year or the budget of the last seventy years. How much has been allocated for education? It is negligible compare to other things. The priority of our state is that I should not dare to say this, but let me say that [it] is defence and military but not [citizenship] education.

Projecting Fighters as Heroes

The findings showed that teachers consider one of the main reasons for the depleting state of citizenship education is that we could not set our ideals rights. Mr Shah Wali complained that the ideals that we present to our students do not motivate them to be good citizens who may serve the community and work for humanity's welfare. He was critical of the militarisation of ideals in the education system.

Mr Shah Wali: See, for the last two hundred to three hundred years of our history, we do not celebrate people like Abdul Sattar Edhi [a great philanthropist of Pakistan] as our heroes [when they are alive]. We put posters when they die. You check from GB, even from Hunza, do we celebrate [them]. I respect the military heroes; they are my and your heroes. But why only them? Why is the only uniformed person, my hero? I respect them with the core of my heart.

But when we discuss our heroes of Pakistan or of Gilgit-Baltistan, why don't we mention a social scientist? Have we ever celebrated someone who has served the

nation? Can you mention a single name [who has been celebrated]? ...the stickers that we make on national days such as 1 November, 14 August, 23 March and give to my kids [students] have no such name. Have we ever made a speech, presented a drama, or shown a documentary showing how a person has served the nation in a different field [other than military] in this way or that? No, sorry! We have only presented the one as our star [hero] who cuts the head of our enemy. He is your leader; he is your model; this is your hero.

When your state makes you [believe this], when your brain [intellectual] will make you believe, and the people sitting on the high educational posts will tell you about these heroes, then in such a case, complain to state is useless. Complaining to the people sitting in government, from education minister to other people sitting on key positions [from policy-making and executing levels], is useless. This has never been their focus [priority]. You know, medical doctors are working as earning machines, but few serve the people. Has this happened ever that you declared a doctor as a hero? He must have saved several people's lives. Why could not we understand that the one who saves a life is much better than the one who kills?

Educational Dualism and Duality of Citizenship

The findings showed that seminary education and secular education system are producing two kinds of attitudes in society, and therefore, a uniform society cannot be developed. The teachers believed that neither seminary leadership nor the government had made serious attempts to reform the seminary education system. Most of the efforts introduced by different governments were perceived to be dictated by the western agenda and received findings from the West; therefore, they could not become successful. Mr Shah Wali highlighted how the two education systems are producing two children in the same house with different attitudes

and understandings caused by the dual education system. He discussed a reform effort and how that met with failure because of the interests of different groups with its negative implications in developing two different kind of students.

Mr Shah Wali: A professor involved in a reform project reported to me [about what] the education secretary said [to the professor]. Listen my friend! If you make these people [seminary students] study sociology, new research methods and give them exposure to the western world together with the learning of the Qur'an and Hadith [sayings of prophet], that means you make the rest of us drowned. Why do you say that your plan includes making students study science, sociology, Urdu and other subjects together along with the Qur'an and Hadith [sayings of Prophet Muhammad PBUH]? Do you want them to be university professors and qualify for the CSS examination and start running the system of government? Where would our children go?

The professor told the secretary, sir, it is not like that. [The secretary is reported to have said] No! It is like that. If such a product come into the field, we are drowned. So the same secretary secretly sent a message to the board of seminaries that a conspiracy is being hatched to destroy the soul of seminaries on the pretext of reforms, and that is based upon ill intention. On the very next day, the seminary board announced that no seminary would accept this reform. So this happens at the government level.

Now see [the consequence], from the same house, one child goes to [general] public school and the other studies in the Madrassa, [the religious seminary]. Their thinking will be apart from each other, and there will be a stark difference in their thinking.

The quarrel starts from home now. If you do not have order [civility and civic sense] in your house, then what you may be discussing about the state of society

Education for Economic Utility

The findings showed that teachers consider one reason for ignoring citizenship education is over-emphasis on science subjects, which may help students earn good jobs and secure their economic future. However, while doing so, one of the significant objectives of education is being missed to help students become a good human being and a citizen. Mr Shah Wali complained that the education system has never launched a program that may help students acquire education about becoming a considerate human being who has, *Insaniyat*, civic sense underpinned by civility and morality.

Mr Shah Wali: Particular emphasis is made on two or three subjects of science. When a student reaches grade 9th or 10th or at an intermediate level, every parent desires their son[or daughter] to study mathematics, chemistry, physics and biology seriously and may become a doctor or engineer. It has not come to my knowledge that has ever in Gilgit Baltistan any specially designed education program related to citizenship education, for these students of secondary and higher secondary, has been designed and implemented. Is there any institute that may educate them about these things? No! Instead of focusing on making our children good human beings, we have focused on making our children study pure sciences so that they may become an engineer or a doctor; or we try to educate them in a related field so that they earn a lot. Studying citizenship education is not for making children money-making machines, but it is meant to understand students about *Insaniyat* [civic sense underpinned by civility and morality] and *Shayhriyat*, citizenship. However, please note this, sir! In civics or Pakistan studies, you will find everything except civics and Pakistan as it is now.

Conclusion

In sum, the findings have shown that the conceptualisation of citizenship, citizenship education and a good citizen is influenced by an overarching dimension of morality drawn from religious discourses of Islam, albeit in different ways. Nevertheless, the concept of morality seems limited in its scope, in terms of its focus, to civic sense and individual conduct, which in many ways found to be delinked from the political praxis of the individual. Moreover, the overall poor state of education and educational segregation in society contributes to Pakistan's poor citizenship education.



CHAPTER SEVEN

CONTESTING THE CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION CURRICULUM OF PAKISTAN STUDIES

Introduction

The findings in this chapter are intended to address the research question related to the teachers' understanding of curriculum in terms of its role in fostering citizenship education. It addresses the question of how do teachers see the role of curriculum in citizenship education. The findings are illustrative of contesting the limited approach to citizenship, which is reflected in the curriculum. The findings are divided into two sections; the first section deals with how the curriculum is contested with its focus on teachers' understandings of the general nature of the curriculum and its role in promoting or demoting citizenship education, and the second section deals with how dominant narratives as promoted through curriculum are understood or contested by the teachers.

Contesting Curriculum

The findings have shown that teachers contest the curriculum in various ways and show that the curriculum does not address the citizenship education needs because of its limited approach.

The Contesting role of Pakistan Studies for Citizenship Preparation

It has been found that not enough space has been given for citizenship education as such in the Pakistan studies syllabus. Nevertheless, it is illustrative that this subject is a core subject that makes students develop specific perspectives on who they are, their role, and the relationship between them and the country. These questions are indirectly addressed in different parts of the chapters and taught at secondary and higher secondary levels. The

research findings showed that teachers focus on the given syllabus only at the level of knowledge and that the practical dimensions related to different aspects of citizenship seem to have negligible space. One of the participants, Mr Karim Madad, reported the following:

There is nothing in the syllabus that may bound us to prepare students for their political role. For example, recently, the elections [for GB legislative assembly] were held. We should have guided students about it so that they could participate. However, it is not part of the course. It is not encouraged.

Another teacher, Ms Rashida Bibi, discussed that Pakistan Studies' syllabus does not help prepare good citizens. Instead, it discusses the fourteen points of Quaid-e-Azam, Islamic ideology and some other things that, according to her, do not fit with students' expectations. Mr Zafar Khan also shared the same reflections about the syllabus of Pakistan studies that it does not teach about citizenship issues as such but that he tries to discuss the issues related to citizenship, albeit in a limited manner.

Mr Zafar Khan: If I talk about citizenship, we do not teach about it. There are some basic things in four or five chapters. We touch in these [chapters] geography. We touch power relation[s]. We touch on the administrative structure. With this, there are two to three chapters on history, political history and freedom movement history. Apart from this, we do not have, as such, chapters on citizenship. Generally, as a Pakistan studies teacher, we [I] discuss citizenship, our rights or our responsibilities. Often we have interaction with our students about what kind of persons [citizens] you [they] need to be; what are your [their] rights; what are the rights that you [they] get and what you [they] do not get. We discuss these apart from our [syllabus] context. These are not in our syllabus of AKU-EB.

The Obsolete Curriculum

One of the study's findings showed that teachers consider an updated curriculum a key to developing informed citizens. However, they complain that the syllabus of Pakistan Studies is not updated from time to time, thus making the curriculum irrelevant in many instances. One of the interview participants, Mr Karim Madad, mentioned that how even political dates have not been updated and maps are missing from the curriculum.

Mr Karim Madad: The problem is [that] dates are not updated. Maps are missing.

Recent political developments are not incorporated, and that the students are made to feel that they are [not living] in the present. So there is a disconnect between the students' life and the curriculum.

Another teacher also highlighted this point to a much larger extent and maintained that the syllabus cannot help students understand and address the changing nature of issues that effects their lives and that it has become obsolete but still being taught at schools and colleges.

Mr Ahsan Ali: The curriculum of social sciences [including] and Pakistan Studies is very old. It has become obsolete. It does not address the challenges of the modern age. The world is changing so fast and so are students' needs. In our context, GB, the situation is changing faster. This syllabus cannot address these basic points or problems. Until we do not reset the curriculum on a scientific basis by keeping this area's needs [GB] in view, [and] do not bring in these issues, we cannot bring about a reform in the curriculum.

Without having such a curriculum, we cannot produce the product that we require.

Making Good Human Beings is not the Focus

According to teachers, the findings showed that the overall education system does not focus on developing good human beings who may serve humanity and may be having a virtuous

life. Mr Shah Wali maintained that this is not specific to Pakistan but all over the Muslim world. This happened because of grave injustice that we have made in teaching social sciences, including Islamiat, Islamic Studies, Pakistan Studies or Civics or History. Moreover, he maintained that overemphasis on science subjects with the English language has led to ignoring this important task of students' mind mapping.

Researcher: You discussed in detail the picture of citizenship. How is it reflected in the curriculum of social sciences, such as Pakistan Studies and Civics?

Mr Shah Wali: Unfortunately, we did grave injustice to social sciences. In Pakistan and all over the Islamic world, we did a grave injustice with Islamiat, Islamic Studies. We have divided things so much. You used the Arabic word *Aafaqi* [global], perhaps in the beginning about Islam. I will tell you we have left this. One of my friends, Abdul Khaliq Taj [a renowned poet in Gilgit], says that the Holy Prophet said that there would be 72 sects [in Islam], but I wonder to see them all in Kashroot [a small locality in Gilgit city]. You see, we have divided things into parts. So we did this injustice to Islamic studies [that we divided things too much].

We also did injustice to history in our syllabus. I leave this aside what grave injustice we made to it. The second [third] injustice that we made is that, you see in our syllabus from grade one to Masters level, and even up to M.Phil and PhD level, you will not see a single word of guidelines for career counselling. A student is not taught about what he should do. I have discussed this issue in radio programs also. When I pose these questions to my students in grade eleven and twelve, they become surprised, by God I tell you, that what am I talking about? [They think that] what this man is talking about what is career counselling; what is my identity; what is a guideline; where do I need to go. They study without knowing why they do. The third

[fourth] injustice that we make is with civics, citizenship education. You look any type of an intellectual kind of person. He may be a PhD, an engineer or a doctor or maybe a prominent politician. What do we focus [look for] in him is that he should be speaking English. It is a means of communication, but it is a just language [skill]!

Policies and Syllabus is not Fitting to the Needs of the Context

The findings showed that teachers consider serious problem are there in the policy and curriculum making process. They consider that the education policies and curriculum do not address society's needs because they are generally developed by the people who do not understand the needs and the dynamics of Pakistani society. Secondly, they are mainly developed under the pressure of the western agenda. One of the teachers, Mr Shah Wali, maintained that "all the educational policies and changes in the syllabus are made purely on western agenda". He was further upset about giving education policy and curriculum development responsibility to people who neither know Islam nor society.

Mr Shah Wali: We have scholars who cannot even read and understand the Qur'an and cannot even read the Hadith, let alone they may have the capacity to deduce something from that literature. Furthermore, [Such people] try to fit in the Pakistani society what is written in the west, so the society will not accept... the real problem with our state is that the people whom our state gives the responsibility of writing about civics or Islamiyat or any other subjects, they are either this kind of people or state make collusions with those who create problems and make a fuss in society on the name of religion. Our system does not encourage a real Islamic scholar who can equally command Islamic studies and citizenship. They are sidelined. The responsibility is given to those who have nothing to do with that work... The approach of a real scholar should be such that he should know the society and know

the concept of sovereignty according to Islam [Implying that the absolute sovereignty belongs to God].

Curriculum and Diversity

Teachers feel that diversity is not fully appreciated because culture is taught from the perspective of Islamic ideology. One of the teachers, Mr Sangi Khan, expressed concerns about the unequal state of citizenship and problems of exclusions on the name of religion and considered it diversion from the vision of the founding father of Pakistan.

Mr Sangi Khan: He [Quaid-e-Azam] talked about a secular Islam and that he said in his speech that everyone is free to go to his places of worship, be it a mosque or a church or a temple. He envisioned Pakistan to be a secular state. Everyone will be equally important for the state because of being a citizen of the country. Religion will not make some people important. The importance [status] of an individual will be defined by being a citizen. If a person is a citizen, regardless of being a Christen or Hindu, he is [equally] important for Pakistan. But later [in the history of Pakistan], we see it was made a must in the constitution of Pakistan that the head of state, the president, needs to be a Muslim. The Chief of Army Staff needs to be a Muslim, and the Prime Minister needs to be a Muslim. These things were not there in the beginning. Instead, Quaid-e-Azam placed even Hindus and Christians in key positions. Latter, through legislation, these changes were made. It was wrong and should not have happened. The change was against the secular vision of Quaid-e-Azam

The findings also showed that the curriculum does not even highlight religious diversity present in Pakistan. A teacher, Mr Nisar, while stating about the other cultures and religions, mentioned that the curriculum of Pakistan studies does not discuss Christians or Hindus or others and that students are taught about Islam and Muslims because they are in the majority.

He stated that “in Pakistan Studies, we teach about Islam. Islamic ideology because most of the population are Muslims. There is no teaching about Hindus and Christians”.

Another teacher, Mr Akram-ud Din, also maintained that the Pakistan Studies syllabus does not include other religious communities other than Muslims. He maintained that the syllabus is meant only for Muslims as none of the topics discusses other religious communities. He maintained that there should be some topics about the religious minorities as they are also living in the same country.

Mr Akram-ud Din: Pakistan Studies basically, as far as I notice, that this is purely for the students who are Muslims, because when we review all the chapters, all the topics, none of the topic [topics] is, you know, especially for the non-Muslim. There is another, you know, a subject introduced for the non-Muslim in Pakistan, ethics only, instead of Islamiyat. So, being a, you know, citizen of Pakistan, there should be some sort of, you know, chapters or some topic should be on non-Muslims as well. It should be included in the Pakistan Studies' syllabus because when you talk about the Christians when you talk about the Hindus of Pakistan who are living in different parts of Pakistan, there should be some, at least topic or chapter should be included in Pakistan Studies, because the Pakistani Hindus, the Pakistani Buddhist and other non-Muslims are living in Pakistan, there should be a small corner, or a chapter should be included in the Pakistan Studies. I did not, you know, find any single, you know, a chapter in the book of Pakistan Studies. It means that there is, you know, the biased attitude was seen in the curriculum, so the curriculum is basically designed in specific philosophy, in a [with a] certain, you know, religious background, so this concept or this perception should be remove[removed] from the curriculum.

He further maintained that exclusion of the religious minorities is due to the biased attitude of the majority that is not limited to the curriculum only but goes much beyond it and can be seen in the marginalisation of religious communities in practical fields.

Mr Akram-ud Din: The majority population is dominated in all, you know, matters, policies and curriculum. That is why we can see this biasness, biased attitude in this state, again I am talking [about], you know, the Christians, [and] again I [am] talking about the other, you know, non-Muslim people who are living [in] Pakistan. So far, even they are highly intellectual, highly, you know, professionals in Pakistan [but] unfortunately, they have not been given that, you know, position or status in the country, it is because of you know biased attitude.

The Missing Global Dimension and Filling the Gap

The findings showed that the teachers feel that the syllabus does not help students even to think seriously, let alone contribute, about their possible role regarding global issues.

However, it is up to the capacity of a teacher himself/herself whether he/she understands the issues and find the ways to help students think and engage on the global issues. One of the teachers, Mr Karim Madad, reported that:

Mr Karim Madad: The syllabus does not bound us to teach about global issues and what role a student can play. There is nothing like that in the curriculum. But it is up to the capacity of a teacher whether he creates links of topics to global issues or cannot do that. For example, if someone teaches about the economy of Pakistan, he should place it in [his detaching as part of] the global economy. If democracy is taught, then democracy in Pakistan should be linked with other democracies in his teaching. Likewise, teaching g about culture can be linked to global cultures. I try to do this, but you know it depends on the teacher, but the curriculum does not bind us.

When I teach the roads in Pakistan, I link it to Silk Route and Karakorum High Way. I also discuss China Pakistan Economic Corridor and share how it benefits China and Pakistan.

Likewise, Mr Ahsan Ali also shared his efforts to develop a sense of responsibility for global issues and connectivity with the world.

Mr Ahsan Ali: We celebrate special international days in our college so that we may develop a sense of responsibility in students about the global issues and feel that they are part of humanity and thus connected with it. There are specific challenges common to all human beings, and our students should also take responsibility and be aware of them. They should know that they [students] are part of not only Gilgit-Baltistan or of Pakistan but also of the global society.

Critical Thinking

Concern for critical thinking was yet another finding. Many consider critical thinking important for the growth of students. Yet, they seem unhappy with the curriculum, which does not facilitate critical thinking. Lal Hussain, one of the participants, stated that “the trend of critical thinking is not there in our course [curriculum]. We try to make history simple and present a simple story to students. For example, when we teach about the fall of Dhaka[creation of Bangladesh], we do not share facts. We do not include different versions of other [stakeholders].”

He gave another example and stated the following:

Look! This is [only] a theory that Pakistan has come into being in the name of Islam.

We are bound to say that Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam. If we try to say another aspect [of its creation], we will be in trouble as government employees.

[But] the one who created Pakistan [Muhammad Ali Jinnah], he later delivered a speech

on the 11th of August [1947]. He did not mention as such about an Islamic System.

He did not mention the implementation of Sharia, the Islamic anything or making five-time prayers compulsory.

The findings show an important thing: at least some voices are critical of not having and promoting critical thinking. Apart from the syllabus, it has also been brought to the fore that critical thinking as a part of pedagogy is also missing, and therefore education system is perceived to be short of educating students in a way that may help develop critical thinking as one of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, discussed it in the following words:

Ahsan Ali: We should educate our students to question the dynamics and the prevailing system. I think it is the first quality of a good student. He should also listen to others' views and respects them as he respects his own views. He should seek new knowledge. I am against this system, Nazeem! which is after scores. I am against it. I have seen many book-worms who got first division, but their analytical skills are so poor in Pakistan. The curriculum is weak. It does not teach questioning... We do not give such an atmosphere where students are facilitated to develop critical thinking and analytical skills. We always teach them content. Force them to memorise through our examination system so that they may vomit during the exam and be able to get a certificate or degree. We [system] do not train them in a way that kids [students] may use their own mind and thinking.

Teachers' Understanding of Dominant Narratives

The teachers' range of responses has been found about the dominant narratives presented in the curriculum. Many teachers do not buy the official versions as presented in the Pakistan Studies syllabus. Following are some of the key areas where teachers try to question the official narratives from different positions.

Challenging History and Reconstructing Citizenship

Understanding history is an important factor as it helps people construct their identity by referring to it in different ways. Yet, it became clear that many of the teachers do not get convinced by the official version of history as currently being taught to students. One of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, questioned the overall approach towards history because of its potential implications for citizenship, as we can see below.

Mr Ahsan Ali: It is important to have the analysis of history based on historical facts, and that analysis should be done scientifically. [But] here [in Pakistan], the history that is taught is biased. It is biased to the extent that because of it, [the capacity of] critical thinking dies in students. They [students] are told that this [narrative] is right and the rest is wrong. Adopting such an approach in social sciences has a fundamental fault that [by] saying ‘this is right’ and ‘that is wrong gives students answers instead of teaching them how to question. This is the situation in Civics, Pakistan Studies and other Social Sciences Subjects [in Pakistan]. Because of this, students who can think critically are not produced. That is why I think history is very important. The analysis of history should be taught in an unbiased way. [We should] teach historical events unbiasedly.

The same concerns were expressed by yet another teacher, Mr Karim Madad, and he critically looked at the dominant narrative about the role of Quaid-e-Azam in the freedom struggle and the subsequent creation of Pakistan from the available scholarly literature.

Mr Karim Madad: History is not unbiased. It is biased. It does not reflect reality.

What is given in the syllabus about history is different from what is reality. We need to correct it. We need to incorporate the real aspects of history, which are revealed by new research. For example, Zubeida Jalal [a renowned historian of Pakistan] says that

Pakistan did not come into being because of the struggle of Quaid-e-Azam but because of the political mistakes of Gandhi [Mahatma Gandhi; 1869-1948]] and Nehru [Jawaharlal Nehru; 1889-1964]. It is new research, and that should have been included in the curriculum. If we make such things parts of the curriculum, kids [students] can see things critically.

Islamisation of History

The findings showed that some of the teachers are aware of the subversions made to history in the pretext of Islamisation efforts. Mr Ahsan Ali was convinced that in order to Islamize the history and historical narratives, history has been presented in the Pakistan Studies curriculum in a distorted manner. It has not been developed on scientific lines, which subsequently produces a biased understanding of history among students and kills critical thinking in students, which may tantamount to killing critical consciousness and crushing critical citizenship. He expressed his views in the following manner.

Mr Ehsan Ali: This has been a tragedy of our history that in subcontinent we connect history with the attack of Muhammad bin Qasim [on India in 712] as if the history of subcontinent starts from 712. He was a foreign invader. Our textbooks praise him. Raja Daher defended his land [but] we call him so many bad things. This is the reason that subcontinent people [Muslims] look outside for solutions to their problems because they have fallen prey to [psychological] insecurity because they [Muslims] glorify the invaders. The local people who defended your area and contributed to promoting your culture have made [presented] them the enemy. Therefore, in students and society's minds, it has become inscribed that we need to look outside for the solutions to our problems. The majority [who mostly believe in Sunni Islam] think we should look to Saudi Arabia to solve our problems. Others [who believe in Shia



Islam] want to look at Iran or the Middle East. There is another group [Liberals] who want to look at the west to solve the problems. Indigenous knowledge will come from critical thinking, and critical thinking can be developed when we inculcate a critical approach in education about citizenship.

Is Islam the Raison D'être of Pakistan?

It has been found that teachers have verities of opinion about the role of Islam in the creation of Pakistan. One of the teachers expressed his views that the founding leaders of Pakistan wanted it to be a kind of secular state where people may not be discriminated against based on religion. According to Mr Karim Madad, the inclusion of the role of Islam in the constitution and state mechanism is problematic because it is against the vision of the founding leader, and thus he tried to read history from a different perspective which does not conform with the official version.

Mr Karim Madad: Quaid-e-Azam wanted to make Pakistan a secular state, but it reverted. It shows that there is [another] force in the country. It is against secularism, and they wanted to make Pakistan an Islamic state where Sharia is implemented, and Islamic laws are enacted and that the country may become a purely Islamic state.

Another teacher, Mr Ahsan Ali, also showed a nuanced approach towards Islam and thus questioned the problems that it may raise if it is taken for granted that Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam. He also highlighted that it was no need to provide religious explanations for explaining the necessity and justification for the creation of Pakistan.

Mr Ahsan Ali: Pakistan came into being as a result of certain conditions. Many Afro-Asian countries became attained independence after the First and Second World Wars. Pakistan was one of them, and the concept of nation-state became strong since then. The Muslims [of India] achieved the state, but they [should not have given] did

not need to give it a religious colouring. It was not needed because apart from Muslims, other religious communities were also living. They do not have any relation to Islam. You excluded them from the mainstream in the name of Islam...religion has been mixed up with politics and state.

Mr Ahsan Ali further maintained that allowing religion in state affairs creates problems, and Ali highlighted those problems critically.

Mr Ahsan Ali: When religion has been mixed with state and politics constitutionally, it created problems in Pakistan. Look Nazeem! Religion should be a personal matter. In state's affairs, religion [Islam] should not intervene because when religion interferes in state affairs, the question is the whose version of religion [of Islam]? If you accept a single version, then you will be ignoring others. It will be creating problems.

Another teacher, Ms Rashida Bibi, also challenged Islam as the basis of the creation of Pakistan yet from a different angle.

Ms Rashida Bibi: We teach students and put this thing in their minds that Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam. It is made on its name [Islam]. But, in the sub-continent, when Muslims and Hindus were living together, they [Muslims] did not face any problem because they [Muslims] were controlling. When the English [British] government came into power and was about to leave here [sub-continent], the Muslims started remembering Islam. Were, before this, Hindus and Muslims not living together? Was there no danger for their religion? When English people [British] were leaving then, Pakistan was made on the name of Islam. I think, sir, that whatever country is made in the name of religion cannot develop... When English people [British] were going, such situations created that Muslims felt Hindu would govern

Muslims. Perhaps, it seems that Muslims made it a problem of their ego, making religion a shield for politics.

Contrary to these opinions, which were liberal in their outlook, there was yet another pattern of thinking that was accommodative of Islam as the *raison d'être* of Pakistan but, interestingly, not in the sense of an explicit Islamisation. Mr Zafar Khan tried to make sense of Islam as the basis for the creation of Pakistan in terms of the basic principles promoted by Islam but not in Islamisation as a political process. He tried to equate the conditions that Muslims in India experienced in the colonial period with minorities living in contemporary Pakistan and maintained that the observance of the principles of Islam could help maintain justice and equality.

Mr Zafar Khan: Sir, I relate this [role of Islam in the creation of Pakistan] with the freedom movement. It started in history when Muslims were calling themselves a minority and asking for their rights just like minorities in [contemporary]Pakistan saying they do not get their rights and face injustice. So this was their slogan. So, as a result of the [freedom] movement that lasted for many years, Pakistan came into existence. So initially, it was said that we make it [Pakistan] in the name of Islam. Islamic principles will be followed here, and Islamic laws will be followed.

Quaid-e-Azam also said in his speech which he made just three days before the creation of Pakistan on 11th of August [1947], that we would clean Pakistan of black marketing, smuggling, bribery, nepotism or other harmful things which were existed in the society... if these things are eliminated from society, you can see equality, see beauty, and see brotherhood. We can see a concept of a welfare state where the state is responsible for the rights of its citizens. All these things are told[taught] by Islam. Pakistan came into being on the name of Islam, but later we do not see these things.

We see only the name[epithet] of Islam. We need to see the principles of Islam and see that what its teachings are. Our politicians are not seen implementing these principles. We see some small things are done in the name of Islam, such as making it compulsory for a president to be a Muslim. They are some symbols, but there are no practical implementations [of these principles]

Problematizing the Role of Religion in Politics

The findings revealed that some teachers feel that a country should not be based upon a specific religion. There were different perspectives, each trying to argue that bringing Islam into politics creates problems in Pakistan. One of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, highlighted the multiple interpretations of Islam and the problems that may create the preference to one interpretation as it excludes other interpretations and practices.

Mr Ahsan Ali: Ok, if you [someone] even talk about Islam, then [the question would be] which Islam are you talking about. If 100% or 99% people of Pakistan believed in a single [interpretation of] Islam, then it would [have been] be successful, but there is too much polarisation on religious lines. You know that there are people with different sects, so which Islam are you talking about. Because of this, there is considerable confusion in Pakistan, and distances are there among people of different sects. Even the problems of sectarianism, I mean sectarian clashes, have been there because others do not accept a certain Islam. Bareilvis do not accept Deobandi Islam; others do not accept Shia Islam; you know that is the problem. Because of this [conflicting versions of Islam], Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, while giving an interview to Shorish Kashmiri, clarified in 1946 that Muslims claim to make Pakistan on the name of Islam but which Islam they are talking about. There will be, later, inter-Muslim clashes.

Likewise, another teacher, Ms Rashida Bibi, linked the role of religion in politics with the problems of development. She maintained that religion a country came into being in the name of any religion could not prosper, and religion could hinder development.

Researcher: You mentioned that if a country is created in the name of religion, it cannot develop. Why do you think so?

Ms Rashida Bibi: Because religion sir, bounds you.

Researcher: Bounds what?

Ms Rashida Bibi: I feel religion, closed your mind... Look at this Coronavirus issue[COVID-19], sir! Here in Pakistan, we are even dragging religion into it. Look, sir; the government is asking us to take preventive measures for everyone, Christen or Muslim or whatever you are. Muslims should not go to the Mosques [to ensure social distancing], Christens should not go to Church, and Hindus should not go to Temple. In our country, you see, sir, these Molaweess[Muslim religious clerics] are protesting that they want to go to the Mosques and want to do their prayers. We are facing such an illness that has no treatment. No vaccine has been made yet to cure this[COVID-19]. Except for taking preventive measures, we cannot do anything. If we mix even such a big problem with religion, then how can we develop, sir...? I feel that we should take care and adopt preventive measures more than worship and praying. We should follow what the government is asking of us.

Likewise, Mr Zafar Khan linked the role of religion in Pakistan with empowering certain religious groups at the cost of others. He maintained that giving the role of religion into politics has caused unequal citizenship in the country.

Researcher: How do you see the relationship between religion, Islam, and the issues of common people?

Mr Zafar Khan: While living in Pakistan, I said earlier that Pakistan has come into existence in the name of Islam. And, when we teach about the constitution or discuss constitution or about creating Pakistan, we discuss this thing that principles of Islam are its bases... If we even see now in Pakistan that there is a religion [religious] factor with the political factor, problems are created related to religion and minorities. We have a sect here which is very strong, and they are influential in politics and other fields.

He further linked the issues of unequal citizenship with religion and maintained that the constitution claims to protect the minorities, but on the ground, they are discriminated against and suppressed because of their religion.

Researcher: How do you see religious minorities?

Mr Zafar Khan: Sir, the constitution has provided the proper protection...but implementation is not being done, and Hindus, Christians and Ahmadis are suppressed. There are many areas where they are not allowed to come forward. I give you one example of the current government. We consider this government better than the earlier one, which means that religious extremism was high in the previous government, but now it is decreased. The new government of PTI came, Imran Khan, included an Ahmadi person, whose name was Atif Mian, in the economy [economic] advisory council. He was Ahmadi. After looking at his talent, he was hired, not based on religion. Imran Khan kept him in the advisory council based on his expertise. Then in Pakistan religious communities, Muslims [some sects] protested and said, why have a Qadiyani been appointed on such a [key] position. There were allegations against Imran Khan that he is an agent of Jews and against Islam. Despite being a prime minister, he was forced to fire that person... This person was needed for

Pakistan, but religious extremists have a different attitude in Pakistan. The [sitting] Prime Minister was compelled to remove him from the position.

Decoupling Good Citizen from Good Muslim

Many teachers questioned equating ‘a good Muslim’ with ‘a good citizen’. One of the participants, Mr Karim Madad, stated the following:

Mr Karim Madad: For me, both Muslims and non-Muslims could be bad or good. In order to become a good citizen, it is not necessary to be a good Muslim. Any individual can be a good citizen, and any Muslim could be a bad citizen. If we accept that a good citizen is equated to being a good Muslim, you have to follow a particular religion. Unfortunately, if someone prays five times, it is presumed that he would be a good citizen. However, while the second, regardless of whether he prays or not, is engaged in research on science. Mostly it is not seen that who can benefit society more. We mainly look at things through religious lenses. If someone is ok concerning religion [personal religious obligations such as prayers], we consider him a good Muslim and a good citizen. If religiously he is secular, he is not [considered] a good citizen and not a good Muslim.

Likewise, another teacher Mr Ahsan Ali also expressed his opinion that the perspective of being ‘a good citizen’ should be decoupled from the concept of being ‘a good Muslim’. He maintained that it is not required to be a good Muslim to be a good citizen and exposed the contradictions that this concept carries with its concomitant negative implications in building an inclusivist society.

Mr Ahsan Ali: It is not required, at all, to be a good Muslim in order to become a good citizen. As you see, we have the developed world model, especially in Western societies where there is no role of religion in state affairs. It is not important that if

someone performs regular prayers may be, for example, an honest person. His honesty and other things are related to global human values. His conduct in society would be more related to the narrative of the system that he lives in. It will be about him and the state and that it has not to do with religion.

Likewise, another teacher, Ms Rashida Bibi, maintained that it is not required to be a good Muslim to be a good citizen. She maintained that the syllabus tries to make us believe that a good Muslim can become a good citizen, but it is unnecessary.

Ms Rashida Bibi: You see, sir, religion is a different [separate] thing. In order to be a good citizen or to become a good citizen, there is no need for religion. You can become a good citizen without a religion. So you being a Muslim or a Hindu or a Muslim or an atheist is not necessary to be a good citizen.

Researcher: How do you see the syllabus in this regard?

Ms Rashida Bibi: It does so [presenting a good Muslim as a good citizen], but I disagree. I often try to make my students understand that religion is a separate thing. We cannot bring religion into the laws of the country or in politics. It is different, and let it run in its own way and let the politics follow its own way. You see, sir, in the constitution of 1973, Muslim has been defined as someone who believes in the finality of prophethood [of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)], should believe in the unity of God, and should believe in the finality of prophethood. So he is a Muslim, and the rest are non-Muslim. Now accordingly, Qadiyani's are non-Muslims... But there are many Qadiyanis who have a positive role in the development of our country. You see, they are not Muslims, but they are some good citizens.

Mr Akram-ud Din, another participant, also highlighted the negative implications of considering a good Muslim as a good citizen. He maintained that it is not important that if

you are a good Muslim, then you may be a good citizen because according to him, there have been non-Muslims in Pakistan who earned a great name for the country, but they were not Muslim whereas there are many Muslims who earned a bad name for the country such as religious fundamentalist and they may not be considered as a good citizen. Thus, he rejected the idea to associate being a good citizen with religion.

Researcher: Ok, how do you see the interrelationship between being a good Muslim and a good citizen?

Akram-ud Din: Both are, you know, different things. Like taking the example of Pakistan. Pakistan is a developing country, where most of the population is Muslim, whereas the minority non-Muslim includes Christians, Buddhists, and Hindus. As far as my, you know, observation and my own, you know, knowledge is concerned, I have noticed some [of] the prominent figures in Pakistan were non-Muslims. So, according to our constitution of 1973, some sects have been declared non-Muslims. For example, Qadiyanis, so among which [Qadiyanis] one of the prominent figure [was] Dr Abdus Salam [a theoretical physicist]. He has been awarded the Nobel Prize at the international level in Physics, so like Newton, Dr Abdus Salam is an international personality. Unfortunately, [with] the biased attitude, narrow-mindedness, and narrow vision, our constitution has declared him as a non-Muslim. Ok! But he is [was] a good citizen of Pakistan, he has been a good citizen of Pakistan, so when you compare other [such as] the fundamentalists, the extremist people, they declare themselves a good Muslim. I totally disagree [with good Muslim being a good citizen], ok!

... when you talk about the Muslim, you know, Muslim basically...are spread all over the world. The Muslim people are worldwide, but in Pakistan, the Muslim mostly are

narrow-minded, the people are not so good, they do not think for the betterment of their state[country] compared to the non-Muslims living in Pakistan. So, I do not, you know, agree that the citizenship and the Muslim, you know...

Researcher: So, you mean, it is not important to be a good Muslim to be a good citizen, am I right?

Mr Akram-ud Din: Exactly, exactly. Now you understand!

The findings also showed another strand of approach on the interrelationship of a good Muslim and a good citizen. This approach was more driven by theoretical considerations than ground realities yet showed a different perspective. Mr Nisar maintained that a good citizen can only become a good Muslim and that a good Muslim can be a good citizen. However, according to him, being good Muslim means considering others equal to you in a state according to his interpretation of the state of Medina established by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Otherwise, you are not a good Muslim.

Mr Nisar: It is evident that if someone is a good citizen, he/she can become a good Muslim. And if someone is a good Muslim, he can become a good citizen.

Researcher: How about Christians, Hindus and others living in Pakistan? Are they not good citizens?

Mr Nisar: It is not like that, sir! This is, in reality, about Islamic ideology, which means we are talking about the state of Medina [established by Prophet Muhammad PBUH], where Jews and Christians were equal. Unfortunately, we did not implement practically that Islam [Islamic ideology]. If people have understood Islamic ideology properly, that means there is a concept of equal citizens. If he is Christens, you do not have to do anything with that; he is an equal citizen. The problem is that we do not

implement it [Islam] properly. The problems are due to the misunderstanding of Islamic principles.

Moving away from the Vision of Founding Leaders

The findings showed that teachers consider deviation from the secular vision of the founding leader of Pakistan has caused the dominance of religious narrative, which is rigid and exclusionary. Mr Sangi Khan associated the dominance of the religious narrative to reversal from the secularist vision of Qaid-e-Azam and the lack of secular education

Mr Sangi Khan: There are many reasons which caused this [narrative about the central role of Islam in the creation of Pakistan] to dominate. For example, most of the population in Pakistan are not enough educated. Mostly religious education is imparted, and there is a lack of secular education. There are few secular institutions. Pakistan is a poor country [which is another reason] and therefore everywhere it could not build schools and colleges. If we look from population point of view [number of institutions in proportion to the population], there are very few secular educations. Demand is enormous, but no numbers [of institution] to meet it. Because of this, the secular narrative is not getting promoted.

Nevertheless, another teacher, Mr Ahsan Ali, seemed optimistic that an alternate narrative can emerge from the womb of the political and economic matrix shaping the world. He highlighted the deep entrenchment of the dominant narrative in society and projected that people sitting in the corridor of powers might have started to realise that this narrative of Islam as central to Pakistan's existence has weakened the state. He maintained that with time, the changing conditions would force them to revisit and change it.

Mr Ahsan Ali: Your economic constraints will compel you[one day] to change the narrative. The people sitting in power corridors will realise that this [narrative about

Islam] has weakened the state. [However], it is challenging to predict with certainty that what will happen in this area, say after fifty years or hundred years. Look! Based on solid knowledge, you can make conjectures, but other factors, such as natural factors and [unknown] future challenges, may prove your projections wrong.

However, I think a stage will come, and they [policy makers/powerful actors] will have to think that perhaps our narrative is not working and that the narrative that we have developed is not strengthening the country; instead, it is weakening it and that its foundations are becoming hollow.

Moreover, the situations which are developing globally will force them to change the narrative. Otherwise, an eventuality like Bangladesh may occur...there are already problems in the tribal belt. So perhaps after some decades, the way global situations are changing [the state narrative] will have to be changed in light of that.

Equal Citizenship as an Alternate Narrative

The finding revealed that some of the teachers questioned the role of Islam in the affairs of the state and showed an outstanding level of clarity about its possible implications. Thus they are mindful of the possibility of an alternate narrative. Mr Ahsan Ali, while highlighting the problems of accepting the role of Islam in state affairs, maintained that it can create issues for equal citizenship of people with religions other than Islam and may also create problems internal to Islam as there are many versions of it. The way forward that he suggested of developing equal citizenship based on global values.

Mr Ahsan Ali: It becomes clear that discussion should have revolved [in Pakistan] around the values of equal citizenship instead of giving space to a specific religion in the constitution. Because of this [giving space to religion in the constitution], Pakistan suffered from dictatorships and dictatorships caused to divide the country

into two separate parts. Now compare yourself [with the other part] Bangladesh that was separated from you. They did not make their education system in the name of religion but based on human values. They based their country on international human values, and they are ahead of us in development. Bangladesh is ahead of us [Pakistan] in Human Development Index, and the reason is they want to learn, and we do not.

Teacher's Role in Negotiating with the Given Curriculum

The findings showed that although the curriculum of Pakistan Studies has varied problems which are not facilitating developing citizenship as such in its broader sense. Nevertheless, it depends upon the capacity and the will of a teacher in the classroom that how does he manage to bring in the critical perspectives in teaching. Mr Ahsan Ali, one of the interview participants, highlighted the possibility and space available for social science's teachers to go beyond the curriculum, but the majority of teachers rarely actualises this possibility.

Mr Ehsan Ali: You know, it is difficult for hard sciences' teachers to go beyond the given syllabus in Pakistans. They have to teach certain formulae and given topics. However, there is always room to temper and play around with the syllabus for social sciences teachers. However, it is up to the teacher's ability [whether he can do it or not]. The problem is that the state of hard sciences is pathetic, and so is social sciences. [However] there is space for a social sciences teacher because he/she may say many things between the lines... Despite having many challenges, a teacher always has space to develop awareness about citizenship. He can create awareness about global values and show students the other side of history contrary to what is available, you know, but if he [a teacher] wishes so and has the ability.

The findings showed that few teachers try to go beyond the syllabus by keeping the syllabus as their reference point, but it was not found as a majority practice. For instance, Mr Karim

Madad, a teacher, highlighted this issue when he was referring that while teaching the geography of Pakistan, he tries to bring the discussions of boundaries of Pakistan by referring to the political dispute of GB. Likewise, while teaching about the roads of Pakistan, he brings the issue of China Pakistan Economic Corridor into his discussion. However, the curriculum does not push a teacher or students to engage with such important topics for building citizenship. They have been kept out of the textual reach of students.

Similarly, Mr Ahmad Din, another interview participant, highlighted that to help students develop a sense of civic responsibility and political awareness, periodic sessions and activities are organised.

Mr Ahmad Din: We conduct different sessions and activities to understand how important it is for them to participate in civic issues. We invite speakers so that interactive sessions may be conducted. Students are encouraged to ask questions from speakers. We try to engage them in co-curricular activities such as developing and presenting Dramas on different themes. We also encourage music. Like there are many things which we do to develop students from many dimensions.

Ms Rashida Bibi shared her experience of how she tries to educate students about the issues of Gilgit-Baltistan through debates and speeches. She complained that earlier generations did not help her generation understand these issues, but she tries to discuss them with her students.

Ms Rashida Bibi: We try to discuss the current political issues and general topics sometimes. We want that our kids [students] should be ready for the rights of Gilgit-Baltistan when they become young. We try that to prepare them from now. We could not do anything, or you can say before us earlier generation could not do anything. So we try to put in kids' minds from now that within Pakistan what rights should we

have. What are the political rights that we deserve... We select topics, make groups of students, and arrange debates. For example, we take a topic on Gilgit-Baltistan and arrange a debate.

Likewise, another teacher, Mr Zafar Khan, reported that he realises that the political and cultural history of Gilgit-Baltistan is ignored from the syllabus. So, he tries to discuss Gilgit-Baltistan by extending the scope of a topic, such as the right to vote, to Gilgit-Baltistan.

Researcher: You mentioned that the syllabus does not cover the political and cultural history of Gilgit-Baltistan. So, it means you might not be able to discuss the issues of Gilgit-Baltistan with your students!

Mr Zafar Khan: Sir, we have discussions with the students. For example, when I discuss the constitution or vote cast[ing], we discuss democratic government. There we say people elected from those areas [excluding Gilgit-Baltistan] are elected, and then through voting, they elect the Prime Minister. When we say this, many students suddenly raise their hands and ask why someone from our area [Gilgit-Baltistan] cannot become the Prime Minister. So, I then come to discuss the reasons and the history of what has happened to us.

Conclusion

The findings have revealed that teachers contest the curriculum in varieties of ways from different perspectives in terms of its role in citizenship education. The findings revealed that the curriculum of Social Sciences, in general, and the syllabus of Pakistan Studies, in particular, do not focus on citizenship education as such and that it does not play a constructive role in helping students become good citizens. It is found that the teachers consider the syllabus to be characterised by a narrow approach towards citizenship and thus unable to produce reflective and politically engaging citizens. The findings showed that the

curriculum does not promote different components such as diversity, inclusivity, critical thinking, global outlook and many other things which are necessary for building multicultural citizenship in a society which is otherwise characterised by diversity as a demographic fact owing to the presence of diverse cultures, religious backgrounds and many other factors.

Moreover, the findings showed that teachers contest the dominant narratives promoted through syllabus and textbooks. It has been found that many teachers are critical of the role of religion in politics, which according to them, have negative implications for citizenship.

Whereas others contest that the spirit of religion, Islam, demands to promote equal citizenship and thus consider that a progressive version of Islam can play a constructive role which may be consistent with the basic premise and rationale of creating Pakistan. Thus, the findings showed that the role of Islam would continue to dominate Pakistan's political and educational imagination in the form of the debate about the role of Islam in state affairs. Thus the debate about the nature of the role of Islam in Muslim societies may be considered a prime example of a distinctive feature of Muslim polities.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONSTRUCTING SELF-ALIENATING CITIZENS IN GILGIT-BALTISTAN

Introduction

The findings in this chapter are an attempt to respond to the research question that how do teachers make sense of citizenship and citizenship education in the politically disputed territory of GB while teaching a syllabus that is primarily developed keeping in view the overall contextual needs and aspirations of Pakistan but not meant as such to address the complexities involved in the context of Gilgit-Baltistan. The findings are divided into two sections: a) The complex phenomenon of citizenship conceptualisation in Gilgit-Baltistan and; b) The salient features of citizenship education discourse in Gilgit-Baltistan.

The Complex Phenomenon of Citizenship Conceptualisation in Gilgit-Baltistan

This section of findings tries to report how the conceptualisation of citizenship is shaped by the complex interplay of religious and political anxieties spurred by the modes of governance characterised by the centralisation of administrative control and the political isolation of the area. In what follows, the specific findings are presented that are triggered by or influenced by these anxieties and thus provide the overall context for teachers to conceptualise citizenship.

Citizenship in Crisis

The findings suggest that the right to citizenship in Gilgit Baltistan has fallen prey to the political crisis that has been imposed upon the area for decades. The political crisis has been created by the continuous denial and exclusion of GB from the constitutional ambit of Pakistan and thus has made it difficult for the people to make sense of their political identity.

One of the teachers Mr Karim Madad, reported the following:

Mr Karim Madad: We are in a political crisis. If we are a citizen as the Supreme Court of Pakistan wanted us to believe [in its judgements related to GB], and if we are citizens, then we should be part of a parliament; we should be having representation in the Senate [the upper house of the parliament]. Is it not ridiculous that the Supreme Court of Pakistan declares us to be citizens of Pakistan but do not have access to the Supreme Court? Moreover, we are deprived of many other things.

These[deprivations] will create a much bigger crisis at some stage [of history].

Another teacher Mr Ahsan Ali, also tried to show the problem of this crisis and stated the following:

Researcher: If a student asks you, are you a Pakistani? What would be your response?

Mr Ahsan Ali: My answer would be I am not Pakistani constitutionally.

Researcher: If he says that, but you have a national identity card and passport of Pakistan?

Mr Ahsan Ali: Yes indeed, I do have an identity card and passport of Pakistan.

Administratively, we are controlled by Pakistan, so an identity card and passport have to be given. It [Pakistan] cannot confine us [in this area]. So, this is simply administrative facilitation. We get it because of being under the administrative control of Pakistan. In the constitution of Pakistan, there is no mention of this area, so according to the constitution book, I am not Pakistani.

Researcher: So, what are you, and how would you define yourself?

Mr Ahsan Ali: I am a resident of Gilgit Baltistan and politically part of Kashmir but historically and culturally the residents of these mighty mountains but not of that [Kashmir's part].

The findings showed that the issues of political identity are complex. One of the teachers, Mr Shah Wali, while responding to the question of whether he considered himself Pakistani tried to simultaneously expressed his desire for being recognised, and also about the ground political scenario and the role of global powers and Pakistan's compromising position to face them in case of making GB as its constitutional part. Thus, he concluded that the question becomes irrelevant because what he considers himself or what he wants does not matter under the shadow of the global political dynamics. According to him, international political conditions and Pakistan's weak positioning in that framework take any bold decision are determinantal in deciding the fate of GB.

Researcher: Do you consider yourself a citizen of Pakistan?

Mr Shah Wali: I would like to share with you a story. It will contain my answer, and you know I am a government servant.

Researcher: You do not worry about confidentiality.

Mr Shah Wali: No, that is not the issue. I write for newspapers, and these are the things which I do not hide. It is not my principle:

Researcher: Oh great!

Mr Shah Wali: I attended a marriage ceremony of one of my friends in Tando Alayar [Sindh] with one of my teachers. Some generals and colonel type [senior military] officials were also attending the ceremony. My teacher introduced me to them and said that he is from Gilgit and does not consider himself Pakistani. One of them became a bit angry and said that you eat from Pakistan and live in Pakistan, but you say you are not Pakistani? I said, ok, you take out your identity card. He put it on the table, and so did I. I told him by this card; you are entitled to this and that [counted entitlements], I counted what he could do. And by taking my card, I said I am not

entitled. I said to him, I am shouting and seeking where my mother is, but it is you Pakistan who is not answering me. He understood.

I will tell you one thing [point] about our constitutional status. People are telling lies in the market. Political leaders are telling lies; religious leaders are telling lies.

Political and religious leaders are telling beautiful lies. They do not tell the truth to their nation. Those who demand constitutional province[for GB] do not know that international resolutions do not agree on this point? They[international resolutions] will not let you make this a constitutional province. Those who are against it also know this... [So] would it be possible for the state of Pakistan to do so given its weak conditions [implying to its weak economic and political conditions]? No! It cannot.

So what I desire to be and what I think about being a Pakistani is useless.

Likewise, another teacher, Ms Rashida Bibi, expressed her frustration about the citizenship crisis and associated it sarcastically with the desire of her ancestors for the accession of GB with Pakistan to surrendering Gilgit-Baltistan to Pakistan. Therefore, she considered it as the main reason for the current citizenship crisis.

Ms Rashida Bibi: Sir, Gilgit-Baltistan has a history. During the time of partition, this area was ruled by Dogras. After the independence of Pakistan, this area became independent. However, our forefathers snatched government from Dogras and handed our area to the federation of Pakistan. This[crisis] is because of our forefathers [decisions] that we are suffering, and no solution has been reached until now from 1947.

Identity Crisis: Search for a Binding Thread

The findings suggest that teachers struggle to make sense of an internal reference of identity because the areas that are part of the GB region have been marked by sharp differences in

historical and contemporary contexts. The findings showed that most teachers get confused when they need to point out the unifying factor that may connect the people of Gilgit-Baltistan with different backgrounds. What, however, brings them to one point is the political issue. All the teachers have been found complaining about being discriminated against and marginalised by Pakistan. One of the teachers, Mr Karim Madad, initially tried to make sense of the diversity of GB by referring to Islam and said that “all the inhabitants of GB are Muslims and we are brethren and sisters [in faith]. It makes us one not only among ourselves but also with other Pakistanis”. However, when he was asked how Islam helps him differentiate people of Gilgit-Baltistan from the rest of the Muslims living in Pakistan or elsewhere, he tried to look from a political angle and struggled to find a political base for making sense of diversity and for finding common ground.

Mr Karim Madad: We have a political crisis. We all whatsoever languages we speak or religions we have; we are trapped in a crisis. All of us want to have a political identity. Religiously, we are all Muslims, but people have questions about why that development is not happening. Why is it that we do not have an identity? People from Baltistan are saying the same things which the people from Hunza and Nagar are saying. The same is echoed from Diamer and Gilgit. People want to be part of a greater power entity [state].

The findings also showed that most teachers realise that the people of GB have diverse backgrounds and that what connects them is political. One of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, discussed it succinctly.

Researcher: What could be the unifying factor for the people of Gilgit-Baltistan?

Mr Ahsan Ali: I think, Nazeem! The unifying factor is our political interests, the common collective political status. So it could be a unifying factor. You see, people

ethnically, historically and linguistically are different, but their common political issue, I mean the political question, is something that can unite.

Researcher: You mean the question of political identity?

Mr Ahsan Ali: Political identity is the only factor that can politically unify people.

Because they have the same political issue at the top, and if you look historically, the geography can also make them [feel] connected. Our geography is our common asset.

So I think these are [two] unifying factors.

Another teacher, Ms Rashida Bibi, initially struggled to make sense of unity by explaining that we have cultural similarities and being a Muslim was yet another marker that can unify. However, she then realised during the discussion that they shortfall to be the unifying factor and then she also highlighted the political issue of Gilgit-Baltistan that can help provide a common base for diverse communities living in GB.

Researcher: What do you think is common to the people of Gilgit-Baltistan?

Ms Rashida Bibi: I think we almost have the same culture.

Researcher: But there are many languages and different customs in different areas?

Ms Rashida Bibi: Yes, yes! I wanted to say that religion can have a role, but umm, it has problems also, I think there could be one thing. The issue that we all are going through, the political issue of Gilgit-Baltistan. We can become one on this issue. This is a one-point about our rights!

Likewise, another teacher, Mr Akram-ud Din, tried hard to find a common factor connecting the diverse population of people of Gilgit-Baltistan. He initially tried to maintain that the Shina language is mainly understood in most areas and could be a binding factor. However, when he realised that it is also spoken in parts of KPK province, Kohistan area and that it is

also not understood in many parts of GB, he referred to the cultural similarities. He maintained that there are similarities in different customs and traditions and also in the nature of music that can connect GB as a whole. However, he failed to notice that despite having overarching similarities, there are significant differences even in customs, traditions, and music.

Mr Akram-ud Din: Being, you know, a Muslim, we have some common, you know, customs and traditions, which are being exercised in our society. Ok? The burial ceremonies, you know, the ritual, the wedding ceremonies, some common things are being observed everywhere, ok! Our some historical linkages, Ok! So they are, you know, connected, ok! In olden time, in long ago, so, people you know use to travel from one place to another place, from here to other places, even some people who had migrated from Gilgit to Hunza, Chilas to Hunza, and Hunza to Gilgit. So, the relations, blood relations are still exist[ing] in these areas. So, they regard each other. And some customs and traditions, for example, dancing is common you know features in Gilgit-Baltistan. Music that can, you know, bring people, you know, unite on a specific platform. So, these are the common things that people can unite.

Shrinking Political Space and the Rising Religious Polarisation

The findings also showed that the teachers are worried about the rising polarisation on ethnic, linguistic and religious lines. Among these polarising factors, the teachers consider that religious polarisation is more alarming and dangerous than others because of the past experiences of violence triggered or inflicted in the pretext of sectarian clashes. One of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, maintained that shrinking political space has negatively impacted GB and that sectarian elements are getting stronger as an alternative to political activities.

Mr Ahsan Ali: I think political space has been eroded, but this is a fallout [of squeezing political space]. The fact is that people need some space to make their identity recognised. When you eliminate the political space, then people start searching for their identity in religion. This is what happens in GB, and this [the] trend is increasing in GB. Consequently, people will further [deeply] be divided into [religious] sects. The elements of sectarianism will get strong[er] because people need identity; they need some space. Space, which the local people need for developing their personality and playing their role, has been eroded.

As a consequence, the people of GB are in a state of an identity crisis. People are in a state of confusion. They look for their identity, [and] search for a more viable and organised platform which [in the absence of political space is filled by] is the religious or sectarian platform. This is[the platform] where they get together and find space. They find the solution to their insecurity there [in sectarian spaces] because their identity is eroded, and people have gone into a state of insecurity. Finding space in these [sectarian spaces] is not good [dangerous] for this area[GB] and overall Pakistan.

Researcher: You mean society has become polarised?

Mr Ahsan Ali: Exactly! You use an excellent English word. During the last ten years or more so, too much polarisation has occurred. There was little political space [but] that has also been snatched.

Researcher: You mean, deliberately!

Mr Ahsan Ali: Absolutely, it is being done deliberately.

Researcher: by whom?

Mr.Ahsan Ali: by the state

The findings showed that the religious identities have become so strong that it has become a marker of developing uneven citizenship within GB. Another teacher, Mr Nisar, highlighted that even appointments in different government departments are made on sectarian grounds. He gave an example of how a person from a particular religious sect was given preference for a junior level government job over another one who was otherwise deserving for the position.

Mr Nisar: Here in GB, the sectarian card runs more than anything else, sir! I know one person who gave land for the construction of a basic health unit in our area. He was promised to be given a junior-level job. But you see what happened, upon the pressure from Chief Minister another person was given the job because he belonged to the same sect which the Chief Minister belonged.

Decoupling of GB from Kashmir

The findings are suggestive of a decoupling GB from Kashmir as such. However, it also showed an awareness among the teachers about the ground political realities and that they seem to assert their narrative about the political positioning of GB. Most of the teachers expressed their opinion in line with making GB a distinct entity from Kashmir. One of the teachers said Mr Ahmad Din stated the following:

Mr Ahmad Din: You see it [GB] is a special area, and according to international law, it has a special status because of the Kashmir dispute. Although, it is under the administrative control of Pakistan. However, it is not being carried out [supported by] under a constitutional or a legal covering, but executive orders are used to control[govern] it.

Another teacher, Mr Husaain Ali, expressed this desire of decoupling with more anger and enthusiasm and stated that

Mr Hussain Ali: We do not have any common things with the Kashmiri people. We speak different languages; they speak a different language. [Can anyone] Show me a single thing [culturally] that may be the same except Islam. But there are hundreds of thousands of Muslims in the world; they need to get a visa to come to Pakistan. When we have to go on pilgrimage, we need to have a visa. They [Saudi Arabia] does not allow us because we are Muslims. Our forefathers have kicked Dogras from Gilgit. But, we are stapled with them for no reason. We are made part of their issue, but we are not part of them.

The Religious Ghettoes and the Problem of Intolerance

The findings showed that religious centers such as Mosques and other religious institutions are not playing a constructive role in creating tolerance and peace in the region. They have become sort of sectarian ghettos where there is no space for difference. This ultimately influences collective attitude towards citizenship and understanding of issues that are shaping citizenship.

Mr Shah Wali: The preaching that these centres are disseminating is problematic. We are told that we [our sect] is the only virtuous and right, and the rest are wrong. From the pulpit of the Mosque and respective centres of sects, if we stop abusing and defaming others, we can develop a tolerant society. If I abuse you from my Mosque, how can I expect flowers from you... You may ask [me] a question and say, brother! There is literature in the Qur'an, in the sayings of Imams on teachings about *Shayh'riyat* [citizenship] and *Insaniyat* [civic sense underpinned by civility and morality], but how many time have you been told about these in the Mosques. How many times is it told in the mosque that there should be a proper cleanliness system, your neighbour has due rights over you more than anyone else? How many times have

you been told to take care of those who are sick? Have you been reminded that God will be happy if you do so? No! You will be told that these people are *kafir*, infidels, and that group is *Kafir*, infidel, and therefore I do not accept all of them [other than myself]. But during the life of my Prophet (PBUH), Mosque and religious seminaries were the institutes of civic education. Now you see, our character is zero!

He further maintained that these sectarian identities have become so stubborn that they are not ready to accept and accommodate even the strength of others. Mr Shah Wali gave an example that not a single sect has ever tried and realised some good things in the syllabus of other seminaries, so it should be made part of their seminary's syllabus too.

Mr Shah Wali: As of today, not a single religious institution of any sect has ever demanded and identified to incorporate the good things in their syllabus from that of another sect. I am not talking about Gilgit-Baltistan, but the same is true for the entire Pakistan.

Sectarian Considerations Shaping Political Narratives

The findings showed that teachers consider an interrelationship between political narratives on citizenship and sectarian considerations. The majority of the population of GB belong to the Shai Sect, whereas the followers of the Sunni sect are lesser than Shias in numbers. Thus, the dominance of one is seen to be the failure of the other, and the social reality revolving around religious composition is also shaping the stance of respective sects on the demand of the political status of Gilgit-Baltistan. Mr Shah Wali succinctly highlighted this in the interview.

Mr Shah Wali: The religious mind working behind those who demand and oppose Gilgit-Baltistan to be a province. Please reflect that there are two kinds of people. One group[Shias] is always insisting on making Gilgit-Baltistan a province. [They say

so because] At the back of their mind, when Gilgit-Baltistan will become a province, then the Shia community is in the majority and will do the things that may suit them only. They will be able to do whatever they wanted to do. There is nothing other than this [objective behind their insistence for a province]. The second group[Sunnis] wants it not to be a province at any cost. They think, when it becomes province, they will be in a pickle or will be in the soup. They say but still if it is insisted to make Gilgit-Baltistan a constitutional province, in that case, Kohistan and Chitral, which are part of KPK province, should also be made part of Gilgit-Baltistan so that we [people belonging to Sunni sect] should also be having enough numbers in the assembly which can help stop passing any discriminatory legislation against us. So those who demand province are demanding it from a religious[sectarian] perspective, and those who oppose it fear it from a religious [sectarian] perspective. Either side is not telling this truth!

Sectarianized Citizenship

The findings showed that teachers express their discontent with how sectarian considerations have deeply penetrated the government institutions and particularly into the education sector, ranging from the education department to the university level. One of the teachers, Mr Akram-ud Din, while highlighting the malaise of the education system in Gilgit-Baltistan, maintained that instead of promoting merit, religious, political, and other factors mattered in selecting teachers and because of that, education standards have deteriorated, and institutions are malfunctioning. He maintained that it is not limited to only education but almost everywhere in the government sector that recruitments are generally made on a sectarian basis that negatively affects the society.

Mr Akram-ud Din: You know, different political governments have recruited different teachers just based on political affiliation, [and] just on the bases of religion [religious] affiliations. And some teachers have been recruited after, you know, getting bribery, I should say. So, unfortunately, this type of teachers are working in the educational system of Gilgit-Baltistan; what type of result or outcomes can we expect from them [who] those who have been recruited in such away.

So, again this is the problem, and take an example of you know again university in Gilgit-Baltistan [Karakorum University], again there is a problem of recruitment of the staff. [It] may be [possible that] some staff who [might] have been recruited through proper merit by following the merit system, but rest of the people who have been recruited [are] on totally, you know, religious affiliation, religious background, political background. So, when you visit that university, even [for] a minor work, [it] cannot be done by them, they are not so professional, they do not have such capability to do that work. So, this type of attitude exists everywhere in Gilgit-Baltistan.

When the government announces different jobs for recruitment in different government departments, the person who belongs to Sunni [or Shia] or a certain sect tries to recruit his people belonging to his own set. So during that process, he will use unfair means to recruit him or herself in that certain department. So take the example of the education department, [or] even department of forestry, health department. So this is the dilemma; this is the bad situation we have been observing for the last two decades in Gilgit-Baltistan. So, this practice has been doing by different department heads in Gilgit-Baltistan, unfortunately.

Likewise, another teacher, Mr Sher Khan, another interview participant, echoed the same concern and maintained that mostly recruitments are made in different government

departments based on religious affiliations, and that merit is ignored. He maintained that how selections for jobs in the name of sectarianism can develop a sectarianised sense of citizenship.

Mr Sher Khan: When you select people on the basis of sectarian affiliation by using sectarian links, how can we expect that they may serve all the people equally? They are helped to be selected so that they may give preference to those who belong to their sect.

Factors Contributing for Sectarianised Citizenship

The findings showed that teachers have the impression that there has been government institutions' role in strengthening sectarianised citizenship. One of the teachers, Mr Akram-ud Din, highlighted that government institutions do not play their role in promoting merit; instead, they leave the sectarian tendencies free hand. The purpose behind, according to him, is to divide people in the name of religion so that they may be easily controlled and ruled. He maintained that lack of awareness and education provides the chances for the ruling people to do so.

Researcher: You discuss that selection in jobs is generally influenced by sectarian reasons. Why is it so?

Mr Akram-ud Din: So it is because of, again, lack of education and the second one is: although so many, you know, articles published in newspapers and so many, you know, people [including] analyst and journalist who have discussed so many times on electronic media that this type of clashes [are] created basically by the establishment, because they do not want to unite these people in a single, you know, form because this area is very strategic [strategically important] and once the people become united in this area, then the possible threat or problem could be created for the establishment

of Pakistan. So they try to, again, you know, divide people on various, you know, issues. One of them is the sectarian issue. So, the establishment has been successful in disintegrating people in a society on the basis of sectarian issues.

Political Exclusion Breeding Frustration

The findings showed that political exclusion from mainstream political space is breeding frustration in the area. The exclusion makes them feel discriminated against and triggers frustration. Social media is a key factor that has played a vital role in creating awareness among students regarding their political crisis. The findings showed that the uncertain political status of GB is a matter of political reality for teachers but a matter of frustration and feeling of exclusion for students. One of the teachers reported the following:

Mr Karim Madad: [Although] the syllabus does not contain anything related to the political history of GB, but students come up with questions such as who are we? Are we Pakistani or not? These questions are asked more frequently on Facebook [forums], and students come with anger with these questions. We [I] share with them the history of our forced annexation with Kashmir. They say why we should suffer because of Kashmir. It is injustice. Time and again, students pop up the questions related to their [political] identity. Their facial expressions tell us the story of frustration for which we do not have answers.

Likewise, Mr Zafar Khan reported that the realisation of the exclusion of Gilgit-Baltistan makes students uncomfortable and frustrated for being ignored.

Mr Zafar Khan: If I talk about my kids[students] at my school. They [students] also study many things out of the syllabus. I have seen many students having nationalism kind of sentiments. If things go like this, a violent movement might be developed in

the coming years for their rights. They have this feeling already that they are not given rights. They ask why we do not have rights.

The Salient Features of Citizenship Education Discourse in Gilgit-Baltistan

In this section, the findings show how different factors shape the citizenship education discourse so that it leads to the construction of self-alienating citizens in Gilgit-Baltistan. The findings in this section also show how this dominant discourse meant to serve the construction of depoliticised and self-alienating citizens is being challenged through different platforms, including social media and religious platforms. In what follows are specific findings showing the defining characteristics of citizenship education discourse in GB.

Citizenship Education as a Neglected Area

There is a growing consciousness among the teachers that citizenship education is an important area of engagement, especially in GB, but it has been neglected in GB and Pakistan. The teachers associate the reasons for its neglect of the overall state's apathetic policy towards education. One of the teachers expressed his thought in the following manner.

Mr Ahsan Ali: In Pakistan, the education sector has been ignored. It has not been among the priority list of policymakers, and therefore, the system of education in Pakistan has been in a poor state of condition. In GB, the situation becomes worse. Because of this poor condition of the [overall] education system, such subjects [citizenship education] are ignored. These subjects are central in creating critical thinking and awareness in students about life. In GB, this area is in a poor state. We really [genuinely] need to work in this area, and it is really important to make people realise its importance. It is important because of the kind of scenario that will develop primarily because of CPEC; we need [to understand] that GB is becoming much more

important than ever. I hope Nazeem, your contribution will make a difference in pushing this important area on the discussion table of educators and policymakers.

He further maintained that in order to promote citizenship education, it is important to work from the primary level and onwards because “before coming to school and college, students’ background and mind already get formed [at a primary level]. [Despite this] Still, we have space, and we may help them develop on these lines. Therefore, primary education is important in this regard”.

Likewise, another teacher, Mr Shah Wali, also made this point forcefully at great length that citizenship education has never been the priority and preference of the state. He maintained that instead of developing citizenship and investing in making students genuine human beings through education and training, the state has always invested in the military. Instead of developing citizenship, we have developed militarisation and military mindedness. When we teach our students about the heroes of our country, we do not mention philanthropists and others who contribute to our society. We only mention military heroes. He said that although they are our heroes, others who contributed to our nation should also be mentioned.

Mr Shah Wali: Citizenship has not been our priority; civic education has not been a priority. For us, militarisation has been everything. When you tell your child that this is everything, then you do not need to think about any other thing to make yourself destroyed.

The Missing GB from the Educational Landscape

The finding showed that teachers search for GB in its educational landscape so do the students. Teachers are concern about teaching a syllabus that does not help their students relate to it in any way but that the teachers and students are forced to engage with the history and culture of others more than their own. One of the teachers, Mr Sangi Khan, narrated it in

such a way as if he is making a complaint to someone who may help him resolve the issue. However, it was showing that how deeply teachers feel educationally excluded.

Mr Sangi Khan: Sir, This is such a funny thing. The syllabus [of Pakistan studies and Social Studies] in schools discusses the cultures and history of other areas but no discussion about Gilgit-Baltistan. No political history. No mention of our freedom heroes. Not us, sir! Not us! [We are not there]

Another teacher Mr Ahsan Ali shared his view in a more nuanced and expository manner and stated the following:

Mr Ahsan Ali: There is no mention of GB in the curriculum. It has been completely ignored, whether it is Pakistan Studies or History or any other subject. The syllabus does not mention a single sentence that, how and under what conditions, this area has come under the control of Pakistan. This is not the only case. You will not find about the fall of Dakhla also, and you will see a specific picture of the Kashmir issue.

Likewise, another teacher Mr Shah Wali also made the same point. He said there is nothing as such about Gilgit-Baltistan either in Pakistan studies or civics. He shared his experience of trying to go beyond the syllabus but found that management is not responsive.

Another teacher, Ms Rashida Bibi, also reported that students often asked her questions about not having anything about GB in the syllabus and that they show their frustration and anger for studying something which does not contain any reference to their history and culture. She stated that “students often complain and say that why do we study Pakistan studies? There is nothing about us in it, nor we are given our rights, [I] mean we do not have political rights.”

The findings showed that the feeling of exclusion of Gilgit-Baltistan from the educational landscape is deeply inscribed on the minds of teachers. Another teacher, Mr Zafar Khan,

reported displeasure that there is no single topic on Gilgit-Baltistan in Pakistan studies and that its political history is completely ignored.

The Fear of Truth-Telling

The findings showed that some teachers think that the exclusion of GB from the educational landscape is underpinned by fear of telling the truth. Mr Ahsan Ali maintained that the policymakers are deliberating equating challenging dominant narrative as putting the country at risk. They think telling the truth and helping students think about alternate perspectives will endanger the country's official narratives and thus jeopardise the country. He maintained that they fail to realise that, in reality, it is the other way round. It is out of this fear that students are not told about the special status of GB.

Mr Ahsan Ali: I think our policymakers, curriculum developers, you know, are afraid of telling the truths. They think, if you tell students a narrative other than the specific one, then it can create danger for the country. The curriculum has been made with much conservative thinking, and because of this [conservative thinking], they do not know how much it may inflict danger upon the country. The kind of product we are creating is actually cannot compete in the global market. They [policy makers] do not care about it. They do not want to be aware of the cost that we, the country, is paying. Because of this country is not progressing and developing. They [policy makers] think that exposing students to realities can endanger the country, our security will be weakened and that if something is told which is other than what we want to, it can jeopardise the country and therefore, rest is wrong. This is a problem because they think that the single narrative taught is the only right and the rest are wrong. This approach has, in reality, created problems.

The same concern was also reported by another teacher Mr Zafar Khan. He maintained that the syllabus does not make students aware of the truths and realities of history. However, he expressed his apprehension that speaking the truth is also challenging.

Mr Zafar Khan: Sir, you must have also studied Pakistan Studies when you were a student. The Pakistan studies that we studied or teaching now shows a different Pakistan. It shows that all is well. We were taught that we won all the wars. But now, when we studied the accurate picture, we realised that things were different, but the syllabus continues saying what it was saying when we were students. [But] when we try to discuss them now openly, it is not possible in Pakistan. There are some institutions that do not want us to discuss these things. I will say there are some superior organisations sir in the country[referring to the military].

The Fear Prevails

The findings showed that the fear factor is permeated differently at different levels and can be seen in different forms. The teachers have shared their experiences of making political discussions something unwanted and even a lousy activity to discuss the political issues in general. Consequently, it is natural that both teachers and management can feel frightened to discuss political issues. One of the teachers highlighted the fear atmosphere that has been developed in the society and its permeation in teachers and management. He shared his observation of the fear reflected when senior education management such as directors and secretaries avoid discussing political issues in an official capacity. He stated the following:

Mr Ahsan Ali: It is considered something not good to discuss the politics in GB. It is presented [by the state] in such a manner that whosoever discusses the rights, whosoever is politically conscious and discusses rights, the constitutional rights, he is presented as anti-state or even considered a traitor. So this is the official attitude.

Therefore, in many teachers, who can discuss these issues, there will always be a fear factor... I have seen that most of the directors or the officials at the secretary level and above feel frightened while discussing GB's political issues.

Another teacher, Mr Karim Madad, also highlighted these issues by referring to the challenges of his job security, which may be a possible consequence of critically engaging with GB issues.

Likewise, another teacher Mr Zafar Khan reported that he could not discuss many things openly with the students even though many things in Pakistan Studies are factually incorrect but presented as accurate in the syllabus. He maintained that those issues could not be discussed openly because of government agencies' fear.

Mr Zafar Khan: There is a fear factor in everyone. Suppose I become unnecessary bold and start speaking the truth. I may get harmed. We can find many examples around us who are incarcerated. They are incarcerated because they openly demanded their rights from Pakistan and said that we are not getting our rights. You see, the problem is not only you but because your family may get involved in it. So they also stop you from involving in these things. For example, my parents do not want me to speak something which may be [interpreted as] against Pakistan because they have seen examples. When the relatives of such people are imprisoned and then free, they share the punishments they have gone through and how they were tortured. So they [parents] know and never wish that I may be involved in such a thing. I also do not want to go through such a thing [ordeal]. So I am sharing my compulsion. Many people like me may wish to speak openly, but they may also be afraid.

Where Freedom Meets Corruption and Incompetence

The findings showed that there are competence and ability issues among the teachers who are engaged in teaching. It has been found that some of the participants, teachers, were lacking proper education and training in the history of Gilgit Baltistan. One of the participants, Rabia Bano, while discussing citizenship, said that since she votes for the GB assembly, she is a citizen of Pakistan. She thought that because GB is under the control of Pakistan and therefore we are citizens of it as we live here and move with our own choice.

Ms Rabia Bano: We participate in the elections. We vote for our assembly [GB assembly]. Our representative of the area became even governor of the GB. You see, we can go anywhere in Pakistan. No one is stopping us. Our area is in Pakistan. So, I think we are Pakistani citizens. We have an identity card from Pakistan. ummh... so I am a citizen.

Mr Ahsan Ali, while commenting upon why is that students are not engaged with the political issues of GB by teachers on their own by going beyond the syllabus. His reply echoed the issue of unawareness which was found to varying degrees in teachers

Mr Ahsan Ali: Nazeem! We have much liberty in the classroom, you believe me! We enjoy much more liberty than any other profession. But you know, to take full benefit of liberty, teachers should have something to say. I think a teacher is not a teacher who cannot influence his students. Mostly in my more than 20 years of service, I have found that most teachers are very incompetent. They are not themselves aware. They are not educated. They are the product of a typical education system. The kind of universities that teachers study from is based upon the typical system of exam. The process of inducting teachers is very conservative. Teachers get inducted through the FPSC [Federal Public Service Commission]. It is a typical system of inducting people.

It is not based on intellectual assessment so that teachers would be naturally incapable and unaware of many things.

Another teacher, Mr Sangi Khan, highlighted how teachers are inducted through political influences and corruption.

Mr Sangi Khan: You know, sir, in GB, more than four hundred teachers were inducted during the Pakistan people's party government on *Sifarish and Rishwat* (unlawful recommendation and bribe). They are incompetent, but they bribed high ups and ministers and became teachers, so what else can we expect from them. They [these teachers] do not know anything. Merit is not there, sir. Corruption is everywhere!

Stay away from Politics

The key dimension that the findings indicate is that some rough knowledge about citizenship with its emphasis on social and ethical dimension is given importance. That political dimension of citizenship seems missing from the curriculum and enforced by the authorities to avoid politics in general. One of the participants, Mr Karim Madad, said the following:

Mr Karim Madad: It is not encouraged that teachers and students may participate in politics. The management of the schools [secondary schools] and colleges [higher secondary school] are specifically told not to use the premises for any politics related activity. Even not for a seminar or discussion. We are told to stay away from politics.

The Calculated Depoliticisation of Students

One of the study's key findings revealed that government officials enforce such a policy that may lead to the calculated depoliticisation of education, in general, and students, in particular. Instead of helping developing an educational environment where students may be

educated to weigh and understand the political process with acritical perspectives, they are more forced not to discuss and get involved in politics. One of the teachers, Mr Karim Madad, stated the following:

Mr Karim Madad: We are asked to keep students away from politics. [But] Politics has effects on the life of students. They should know about it. A course on political science as an elective subject is taught [offered] at the intermediate and degree levels. We do not teach such a course at the school level. In principle, why can we not teach political manifestos of all political parties and tell students to register in a party whose manifesto they may like! They must be told to form their party if they are unhappy with the present [already working] ones and tell them to play whatever role they deem fit for themselves. Teachers should guide them. But this process is not taking place.

Another teacher, Mr Shah Wali, reported how even directly the state authorities from outside the education department intervene in the education process if they find that a teacher is engaged in teaching students about political issues related to Gilgit-Baltistan. Mr Shah Wali reported his experience of how he was observed and asked not to discuss the political issues with the students.

Researcher: Do you discuss all these things [the contesting views on the political status of GB] with your students?

Mr Shah Wali: I give lectures about these issues. I share with you a unique incident. I was taking my class outside the classroom on a sunny day of winters. I discussed with them [students] that these issues are not discussed in our syllabus anywhere in any subject. I was discussing with them the constitutional position of Gilgit-Baltistan and telling them what happened in United Nations. How India approached United Nations and subsequently how Pakistan approached the UN; what was the argument of India and what the counter-argument

of Pakistan was; and what is the position of Pakistani courts, including Supreme Court of Pakistan... I was sharing all these things, including the position of the state of Pakistan on the issue; the perspective of religiopolitical parties of the area.

A person, pion, was sitting there. He was perhaps listening. One day he came to me and said, don't you think, sir, that you have started teaching the topic, it is wrong? I asked, what you have to do with it? You do your job. He said, leave it, sir, what am I doing here, and what am I in reality. I am not what you consider me. I think you are spoiling the minds of children [students] about Pakistan. I said God may forbid that I may speak against Pakistan. I may die on that day but telling the truth is my responsibility. He told me, however, not to discuss it. I understood whom he was [implying to be an employee of an intelligence agency]. He then told himself also who he was. So I did not discuss more. You see syllabus does not discuss it at all. I often say in different programs that our leaders should speak the truth from *Masjids* [Mosques], from religious institutions and *Imambargas* [a special religious place unique to Shias].

Constructing Self-Alienating Citizens in GB

The findings showed that teachers share the concern that the absence of political history and cultural diversity of GB in the educational discourses make students feel forgetting and distancing from their history and identity leading to what the author of this dissertation calls now 'construction of self-alienating citizens'. The finding also showed that the students acquire most of the information out of school about their history but not in the school. Mr Karim Madad put this situation in these words.

Karim Madad: Students learn about issues of GB mostly out of the school and primarily through social media. The syllabus makes kids memorise the date of births

of those figures who are alien to us. It makes them [students] unlearn about themselves.

Another participant, Mr Ahsan Ali, echoed the same concerns and expressed his disappointment about systematically robbing students of GB of political awareness. He emphasised that the curriculum does not include anything about GB, and thus students do not get even a basic understanding of their special political status.

Mr Ahsan Ali: In our students' mind, there is no awareness about the special status of GB. The school or college, or even university does not help him develop awareness about the political status of GB. If students learn something, it is not from the curriculum but from studying out of course books or that they may learn at home. Very rarely, some students may get a good teacher in a college or university he can influence him.

Instructed to Develop Patriotism

One of the teachers, Mr Zafar Khan, reported that his organisation binds him not to discuss political issues too seriously and openly. He mentioned that his organisation, the school, has explicitly asked him not to discuss anything that may cause to create an anti-state feeling in the students and that he is instructed to promote loyalty and patriotism among students.

Mr Zafar Khan: If we talk about political rights, being a disputed territory, the people of Gilgit-Baltistan do not have the right to cast a vote at the Pakistan level, so they do not have representation at the national level. So these rights are not provided to us, sir. We cannot say about having citizenship, but they [state] say they have given us administrative setup. When we teach, sir, we have to be careful while living in this society, I mean, in Pakistan. So, my organisation asks me that you do not have to teach any things that may cause to develop anti-Pakistan feeling among students. You

cannot say this. You have to promote patriotism. I am provided with all this guidance. So, now even if I wish to discuss the rights of Gilgit-Baltistan with thinking of nationalism, I cannot share.

Researcher: Patriotism, ok. So what is that according to your thinking?

Mr Zafar Khan: Sir, I will say patriotism means having loyalty to your country. There are two, three kinds of loyalty. There are specific responsibilities that government imposes upon you. You have to fulfil them. You respect laws and rules. Furthermore, you see that if negative things or an event emerges in the society regarding your state... we need to accept what the state says and spend our life accordingly. I think this is patriotism.

Limited Negotiation with Depoliticization

The findings have also brought it to the fore that despite calculated efforts of depoliticisation of education, different teachers negotiate differently with their limitations regarding the students' political engagement. It has been reported that teachers do try to discuss political issues and indirectly encourage students to play their role in politics.

Mr Karim Madad: We try to encourage students to get involved in political issues personally. Last time when the elections [for Gilgit Baltistan Assembly] were around the corner, some students of Karakorum University came to me and said that they want to arrange an open debate among the candidates in the presence of the public. They said that there is no space where such a debate can be conducted [There are no such public spaces, such as a community hall in these areas to conduct such activities] and asked for the college's [school] hall. I allowed them because I thought that it was a good activity. There was a reaction [by high ups]. I am one of the senior teachers [who] have taught for more than twenty-two years, but this happens.

The Depoliticised Educational Leadership

Some of the teachers associated the current state of depoliticisation of students who are to become citizens with their specific role in society with the leadership of the education department also. They think that people sitting in leadership positions are themselves depolarised people. They are trained in a depoliticised manner, so it is natural that they do not want political consciousness to be developed among students.

Mr Karim Madad: Those who lead us officially, for example, director or secretary education or those who control us from Islamabad, they are trained in that way. They are themselves depoliticised; therefore, they want it [encouraging students not to be politically active] to happen.

Religious Centres Matter for Citizenship Education

The findings also showed that apart from school, other platforms, especially Islamic centres such as Mosque, significantly influence collective attitudes towards citizenship. However, the findings showed that teachers are not happy with their role in promoting citizenship awareness. One of the teachers, Mr Shah Wali, highlighted that Islamic centres of respective sects do not play their role in influencing our attitude towards building a strong citizenship awareness that may educate people to appreciate and celebrate civic sense.

Mr Shah Wali: See, setting aside our role as a school teacher or a university or a college professor, but as an ordinary man, the kind of relationship that we have with our society. It is becoming clear that the kind of thinking [awareness] that we receive from our religious centres speak very honestly; whatever sect be, it does not emphasise that you have been created to do service to humanity. Instead, we are told that we are born to suppress others. Those whose leaders are collecting funds in the west [referring to Ismaili community] and making them available on our doorsteps,

its leadership in Pakistan make properties out of them. I know hundreds of NGOs who bring money from the west on serving humanity, but it does not reach the deserving people. So their institutions are also part of it [promoting corrupt practices of citizenship]. You will find everything on paper, but in reality, it gets embezzled. The fund that you receive in the name of humanity is not in Shia's name or Islamilia's [on the name of religion]. Before the fund may reach needy and deserving people, it is digested by these PhDs, M.Phils, secretaries and CEO's who make long English proposals.

Social Media as an Alternative Space for Citizenship Education

The findings also showed that teachers give more credit to social media than to the school or college in fostering citizenship awareness. One of the teachers, Mr Ahsan Ali, highlighted that because of the shrinking political space and low level of educational engagement with the issues of citizenship in the schools, students have been trying to learn and express their anger and frustration on social media. He also complained about the use of impolite language but linked it with their frustration.

Researcher: How often you discuss Gilgit-Baltistan with the students?

Mr Ehsan Ali: These issues are not discussed in details.

Researcher: Why is it so? Because of the syllabus or anything else?

Mr Ehsan Ali: Syllabus is a limited compulsion, but the teachers' overall capacity is limited.

Researcher: ok!

Mr Ehsan Ali: You see, because of shrinking political space, many problems are being created. Because of not having political space, the kids, youth are trying to

express their frustration on social media, which sometimes becomes unsuitable. The proper [ethical] language is not used because they did not have proper training. Their basic issue is that, although they discuss even minor issues and express their opinions on them to even an unwanted level of extent, they do not realise that their issues are connected with a larger issue. They do not know about it and have no awareness. If these issues are given space in the curriculum, they [young students] may be trained, and further issues can be controlled.

Researcher: How do you see the role of schools in this regard?

Mr Ahsan Ali: I have little hope that educational institutions may realise this soon [in the near future]. I think social media will have a role. I have seen that people have much space on social media. You can access thousands of viewers in seconds. It [social media] brings a lot of changes. I have seen that social media is a vibrant platform. There are many serious [mature] people on it [use it], intellectuals are there. Academic discussions are also taking place. Moreover, in mainstream print media, these discussions are taking place. [However] there is no space in electronic media. Though people write in print media on these issues, on philosophy, you know people do not have too much access to print media here; social media is more vibrant and has a future role [in this regards].

The findings showed that although the issues related to citizenship issues of GB are not made part of the syllabus yet, other factors influence students in different ways, such as social media. This then influences the teaching inside classrooms, as Ms Rashida Bibi expresses it.

Ms Rashida Bibi: You know, sir, our students watch television and use social media. They see the issues on it and get those issues with them in the classroom. So, sometimes, discussions get too much longer.

Researcher: So students are getting awareness?

Ms Rashida Bibi: Some students get too emotional. They become suddenly angry about being deprived. So, we try to make them understand that they should not be disheartened and be calm. We try to control these emotional students.

Likewise, Lal Hussain also reported that social media is a platform that develops the sense of political issues among students more than the syllabus. He maintained that all the students in the secondary and higher secondary classes are using social media, and through social media, they learn about the rights and other related issues of Gilgit-Baltistan. He stated that “sometimes students learn from home or relatives. They might be engaged in some discussions, but most of them use social media. There are pages on social media, and students learn from those pages and discussions on Facebook”.

Conclusion

It has been found that teachers’ perspectives of citizenship are greatly influenced by the interplay of political and religious anxieties, which are specific to Gilgit-Baltistan in terms of its history, religious composition and political status. Moreover the geographic positioning of the region and the dynamics of shifting modes of exogenous domination both in the colonial and so-called post-colonial era also provides the imaginative context for teachers to engage with the questions of citizenship.

The findings showed that self-alienating citizens are constructed through an educational discourse that is fundamentally devoid of citizenship education in the sense of encompassing and addressing the historical and cultural specificities of the area together with the contextual needs, anxieties and challenges at multiple levels. The discourse on citizenship education in Gilgit-Baltistan is primarily shaped by the depoliticisation and self-alienation of students from their history, culture and political reality. The findings have also shown that apart from

formal school education, other modes of engagements also contribute positively and negatively to creating awareness about citizenship issues and anxieties. These include religious centres and social media, which has become a parallel platform for engaging with the issues of citizenship education in Gilgit-Baltistan, thereby challenging the depoliticising and self-alienating educational discourse from outside the school box education.



CHAPTER NINE

DISCUSSION: THE DISCOURSE OF SELF-ALIENATING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN GILGIT-BALTISTAN

Introduction

This chapter will answer the main research question by answering the sub-research questions raised in the first chapter of this dissertation. In order to make it reader-friendly, the main research question is reiterated below, in order to set the overall scheme of this chapter. The question is, *‘How do Pakistan Studies teachers in the politically disputed territory of Gilgit-Baltistan make sense of citizenship and citizenship education while teaching a syllabus oriented toward Pakistan’s overall needs and aspirations and does not address the many types of complexities of Gilgit-Baltistan?’* The answer to this question is that teachers conceive citizenship education discourse as a means of producing self-alienating citizens and that a range of factors contributes to the conceptualisation of this phenomenon.

This answer is based upon the findings reported and analysed in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight which are integrated with the available literature discussed in detail in the literature review section, covered Chapters Two and Three, and particularly in Chapter Four on the ‘Conceptual Framework’. In this manner, the answer to the main research question is based on an integrative approach. It seeks to integrate the contextual aspect of the study, which is constitutive of GB and the phenomenon of citizenship education in Pakistan, with the subjective perceptions of teachers linked with and explained with the help of the range of concepts on citizenship and citizenship education as discussed in Chapter Four.

Thus, the three subsequent parts of this chapter will help understand different elements contributing to the construction of self-alienating citizenship and citizenship education in GB by answering three sub-research questions. The answers to the sub-research questions are

based on integrating interview findings with the contexts of citizenship education in GB and Pakistan while highlighting the salient concepts from the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Four. In what follows, the answers to the three research questions are discussed in three main sections, providing a roadmap for answering the main research question.

Privileging Social and Moral Dimensions Over the Political Aspect of Citizenship

In this section, the answer to the RQ1 will be discussed. The research question is restated to making the discussion reader-friendly. *‘How do teachers make sense of the concepts of citizenship, citizenship education and the “good citizen”?’*

The answer to the question is that teachers’ conceptualisation of citizenship, citizenship education, and a good citizen privileges the social and moral dimensions of citizenship over its political aspect, and that teachers’ conceptualisations are predominantly influenced by an overarching dimension of morality which, in most cases, is drawn from religious discourses of Islam, albeit in different ways. However, the concept of morality seems limited in its scope and in terms of its focus, to civic sense and individual conduct, which in many ways are delinked from individual political praxis, thereby privileging the social and moral dimensions over the political aspects of citizenship.

Moreover, the findings showed two important trends in terms of the role of Islam in the conceptualisation. One of the trends demonstrated that the teachers tried to Islamise the concept of citizenship by finding the conceptual basis of citizenship within Islam. They tried to argue that promoting equality, diversity, and human rights are inherent to Islamic teachings. The other trend among the teachers indicated a comparatively liberal approach that argued for equal citizenship and its concomitant values and practices from a liberal position, without invoking Islam. They argued against any role of religion in the affairs of the state. However, common to both approaches is that they wanted to promote equal citizenship by

justifying it either by reference to Islam or from outside of it. Interestingly, none of the findings showed a desire for an Islamic state promoting apartheid citizenship. The answer is further elaborated below by dividing it into three interrelated parts: the teachers' understanding of citizenship, good citizen and citizenship education.

Teachers' Understanding of Citizenship

The teachers' understanding of citizenship is discussed below in four parts each presenting a unique facet of the citizenship conceptualisation. The findings indicate that teachers' understanding of citizenship ranges from limited to comparatively more comprehensive approaches to citizenship. The variations are part of the broader spectrum of understanding, showing the complexity and fluidity of the concept. Thus, the findings showed that teachers' understanding of citizenship encompasses both limited and broader dimensions of citizenship. The limited approaches to citizenship highlighted some aspects, such as having documentary proof of being a citizen of a country – the legal dimension that frames citizenship more in terms of having a legal status or membership in a community. However, the broader dimensions extended the focus to other aspects of citizenship, particularly its social and moral dimensions. Moreover, these broader dimensions of citizenship are influenced by teachers' understanding of Islam with moral underpinnings. Additionally, the results demonstrated the distinctive features of the overall conceptualisation of the concept. These four distinctive features are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Social Citizenship and its Moral Scaffolding

The broader dimensions of citizenship conceptualised by teachers extended the focus from legal membership to other aspects of citizenship, particularly its social and moral dimensions. The dominant tendency across the cases was marked by the teachers' focus on the social and moral dimensions of citizenship underpinned by a sense of religiously inspired morality in

most of the cases. A few were found not having recourse, as such, to Islam to explain citizenship, but in all the cases, it was common that the political dimension was not given enough space in its conceptualisation. Thus, a social dimension of citizenship was found to dominate teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship.

It was noted that teachers feel that providing opportunities for students from their homes and gradually extending these to schools and society is essential for developing personality. It shows that the social dimension of citizenship, or 'social citizenship', as discussed in Chapter Four, dominates the teachers' understanding of citizenship. It is natural to have seen the social dimension of citizenship as dominating in teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship because, within the context of Pakistan, in general, and in the context of GB, in particular, there are serious issues relating to a lack of opportunities and inequalities for the majority of people. Moreover, the issues of underdevelopment, poverty, unemployment, the poor state of the health system, the poor state of education and many other issues, as mentioned in Chapter Two, all provide the imaginative context for teachers to focus upon the social dimension as a priority area because it is directly linked with their day-to-day lives in practical terms. Thus, it is a logical corollary of deprivation and poverty that teachers are obsessed with 'social citizenship' while conceptualising the phenomenon of citizenship.

From another perspective, the concern for equal opportunities, especially for social and economic rights, may also be understood as part of the 'liberal discourses' of citizenship though these are not underpinned by the same philosophical assumptions of individualism that underpin the liberal discourses that have emerged in the Western context as discussed in Chapter Four. However, the findings revealed that it is more as an outcome of the feeling of deprivation, thereby indicating that the desire for equality may be considered a transcending value or a universal value associated with citizenship, as Janoski (1998) presented in his definition of citizenship which was discussed in Chapter Four.

Islamic Underpinnings of the Concept

It was interesting to note that one of the trends among the teachers was to highlight the justification for equality, human rights, diversity, and fundamental rights from within the discourses of Islam by referring to the teachings of Islam, the sayings of the Prophet (PBUH), and his holy progeny. Thus, it was found that they were drawing the underlying assumptions for equality of citizenship from the religious discourse of Islam. The evidence presented in Chapter Six demonstrated that the participants were trying to Islamise the concept of citizenship. As discussed in Chapter Four, this is part of one of the dominant tendencies found among Muslims, which is to try to make modern concepts and practices, as introduced by modernity, compatible with the teachings of Islam and thus, to try to Islamise modern concepts through a mechanical method of engagement without fully realising the spirit of these modern developments and the underlying philosophical assumptions that they carry with them.

The other, and opposing, trend that the findings explicitly showed is that the concept of citizenship was understood by some from a liberal perspective, seeking to deal with citizenship issues as modern developments without drawing any intellectual basis from Islam. Many teachers wanted to decouple religion from the affairs of the state and proposed equal citizenship.

The former approach, which seeks to Islamise citizenship, is fundamentally part of broader Muslim responses to modernity. It seeks to establish a harmonious relationship between Islam and modernity through a mechanical engagement without considering its complexity. The issues related to the compatibility of Islam and modernity, in a way, are the issues of two systems of thought with roots in two worldviews that may not necessarily be compatible with

each other. This strand is generally characterised as being apologetic towards Islam and modernity.

The latter approach, seeking to treat citizenship more as a matter of modern development, is fundamentally part of another strand of the Muslim response to modernity that seeks to adopt modern concepts and practices without paying much attention to Islam or Muslim traditions. This approach focused more on the liberal values of democracy without having a deeper understanding either of the presumptions that implicitly underpin democracy as an intellectual project and as a regime type or the complexity of Muslim positions on democracy and citizenship.

It was, however, interesting to note that none of the findings showed teachers aspiring to an apartheid approach to citizenship based on religion with aspirations to establish an Islamic state like Islamic fundamentalists who reject all modern developments in pursuit of a utopian society defined as Islamic in their terms. Thus, the aspirations to Islamise or not Islamise citizenship were fundamentally part of the broader approaches towards modern development found in Muslim societies.

The Moral Underpinnings of Citizenship

The other important dimension highlighted in the findings was that teachers' understanding of citizenship is marked by a deep sense of morality focusing upon individual moral conduct and civic virtues. The interview participants focused on taking care of others, being considerate to others, having *Insaniyat* (having a civic sense underpinned by civility and morality), respecting elders, loving youngsters and conducting oneself in a good way to uphold the values of justice, love for humanity and equality. However, these virtues and values tended to confine the concept of citizenship to an individual level or, at best, extend it to the social realm but not to political praxis. Thus, in terms of a focus on social virtues and

moral conduct, the teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship tended to be dominated by certain 'classical citizenship' aspects, as discussed in Chapter Four. Moreover, this tendency to conceptualise citizenship as a matter of 'moral virtues and personal values' (Kennedy & Fairbrother, 2004) is one of the important themes of citizenship found in Asian discourses on citizenship.

The teachers' perceptions indicated that the morally inspired perspective of citizenship extends to the social realm in terms of its emphasis on social participation in the public sphere in the form of voluntarism or participation in local issues within local communities. However, it is important to note that the theme of participation is an important aspect of contemporary citizenship discourses and that there are various dimensions of participation as outlined in Chapter Four. The findings demonstrated that teachers' understandings of participation emphasise voluntary community activities as a part of moral practice. Moreover, it was found that this concern for the moral dimension of citizenship was closer to the personal responsibility dimension of citizenship because teachers were found to focus more on personal conduct directed by an overarching concern for morality; therefore, being 'a good person' remains a primary concern of citizenship for teachers. This emphasis on the moral dimension suggests that teachers' conceptualise citizenship as an enterprise of moral education.

What is Distinctive?

The findings showed that teachers' overall general conceptualisation of citizenship downplayed the political aspect in terms of not privileging citizens' participation in the formal political process. The findings show a need to emphasise the political aspect of citizenship in terms of educating students about political structures and the centrality of

political participation in formal institutional politics, which may help to develop active citizenship.

However, emphasis on social participation and personal responsibility as reflected in the teachers' perspectives indicates that communal considerations are given privilege over individual considerations. The teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship in terms of being humane, considerate to others, demonstrating *Insaniyat* in one's conduct and contributing to community welfare and development shows that communal obligations are privileged over individual rights. In this sense, the teachers' understanding of citizenship seems closer to the 'republican discourse of citizenship'. However, they do not qualify as entirely republican because the teachers' did not refer to the state when discussing the community. The community is a kind of synonym for society, and the idea of common-wealth or a state is not explicitly visible in their understanding. This differs from the republican conception of citizenship because the community and the individual are not posited as two binary opposite categories, but the individual is considered to be an extension of society, and that individuals achieves satisfaction by serving the community as if the community is the other side of individual's existential reality. In this sense, the results are closer to East Asian citizenship perspectives wherein the interrelationship between individual and community is conceptualised as a harmonious relationship, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Moreover, the nature and the intellectual foundations of teachers' emphasis on the social and moral dimension of citizenship in Muslim society has a different ideational basis than the Western discourse because they operate in two different intellectual frameworks. Therefore, the teachers' privileging of the social and moral dimension of citizenship, which emphasises the human contribution for the betterment of society and humanity, cannot be called republican because of its apparent emphasis on community. Nor can teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship, emphasising the right to opportunities, equality, and focus

on diversity, be interpreted as liberal in the Western sense. It is, instead, the manifestation of profound cultural and historical differences that teachers inherit from their past. The vague and inexplicit assumptions about the concept of self, society, cosmos and God, which may be considered key constitutive elements of any worldview or an outlook of life, contribute significantly to shaping teachers' understandings of citizenship. In the case at hand, these inexplicit presumptions are drawn or inspired from different interpretations of Islam, and therefore Islam plays a vital role in shaping the discourses of citizenship in this Muslim majority context.

Thus, the engagement with the religiously inspired moral discourse was dominant in teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship. This can be seen from the dominant trend of teachers trying to Islamise citizenship and its concomitant concepts with a more apologetic approach towards Islam and modernity in the broader frame of thought. The conceptualisation of citizenship was seen to be an outcome of an underlying dialogue between Islam and modernity. This underlying dialogue has influenced teachers' understanding of citizenship such that teachers' conceptualisation of the concept of citizenship was found to be closer to social citizenship, the classical concept of citizenship and that elements of liberal and republican discourses of citizenship were also found but not precisely in the same manner as articulated in Western discourses. What, however, tended to dominate in the overall conceptualisation is that the political dimension of citizenship was overshadowed by the social and moral dimension of citizenship.

Good Citizen?

The section which follows discusses how teachers conceptualise the idea of a good citizen. As a natural corollary of this kind of conceptualisation of citizenship, teachers' understanding of the *good* citizen also reflected the same considerations. The concept of a good citizen was

intertwined with the social and moral aspects of citizenship more vividly. The findings indicated that the concept of a good citizen is understood primarily but not exclusively in terms of a ‘virtuous’ and a ‘socially responsible’ individual who contributes to society’s betterment and acts morally. However, the virtuous and socially responsible citizen is not conceptualised or imagined as having an explicit and effective role in the political sphere. Thus a good citizen seems to be understood more as an individual with a predominantly social role underpinned by a religiously inspired morality which is not extended to the political praxis with the same rigour. The good citizen, in teachers’ eye, is one who is responsible and follows the rules and regulations set by the government, behaves in a manner that is consistent with the cultural context of the area that the individual inhabits, and tries to be a good individual according to the standards set by his society.

The concept of a good citizen, as understood by teachers, is partially related to the idea of the ‘participatory citizen’ as discussed in Chapter Four. In the case at hand, a good citizen has a participatory role, but the participation is limited to the social sphere and the findings do not provide evidence that a good citizen is imagined to have an explicitly political role in the formal political system.

Moreover, the interviews demonstrated that a good citizen is expected to have knowledge of his/her society and that he/she is expected to be aware of the weaknesses and challenges that society is facing. The teachers imagined a proactive approach toward society as an important characteristic of a good citizen, as someone who is willing to change society proactively.

Furthermore, he/she is imagined as being tolerant and accepting of others. Moreover, teachers highlighted that a good citizen must be knowledgeable yet without broader considerations about what knowledge may mean to them when discussing a citizen’s role and knowledge of political processes and structures. They seemed to have a discrete understanding of society without having a clear picture of society’s civic and political structures and processes. Thus,

the teachers' perspectives suggested that a good citizen has been imagined as having an awareness of society mostly in a discrete form and that the focus of this awareness is not on the civic and political structures and processes as such but more on the general nature of society. Thus, the scope of the awareness was found not to be clearly understood.

Likewise, teachers' understanding of proactive contribution as an important feature of a good citizen is limited to his contribution at the social or individual levels and political participation is not highlighted. Thus, the scope of engagement is limited to the social sphere only. Moreover, teachers' perspectives showed that a good citizen needs to have the ability to appreciate diversity and difference. In this sense, there seems to be a concordance with what is generally accepted as a tolerant citizen who has the capacity to cherish commonality and appreciate difference. It becomes clear that the concept of a good citizen is equated with a good person who, both in his individual and social life, positively contributes to society's betterment. However, as the teachers understand the concept, the good person seems shy and passive within the formal political system. He is construed to be a virtuous person but not one who is engaged with the real politics of life.

Thus, a good citizen is perceived to be someone who may contribute to the development of society, but the scope of contribution is linked with the social sphere, and this does not extend to the political praxis which is constitutive of human 'reflection' and 'action' aimed at transforming the political structure (Freire, 1993). The socially engaged citizen is imagined as someone contributing to the community through civil society without understanding the political structure and participating in the formal political system to transform it. He/she is, however, imagined to be a moral and virtuous person with good conduct in society.

The Malaise of Citizenship Education

Teachers' understanding of citizenship education was more dominated by the current situation of education in general and that of citizenship education in particular compared to what teachers may think about the abstract nature of citizenship education per se. Only a tangential reference to the nature of citizenship education was observed in teachers' narratives. As far as the nature of citizenship education was understood, the interviews indicated that the teachers tended to focus more on producing productive citizens. In the words of one participant, citizenship education should produce such 'a product' that they may 'contribute' to society's development. In order for this product to be prepared, teachers have been noted to emphasise equipping students with the knowledge and awareness about society, albeit articulated in a more general way, and with skills such as critical thinking, confidence and other skills necessary to meet this objective. The desire to develop and promote a scientific approach and a critical approach to history was yet another key dimension of citizenship education that teachers aspired to promote within the system. Moreover, a desire to create awareness about global issues and challenges and make students aware of these challenges for their own contexts was another consideration that teachers were aspiring to include within citizenship education. However, they seemed not to give enough consideration to the centrality of political education and the preparation of students for their political role in their conceptualisation of citizenship education.

Moreover, based upon teachers' understanding of citizenship and the good citizen, it is logical to deduce that citizenship education would naturally involve moral nurturing of students. It will involve preparation for their role in society to contribute to its welfare and development. However, citizenship education in terms of political participation was seen to be utterly obscure in teachers' perspectives. However, what was more evident from the

participants' ideas was that they were more concerned about the overall poor state of education.

Citizenship Education Trapped in the Web of Multitudes of Factors

As stated above, teachers were more concerned about the overall state of education than conceptualising its nature, and thus an emphasis was seen on the factors that have badly affected the overall state of education. A multitudinous web of factors surfaced in the findings that strongly stranglehold Pakistan's citizenship education. Varied factors were identified by the teachers as contributing to the poor state of citizenship education, and the following are some of the key factors that have been identified from the interviews with teachers.

Weak Mechanisms for Teachers' Support

As discussed in Chapter Six, teachers repeatedly complained about not being provided with the training in pedagogy and expanding their subject knowledge base. So much so that one teacher stated that during his two years of service, he has never received any training, thus offering concrete evidence that there is a decoupling between teacher training and citizenship education, which is indicative of the fact that teacher training is a key area ignored in the overall educational system of Pakistan. Without continuous support and training, a teacher may not deliver citizenship education in an effective way.

Board Exams are a Hindrance to Citizenship Education

The teachers discussed different types of examination system and how they are bound to meet the needs of those exams. Most of the teachers maintained that examination is more about testing memorisation and that they have to complete the syllabus in time so that students score well and that the board results are a measure of teachers' performance. Although they showed their discomfort in following the scoring system and maintained that judging the

students' learning achievement is not a fundamental criterion, they are bound to follow it. If students do not score well, their chances of being admitted to a good university drops and therefore, students also focus on the score rather than the actual learning. Consequently, according to the teachers' view, such a product is not produced, contributing to society's development. Furthermore, the board examination system was considered a hindrance in preparing students for their role in contributing to society and humanity, as stated by the teachers. Thus, it is logical to infer that a culture of memorisation promoted by the examination system strengthens the banking concept of education and consequently robs students of 'critical consciousness' and 'transformative action' (Freire, 1993), as discussed in Chapter Four.

Educational Dualism Coupled with Hierarchy

The interviews with the teachers indicated that they were unhappy with how two parallel education systems, Madrasa and modern schools, are producing two different kinds of children even within the same household. One of the teachers gave an example of two siblings, one of whom attended a Madrasa and one a modern school, who are receiving two different kinds of education, thus meaning they have two different attitudes to life which may even be conflictual. The interviews showed that teachers consider that this 'educational dualism' (Sikand, 2005) can create a rift within the same household as two education systems contribute to developing two different kinds of citizenry. Moreover, they also observed that even within the modern educational system, the quality of private schools affiliated with private examination boards such as AKU is comparatively better than that of government schools with their consequent implications for the development of different kinds of students/citizens in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes. The findings showed that educational dualism, on the one hand, and the hierarchical educational system, on the other

hand, contribute to constructing citizenry with different and conflicting orientations, as discussed in Chapter Three.

It is natural that students studying in these different education systems would develop different skills, knowledge, and aptitude and form different ghettos of citizens with different orientations and outlooks, which are often conflictual. The ‘class-based education’ and ‘multilayered curriculum’ polarises society by creating social and economic disparities. Thus, the overall education system seems to play a more divisive role than acting as a unifying force for society, and citizenship education seems trapped in a multilayer curriculum and the binary education systems. It is trapped between religious/traditional vs modern systems of education. The modern education system is trapped between the public and private sectors; it suffers from class-based access to education. The cumulative outcome of these binaries, with their contradictory characteristics, produce citizens with diverging and conflicting views and practices. Thus, it can be concluded that citizenship education needs to be part of a coherent education system characterised by some degree of harmony. In a way, there should be some unifying factors connecting multiple systems of education. There needs to be a balance of unity and diversity as a fundamental driving principle of society, and this must also be reflected in the education system. It should neither be taken for granted nor ignored.

Education and Economic Interests

While discussing the lack of attention given to citizenship education, teachers maintained that parents are more concerned about their children’s economic future and focus on subjects that may have a relevance in the future in terms of employment and earning a livelihood. The teachers maintained that parents focus more on science subjects and the English language because, according to teachers’ understanding, they want their children to be doctors and engineers. They want their children to acquire an education that can guarantee their economic

security in the future. A teacher even maintained that parents want their children to focus on mathematics, physics, biology, and chemistry with expertise in English, but they do not consider how their children may become good human beings. Thus, the findings show that the parents' concerns reflect their personal values, which are significantly shaped by economic uncertainties, and this plays a vital role in shaping citizenship education. Therefore, the subjects which may guarantee economic security are valued more than engaging with the subjects which are apparently not rewarding financially, and citizenship education is considered one of the subjects with no economic utility compared to others. This tendency demonstrates that economic considerations play a vital role in influencing the prioritization of citizenship education.

Education is Not the State's Priority

The teachers have been found complaining about education being the least prioritised area for shifting regimes in Pakistan. This shows that an important factor contributing to the poor state of citizenship education is that it has suffered from not being given any attention and focus by policymakers. This is because education, as such, has not been the priority of political leadership, policymakers and particularly those stakeholders who are sitting in the power corridors. Education is the least prioritised area of governance and therefore more than 22.5 million school-going children are out of school. In such a scenario, it seems understandable that citizenship education is treated as peripheral and that the government does not give it due importance and thus, it continues to be a neglected area.

Having discussed the findings with reference to the teachers' conceptualisation of the concepts of citizenship, good citizens and citizenship education, in the reminder of the analysis, I will focus specifically on how teachers respond to the curriculum that they are teaching and the context in which it is thought about and practised. Therefore, in what

follows, I will discuss how teachers make sense of citizenship education discourse in relation to: a) the syllabus that they teach; and b) in relation to the role of the context that they teach in. These two considerations are related to *RQ2* and *RQ3*. They are addressed in the remainder of this chapter.

Contesting the Role of the Pakistan Studies Curriculum in Citizenship Education

In this section, I will attempt to answer *RQ2* about how teachers see the role of the PKS curriculum in fostering citizenship education in Pakistan. The question is restated below for clarity:

RQ2: How do teachers see the role of the PKS curriculum in fostering citizenship education in the context of Pakistan?

The findings have shown that teachers contest the role of the curriculum in fostering citizenship education at two levels. First, the teachers contested the overall role of the PKS curriculum in promoting citizenship education and highlighted key factors which play a part in making PKS unhelpful for fostering citizenship education. The syllabus was seen to be obsolete in terms of its content. It is considered irrelevant in terms of meeting the needs of modern times. The teachers reiterated the point that the syllabus forces students to memorise historical information. They described the curriculum as neither relevant to modern times in discussing contemporary issues and challenges nor up-to-date. The interviews with the participants showed that they consider the curriculum to be unreflective of religious diversity. It is seen to be dominated by the discussion about only Muslims and Islam, and there is no discussion of religious minorities and religious diversity in Pakistan.

Moreover, the curriculum was seen to ignore global issues which are otherwise influencing Pakistan. Thus, the global dimension of citizenship was also seen as being absent from the curriculum as teachers repeatedly said that the curriculum does not require them to teach

about global issues. They further expressed their dissatisfaction with the curriculum by contesting the dominant state narratives presented in the curriculum. This leads to the second key area of contestation that teachers expressed in the interviews.

It was found that teachers contest many dominant narratives presented in the curriculum. They consider the dominant narratives to be more aimed at developing a single nation at the cost of denying internal diversity and as a tool for developing a cosmetic unity in the name of Islam. Thus, the focus of the curriculum is not to foster citizenship education as such but it is more intended to promote the state narrative, which tries to make students understand Islam as a *raison d'être* for the existence of Pakistan. The teachers understand the curriculum as adopting narrow approaches to citizenship, which are centred on its 'national dimension'. The findings showed that the teachers are aware that there is too much emphasis on Islam. One of the features of citizenship education promoted through PKS is its fixation with the idea of Islam and Islamic ideology. Thus, it becomes challenging to differentiate citizenship education from Islamic education. This point has also been highlighted by certain previous studies too which were discussed in Chapter Three.

The findings showed that teachers are critical of this national-centred approach, which tries to construct a concept of single nationhood by misrepresenting history, Islamising history, and providing unnecessary space for religion into politics. Consequently, the promotion of nationhood defined primarily in Islamic terms denies, on the one hand, the internal diversity of the country and, on the other hand, does not allow a rights-based discourse of citizenship to evolve. In this way, teachers' understanding of citizenship education, as presented through PKS, confirms that the citizenship education discourse reflected in PKS focuses on the agenda of nation-building through a concept of a single nation conceptualised in religious terms while ignoring or suppressing the internal religious and cultural diversity of the country.

Central to this discourse is the role of Islam in state affairs and the conceptualisation of citizenship that teachers think permeates the curriculum. The findings showed that teachers look at the role of Islam in two different ways. On the one hand, a trend was observed among some teachers to oppose any role for Islam in state affairs. On the other hand, another overwhelmingly dominant pattern also showed that certain teachers do not want to take away the idea of Islam from the overall conceptualisation of citizenship. However, they try to present an interpretation of Islam which may support citizenship values and practices, for example in relation to the equality of all citizens, appreciating diversity, promoting tolerance and peace. Thus, the findings show that citizenship discourse, often presented in binary terms in terms of the role of Islamisation and secularization, does not seem fitting to this explanation of citizenship. Iftikhar (2004, 2007) maintained that citizenship discourses in Pakistan are characterised by competing approaches to the role of Islam in state affairs, each rejecting or accepting the centrality of Islam, as has been discussed in Chapters One and Three. The findings of this study, however, suggest that the dominant trend among teachers shows a balance between these two approaches as most of the teachers were arguing for equal citizenship either from a liberal perspective or from the perspective of arguing for the intellectual basis of equal citizenship by Islamising key concepts such as diversity and equality with the help of a progressive interpretation of Islam.

The findings showed that a pattern was observed among the teachers trying to Islamise the democratic and liberal aspirations who thus wished to engage with modernity and tradition regarding concepts such as citizenship. They were neither arguing for a strictly secular position nor an Islamisation endeavour. They were interested in neither jettisoning traditions nor in adopting modern developments. Instead, they aspired to make them compatible and work harmoniously. However, it is debatable whether such engagement is dynamic or

mechanical, but the desire to engage with both aspects remains pervasive among teachers, as the findings have shown.

Moreover, the findings showed that the teachers think that the curriculum adopts a more extreme position and tries to define citizenship in exclusionary terms, thus implying an approach to Islam that is more conservative and essentialist. This conservative approach to Islam is reflected in the curriculum as it does not highlight Pakistan's internal religious diversity, as teachers stated repeatedly. The reasons behind this prevalence of Islam and the consequent development of narrow approaches to citizenship are rooted in the changing patterns of state ideology since the creation of Pakistan on Aug 14, 1947; since then, it has moved from a more liberal kind of approach to the religious right, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Consequently, citizenship education discourse promoted through PKS is seen to have failed to integrate the religious and cultural diversity of Pakistan, an opinion which the teachers in this study also expressed with a great degree of frustration and even disappointment. Therefore, it is important for the state to rearticulate its narrative in order to appreciate and be inclusive of the local, regional and national identifications within Pakistan. The state needs to avoid promoting an essentialist account of Islam and instead, help students realise the internal diversity of Muslim traditions and promote inclusive approaches to other religions. It requires the promotion of a narrative of multicultural citizenship that can ensure justice and equal participation for the diverse communities living in Pakistan.

Teachers' Perspectives on Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Gilgit-Baltistan

The first part of the chapter has discussed teachers' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education as abstract concepts. The second part of the discussion dealt with teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education discourse within Pakistan by

taking PKS to be an important site of its manifestation. Finally, the third part, which is inextricably linked with the first and second parts of the discussion, in terms of offering a micro context where teachers are engaged in teaching citizenship education, seeks to address *RQ3*. The question is restated below for making the discussion reader-friendly:

RQ3. How do teachers make sense of citizenship and citizenship education discourse in the politically disputed territory of Gilgit-Baltistan?

The answer to this question is that within the context of Gilgit-Baltistan, teachers' perspectives of citizenship and citizenship education are greatly influenced by the interplay of political and religious anxieties specific to GB, as discussed in Chapter Two. The political anxieties (Ali, 2019) are due to the geographic positioning of the region and the dynamics of 'shifting modes of domination' both in the colonial and so-called post-colonial eras (Sökefeld, 2005).

The interviews with the teachers indicated that their understanding of citizenship has fallen prey to the political crisis of GB, resulting from the region remaining political ambiguity; the teachers repeatedly noted how Pakistan had kept them in a state of limbo for last seven decades. It was eye-opening to note that teachers are conscious of the inherent contradictory policy of keeping GB's political status ambiguous; one of the teachers highlighted this by referring to the order of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. He maintained that, on the one hand, it declares the residents of GB to be citizens of Pakistan in all respects, but he found it 'ridiculous' that the residents of GB have no right to appeal to the same Supreme Court which otherwise declares them citizens of Pakistan in all respects.

In such a political context, it was natural to find that teachers are conscious of not being constitutional citizens of Pakistan and also that they are aware of being forced to be part of the Kashmir dispute even though they do not have any cultural or historic commonality with

it. Thus, a strong desire to decouple themselves from Kashmir was dominant while asserting that GB is culturally and historically distinct from it.

Moreover, the political crisis begotten by GB's ambiguous status has been causing a sense of internal identity crisis also; the interviews show that most of the teachers find it challenging to identify any binding factor among the residents of GB. However, a few of them identified that political deprivation, political interests, and cultural similarities provide a basis for making sense of identity for the people of GB. However, this approach was not a dominant trend as few could explicitly identify political deprivation as a binding factor. However, what was conspicuous was that the political ambiguity with concomitant issues of political identity plays a vital role in providing the imaginative context for teachers to conceptualise citizenship in GB.

The other important factor that influences the conceptualisation of citizenship is the role of religion in terms of religious anxieties specific to GB. These anxieties are due to the religious composition of GB as a Shia majority region in a Sunni majority country. Moreover, the squeezed space for political engagement has led to the consolidation of local identities along religious and ethnic lines (Dad, 2016a). The phenomenon of sectarianism and its linkage with the state formation processes (Ali, 2019) is yet another manifestation of religious anxieties shaped by and also shaping society's political and social dynamics. These have already been discussed in Chapters One and Two.

The findings demonstrated that teachers consider that the issues of citizenship are seen through a sectarian lens. One of the explicit examples in the findings showed that teachers think that the different aspirations for the political future of GB are fundamentally rooted in sectarian considerations and one of the teachers maintained that the Shia community wants GB to be a province of Pakistan because they are in the majority and this may benefit Shias if

GB becomes a province with the due delegation of power. According to him, the Sunni community opposes this because they fear that by using its majority power, the Shia community may pass discriminatory laws against the Sunni community. Therefore, the Sunni community is aspiring to add some districts from KPK province to GB to balance the Shia-Sunni population ratio before declaring it a province. This may help the Sunni community to have enough representation in the future assembly to thwart any discriminatory legislation. These contesting approaches to the political future of GB, as interpreted by teachers, show that religious anxiety expressed in minority-majority terms provides an imaginative context for conceptualising citizenship in GB. Moreover, as mentioned by teachers, increasing religious polarisation is yet another key component influencing the conceptualization of citizenship. Teachers maintained that over the last decades, religious polarisation has been increasing in GB and that sectarian considerations play a vital role in making sense of citizenship issues.

The Educational Anxiety of GB

When it comes to citizenship education, these religious and political anxieties provide the context for teachers to engage with the questions of citizenship and provide the context for the emergence of another anxiety that I call educational anxiety. Educational anxiety is reflective and constitutive of political and religious anxieties and contributes to students' disengagement from the historical and cultural realities of GB. All these anxieties complement each other, thereby providing the foundation for 'post-colonial colonialism' (Sökefeld, 2005) to be perpetuated in the area.

In order to understand educational anxiety, it is important to understand how teachers understand the curriculum in terms of its role in building citizenship in the context of GB. The findings have shown that teachers have concerns about the curriculum in general and

that for Pakistan Studies. The curriculum is primarily designed to foreground the overall context of Pakistan and the aspirations of its state. One of the anxieties of implementing this curriculum in GB is that it does not encompass GB as part of it. All the teachers highlighted that GB's cultural and political history and the discussion about its political status are missing from the Pakistan Studies curriculum and overall educational spectrum. Neither the political history of GB and its politically ambiguous status nor its ambiguous relationship with Pakistan is part of any curriculum. From the teachers' narrations, it was surprising to note that not a single topic or a chapter in Pakistan Studies is devoted to teaching about GB. The syllabus has topics related to other parts of Pakistan, but it does not encapsulate even basic information about GB.

Since Pakistan controls GB, the students receive the same education that students of other provinces are being provided with. Therefore, there is no escape from this curriculum. Both the teachers and students have no choice but to study what is set out in the curriculum. The course for Pakistan Studies focuses on developing a sense of nationhood based upon the concept of an imagined Islamic community as discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Three, but GB is not imagined to be a part of it. GB is an 'unimagined community' (Ali, 2019) within the imagined Islamic community of Pakistan. Students are not taught about the area they have been living in for centuries and even for millennia. Instead, they are systematically taught only the issues and topics which are not directly part of their context and thus 'alien to the existential experience of the students' (Freire, 1993, p. 52). The overall outcome of such an educational discourse is what I call 'self-alienating citizenship' and the construction of self-alienated and docile citizens in GB.

Self-Alienating Citizenship and the Construction of Self-alienated Citizens in Gilgit-Baltistan

The discussion in the preceding paragraphs demonstrates that educational discourse in GB is used to spread political ignorance and breed historical and cultural ignorance, resulting in the construction of what I call ‘self-alienated citizens’. Self-alienated citizens are kept unaware of their history and culture. Instead, they are kept engaged with the official narratives about the history and culture of Pakistan in an uncontested manner which helps in governing them through unreflective consensus. Such discourse of civic or citizenship education can help maintain GB’s ‘calculated ambiguity’ at the political level, and it shrouds the imagination of locals with ambiguity when it comes to the fundamental questions of who they are. Ambiguity about the history, culture and political status is inculcated in students’ minds by excluding discussions about GB from the curriculum and educational practice and consequently from students’ imagination.

Moreover, the findings have shown that both students and teachers are discouraged from participating and discussing political issues, and if a teacher is found engaging in discussions about politics or participating in politics, there are institutional mechanisms to control this through policies and practices which may even cost a teacher his or her job. Thus, there is a process of depoliticisation that is encouraged in educational institutions. Through the curriculum, policy and practice, students and teachers are kept away from politics which causes depoliticisation. In such a context, it is natural to find teachers’ understandings of citizenship have fallen prey to the region’s political crisis for decades with a concomitant political identity crisis.

The teachers’ conceptualization of citizenship has already indicated that they understand citizenship more as a social and a moral enterprise than a political activity involving

political praxis and participation. As a consequence of such an understanding, the proper emphasis on political praxis is not made explicitly and thus the political dimension is overshadowed by the social and moral concerns which result in a lower chance of engaging students with political issues explicitly. Emphasis of teachers on the social dimension, moral conduct and concern for participation through civil society organisations may further alienate students from political praxis, and serves the agenda of powerful institutions in terms of keeping students away from politics. Thereby, emphasis on the social dimension of citizenship with moral ideals without integrating them with political action can further strengthen a disempowered citizenship discourse. Emphasis on voluntary services through civil society organisations contributes to a disorientation which prevents political participation and thus further alienates citizenry from the institutional politics resulting in further alienation from self and society.

Thus, citizenship education discourse in GB tends to develop and perpetuate political, historical and cultural ignorance with the support of depoliticising practices so that the control of the area may continue uninterrupted. Education is used as a tool for maintaining control, or what Sökefeld (2005) called ‘practical hegemony’, by not engaging students with political issues and the history of their region. On the other hand, it is used to prepare students with certain basic skills and knowledge to the broader context of the political economy as passive and docile citizens who have been self-alienated in terms of their history, culture and political identity through oppressive educational practices.

The broader political and economic networks of GB are developed in such a manner that people who have depoliticised approaches and are supportive of the status quo can easily be adjusted in the broader context of a ‘political economy’ that is shaped and controlled by the powerful state institutions in the region (Ali, 2019). Thus, a nexus between the broader

political economic framework and depoliticised and self-alienated citizens has been established to continue the practical hegemony of powerful institutions in the area.

Citizenship education is used to hegemonise young students with narratives that are foreign to their contextual existential situation, but they are forced to be engaged with them through teaching and learning from pre-primary level right up to university level in such a way that they become naturalised. The objective is to attain legitimacy of rule in peoples' minds, and education is a vehicle that is used for this purpose. Pakistan Studies embodies this process of attaining legitimacy by robbing students of an awareness of their existential situation. The practical hegemony of the state institutions is consolidated and strengthened through the construction of a discourse of self-alienation through education that makes students forget their past and the political reality of their context but imbibe the state narratives promoted through Pakistan Studies. Thus, citizenship education discourse is rooted in GB's overall political context, characterised by calculated political ambiguity. It further serves as a tool for maintaining a sort of a 'post-colonial colonialism' as discussed by Sokefeld (2005).

The findings have shown modes of engagement other than schools playing their role in citizenship issues by shaping or challenging educational anxiety. These modes of engagement contribute to strengthening or challenging the construction of self-alienated citizenship. These include religious centres and social media, which have become a parallel platform for engaging with the issues of citizenship education in GB.

The teachers' perspectives showed that religious centres play a wider role in terms of promoting sectarianised citizenship. Teachers' views show that sectarian centres provide a platform for the propagation and consolidation of sectarian identities. This is due to the fact that the political space is being squeezed and that no space is provided for political

engagement. The teachers recognise this phenomenon as illustrated in the chapters on findings.

It infers that the sectarian polarisation and the increasing role of sectarian centres causes citizenship to become hostage to sectarian considerations, as highlighted by the findings in this research. The squeezed space for political engagement leads to the emergence and strengthening of religious anxieties. Religious centres of respective sects are emerging as alternative sites of citizenship education; though they mainly negatively impact on society's overall peace and stability. Furthermore, it reflects how 'political socialisation' is influenced by 'the public discourse', which, in turn, shapes the citizenship of people engaged with these discourses (Torney-Purta et al., cited in Kennedy, 2012).

Sectarianised citizenship weakens democratic norms, values and practices and instead, provides the grounds for the state institutions to consolidate more power. So, another lesson that we may draw is that strengthening sectarianised citizenship may play a deconsolidating role in promoting democracy and thus erodes the hope for equal citizenship. Sectarianised citizenship provides the pretext for the state to further its hegemonic agenda of domination. In this sense, the parallel sites of citizenship education beyond the school could also be used by the state to strengthen its control further; consequently, they support the state agenda, which in the case at hand is aimed at constructing self-alienated and docile citizens who may be easily controlled and governed.

Thus, what can be concluded from the above discussion is that in GB the discourse of citizenship is characterised by the interplay of the web of political and religious anxieties. These anxieties have been used by the state over decades to disengage people with the fundamental issue of citizenship by inflicting a discourse of ambiguity, uncertainty and fear, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by promoting a discourse of historical,

cultural and political ignorance through educational practices. It is such a discourse which I have named self-alienating citizenship. As a consequence of engaging students in such an educational discourse, self-alienated and docile citizens are constructed who are easily controlled and can be governed in an uninterrupted way. This is what I have named as self-alienating citizenship education which is configured in a manner that it does not empower students to critically reflect on their existential situation, particularly on the political dimension of citizenship.

Challenging the Self-alienating Discourse of Citizenship Education

The findings have shown a window of hope for promoting citizenship education. It was found across all the cases that teachers consider the role of social media as of paramount importance. The teachers have identified social media as an important site for promoting citizenship consciousness in GB as the teachers have indicated that students come up with different questions in the classrooms regarding the status of GB. The issues about the political status of GB are not part of the curriculum as such, as has been discussed above, but students' awareness and the concern which they show is reflected in the fact that they are engaged in other platforms, mainly social media. The teachers have reported that students learn about these issues from social media. It implies that social media plays an important role in this regard. Teachers reported that students are frustrated and angry about the continued structural marginalisation and raise issues about their political status in class discussions. The students are reported to have taken their inspiration from social media, and therefore it plays a vital role in creating civic awareness. Apart from students' reactions and concerns about their political status, the teachers also contest the state narratives discussed in *RQ2*.

It is understandable from the above discussion that due to structural marginalisation, subgroup identities and loyalties are strengthened to the extent that people stop internalising the national ethos expressed in state narratives and antagonistic feelings towards the national ethos and values may develop. The teachers' experiences of observing frustration developing among students are linked with the continuous political marginalisation. This is indicative of the fact that 'failed citizenship' is taking root. The development of nationalist movements and the recent support of the youth for politicians with a leftist orientation are indicative of the changing context, which seems to provide a further breeding ground for the increase in failed citizenship. The political polarisation and the consolidation of subgroup identities on ethnic and sectarian lines, as discussed by Aziz (2016a), indicate that failed citizenship is growing in response to the agenda of self-alienating citizenship.

According to Banks (2017), 'failed citizenship' can only be addressed through 'transformative citizenship', wherein people with different backgrounds and ideas are officially recognised and structurally integrated. In the context of GB, transformative citizenship would require giving satisfactory citizenship rights to the indigenous people. For millennia, these people have been the inhabitants of this region. Thus, the answer to failed citizenship, which is emerging as a counter-narrative and a phenomenon of self-alienating citizenship, lies in recognising the citizenship rights of the people of GB with at least minimal universally recognised terms and conditions. It may require a redefinition of a social contract between the state of Pakistan and the people of GB.

The findings show that social media has played a vital role in bringing the issues of failed citizenship to the fore in the political imagination of local people. The understanding of marginalisation has developed primarily as a consequence of exposure to social media.

Therefore, it should be incorporated in future civic and citizenship education programmes

as an important aspect of citizenship education in order to educate students to use it responsibly.

Conclusion

Thus, teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education shows that political and religious anxieties shape citizenship education discourse in GB and cumulatively contribute to educational anxiety. Religious anxieties and sectarian fault lines have been manipulated for state formation processes to produce sectarianised citizens. Squeezing of political spaces has led to the consolidation of religious identities along sectarian lines, and religious institutions are thought to have a vital role in constructing alternative spaces for citizenship education. The religious institutions which perpetuate sectarianism have contributed to development of religiously sectarianised citizenship.

Likewise, the political anxiety in GB has been shaped by its undefined political status since the creation of Pakistan. Pakistan has maintained a calculated political ambiguity towards GB because of its presumed link with the Kashmir dispute. Consequently, the area has been marginalised politically by Pakistan and remains in a political state of liminality. However, practical hegemony has continually been employed by Pakistan to keep control of the area. In order to achieve a consensual basis for the practical hegemony, education in general and the discourse within citizenship education, in particular, reflected mostly but not exclusively in Social Studies or Pakistan Studies, has been employed in the construction of self-alienating citizens. This discourse robs students of awareness about their culture and history. It is used as a discourse meant not only to maintain the practical hegemony of the state but also as a discourse meant to attain legitimacy of the practical hegemony through such kind of education, which, on the one hand, may make students depoliticised and, on the other hand, may make them feel the legitimacy of the rule through

education as a part of a natural setting. Citizenship education is used to construct self-alienated and docile citizens. This is how citizenship education is used both as a tool to attain legitimacy through education and a technique to maintain practical hegemony. However, social media as an alternative site of citizenship education is providing the basis for the emergence of a counter-discourse to self-alienating citizenship. The counter-discourse is the discourse of failed citizenship that can only be transformed by promoting a transformative citizenship agenda in GB.



CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

In this chapter a summary of the research will be presented and various strands of arguments developed in the preceding chapters will be brought together in order to develop a holistic view of the phenomena of citizenship and citizenship education within the broader context of Pakistan and GB in particular. Thus, it is important to restate again, for clarity, that this study is concerned with exploring the dynamic interplay of religion, Islam, state and politics in the construction of citizenship and citizenship education discourse in Pakistan and its changing face in the context of GB which is characterised by unique political and religious anxieties. The study has focused on teachers' conceptualisations of citizenship and citizenship education as a window for understanding the dynamics of citizenship and citizenship education in Pakistan, in general, and in GB, in particular. The research study has explored teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship at three interlinked levels: as universal (abstract) concepts, as represented in the PKS, and as phenomena in the complex context of GB. The study was conducted across nine different chapters, each contributing, in its way, to answering the various elements of the research question exploring teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education.

Chapter One introduced the research problem and the research question, by situating the study within the available scholarship on citizenship and citizenship education within the broader context of Pakistan and GB. It demonstrated that most of the studies conducted on citizenship education in Pakistan are based on curriculum and textbook analysis which deal with citizenship as an issue related to the development of nationhood defined primarily in religious terms. Some of the studies were based on the perceptions of students and teachers, but their focus remained on the same issues of identity as those covered in the official

citizenship education discourse reflected in the textbooks. In a way, these studies have tried to extrapolate the official citizenship discourse to teachers by seeing how teachers respond to it. These studies did not problematise the broader dimensions of citizenship and citizenship education, including the rights-based conceptualisation of citizenship and citizenship education to prepare the young citizenry for their role in society.

Moreover, so far, none of the studies has specifically explored teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education within the context of Pakistan and that of GB. So, Chapter One introduced the research problem and its significance. It helps the reader to become acquainted with the context of Pakistan and that of GB. It specifically pointed out that, unlike in many other contexts, Islam, plays a vital role in the affairs of state in Pakistan. Islam is considered the *raison d'être* for Pakistan's existence, and therefore, since the inception of Pakistan, there have been contesting discourses on the interrelationship of state and religion in Pakistan. These debates have had implications for citizenship and citizenship education issues that have been introduced in the chapter. Moreover, it has introduced GB and the political and religious anxieties which are specific to this context. These anxieties make the discourses of citizenship and citizenship education more complicated in GB vis-a-vis Pakistan.

Chapter Two provided a detailed description and analysis of the context of GB. It considered how the areas that are part of GB became hostage to the broader political dynamics of the area both in contemporary and historical contexts. In the past, the political environment created by the Great Game between Tsarist Russia and the British Empire provided the context for boundary-making around this area. The double colonial rule by the British and the Kashmiri rulers was placed in the political context of the contestation of two different empires for expansionist motives. This indicates that in the post-1947 saga of Indian partition, GB was kept hostage to the Kashmir dispute. Its contested relationship with the

Kashmir dispute has caused its ambiguous political status and caused that to be ongoing. Being recognised as a disputed territory by the UN, the area is characterised by political anxiety in terms of whether it is or isn't part of Pakistan despite being controlled by it since 1947. The denial of the right of representation for this region at the national forums of Pakistan, such as parliament, has kept the area politically marginalised with the concomitant feeling of isolation and frustration among residents. The political ambiguity of the area has been used as a rationale for practising shifting modes of domination in the post-colonial era. These shifting modes of dominations are often interpreted as post-colonial colonialism by scholars and locals alike.

Moreover, its unique religious composition has also caused religious anxiety because it is the only Shia majority region in a Sunni majority country. These political and religious anxieties set the stage for the political and social dynamics of the area. Moreover, the region has started to attract the attention of global powers because of its geographic location and strategic positioning. In contemporary times, the repositioning of China on the global political canvas as a potential challenge to the uncontested hegemony of the US and the economic and technological dominance of Europe makes it politically vulnerable as a politically disputed region. Being the gateway to the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a case in point showing the importance of the area and the possibility of exposing it to more economic and political vulnerabilities with implications for citizenship and consequently for citizenship education discourse in GB. Needless to say, the overarching context of Pakistan is yet another key factor which plays a role in shaping citizenship and citizenship education discourse in GB.

Chapter Three of the dissertation has discussed citizenship and citizenship education in Pakistan both in historical and contemporary contexts. It has tried to show how, over time, Pakistan lost its equilibrium, moving towards a right-wing religious narrative, and failed to

promote multicultural citizenship in of its pursuit of Islamic ideology. Citizenship education reflects the priorities of shifting regimes. The chapter has tried to discuss how competing perspectives on the nature of the interrelationship of state and Islam set the stage for the construction of competing citizenship perspectives which are marked by at least two extreme positions taken by the proponents of the Islamic state and that of liberal democrats seeking to promote democracy and pluralism. The chapter indicates how a liberal and inclusive approach to citizenship education was transformed into an Islamic and inward-looking discourse on citizenship education. Now it seems fixated on constructing nationhood defined in religious terms. It has tried to discuss how the citizenship education discourse in Pakistan primarily focuses upon developing good Muslims and equates them with the narrative of the good citizen in order to develop the imagined Islamic community of Pakistan. The chapter highlights the gaps in the research on citizenship education and sets the scene for conducting an in-depth study of teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship and citizenship education in an area characterised by multiple anxieties.

Chapter Four developed a conceptual framework for the study. Since the study was conducted at the cutting edge of politics, religion and education, it needed a comprehensive framework that may help make sense of the complexity of the phenomena of citizenship and citizenship education by placing the debate within the web of the religiopolitical and educational dynamics of Pakistan and the multiple anxieties which are specific to GB. A conceptual framework was developed by drawing different concepts from different areas of literature, including religion, citizenship, and citizenship education. The concept of citizenship was placed as part of the broader discourse of Islam and modernity in order to make sense of the role of religion in the conceptualisation of citizenship and citizenship education.

Accordingly, theoretical considerations about the role of religion in modern societies have been discussed to situate the debate about the interrelationship of state and religion in Pakistan wherein, contrary to modern liberal states, religion has a constitutionally accepted role with implications for the equal citizenship of its citizens. This section leads to the second part, which discussed the modern discourses of citizenship considered important in academic discussions on citizenship. Moreover, the intellectual basis of citizenship in non-Western discourses was also explored to appreciate the role of culture and context in the conceptualisation of citizenship. The debate about citizenship was situated in the context of Muslim responses to modernity. Moreover, different frameworks of citizenship education were discussed and different concepts from these frameworks were used for analysis. In order to make sense of the contextual specificities of GB in the analysis, Freire's (1993) critical approach to education was also briefly discussed.

Chapter Five discussed the research methodology and methods employed in this study and the challenges that made this research endeavour challenging. The research was conducted in challenging times from its inception to completion. The Hong Kong Protests and the outbreak of COVID-19 made this research the greatest challenge of my academic life. The collection and analysis of data were very challenging. Instead of the anticipated three to four months, collecting the data took a whole year because of continual lockdowns and the concomitant challenges in Pakistan and GB. Conducting research in a time of crisis was emotionally and intellectually consuming and physically tiring beyond anticipation. Nevertheless, the completion of this study is a story of overcoming fear for the sake of hope.

This study was a qualitative enquiry. It used thematic analysis both as a research methodology and method. This was theoretically underpinned by a constructionist approach asserting the social construction of reality. The data were collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews with 16 teachers teaching Pakistan Studies at the secondary and higher

secondary level. The data analysis followed the six phases of thematic analysis:

familiarisation, coding, searching for themes, reviewing the themes, defining and naming the themes, and writing the report.

Chapters Six through to Eight discussed and analysed the research findings, and Chapter Nine analysed the findings in the light of the framework and the background of the available literature on the subject. The findings in Chapter Six described how teachers understand citizenship and citizenship education as universal (abstract) concepts. The findings showed that the teachers are focused on the social and moral dimensions of citizenship rather than its political aspect in their conceptualisations of citizenship. The dominant trend among teachers showed that they link the moral dimension of citizenship with Islam. Therefore, the findings showed that Islam was a key factor in teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship as human conduct. In terms of the role of the individual in formal political processes, the political dimension of citizenship was overshadowed by its social and moral dimensions. The considerations of individual contributions to the growth of self and society were more dominant than the expectations from the state. However, more importantly, it was also revealed that while discussing citizenship as a sociopolitical phenomenon, the dominant trend was to Islamise citizenship by trying to justify the values of equality, and promote diversity and human rights from within the discourse of Islam.

A good citizen is conceived to be a virtuous, dutiful and socially responsible person who may contribute to society's betterment, albeit without considering his due role in the political sphere. The political role of the individual in the political processes and structure seemed missing in teachers' conceptualisation. Moreover, the findings showed a poor state of citizenship education, which was thought to be a natural outcome of Pakistan's overall poor state of education. It highlighted a multitude of factors contributing to the poor state of education and citizenship education.

Chapter Seven's findings have shown teachers' responses to the narrative of citizenship reflected in the curriculum of Pakistan Studies. The findings showed that teachers contested the curriculum in varieties of ways and showed that the curriculum does not focus on citizenship education and thereby was found not to be constructive in promoting citizenship values. The teachers were critical of the role of the curriculum in terms of promoting diversity, inclusivity, civic equality, critical thinking, and helping to develop an understanding of different levels of identity, including its local, national and global dimensions. The teachers considered the syllabus of PKS to be characterised by a narrow approach to citizenship and citizenship education. It was reported that the objective of PKS seems to be to develop unreflective, loyal and disciplined citizens who may be easily controlled. The findings showed that PKS is used to develop a cosmetic homogeneity by denying the country's diversity and, therefore, not allowing an appreciation of the multicultural dimensions of citizenship.

Moreover, the findings showed that teachers contest the dominant narratives promoted through the syllabus and textbooks. One of the patterns showed that the role of religion in state affairs was contested for its negative implications for the equal citizenship of all citizens. Meanwhile, the other dominant pattern challenged the prevalent discourse on the nature of Islam reflected in the curriculum. According to this dominant interpretation, Islam cannot discriminate against people based on faith and cultural differences in civic spheres. Therefore, the teachers argued that the spirit of Islam demands that equal citizenship is promoted. They maintained that adapting a progressive interpretation of Islam could play a constructive role in promoting equal citizenship.

Chapter Eight discussed teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education. The findings showed that teachers' perspectives are greatly shaped by the overall context of GB, which is characterised by the interplay of political and religious anxieties specific to GB in

terms of its history, religious composition and political status. Moreover, the geographic positioning of the region and the dynamics of shifting modes of domination both in the colonial and so-called post-colonial period provided the imaginative context for teachers to engage with the questions of citizenship. The teachers were frustrated with the unsettled political status. A profound sense of marginalisation was found to be a dominant pattern in conceptualising citizenship. A realisation was noted by some of the teachers that they consider the issue of citizenship in GB cannot be settled by Pakistan alone because of the multiple factors involved, especially in relation to UN resolutions and the Kashmir dispute. However, they felt that a sense of forced administrative control, political marginalisation, and deprivation, with their concomitant negative implications for society such as polarisation, political and economic disempowerment, and underdevelopment, were inflicted upon them on the pretext of the Kashmir dispute.

The findings showed that through education, in general, and Pakistan Studies, in particular, self-alienating citizens are constructed through an educational discourse that is fundamentally devoid of citizenship education in the sense of encompassing and addressing the historical and cultural specificities of the area together with the contextual needs, anxieties and challenges at multiple levels. The findings showed that the teachers consider the discourse on citizenship education in GB to feature the depoliticisation and self-alienation of its students from their history, culture and political reality. Religious centres and social media were highlighted as other key sites of developing citizenship consciousness in GB.

Chapter Nine discussed the findings of the research in the light of the conceptual framework that was developed in Chapter Four. It analysed teachers' conceptualisations of citizenship and citizenship education at three levels to answer three different research questions that jointly constitute this study's research question.

Thus, based on the analysis and the discussion carried out in all the previous chapters, it can be concluded that teachers' conceptualisation of the concept of citizenship shows that it is not reflective of the ideal of citizenship, which is developed primarily in Western contexts because the conceptual basis of citizenship in Muslim societies, in general, and in the case at hand, in particular, are influenced by teachers' understanding and interpretations of Islam. The concept of citizenship has been understood in terms of the moral conduct of an individual. It focuses more on the ideas of good individuals defined, primarily, in terms of personal traits and virtues and as those who contribute to and participate in society's development. Nevertheless, the concept of participation is limited to the social sphere only and political participation as a key feature of citizenship is missing. At best, the individual is seen to have the right to have opportunities for personal development, but while seeking such opportunities, the state's role seems to be overshadowed if not missing from the imagination of teachers. Moreover, the dominant trend shows that the idea of a good person is largely drawn from the religious discourses of Islam, emphasising personal conduct more. Furthermore, the idea of Islam plays a vital role in shaping the perspectives on civic life and concomitant issues of citizenship as a key identity marker in Muslim societies.

The case at hand is illustrative of the situation of citizenship education in a Muslim context. It is dominated more by the desire to morally nurture than prepare students for their role in the broader sense, particularly in terms of preparing them to participate in the political system with clear objectives and clarifying positions on the nature of self, society, and the world they want to create. The findings reiterate what Syed Pervez Manzoor, an outstanding scholar on Islam, noted in one of his essays on 'Re-Educating Muslim Intellectual':

... any worthwhile discussion on politics is missing in contemporary educational thought. Education is simply assumed to be the development and perfection of an individual's character; it is assumed to have little to do with the obligations and rights

of the individual as a citizen. Personality rather than society, psychology rather than politics, individual rather than community thus forms the nucleus of the Muslim intellectual's educational interest (Manzoor, 1991, p. 125).

Moreover, it has been revealed that teachers are critical of the curriculum for Pakistan Studies because of its fixation on reducing citizenship issues to the development of an imagined Islamic community in Pakistan based on an essentialist interpretation of Islam. The fixation with the construction of nationhood defined primarily in religious terms is due to the state narrative that emphasises the idea of Islam as the *raison d'être* of Pakistan's existence. The state has moved towards the religious right-wing especially since the 1980s, thereby creating the conditions for the Islamisation of citizenship with its consequent implications of heightened unequal citizenship. This is reflected in the curriculum and has permeated social psychology, creating a society marked by intolerance and religious fundamentalism. Education has been used as a tool to inculcate Islamic ideology. In order to develop a democratic state and society, citizenship education can play a vital role, but any efforts made in the name of reform will be useless until the basic state narrative is rethought.

In the case of GB, the issues of citizenship have been found to be more complex. Teachers' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education are shaped by the interplay of multiple anxieties, political, religious and educational. The findings showed that teachers' understanding of citizenship has fallen prey to the citizenship crisis begotten by the calculated ambiguity experienced by GB since the creation of Pakistan. Moreover, the citizenship education taught through Pakistan Studies plays its role in constructing self-alienating citizens. Citizenship education provided through Pakistan Studies is fundamentally devoid of any element encompassing and addressing the historical and cultural specificities of the area together with the contextual needs, anxieties and challenges at multiple levels.

Moreover, the discourse is primarily shaped by the depoliticisation and self-alienation of students from their history, culture and political reality. It can be concluded that education is used only as a tool for maintaining practical hegemony by keeping students uninformed about their existential reality both in its historical and contemporary contexts. Citizenship education provided through PKS constructs a discourse of citizenship that creates self-alienated and docile citizens. The squeezing of space for political participation and denial of political recognition has caused GB to be marginalised from the mainstream political process and has caused it to become polarised internally, making it easier to control and manage. Religious fault lines have been used as state formation and domination techniques with the consequent development of sectarianised citizenship. Education has been used as a key site for maintaining practical hegemony and domination inflicted through different government institutions with consequent implications paving the way towards failed citizenship. In sum, it is concluded that citizenship education discourse in GB is designed to produce self-alienating and docile citizens in GB so that the practices of post-colonial colonialism may continue uninterrupted.

However, it is important to note that in the politically suffocating environment of GB, social media seems to emerge as an alternative site for the creation of citizenship consciousness, preparing students for political participation and the creation of a democratic society where people may enjoy civic equality. The study has shown that students and teachers alike do not seem to be satisfied with the calculated ambiguity of GB's status and the national ethos or the national narratives promoted through education are not being internalised, which may result in ambivalent attitudes towards the policy of structural exclusion of GB. It may strengthen sub-group loyalties and identities, which may further strengthen failed citizenship in GB.

Some Reflections on Future Practice

In order to develop an equitable and justice-oriented discourse on citizenship and citizenship education, the prevalent state narrative requires serious deliberation and it needs to be rearticulated in a way that may, on the one hand, be compatible with the moderate traditions of Islam and, on the other hand, encompass and be flexible in addressing the contemporary challenges of life. It would require serious intellectual effort to construct such a narrative drawn from an overarching worldview of Islam. It is a very challenging task that cannot be performed by scholars who mimic Western thought or by traditionalist scholars of Islam, the *Ulema*, who neither engage with Islam with a creative spirit nor are aware and capable of understanding contemporary political, economic, epistemological and scientific challenges. It needs ideologues who may be capable of creatively interpreting Islam to develop a worldview consistent with the changing realities of the time. Thus, it needs bold decisions to even embark upon redefining and reinterpreting Islamic metaphysics, as Rahman (1984) has argued, which may help to develop a coherent view of the human self and society and allow it to be possible for a plurality of practices and interpretations to be promoted. Moving from an essentialist Islamic identity to multiple Pakistani identities welded together by an overarching moderate and a pluralistic approach to Islam may help reorient the state narrative. However, there is a need to deconstruct the prevalent narrative from within a worldview drawn from the rich intellectual traditions of Islam.

One of the avenues for developing a comprehensive worldview is promoting Islamic mystical approaches that may counterpoise the essentialist accounts of Islam. Promoting mystical approaches may provide insights and workable guidelines for social life. Mysticism, which in Islamic terms takes the name of Sufism, has been criticised for being anti-social and anti-political because of its gaze on the primacy of the human inner self. It is true that mysticism, a representative tradition of esoteric interpretations of Islam, focuses on the primacy of the

inner experience to develop the inner self, especially with eschatological aims. The self in Islamic mystical traditions is thought to be what survives the body, and the self in its quintessence is not physical but closer to being a kind of spiritual entity. According to some esoteric interpretations, such as the Fatimid Ismaili tradition expounded particularly by Nasir-e-Khusrow (d.1070) and others, it is neither entirely spiritual, physical, nor intellectual but more a reality beyond these categories embodying the essence of human existence, which controls all aspects of human existence.

However, what is important here for our discussion is that the critiques of mysticism fail to understand that the self, conceptualised in whatsoever manner, is something which has to be developed through praxis in life; praxis, in its moral aspect, in its social aspect, in its political aspect and its spiritual aspect. Meanwhile, at the same time, all these aspects need to be guided by knowledge. Thus the self can only be developed through knowledge and practice.

Another challenge that may be faced in this endeavour is that many Muslim scholars such as Iqbal (2013) have realised the importance of the primacy of self but have been unable to bridge the gap between self and society, self and the world. There seems to be a deep reverence for inner experience, for the reality of the self, but, on the other hand, a total lack of appreciation of human life's integrity and totality. The point is that spiritual experience or mystic experience is not something counterpoised to thought or rationality, or intellect. It may not be only Muslims but also Christians who have failed to devise an intellectual and an ideational *modus operandi* to integrate the higher experience with conceptual, rational and discursive thought in contemporary times. Therefore, out of sheer incompetence to elaborate on them or misunderstanding, mystical approaches have been labelled irrational or supra-rational. What brings together humanity is some form of rationality, so unless mystic insights are integrated into some form of structure, and a *modus operandi* is evolved in contemporary

times in order to put those insights into operation, it is unlikely that a greater mass of humanity will be able benefit from it.

Thus, promoting alternative intellectual approaches to understanding Islam, such as Islamic mysticism, could help to reconstruct and rearticulate the state narrative. The dominant narrative of Islamic ideology as the *raison d'être* for the existence of Pakistan is based upon an understanding of Islam that is interpreted solely in ritualistic terms. The dominant narrative of Islam in Pakistan is that of the Sunni Wahhabi interpretation of Islam, which is ritualistic in its approach without giving due appreciation to the intellectual aspect of the ritual. It is not the idea behind the ritual that matters but the social formulation in which any idea is put into practice. It is necessary to realise that all social formulations are the formulations of individuals; the more they are reflectively organised, the more they reflect purpose; and the more they are habitually organised and routinely followed, the more they lead to oppression, compulsions and injustices being indulged in. The value of social formulations lies in their being aligned to certain universal principles, but that does not mean those universal principles find their embodiment only in the peculiar social formulation.

Therefore, rethinking the state narrative while also retaining Islam and the challenges of modernity needs serious intellectual deliberation. If this was achieved, however, it would then help to bring about a substantial reorientation of the curriculum that may help students and teachers appreciate multicultural citizenship in Pakistan. This seems to be a still far off destiny at the present time as it needs profound realisation among the policymakers and people sitting in the corridors of power. Rethinking state narrative would then be a long-term intellectual activity, and it would need further time to be translated into policy and action.

Therefore, as a short-term approach, which may lead to continuous rethinking and intellectual engagement, would be to expand the scope of citizenship education from a narrow nation-

building focus to a right-based citizenship discourse. It may contribute to reorienting citizenship education. One way would be to emphasise ‘integrating humanities’ at school-level education so that students may be facilitated to understand the complexity and diversity of Muslim cultural experiences and the appropriations of Islam (Panjwani & Khemani, 2017). It could support the development of a critical but sympathetic approach towards self, society, and history, which could help students understand the present situation, issues, and challenges with a more reflective approach. The other means could be introducing a separate subject on ‘civic and citizenship education that may help explicitly to focus on the questions of what kind of citizenry Pakistan wants to create. These solutions can only be meaningful if a profound and very well thought out narrative is developed from within the discourses of Islam in the long run. It could then provide a broader worldview through which to appreciate the importance and necessity of promoting multicultural citizenship.

In the case of GB, Pakistan needs to redefine its relationship with GB in order to transform the discourse of self-alienating and failed citizenship. This requires a rearticulating of citizenship discourse by promoting an alternative discourse of ‘transformative citizenship’, which would have to involve a recognition of the fundamental rights of the people of GB by integrating them into the mainstream political processes or enabling them to exercise the fundamental right to self-rule. The broader political dynamics of the region and the Kashmir dispute will always matter in realising the aspiration for democratic and transformative citizenship. However, no reason can justify the ongoing political marginalisation and denial of citizenship for people who have inhabited an area for millennia and voluntarily opted to be part of Pakistan. In terms of education, establishing a separate curriculum board for GB and incorporating its history and culture at the school level is another area of immediate intervention which could be implemented.

Limitations of the Study

This study has been conducted in a time of crisis amid the Hong Kong Protests and the Covid pandemic. The challenging environment created by the pandemic posed various difficulties discussed in Chapter Five. These challenges influenced the flow, scope and research methods that were imagined before the study began. One of the significant challenges that the pandemic caused was in relation to the data collection process. It took much longer than planned to collect the data as all the academic institutions in GB remained closed for most of the academic year 2020. Identifying, approaching, convincing research participants, and then conducting interviews was very challenging. There was limited choice available in terms of the selection of participants. However, as a matter of good luck, from the available participants, rich data were generated.

Nevertheless, the modes of interview had to be changed from face-to-face interviews to telephone conversations for six participants out of the total of 16. Had there been face-to-face interviews, it could have generated much more enriching data items for these six interviews too. Despite this challenge, a well-planned telephone interview and a proper briefing before the interview greatly compensated for the possible data collection deficit.

Moreover, this study did not use the gender lens for collecting data or conducting analysis. Therefore, there were only three female interview participants. However, it is important to mention that the number of male teachers in PKS is much higher than the number of females. However, the balance is that both male and female teachers teach male and female students hybrid classes in most cases. However, a gender-based analysis may further enrich the citizenship education discourse in GB.

Significance of the Study and Future Research Agenda

This research is among the pioneering studies on citizenship and citizenship education in Pakistan to understand teachers' perspectives. In terms of its focus on GB, it qualifies as the first study of its kind to explore the issues of citizenship and citizenship education as a part of a single spectrum. It, therefore, contributes by filling an important research gap and makes an original contribution in that context. Moreover, theoretically, it has tried to follow a unique approach to understanding citizenship and citizenship education by drawing on a multitude of academic areas, including religion, politics and education. Its uniqueness lies in positioning citizenship discourse as an effect of the broader discourses of Muslim responses to modernity. For citizenship education, it has highlighted the need to reorient the official narrative on citizenship as a key to any agenda for citizenship education in Pakistan. Its main contribution is that it has shown that the education system in Pakistan, which is illustrative of a Muslim context, needs to incorporate the political aspects of citizenship more explicitly. Thus, future research in Muslim societies needs to focus on integrating political education into educational thought and systems. Within the context of Pakistan, the future research agenda on citizenship and citizenship education needs to focus on ways and means of rethinking the basic discourse on the official narrative of citizenship. Scholars such as Haqqani (2018) and others have tried to embark upon this sensitive intellectual terrain. Proposing entirely secular positions that may deny Islam's role may not be a workable option because this research has also shown that people are profoundly attached to Islam without espousing an Islamist or fundamentalist narrative. So, promoting moderate and inclusive approaches to Islam could help to promote tolerance, which is a fundamental prerequisite for celebrating equal citizenship. Rethinking the role of Islam needs to be an important agenda of research in order to construct an indigenous narrative for multicultural citizenship.

In order to develop a multicultural narrative of citizenship, it is important for research to be conducted on the issues of cultural diversity and developing underlying unity in diversity within the context of Pakistan. In other words, the research agenda needs to focus on transforming the diversity of Pakistan into a meaningful multicultural society. It may include researching the promotion of regional and local cultures and languages. Moreover, identifying research areas that may highlight Pakistan's historical and cultural linkages to broader south Asian heritage need to be a focus for research. This may include research areas that explore Pakistan's cultural history, especially the negative consequences of aligning Pakistan with Middle Eastern cultures on the pretext of religion after the 1980s. Focusing on reorienting of Pakistan's identity linkage from Middle East to its South Asian basis of identity framework could be another area for research. Thus, working on multiculturalism in Muslim societies in general and Pakistan, in particular, is an important area of research engagement for future citizenship studies in Muslim contexts.

The third key area of research within citizenship education would be to work on ways and means of transforming nationhood-centric citizenship education in Pakistan to a rights-based approach to citizenship education. From the available scholarship, it can be concluded that student voices need to be heard because they are key stakeholders who are influenced not only by the schools but also by the broader environment, including social media and other platforms. Therefore, studying their perspectives on citizenship issues would help to understand the complexity of the phenomenon in more detail. Another key area for future research that this study has highlighted is the role of social media in citizenship education, especially in the case of GB.

This study has dealt with the issue of identity as one of the components of citizenship discourse. The findings, however, indicate that it is also an important area of inquiry despite being a politically sensitive area of research in GB. However, future research on this area

could also open new vistas on the political ambiguities in GB. Likewise, independent research on shifting political dynamics in the region and the world is also an important area of future research. In particular, conducting a study on the political future of GB in the context of the Belt and Road framework, which, in the case of Pakistan and GB, is the China Pakistan Economic Corridor, is yet another area of study that may require future attention. Last but not least, conducting a study on citizenship education regarding the Single National Curriculum implemented by the incumbent government of Prime Minister Imran Khan in Pakistan could be an immediate area of research inquiry.



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Appendix-A: Interview Protocol

Research Questions	Interview Questions
MRQ. How do Pakistan Studies teachers in the politically disputed territory of Gilgit-Baltistan make sense of citizenship and citizenship education while teaching a syllabus oriented toward Pakistan's overall needs and aspirations and does not address the many types of complexities of Gilgit-Baltistan?	
RQ1. How do teachers make sense of the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education and 'good citizen'?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What comes to your mind when you hear the word citizenship? I mean what are the words and concepts and characteristics that come to your mind when you think of citizenship? ○ What comes to your mind when you hear the word citizen? ○ What makes a student a good citizen? ○ What should be the characteristics, habits or qualities that a student should have to be a good citizen? ○ Why these qualities matter to you? ○ Do you think that it is important to be a good Muslim in order to be a good citizen? ○ Do you consider yourself to be a good citizen? ○ If yes, then how or what makes you a good citizen? ○ If no then why not?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What/who do you think that has/have played its/their role in transforming you or in making you a good citizen or not a citizen at all or a partial citizen? ○ If you say, a partially citizen, then what are the obstacles that stops you from being a complete citizen?
RQ.2 How do teachers see the role of the PKS curriculum in fostering citizenship education in the context of Pakistan?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What is the most important thing that syllabus focuses upon to make students as good citizen? ○ What is the most frequent thing that the syllabus of Pakistan studies emphasize most about students' identity? ○ What do you think about it? ○ Does it also discusses about different cultures and different religious practices of country? ○ How does it look at the issues of non-Muslims such as Hindus, christens and others? ○ Is the syllabus discusses about the issues of rights and responsibilities of students? ○ What do you think about what you have to teach as part of syllabus? I mean do you agree or are you happy with what you have to teach? ○ Ok if so why? If no than

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What are the most important things that you think your students should learn? ○ Do you teach these things to students? ○ If yes then how if no then why? ○ Are there any challenges or difficulties that may stop you from teaching students what you think is important? ○ What often do you emphasis to make your students to be a good citizen? What aspects of citizenship that you like to teach? ○ How often do you discuss the issues of G-B with your students? ○ Do you discuss the issues of rights and the issues of GB with the students? If Yes than ○ What kind of issues of GB do you often discuss? ○ If No then why not? ○ Do you think that syllabus covers different issues of GB? If so how, if no then why it is like that? ○ Why do you think that the issues of GB are not given enough space in the syllabus? ○ In case of no, what can be done ○ Do you think that the syllabus which is taught in GB discuss the issues related to rights and
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	obligations which you mentioned above?
RQ.3 How do teachers make sense of citizenship and citizenship education discourse in the politically disputed territory of Gilgit-Baltistan?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How do you define yourself as a resident of GB? ○ What is that you think is common among the people of GB? ○ What is that makes people of GB different? ○ Is the difference good or bad? ○ Do you think that all the people from GB have equal access to rights just like other citizens of Pakistan? For example, right to employment and others etc.? ○ How do you define yourself? I mean as a citizen of Pakistan or what? ○ How do you relate yourself to your country? ○ What are the rights and obligations that you have in your society? ○ What is that you don't have but people of regions of Pakistan do have? ○ What are the rights or privileges and obligations that you have like all other Pakistanis in the rest of your country? ○ Do you have any special entitlement or a special obligation that people living in other parts of country don't have?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Do you think that you are different from other residents of Pakistan?○ If so what makes you different?○ Is it good to be different?○ Do you consider yourself to be the citizen of Pakistan?○ If so how if not why not?
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Appendix B: Sample of Interview Transcript

Researcher: Well sir! Thank you very much for your time; let me introduce myself that I am Mr. Nazim Aman. I am a Ph.D. student at the Education University of Hong Kong and I am conducting a research on Religion and Citizenship Education in Pakistan: The Case of Gilgit-Baltistan. Basically the purpose of conducting this research is to submit a requirement for Ph.D. dissertation, and whatever I will be asking from you that may be published either in my dissertation, in my thesis, or may be at a later stage in form of an article in an internationally reputed journal. But in all the cases, your name and your identity will be kept confidential. If and when require to mention you, I can refer you with a pseudonym, but if you want me to refer your with clear name, I can also mention that. But so far the ethical protocol is concerned, as a research it is binding upon us to keep all the details secret, so that in future I mean if you share ideas very openly, very candidly and very frankly, so thing should not create any kind of problem for you, that is why it is moral obligation to keep all the you know conversation as a you know secret and confidential between I and you. That is one thing I want to clarify for you, and secondly since you know I am recording this already you know I requested for your consent and have been kind enough to agree with me to record all this conversation, if allow me should we proceed our discussion, sir!

Shah Wali: Yes.

Researcher: Right, okay lovely, sir, we will discuss both in English language as well as in Urdu, I mean whatever is convenient for you whether in English or whether in Urdu you can express your ideas because I am more interested with what you think rather than the language skills, and in fact you know I have been reading about your articles in the newspapers and I am personally impressed the way you write, the way your articulate specially you know political and other issues in the newspapers.

Shah Wali: Thank you.

Researcher: sir، بار دیگر آپ کا بہت شکرگزاری کہ آپ نے time نکالا

Shah Wali: شکریہ!

Researcher: میں نے ابھی تذکرہ کیا کہ basically یہ میرا جو research ہے اس میں topic جو ہے ناں وہ Religion and Citizenship Education in Pakistan ہے اور پھر اس میں پھر politically disputed territory Gilgit-Baltistan میں یہ کس طریقے سے operate کر رہا ہے۔ تو sir جب بھی لفظ citizenship یا citizen کا آپ سنتے ہیں تو کتابی چیزوں سے ہم ہٹ کے بھی definition سے ہٹ کے اگر ہم بات کر لیں تو آپ کے ذہن میں سر citizenship سے کیا چیز سر آپ کے ذہن میں آجاتی ہے؟

Shah Wali: دیکھیں! دو چیزیں ہیں ناں، ایک میں کیا سمجھتا ہوں میں ایک اُستاد ہوں یہ ایک الگ چیز ہے، ایک عام آدمی کیا سمجھتا ہے یہ بالکل الگ چیز ہے۔

Naseem: جی!

Shah Wali: کتابی تعریفوں سے ہٹ کر ناں جو definitions books میں ہوتی ہیں اُس سے ہٹ کر بھی اگر آپ شہری زندگی کی بات کرتے ہیں تو میرے خیال میں میرے حساب سے شہری زندگی کا کسی مخصوص شہر کے ساتھ منسلک ہونا لازم ہونا بالکل بھی ضروری نہیں ہے آپ جتنے بھی شہری کام ہے ذمہ داریاں ہیں یا شہری معاشرہ جو develop ہوتا ہے ناں وہ آپ گاؤں میں بھی کر سکتے ہیں۔

Researcher: جی!

Shah Wali: لیکن عام آدمی گاؤں کی زندگی کو کچھ اور سمجھتا ہے شہر جہاں بڑے بڑے بازار ہوتے ہیں اس کی زندگی کو کوئی اور چیز سمجھتا ہے بہترین سماجیات اخلاقیات کے ساتھ اگر کوئی معاشرہ develop ہوتا ہے چاہے وہ پہاڑوں کے اوپر ہے یا پھر اسلام آباد یا گلگت capital جیسے area میں ہے بہر صورت شہری جو دماغ ہوتا ہے ناں وہ کہیں پر بھی ہوتا ہے میرے حساب سے یہی بات ہے۔

Researcher: صحیح، right

Shah Wali: ٹھیک ہو گیا ناں؟ یہ ضروری بالکل بھی نہیں ہے کہ کوئی بہت بڑے capital میں رہتا ہے اسلام آباد میں رہتا ہے گلگت میں رہتا ہے یا لندن میں رہتا ہے اگر کوئی آدمی لندن میں بھی رہے گا اس کی حرکتیں شہریوں والی نہیں ہیں تو میرے نزدیک وہ کوئی اچھا شہری ہے ہی نہیں، اگر کوئی آدمی پہاڑوں پر بھی رہے تمام تر وہ جو انسانیت کے تقاضے ہیں وہ پورا کرتا ہے تو وہ ایک بہترین شہری ہے۔ میرا point of view یہ ہے، شہری زندگی کے حوالے سے، شہری زندگی کے لئے بڑے شہروں میں رہنا قطعاً ضروری نہیں ہے۔ میں نے دیکھا ہے بہت سے لوگ جنہوں نے بڑی بڑی ڈگریاں کی ہیں لیکن انسانیت اور شہریت، شہریت کا دوسرا نام میرے نزدیک انسانیت ہے اگر کسی آدمی میں civic sense نہیں ہے تو sorry کہ وہ چاہے وہ Ph.D ہو (post directrate (SIC) ہے جو بھی ہو پھر میں اس کو شہری نہیں کہہ سکتا جو شہریت کے جو بنیادی اصول ہیں اگر کوئی آدمی فرض کرے پہاڑوں پر بھی رہتا ہے زندگی کی بہت سارے سہولیات basic needs جو ہے ناں اس کو مہیا نہیں ہیں پھر بھی اس کا social civic sense complete ہے تو میرے نزدیک وہ بہترین شہری ہے۔

Researcher: بہت زبردست! تو sir آپ نے ایک زبردست چیز کی طرف آپ نے اشارہ فرمایا۔ آپ نے فرمایا کہ basically جب بھی ہم شہریت کی بات کرتے ہیں تو شہریت کو انسانی تقاضوں سے کاٹ کے ہم نہیں دیکھ سکتے!

Shah Wali: نہیں دیکھ سکتے یہ possible نہیں ہے

Researcher: بلکہ یہ مربوط چیز ہے

Shah Wali: اگر شہریت کو انسانیت سے کاٹ لیں گے تو پھر وہ کوئی تصنع، بناوٹ جس کو آپ artificial جسے کہتے ہیں وہ تو رہ جائے گا real میں کوئی چیز سامنے نہیں آئے گا۔

Researcher: تو انسانیت آپ کے نزدیک سر انسانیت کے تقاضے کیا ہیں؟ آپ کے خیال میں آپ انسانیت سے کیا مراد لیتے ہیں؟

Shah Wali: دیکھئے، اللہ تعالیٰ کا بھی فرمان ہے مَلِّتِ اِبْرَاهِیْمَ حَنِیْفًا، یہ جو دینِ حنیف ہے ناں اس کو بد قسمتی سے ہمارے ہاں دین کو ٹکڑوں میں بانٹ کے ناں ہر ایک نے اپنی تشریحات

interpretation start کی ہے اگر آپ دین ابراہیمی کو تھوڑا سا وقت کے لئے بھی دیکھتے ہیں ناں تو پوری انسانیت اس دین حنیف کے اندر موجود ہے۔ اس کے ساتھ الہی جتنی بھی تعلیمات ہیں آپ دیکھیں گے آپ جب ان کا study کریں گے الہی تعلیمات کی اللہ تعالیٰ کی جو فطری جس کو ہم دین فطرت کہتے ہیں اس کو آپ دیکھیں گے میں نے study کیا ہے اس کا، دیکھیں گے تو آج کے دور کے اندر انسانیت کے حوالے سے جتنے بھی آپ دنیا بھر کے مفکرین کا scholars کا جو بھی point of view ہے وہ اس سے باہر نہیں ہے، میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں انسانیت کا پیغام دراصل اسلام کا پیغام ہے جو بدقسمتی سے سمجھا نہیں جا رہا ہے اور اسلام میں آج کے جدید جتنے بھی فنون ہیں بالخصوص علوم شہریت کے معاشرتی علوم کے جتنے بھی چاہے اخلاقیات ہیں چاہے اسلامیات ہیں دینیات ہیں یا پھر جو ہے ناں political science کے side سے ہیں international relation ہے قانون بین الاقوام ہیں ان سب کو focus کیا ہوا ہے اور جو لوگ ہمیں انسانیت سکھانا چاہتے ہیں بدقسمتی سے ہمیں ان کو سکھانا چاہیے تھا ہم ان کو نہیں سکھا پا رہے، تو آپ اسلام کو دین فطرت کو ملت ابراہیم حنیفی کو انسانیت سے کاٹ نہیں سکتے ہیں، آپ فرض کریں آپ ایک کام دیکھ لیں یہ جو human rights کا charter ہے انسانوں کے حوالے سے جو بنایا اقوام متحدہ نے 1949-50 میں، اور اس کی منظوری ہوئی اس کی تیس points ہیں آپ ان تیس points کو ایک side پہ column میں رکھ لیں اور اس کو انسانیت کی اور بنیادی حقوق کا معراج سمجھا جاتا ہے لیکن دراصل ایسا نہیں ہے آپ یقین کریں میں ابھی آپ کو دکھا سکتا ہوں وہ جو پورے خطبہ حجت الوداع کے نکات ہیں ناں اس کی کاپی کی گئی ہے اور پھر دنیا بھر کے جو ممالک ہیں ان کے آئینز (آئین کی جمع) کے اندر ان کو کاپی کیا گیا ہے اس کو انسانیت، human rights اور اسی طریقے سے basic rights کا نام دیا گیا ہے، یہ تو میرے نبی کریمؐ نے بہت پہلے بتایا تھا اس سے ایک بھی چیز ہٹ کر نہیں ہے آپ نبیؐ کے سیرت کو جس انداز میں بھی دیکھیں گے ناں آپ کو وہاں صرف اور صرف انسانیت نظر آئے گی اور پھر اگر مدینہ کی شہری زندگی کو اگر آپ دیکھتے ہیں اور پھر جتنے بھی میثاق ہوئے آپ کے، یہ آپ ذہن میں رکھ لیں میثاق means معاہدے

Researcher: جی سر

Shah Wali: contract ہوئے آپ کے کن کے ساتھ؟ ان لوگوں کے ساتھ جو اسلام میں نہیں تھے، ان کی مال کی تحفظ، ان کی جان کی تحفظ، ان کے عزت نفس کی تحفظ اور ان کے تمام بنیادی ضرورت کو ان معاہدات کے اندر focus رکھا گیا اور مقاصد شریعہ کے اندر یہ نہیں کہا گیا کہ سب سے پہلے آپ اسلام لائیں گے تو پھر بات بنے گی، نہیں، سب سے پہلے مقاصد شریعہ میں امام غزالی صاحب کے پڑھ لے اور اسی طریقے سے ابن تیمیہ نے لکھا ہے اس پر، اسی طریقے سے ابن خلدون بہت بڑا civics علم عمرانیات کہ لو، علم شہریت کہ لو ان کا بانی رہا ہے ابن خلدون، ابن خلدون صاحب کے جو مقدمہ ہے اس میں پڑھیں کہاں کہاں بھی آپ اسلامی مفکر کو آپ پڑھیں اب شاہ ولی اللہ کو پڑھیں تو انہوں نے اس civics کو بہت خوب صورتی کے ساتھ بیان کیا ہے کہ سیاستِ مدن کیا چیز ہوتی ہے یعنی شہری زندگی کیا چیز ہے آپ کو آپ کے ان تمام معاہدات میں، آپ کی سیرت میں سیاسی زندگی بلخصوص شہری زندگی جس میں ایک ملک کے ایک شہریت کے تمام لوازمات موجود ہیں شہریت کے تو اس میں سب کچھ انسان کی basic need، basic ضرورت کو مد نظر رکھتے ہوئے اللہ نے بھی احکام اتارے ہیں اور محمدؐ نے نہ صرف تعلیمات دی ہیں بلکہ عملی action کیا ہے لیکن بدقسمتی سے اس کو نام کوئی اور دیا جا رہا ہے میرے نزدیک شہریت محمدؐ کی تعلیمات سے باہر ہو نہیں سکتی ہے اور محمدؐ کی تعلیمات میں شہریت میں آپ کی تمام needs کو، آپ معاشری زندگی کو دیکھیں گے

تو اس میں آپ کی تمام needs کو ملحوظ خاطر رکھ کے زندگی کے تمام شعبوں کو آگے لے جایا گیا ہے، سب سے پہلے انسان کی جان، انسان کی عزت، انسان کی آبرو، اور اسی طریقے سے انسان کا جو عزت نفس ہے اُس کے ساتھ شرف یا تحفظ نسب کا بھی خیال کیا گیا ہے۔ آپ in real اسلام کی جو تعلیمات ہیں ناں شہریت کے حوالے سے، ریاست کے حوالے سے اور اسی طریقے سے عام زندگی کے حوالے سے، انسانوں کے حوالے سے آپ ان میں دیکھیں گے تو کہیں پر بھی آپ کے اوپر کسی قسم کی زبردستی نہیں کی گئی کہ آپ اسلام لائیں گے تو ایسا ہوگا، نہیں آپ اس ملک کے شہری ہیں آپ اس شہر کے شہری ہیں آپ اسلام کا قانون بین الاقوام دیکھیں، ڈاکٹر پروفیسر مشتاق صاحب کی ایک کتاب بھی آئی ہے اس پر بہت خوبصورت کتاب ہے آپ اس کو پڑھیں تو تمام، اچھا اسلام کے جنگی قوانین ہیں، آپ ان سب کو دیکھیں گے تو آپ کو صرف اور صرف انسانیت نظر آئے گی۔ میرے پیش نظر انسانیت یا پھر شہریت، یا پھر جو سماجی علوم ہیں اس کا پیش خیمہ اور پیش منظر وہی ہیں سارے۔

Researcher: بہت زبردست، بہت مزہ آیا، تو آپ محترم جس انداز میں شہریت کا تعلق مذہب سے آپ جس انداز میں جوڑ رہے ہیں تو اس میں ایک مجھے میری جو understanding بن رہی ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ اس میں آپ کی approach کے اندر ایک آفاقیت کی طرف آپ اشارہ کر رہے ہیں، کہ اسلام کے اندر ایک آفاقی جو اصول ہیں یا اس کی جو ایک آفاقی جو روح ہے وہ basically ہر انسانوں کے لئے ہے صرف مسلمانوں کے حوالے سے بات نہیں ہے

Shah Wali: نئی، بلکل بھی نہیں، بلکل درست ہے

Researcher: اچھا تو کیا اب اس تصور کو ذہن میں رکھتے ہوئے جب آپ civics پڑھتے ہیں جب آپ Pakistan Study جہاں پہ پڑھتے ہیں تو وہاں پہ کیا یہ جس انداز سے آپ سمجھ رہے ہیں اس انداز میں شہریت کو articulate کیا گیا ہے اس انداز میں شہریت کو وہاں پہ بیان کیا گیا ہے textbooks کے اندر؟ یا آپ کی understanding اور textbooks کے درمیان کوئی difference آپ دیکھتے ہیں؟

Shah Wali: دیکھیں! میں آپ کو ایک بات بتاتا ہوں ناں، آپ نے شروع میں بھی یہ بات بتا دی، کیونکہ شہریت کا sociology کے ساتھ بھی قریبی تعلق ہے، اخلاقیات کے ساتھ بھی ہے even economic کے ساتھ بھی ہے

Researcher: بلکل!

Shah Wali: اور جتنے بھی معاشرتی علوم ہیں ان کے ساتھ اس کا تعلق ہے، ہمارے ہاں بدقسمتی سے، یہ میں بدقسمتی سے لفظ استعمال کر رہا ہوں یہ آپ note کر لیں

Researcher: جی!

Shah Wali: چونکہ یہ میرا اپنا مطالعہ ہے study ہے اور میں یہ نہیں سمجھتا کہ میں یہ درست کہ رہا ہوں بلکل میری study غلط ہو سکتی ہے اس میں، میں خود کو کوئی حرف آخر نہیں سمجھتا، تین چیزوں کے ساتھ بہت بڑا ظلم ہوا ہے ہمارے یہاں، allover Islamic دنیا میں آج کل کے دور میں دینیات کے ساتھ شدید ترین قسم کا ظلم ہم کر رہے ہیں، آپ یقین کریں میں نے جب بھی youtube کے اندر، blogs کے اندر، پھر books کے اندر اردو material ہے عربی ہے آپ نے ایک لفظ استعمال کیا آفاقی، لیکن اس کے ساتھ جو ظلم ہم نے کیا ہے ناں ٹکڑوں میں بانٹ کر، پتا

نہیں۔ ہمارے ایک دوست ہیں عبدالخالق تاج صاحب، وہ کہتے ہیں کہ اللہ کے رسول نے تو کہا ہے 72 فرقے ہونگے لیکن صرف کثروٹ میں 72 ہیں کہتا ہے وہ، تو ایک تودینیات کے ساتھ بہت شدید قسم کا ظلم ہوا ہمارے syllabus میں، اور دوسرا جو ظلم ہوا وہ تاریخ والی بات کو چھوڑ دینگے تاریخ کے ساتھ ہم نے کیا کیا ہے، دوسرا جو سب سے بڑا ظلم ہوا ہے ہمارے syllabus میں آپ دیکھیں، آپ KG-1 یا پھر جو ہے ناں پہلی کلاس سے لے کر Master تک Ph.D.، M.Phil. even تک، میں خود طالب علم ہوں ابھی guide lines career counseling کے حوالے سے ایک طالب علم کو کیا کرنا چاہیے اس کے حوالے سے ایک لفظ آپ کو نہیں ملے گا، یہ ہماری بد قسمتی ہے، میں نے اس پہ بہت سارے radio programs کئے workshop کئے، کرائے، لیکن میرے طالب علم کو جس class میں گیارہویں میں، بارہویں میں third year میں fourth year میں میں پڑھاتا ہوں، میں اس کے پاس سامنے جب یہ بات رکھتا ہوں ناں، بخدا وہ حیران سے ہو جاتے ہیں یہ آدمی کیا بات کر رہا ہے یہ career counseling کیا ہوگی میری پہچان کیا ہے میری guideline کیا ہے مجھے کہاں پہچنا ہے۔ اس بچے کو graduate بڑا نام ہوتا ہے graduate کوئی معمولی کسی آدمی کے ساتھ لگ جائے تو وہ معمولی نہیں رہتا، لیکن ان بیچاروں کو یہ نہیں پتا ہوتا۔ تیسرا جو بڑا ظلم ہوا ناں میں آپ کو بتاتا ہوں جو ہم جس topic پہ بات کر رہے ہیں civics کے حوالے سے ہے وہ اب آپ دیکھیں کسی بھی intellectual type کے آدمی چاہے Ph.D. ہے چاہے engineer ہے چاہے doctor ہے یا پھر بہت بڑا politician ہے جو بھی ہے آپ focus سب سے پہلے focus کیا جاتا ہے جناب کو English آنی چاہیے، ٹھیک ہے English just ایک language ہے آنی چاہیے communication رابطے کا ایک وسیلہ ہے ٹھیک ہو گیا؟

Researcher: جی!

Shah Wali: اس کے بعد انتہائی زور جو دیا جاتا ہے آپ کے science کے دو تین subject میں، ہر گھر میں specially جب بچہ 9th کلاس میں، matric میں، FA میں پہنچ جاتا ہے تو ہر باپ کی، ہر ماں کی یہ خواہش ہوتی ہے کہ کسی بھی صورت میرا بچہ chemistry کو، physics کو، mathematics کو، biology کو بہتر طریقے سے پڑھ کر ڈاکٹر، انجینئر بنے۔ آج تک میرے knowledge میں نہیں ہے میرے GB میں، 9th، FA، matric، FSc، part 1، part 2 کے ان بچوں کے لئے انسانیت کے درس پر مشتمل کوئی program کیا ہو کوئی study launch کیا ہو، کوئی institute بنا ہو بلکل بھی نہیں! بس ہم نے تمام تر focus بچے کو انسان بنانے کے بجائے وہ جو pure sciency (SIC) علوم ہیں اس کے ذریعے doctor، engineer یا پھر اسی field یعنی پیسہ کمانے والے field سے related کوئی degree ہم دلاتے ہیں، میں جب پڑھاتا ہوں ناں civics میں ایک جملہ کہتا ہوں کو، دیکھیں بات یہ ہے ناں یہ جو ہماری civics ہے شہریت ہے یا پھر ساتھ میں sociology ہے یہ دراصل آپ کو بہت بڑا پیسہ کمانے والا machine بنانے کے لئے نہیں ہیں بلکہ آپ کو انسانیت کے وہ بنیادی شہریت کے ریاست کے وہ بنیادی نکات اصول ضوابط سمجھانے کے لئے ہے جس کے ذریعے ہم ایک شاندار شہری بھی بن سکتے ہیں ایک بہترین باپ بن سکتے ہیں، ایک بہترین ماں، ایک بہترین دادا، اور ایک بہترین ضلع، صوبہ یا پھر ملک چلانے والے لوگ بن سکتے ہیں، میری اپنی study یہ ہے کہ دنیا کے اندر جتنے بھی انقلابات آئے، جتنی بھی بہتریاں ہوئی ہیں social sciences والوں کی مرہونِ منت ہیں لیکن آپ مجھے بتاؤ کہ ہم میں سے کتنے لوگوں نے social sciences کو اس انداز میں دیکھا ہے! جب میں نے بچوں کو یہ بتایا دیکھو بیٹو بات یہ ہے کہ سیاسیات پڑھنے والے sociology پڑھنے والے، عمرانیات پڑھنے والے، مدنیات، شہریت یا civics پڑھنے والے

لوگوں نے دنیا پر حکومتیں کی ہیں اور دنیا کی تقدیر کو بدل کے رکھ دیا ہے، تو بچوں اگلا سوال یہی ہوتا ہے sir اگر ایسا ہے کہ civics پڑھنے والے یہ، یہ، یہ کر سکتے ہیں تو پھر پوری دنیا ایک bio ایک chemistry کے پیچھے اتنا خرچہ بھی کر رہے ہیں سکول بھی اسی پہ focus کر رہے ہیں science teachers اور science پڑھنے والے ان کی ہی اہمیت کیوں ہوتی ہے؟ تو میں صرف اتنا سا کہ دیتا ہوں چونکہ ہم ذہنی طور پر بھی غلام ہیں ہم نے یہی سوچا ہے کہ science سب کچھ ہے science بہت کچھ ہے لیکن science سے پہلے انسانیت ہے اور science سے پہلے آپ کا دماغ شہری ہے آپ انسانیت کی بنیاد پر سوچتے ہیں تو science پھر چھوٹا سا ایک جز بن کے رہ جاتا ہے تو ہم نے اس چیز کو آج تک تعلیمی اداروں میں نہ سکولوں میں نہ سکول سے پہلے جو Montessori ہوتے ہیں ادارے ان میں یا اس سے primary, middle, یہ higher secondary school میں کبھی بھی civics کو اس نہج میں نہیں لیا ہے، بدقسمتی سے میں آپ کو کہوں گا بدقسمتی سے آپ پاکستان کے، ہندوستان کے جتنے بھی اسلامی scholars ہیں ان کی books منگوائیں آج کل تو Pdf میں ہوتے ہیں سیاسیات پر غلطی سے بھی کسی نے نہیں لکھا ہوتا ہے، میں کم از کم ایک کتاب ہے مکتب شاملہ کہتے ہیں وہ تو خیر عربی میں ہیں اس کو چھوڑ کر مکتب مکنون کے نام سے ایک کتاب pdf میں آپ کو books ملیں گے، کم سے کم ڈھیڑھ لاکھ کے قریب books ہیں آپ وہاں civics لکھو یا عمرانیات لکھو تو آپ کو دو چار کتابیں ملیں گے اور ان کا standard بھی اتنا low ہے کہ آدمی کا جی کرتا ہے آپ روئیں، آپ دیکھ لیں گے ہمارے education system میں شہریت کو اور پھر اسلامیات کو اتنا غلط طریقے سے جو ہے ناں اندر syllabus کا حصہ بنا دیا گیا ہے کہ آدمی چاہتے ہوئے بھی کچھ نہیں پڑھا سکتا اس میں سے، آپ مجھے یہ بتائیں ہم civics کی تعریف پڑھاتے ہیں تو ارسطو صاحب کی تعریف پڑھاتے ہیں اس میں شاہ ولی اللہ کے تعریف اندر انہوں نے add کی ہے اور اس کے ساتھ جو ہے ناں دو چار مغربی مفکرین اور ایک دو تعریفیں مشرقی مفکرین جس کو آپ اسلامی مفکرین کی بھی add کی ہیں بس ان کو پڑھا کر ہم خوش ہوتے ہیں۔ میں کبھی بچوں کو یہ، میں کیا کوئی بھی نہیں بتا پاتا ہے کہ بھائی اس سے ہٹ کر بھی شہریت۔ میں ایک lecture دے رہا تھا fourth-year کے بچوں کو علم، سیاسیات اور گلگت بلتستان علم، شہریت اور گلگت بلتستان، آپ یقین کریں میرے پاس لیکچر نوٹس موجود ہیں میں آپ کو بھیجوں گا۔ میرے ہر بچے کا یہی سوال تھا کہ سر یہ جو آپ نے ایک لمبا چوڑا سلسلہ start کیا کہ شہریت اور گلگت بلتستان یا گلگت بلتستان کی شہریت

Researcher: اس کے طرف مجھے آنا ہے

Shah Wali: ٹھیک ہو گیا، میں بتاتا ہوں، کیا یہ میرے پیپر میں آئے گا؟ آپ یقین کریں اس سوال نے مجھے اتنا ہلا کے رکھ دیا، میں کہتا تھا بیٹا بات سنو اگر آپ فرض کریں گلگت بلتستان کی آئینی position کو نہیں جانتے ہیں، گلگت بلتستان کی مذہبی position کو نہیں جانتے ہیں، آپ کو اپنی ثقافت سے کچھ بھی touch نہیں ہے آپ اپنے تاریخ کو نہیں جانتے آپ کی اقدار ہیں ملک بھر میں اور اسی کا نام شہریت ہے آپ کو نہیں پتا آپ کی شادی بیاہ کیسے ہوتے ہیں آپ کو نہیں پتا ہوتا ہے کسی کتاب میں لکھا ہوا تو نہیں ہے ناں، آپ مجھے بتائیں گلگت بلتستان کے کسی scholar نے شہریت پر کچھ لکھا ہے؟ کہیں پر بھی نہیں ہے تو میں ان کو یہ کہتا تھا کہ آپ کی شادی بیاہ کا کیا ہے سلسلہ؟ نہیں۔ آپ اپنے ہمسائیوں کے ساتھ کیسے پیش آئیں گے؟ نہیں۔ آپ کے مابین District بین الاضلاعی تعلقات کیسے قائم ہونگے؟ نہیں پتا ہے۔ آپ ہنزہ نہیں جائیں گے، ہنزہ والے داریل نہیں جائیں گے تو آپ کے اندر توہمات کا ایک نہ ختم ہونے والا سلسلہ شروع ہوگا اور جس سے مذہبی جو ہے تنازع پیدا ہوتا ہے اور پھر شہریت کیا پھر ہم ایک اور نہج پہ چلے جاتے ہیں جہاں صرف قتل ہوتا ہے

جہاں صرف خون ہوتا ہے جہاں صرف ضد ہوتی ہے حسد ہوتی ہے کینہ ہوتا ہے اور وہاں صرف اور صرف قتل و غارت ہوتی ہے، یہ کیوں ہوتا ہے؟ اس لئے کہ میں ہنزہ کی روایات کو سمجھنے سے قاصر ہوں میں ہنزہ والا غزر، غزر والا دیامر، دیامر والا گلگت، گلگت والا استور کو سمجھنے سے قاصر ہے اور یہی میری شہریت ہے اور جس کے حوالے سے میرے پورے GB میں ایک لفظ کہیں پر لکھا ہوا آپ معاشرتی علوم کے نام سے ایک کتاب تیار ہے اس کا standard اتنا low ہے کہ آدمی کہتا ہے یار اس کو پڑھانے سے بہتر ہے نہ پڑھایا جائے۔ ایک بچہ گیارویں میں پہنچ کر civics پڑھ کر جب آپ اس کو civics کو related کرتے ہیں GB کے ساتھ تو آپ یقین کریں وہ اتنا پریشان ہو جاتا ہے اور وہ کہتا ہے کہ سر ہمیں یہی بتایا گیا ہے کہ آپ جو کتاب میں ہے وہ پڑھیں اور پیپر میں آپ اچھا لکھیں اور mark sheet میں آپ کے نمبر اچھے ہونی چاہئیں۔ اس سے باہر نہ طلبہ سوچتے ہیں اور بدقسمتی سے آپ کو ایک بات بتاؤں، جتنے بھی بڑے grade کے لوگ ہوتے ہیں اٹھارہ، انیس، بیس، principals ہوتے ہیں آپ ان سے یہ بات کروناں کہ بھائی جان جس نہج میں ہم چل رہے ہیں یہ جو آپ مطالعہ پاکستان پڑھا رہے ہیں یار اس کا حقیقت سے بہت دور کا بھی تعلق نہیں ہے اس انداز میں civics کی punjab board نے ایک کتاب تیار کی ہے، یار اس civics کا میرے GB کے ساتھ میرے civics کے ساتھ میرے شہریت کے ساتھ میرے قانون کے ساتھ میرے روایات کے ساتھ میرے culture کے ساتھ میری زبان کے ساتھ کوئی تعلق نہیں ہے تو آگے سے اتنے بڑے grade پہ بیٹھے ہوئے اتنی بڑی سیٹ پہ بیٹھے ہوئے لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ صاحب یہ آپ کی job discription میں سے نہیں ہے آپ کو جو مخصوص syllabus دیا گیا ہے آپ اس سے باہر قدم نہیں رکھیں تو اور جن لوگوں نے یہ تیار کیا ہے انہوں نے بھی پتا نہیں کس انداز میں تیار کیا ہے بہت بدقسمتی ہے۔ میں آپ کو بتاتا ہوں آپ کو بتانے کی ضرورت بھی نہیں ہے آپ خود جاکر دیکھ لیں civics نام کی ایک کتاب ہوتی ہے بارویں میں ہم پڑھاتے ہیں civics کے علاوہ سب کچھ ہے اس کے اندر civics کا خدا کی قسم اس کتاب کا civics سے تعلق گیارویں کی جو دس chapter ہے کتاب ہم پڑھاتے ہیں اس میں چلو کہیں اقتدار اعلیٰ کی بات ہے کہیں civics کے بنیادی تصورات کی بات ہے خاندان کیسے بنتا ہے خاندان کی کیا اقسام ہے معاشرہ کیا ہے civics کا دیگر علوم کے ساتھ کسی حد تک لیکن آپ بارویں والی civics پڑھیں ناں اس میں آپ کو پاکستان کی تاریخ کے حوالے سے چند باتیں ملیں گے، میں ہمیشہ دوستوں سے یہی کہتا ہوں میں دو دفعہ پڑھایا اس کے بعد میرا دل بھی نہیں کرتا دوسرا ساتھی کو دیتا ہوں کہتا ہوں آپ پڑھائیے میں یہی عرض کرتا ہوں کہ اس کتاب میں کم از کم بارویں کے civics کے اندر civics کے علاوہ شہریت کے علاوہ سب کچھ موجود ہے لیکن شہریت موجود نہیں ہے، اور بدقسمتی یہ ہے کہ میں گزشتہ دس سال سے پڑھا رہا ہوں دس سال سے، میرے جو seniors ہیں وہ بیس سال سے پڑھا رہے ہیں بعض پنتیس سال سے پڑھا رہے ہیں وہی کتاب پڑھا رہے ہیں۔ آج کی دنیا کے تقاضے کیا ہیں، آج کی شہریت بدل کر رہ گئی ہے شہری زندگی کا ڈھانچہ آپ کے گلگت میں بدل کر رہ گیا ہے۔ میں آج سے تیس سال پہلے لکھی گئی ایک کتاب پڑھا کر خوش ہوں کہ میں شہریت پڑھا رہا ہوں اور اس میں مجھے بات کرنے کا حق بھی نہیں ہے کیونکہ یہ بس ایک کمیٹی نے اس کو مرتب کیا ہے ایک یونیورسٹی نے اس کی سرخیاں لیں ہیں عنوانات اور وہ یونیورسٹی اپنے حساب سے پیپر بنا رہی ہے اور جو ہے ناں میں ایک مخصوص syllabus سے وہ پڑھا رہا ہوں اور میرے بچوں کو اس سے باہر کی اس سے دائیں بائیں ہٹنے کی کوئی اجازت بھی نہیں ہے اور اس کے بات وہی ایک مخصوص سوال آجاتا ہے کہ سر ارسطو صاحب کب پیدا ہوئے تھے! یار جب بھی پیدا ہوئے تھے ہوئے تھے ناں اچھی بات ہے ہوئے تھے ٹھیک ہوگیا، اچھا مانٹیکو صاحب نے حکومت کے کتنے درجے

بتائے، بتائے تھے ایک لاکھ دفعہ میں بتا چکا ہوں اس کا نہ مجھے فائدہ ہوتا ہے یہ موجودہ civics نہ میرے students کا۔ میرے طلبہ کو قطعاً یہ بات معلوم نہیں ہوتی ہے گلگت بلتستان کب آزاد ہوا تھا یہ میرے اس علاقے کا تو ایک حصہ ہیں نا معلوم نہیں ہے۔ آپ کے بنیادی پیروز کیا تھے جنہوں نے کوشش کی تھی؟ معلوم نہیں ہے۔ آپ کے ہاں کتنے Ph.D. doctors ہیں؟ معلوم نہیں ہے۔ آپ کے ہاں کتنے بڑے تعلیمی ادارے ہیں؟ معلوم نہیں ہے۔ اچھا آپ بچوں سے پوچھو، بیٹا بات سنو آپ کس علاقے کے ہیں؟ آپ کے ہاں شادی بیاہ کا رواج کیا ہے؟ کہتے ہیں سر یہ تو کسی کتاب میں نہیں ہے، اچھا ایک جملہ کہا جاتا ہے آپ جو ہے نا syllabus سے ہٹ کر پڑھا رہے ہیں اور بہت دفعہ ایسا ہوتا ہے کہ جو بچے ناسمجھ ہوتے ہیں میٹرک پاس ہوتے ہیں FA پاس ہوتے ہیں BA کے بچے پرنسپل کے پاس جا رہے ہوتے ہیں کہ جی وہ سر جو ہے نا اس نے ایک topic start کیا ہے۔ جی کیا topic start کیا ہے؟ گلگت بلتستان کی ثقافتی زندگی، یہ کیوں start کیا ہے اس نے؟ سر یہ ہمیں بھی بہت تکلیف ہے وہ ہمارے syllabus کا حصہ نہیں ہے ہم نے لائبریری میں جا کے syllabus نکالا ہے syllabus میں اس طرح کا کوئی سوال نہیں ہے۔ سر خواہ مخواہ پڑھا رہا ہے، اچھا! جی صاحب آپ کے بارے میں یہ یہ شکایت ہے کہ آپ اس طرح کیوں کرتے ہیں؟ سر بلکل میں کرتا ہوں میں نے Study کی ہے میں اپنے علاقے کو کتاب میں نہیں بھی ہے تو میں نے لوگوں سے گفتگو کی ہے میں چلتا ہوں پھرتا ہوں لوگوں سے پوچھتا ہوں معاشرت کے بارے میں different ہے، تو نہیں آپ سے گزارش ہے کہ یہ چیزیں بڑے level کی ہیں اور یہ آپ بچوں کو disturb نہ کیا کریں آپ کا جو حدود ہے نا اس سے باہر آپ نہ نکلا کریں آپ یہ تو چھوڑ دیں میں آپ کو بتاؤں میرے میں 4th year میں پڑھا تا ہوں، آئینز (آئین کی جمع) ہیں مختلف دنیا کے تو یہ میں نے شامل کیا گزشتہ تین سال یہ جو کیا کہتے ہیں national action plan ہے یہ اس کو اپنے syllabus میں syllabus میں کیا لیکچرز میں، syllabus میں تو میں نہیں کرسکتا ہوں میرے پاس وہ authority نہیں ہے، اس کے بعد ایک اور چیز، پیغام پاکستان کے نام سے ایک بہت بڑا پیغام آیا ۲۰۱۷ میں ۲۰۱۸ میں صدر صاحب نے اس کی منظوری دی۔ پاکستان کے ہزار علمائے کرام نے اس پر دستخط کئے، اس کو ذرا میں نے دو تین لیکچروں میں نمٹانے کی کوشش کی، پھر یہ جو human rights کا charter ہے اس میں تیس نکات ہیں۔ پھر یہ بنیادی طور پر شہری علوم ہی ہیں اور یہ جو کیا کہتے ہیں حجت الوداع خطبہ آپ یقین کریں قرارداد پاکستان سمیت، تو میرے سے کچھ طلبہ اٹھ کے گئے ہیں تو شکایت آئی سر کی کہ یار آپ اتنا جو ہے اتنا آگے جا کے پڑھا نے کی کیا ضرورت ہے؟ میں نے کہا سر یہ جو ہم پڑھا رہے ہیں نا پاکستان کے آئین میں ۳۷۲ شقات ہیں ۷۸ شقات ہیں دس دفعہ amendment ہويا amendment دفعہ amendment ہوا یہ تو ایک معمولی سی بات ہے بس موجود ہے آپ یہ چیزیں ہے روح ہے آپ بتائیں؟ تو کہتے ہیں نہیں بس آپ اس کے ساتھ نہ چھیڑیں please وہ جو لڑکے ہوتے ہیں نا وہ جلدی جلدی میں دو مہینے ڈھیڑھ مہینے میں سیلیبس cover کر کے کالج نہیں آنا چاہتے ہیں تو پھر ہم کہتے ہیں بس ٹھیک ہے ہمارا ایک انداز ہے میں تو compromise نہیں کرتا، اسی پہ میں جاؤں گا آگے اور کسی کو پڑھنا ہے تو بیٹھ کر پڑھ جہاں تک syllabus کی بات ہے میں پڑھا پڑھا کے تھک گیا ہوں لڑکوں کو بھی ہم دو چار مہینے میں cover کرا دیں گے اس کے لئے workshop بھی رکھنے کی کوشش بھی لیکن ہمارے محکمہ education والے اس پہ ان کو ضرورت نہیں ہے جی کہ لڑکوں کو یہ بتایا جائے STUDENTS کو طلبا کو طلبات کو کہ آپ کی ایک اپنی تمدن ہے آپ کی اپنی ایک history ہے پاکستان سے ہٹ کر بھی GB میں۔ اس کی ضرورت نہیں ہے جی وہ جو تعریف ارسطو صاحب نے اپنے دور میں شہریت کی کی تھی آج مجھے بتائیں ہزاروں سال

بعد کیا وہ میرے معاشرے کے ساتھ match کرتی ہے! میرے syllabus میں آج کی کوئی تعریف موجود نہیں ہے پاکستان بن کے ستر سال ہو گئے گلگت بلتستان آزاد ہو کے ستر سال ہو گئے اور اس کے بعد ایک دنیا تبدیلی کے مرحلے سے گزری لیکن میں ارسطو صاحب کی تعریف پڑھا کے گزارا کر رہا ہوں کہ یہ میرا معاشرہ ہے، یار اس کی کیا ضرورت ہے مجھے کیوں ذمہ داری نہیں دیتے ہیں یہ GB گورنمنٹ کیوں نہیں کرتی ہے پاکستان گورنمنٹ کیوں نہیں کرتی ہے آپ American civics کے نام سے ایک کتاب تھی چلاس لائبریری میں، بعد میں میں نے دیکھنے کی کوشش کی وہ دو books تھیں بہت مہنگے ترین books تھیں وہ غائب ہیں آپ Americans civics یہ لکھ لیں نیٹ پہ بھی وہ کتاب download نہیں ہوتی اس لئے کہ وہ کہتے ہیں کہ آپ اس کو خریدیں ڈالر میں، تو اب کہاں ڈالر میں ہم نے خریدنا ہے، وہ کتاب چلاس لائبریری میں تھی تو چلاس میں میری posting تھی تو میں نے اس کتاب کو پڑھنا start کیا، خدا کی قسم یہ جو ہمارے syllabus میں بھوجل کر کے بہت فضول قسم کی تعریفات دی ہے ناں American civics میں وہ موجود نہیں ہیں اس American civics کے ساتھ آٹھ chapters میں نے چلاس میں بیٹھ کر پڑھ آسان ترین انگلش میں لکھی ہوئی ہے اور معیاری کاغذ میں وہ کتاب چھاپی گئی ہے اور اس میں آج کے America میں کیا شہریت ہے۔ اچھا میں آپ سے میں آپ کو عجیب بات بتاتا ہوں میرا بنیادی طور پر صحافت سے تعلق ہے میں دینیات کا طلب علم ہوں یہ political science اور civics بھی میں شوق کے بنیاد پڑھا، یہ جو civics education ہے میں آپ کو اپنی لاعلمی کی بات کرتا ہوں کہ civics education کا لفظ میں نے اس کتاب کے اندر سے نکالا American civics education آپ جا کے پڑھ لیں۔

Researcher: جی جی یہ American citizenship education

Shah Wali: بلکل، میں نے کہا یار میرے پاس تو آپ کو حیرت ہوگی آپ education کی books نکال کر دیکھیں جو guides لکھی گئی ہیں آپ کو شہری education کے حوالے سے ایک دو topics ملیں گے۔ وہ جو استاد ہے اس کو سمجھ نہیں آرہی کہ یہ صاحب نے کیا لکھا ہے میرے civics کے اندر میرے sociology کے اندر civics کا اگلا part ہمارے پاس political science ہوتا ہے اس کے اندر civics education کا لفظ بھی آپ کو نہیں ملے گا، آپ جا کے textbook board کی جو کتاب ہے Punjab وہ ہمارے syllabus میں داخل ہے آپ دیکھ لو اس کے اندر موجود نہیں ہے civics education کا لفظ معاشرتی education یا شہری education کا لفظ آپ کو وہاں نہیں ملے گا۔ چہ جائے کہ میں اس کے بارے میں لیکچر دوں۔ پھر میں کس بنیاد کہوں یار یہ بہت اچھا syllabus ہے کم سے کم یہ میرے لئے بہت مشکل ہے، میں نے آپ سے عرض کیا، دینیات کے ساتھ اور civics کا جو حصہ ہے اس کے ساتھ بھی ظلم کیا گیا ہے تیس سال سے وہی کتاب ہے

Researcher: تو سر یہ جو کچھ ہوا ہے، مطلب کیا یہ very well planned کسی چیز کے تحت یہ سارا ہو رہا ہے یہ جو جس طرح آپ نے فرمایا کہ syllabus کے اندر جو issues ہیں relevance کی آپ نے بات کی کہ وہ relevant نہیں، یہ جو میں نے سمجھ سکا ہوں

Shah Wali: جی بلکل!

Researcher: اچھا، دوسری آپ نے جو بات کی کہ جس قسم کا ہم تعلیم بچوں کو دے رہے ہیں اور بچوں کے اندر بھی جو روئے جس قسم کا رویہ پیدا ہوا ہے تو ظاہر سی بات ہے کہ یہ روئے بھی

تو اچانک سے پیدا نہیں ہوتے ہیں over the years ظاہر سی بات ہے سالوں کی پرورش ہوتی ہے اس کے نتیجے میں ایک خاص رویہ بچے کے اندر پیدا ہوتا ہے اور institutions کی leadership کی آپ نے روئے کی آپ نے بات کی

Shah Wali: بالکل

Researcher: کہ وہ اتنا flexible وہ accommodative قسم کا وہ بس ایک duty کرنا ہے جی اس نے۔۔

Shah Wali: یار duty کرنا ہے اور اپنے grade کے لئے کوشش کرنا ہے، اگلی بات ہے ہی نہیں۔

Researcher: سہی! تو میں یہ سمجھنے کی کوشش کر رہا ہوں کہ آخر یہ جو کچھ، جس ہم جس state میں ہیں جس قسم کی ہماری علمی جو گراؤٹ کا ایک لحاظ سے جو شکار جو ہو گئے ہیں آخر بنیادی وجہ کیا ہے؟

Shah Wali: بنیادی وجہ میں آپ کو بتاتا ہوں ناں، میں آپ کو بتاتا ہوں، اس پہ میں نے باقاعدہ articles لکھیں ہیں آپ کو میں بھیج بھی دوں گا ویسے میرے blogs میں بھی موجود ہے، دیکھیئے میں تنقید نہیں میں وضاحت کے لئے آپ سے عرض کرتا ہوں ایک دفعہ Radio Pakistan میں میرا ایک interview تھا جو producer صاحب تھے ان کے ساتھ کے ایک team ان کی تھی، انہوں نے ایک سوال کیا کہ پاکستان کا سب سے بڑا مسئلہ کیا ہے؟ تو میں نے کہا کہ سر پاکستان کا سب سے بڑا مسئلہ تعلیم ہے تو انہوں نے کہا گلگت بلتستان کا سب سے بڑا مسئلہ کیا ہے؟ تو میں نے کہا تعلیم تعلیم تعلیم، سب نے کہا بجلی نہیں ہے آپ کو نظر نہیں آ رہا ہے؟ آ رہا ہے، آپ کو یہ نظر نہیں آ رہا کہ یہاں صحت کا بڑے مسائل ہیں؟ میں نے کہا آ رہے ہیں۔ تو آپ کو یہ نظر نہیں آ رہا کہ یہاں corruption ہو رہا ہے؟ آ رہے ہیں۔ آپ کو یہ نہیں معلوم کہ گلگت بلتستان میں ایک ہی یونیورسٹی ہے جس کا بھی level بہت زیرو ہے؟ آ رہے ہیں۔ پھر آپ کہتے ہیں تعلیم بڑا مسئلہ ہے۔ میں نے کہا بالکل۔ میں نے کہا جہاں تک صحت کی بات ہے میں ایک مثال کے ذریعے سمجھاتا ہوں میرے پاس گھر میں سب کچھ ہے سب کچھ موجود ہے میں بھی روز گوشت کھاتا ہوں گا مہنگا بکرے کا گوشت کھاتا ہوں گا لیکن مجھے نہیں معلوم ہے کہ پانی صاف پینا ہے اللہ نے clear بتایا ہے محمد الرسول اللہؐ نے پی کے بتایا ہے عمل کر کے واحد نبی ہے جس نے بتایا بعد میں ہے خود پہلے عمل کیا ہے عمل کرنے کے بعد۔ میں نے کہا میرے ۹۹ فیصد کیا جو لوگ، PhD Mphil ہیں Mastar ہیں بڑی بڑی post پہ بیٹھیں ہیں اور بلخصوص وہ لوگ جن کو پانی کا شعبہ سونپا گیا ہے ان کو نہیں معلوم کہ صاف پانی پینا اسلام کا بھی حکم ہے اور صحت کی اولین شرط ہے، جب میرے boss کو نہیں پتا ہے کہ جس نے مجھے پورے شہر کو پانی دینا ہے پانی صاف دینا ہے تو پھر میں نے کہا کہ تعلیم کی کمی ہی کی وجہ سے مجھے صاف پانی نہیں مل رہا ہے میں گندا پانی رہا ہوں۔ اچھا جی corruption کیوں ہے؟ میں نے کہا اس لئے ہے کہ میں بڑی degree حاصل کیا ہوں بڑی post پہ جاتا ہوں مجھے نہ اسلامیات کا درس ملا ہے نہ شہریت کا درس ملا، America سے ہم بڑے پریشان ہیں کہ جی وہاں جو ہے ناں corruption نہیں ہے اللہ کا کوئی رسول نہیں آیا ہے وہاں اس وقت even اسلام کے تعلیمات بھی نہیں پہنچی ہیں لیکن انہوں نے اپنے شہری جو ماحول ہے انہوں نے civics sense جو ہے اس کو اس انداز میں develop کیا ہے کہ بچے کو یہ سمجھایا گیا ہے کہ آپ نے ایک اچھا انجینئر نہیں آپ نے ایک اچھا انسان بننا ہے انجینئر تو ویسے بھی بنے گا جو آدمی اچھا

انجینئر، اچھا ڈاکٹر، اچھا استاد نہیں بن سکتا ہے وہ چاہے (SIC) post directrate ہی کیوں نہ ہو پھر وہ کارآمد نہیں ہے معاشرے کے لئے، میں نے کہا corruption صرف اس لئے ہے کہ بڑی بڑی ڈگریوں سے، یونیورسٹیوں سے، اداروں سے، بڑی بڑی ڈگریاں کی ہیں اور پیش نظر یہ نہیں رہا ہے کہ میں نے انسان کی خدمت کرنی ہے، پیش نظر یہ رہا ہے کہ اب کمانا کیسے ہے بڑا گھر کیسے بنانا ہے اور یہ پیش نظر بچے کو رہنا چاہیے تھا ماں کی گود سے لے کر کم سے کم میٹرک تک بچے کو جس نہج پر جس ڈھانچے پر آپ کر دیں۔ اب یہ شاخ ہوتی ہے درخت کی جس طرح ابتدائی شکل میں آپ اس کو جس طرح بھی موڑنا چاہیں وہ مڑ جاتی ہے اور جب آپ بچے کو آپ میٹرک تک آپ نے بتایا ہی نہیں ہے کہ اچھا شہری معاشرے کی، اچھا شہری ملک کی، اچھا شہری ریاست کی، اچھا شہری دنیا کی سب سے بڑی ضرورت ہے۔ جب آپ نے بتایا نہیں تو پھر آپ کے ہاں corruption بھی ہو گی آپ کو بجلی بھی نہیں آئے گی، آپ کو صاف پانی بھی نہیں ملے گا کیونکہ ہم نے اس بچے کو تعلیم کے ذریعے بتایا ہی نہیں ہے کہ یار یہ سب need ہے میری۔ میں نے تو بچے کو الف سے انسان کے بجائے، الف سے انار بتایا ہے ناں، یہی ہوا ہے ناں؟

Researcher: جی!

Shah Wali: پ سے پانی اور صاف پانی کے بجائے میں نے پ سے پتنگ کیسے اڑانا ہے گے کیسے کاٹنا ہے یہ سکھایا ہے۔ یہی بری صورت حال میں آپ کو ایک بات بتاتا ہوں آپ history کا مطالعہ کریں آپ کا topic کیونکہ religious سے متعلق بھی ہے کہ انسانی دنیا میں جب آپ کا دور آیا، اس دور کے بعد سے لے کر بہت بعد تک جب مسلمانوں کا عروج تھا تو آپ کی مسجد سے بہترین شہری تعلیم دی جاتی تھی، آپ کو ایک واقعہ سناتا ہوں سیرت کی کتابوں میں ہے۔ ایک دفعہ آپ مدینہ میں مسجد نبوی میں بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں ذرا غور سے سنئے گا مسجد نبوی میں بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں صحابہ کرام موجود ہیں، ایک مسلمان جس نے ابھی ابھی اسلام قبول کیا ہے میں مدنیت بتا رہا ہوں آپ کو، وہ آتا ہے آکے دیکھتا ہے کہ حضرت محمد ﷺ مجلس جمی ہوئی ہے ٹھیک ہو گیا۔ جب مجلس جمی ہوئی ہے تو مجلس میں بیٹھنا تو ہے چلیں تقاضا کرتا ہوں کہ مجلس نبوی کے صحن جو دیوار کے ساتھ اس نے چھوٹا پیشاب کرنا start کیا یہ مسجد نبوی میں ہو رہا ہے آپ ﷺ کی آنکھوں کے سامنے، صحابہ نے کہا مسجد اور پیشاب! اٹھ کھڑے ہو گئے۔ بیٹھو! میں آپ یا کوئی اور ہوتا تو کیا ہوتا یا آج میں ہوتا آج کے اس developed دور میں ایسا کچھ ہوتا تو شاید اس آدمی کے لاش کے ٹکڑے وہاں نہیں ملتے۔ خاموشی سے اس نے پیشاب کیا اور اٹھ کے آپ ﷺ کے مجلس میں وہاں بیٹھ گئے۔ اب وہ اعرابی ہے اس نے صرف اسلام لایا ہے، اسلام کیا ہے؟ شہری زندگی کیا ہے؟ civics sense کیا ہے اس بیچارے کو پتا نہیں ہے تو صاحب آپ ﷺ نے اس کو کہا بیٹا یہ جو مسجد ہے ناں، یہ پاک جگہ ہے آپ اس میں پیشاب کریں گے تو یہ بہت بری۔ تو اس نے کہا اچھا یہاں نہیں کرنا ہے؟ نہیں۔ تو اور کیا کیا ہے؟ بہت ساری باتیں ہیں بتائیں یہ یہ آپ نہیں کریں۔ تو صحابہ بھی سن رہے تھے تو آپ ﷺ نے صحابہ کو کہا دیکھو اس نے پیشاب تو کیا ہے نا پاکی تو ہو گئی۔ آپ ایک کام کریں دو بالٹی پانی لائیں اور اس کو دھولیں پاک ہو جائے گا آپ کا مسئلہ بھی حل ہو جائے گا اور اس کو بھی تعلیم مل گئی کہ اس شہر میں مسجد میں اب وہ آدمی وہاں سے نفرت، کینہ، بغض یا کوئی مخصوص قسم کی سوچ لے کے نہیں گیا۔ اس نے کہا اچھا کہ ظاہر ہے کہ اگر مسجد میں نہیں کرنا ہے تو اس طرح کے دوسرے areas میں بھی پیشاب نہیں کرنا ہے گندگی، اس نے کہا مسجد میں گندگی نہیں پھیلائی جاسکتی۔ اب بتاؤ میرے مسجد سے، میرے امام بارگاہ سے، میرے جماعت خانے سے یہ درس ملتا ہے؟ نہیں! ہمیں تو یہ درس ملتا ہے کہ بس آپ ہی ٹھیک ہو بیٹا باقی یہ سب ہیں ناں سارے خبیث ترین

لوگ ہیں، میرے منبر سے یہاں سے یہ درس ملنا چاہیے تھا میرے امام بارگاہ سے میرے مسجد سے، میرے مدرسے، میرے جماعت خانے سے مجھے تو یہ نہیں بتایا جاتا ہے۔ یا مذہبی جتنے بھی even دوسرے جو مذاہب ہیں عیسائیت ہے، یہودیات ہے، وہاں بھی یہی بتایا جا رہا ہے کہ آپ صحیح ہیں باقی سب غلط ہیں۔ لیکن میرے بنی ﷺ نے ایک دفعہ بھی ایک کو غلط نہیں کہا مجھے کوئی دکھائے، سیرت کی کسی کتاب میں دکھائے، میں دکھا سکتا ہوں یہ جو ابھی میں نے مثال دی ناں، اس طرح کے ہزاروں مثالیں ہیں، ہزاروں میں دکھا سکتا ہوں اور یہی سب سے بڑی شہریت ہے، اس سے میں اور آپ اور میرا پورا معاشرہ واقف نہیں ہے۔ میرے دماغ میں دھند بیٹھی ہے کہ مجھے ڈاکٹر بننا ہے ۸۰۰ سے لے کر ۲۰۰۰ تک فیس لینی ہے اور بڑی building بنانی ہے کیا میں نے بچے کے دماغ میں KG-1 سے لے کر First year, 2nd year ان تک اس کے علاوہ کچھ بٹھایا بھی ہے؟ میرے syllabus میں اس کے علاوہ کچھ ہے؟

Researcher: سر، اس پورے process کے اندر آپ ظاہر سی بات ہے شہریت کا آپ کو پتا ہے اس کا تعلق ریاست سے بھی ہوسکتا ہے۔

Shah Wali: بالکل ریاست سے ہوتا ہے۔

Researcher: تو آپ ریاست کے کردار کو خاص طور پر پاکستان کے اندر جس طرح آپ نے syllabus کے حوالے سے چیزوں کو آپ نے highlight کیا جو ظاہر سی بات ہیں ہمیں ایک sympathetic but critical approach کے ساتھ چیزوں کو دیکھنے کی ضرورت پڑتی ہے۔

Shah Wali: بالکل!

Researcher: اور مجھے بہت خوشی ہوئی جس انداز میں آپ نے ایک reflective ایک critical انداز میں چیزوں کو آپ نے بیان فرمایا۔ تو اس میں یہ جو پورا پورا سلسلہ جو ہوا develop مطلب تعلیم ان کے education کے standard کی گراوٹ کی ہم بات کریں دوسرا جو شہریت کو جس انداز میں پڑھانا چاہیے اس انداز میں یہ نہیں ہو رہا ہے، کیا اس کے پیچھے ایسا کوئی مقصد ہے؟ اس میں ریاست کا کیا کردار ہے؟

Shah Wali: یار ریاست کا کیا مقصد ہو تا ہے ہمارا ریاست آپ budget اتار کے دیکھیں نہ آپ کے اس دفعہ یا ستر سال پہلے کے جتنے بھی budget ہیں تعلیم کے لئے کتنا رکھا ہے ہمارے ریاست کی ترجیحات تو اب تک شاید مجھے نہیں کہنا چاہیے لیکن حرج بھی نہیں ہیں عسکریات رہی ہیں شہریات رہی ہی نہیں ہیں civics آپ کے پیش نظر کبھی بھی رہا ہی نہیں ہیں ہمارے عسکریات تو سب کچھ ہیں

Researcher: زبردست!

Shah Wali: جب آپ بچے کو بتاتے ہیں کہ بھائی یہی سے سب کچھ ہوتا ہیں تو میرے خیال میں اپنے تباہی کے لئے کسی اور چیز کی حوالے سے سوچنے کی ضرورت ہی نہیں ہیں

Researcher: اور کیا اس عسکریات --

Shah Wali: اور آپ ایک چیز کو sorry to cut آپ گزشتہ دو سو سال، تین سو سال میں دیکھیں تین سو سال کے بعد آج کے دن تک میرا hero وہ آدمی جو عبدالستار ایدھی کو غلطی سے بھی ہم

hero نہیں مانتے، موت کے بعد ہم اس پر poster لگاتے ہیں میں اور آپ GB کے ہیں آپ Hunza سے start کریں میرے اور آپ کے heroes وہ میرے heroes ضرور ہیں میں ان کی قدر کرتا ہوں لیکن صرف ہمارے لئے کیوں صرف وردی والا میرا heroes کیوں ہیں؟ میں ان کی دل سے قدر کرتا ہوں لیکن آپ کے میرے پاکستان کے یا پھر آپ کے میرے گلگت بلتستان کے heroes کی بات آتی ہیں تو کبھی کوئی social scientist کبھی کوئی کھاریم انسان کی بات ہم نہیں کرتے ہیں کبھی کی ہیں؟ پاکستان میں نہیں کی GB میں آپ مجھے ایک نام بتائے اگر آپ چاہے میں نام بتائوں میں بچے کو sticker بنا کر دیتا ہوں میں بچے کو جتنے بھی آزادی کے دن ہیں جیسے ۹ نومبر کا ہے یکم نومبر، ۱۴ اگست کا ہے، ۲۳ مارچ ہے میں کبھی میں نے کوئی فلم کوئی ڈرامہ کوئی presentation کوئی speech کوئی نہ آپ یوں کہ لیں کوئی documentary نہیں دکھائی ہیں کہ اس آدمی نے اس انداز میں خدمت کی ہے اور یہ بھی آپ کا hero ہیں، نہیں معذرت آپ نے تو بچے کو دکھایا ہے کہ دشمن یا کسی کی بھی گردن کاٹنی ہے اور یہ آپ کا leader ہے یہ آپ کا جو ہے نا model ہے یہ آپ کے لئے اسوہ حسنہ ہیں یہی آپ کا hero ہے جب آپ کی ریاست یہی کرائے گی تو آپ کے ریاست کے اندر بیٹھا تمام یہی کریں گا آپ کی ریاست کی تعلیمی اداروں میں آپ کو یہی hero بتائے گا یہ ہے آپ کا، تو پھر میرے خیال میں ایسے ریاست سے شکوہ ہی فضول ہے یا ریاستی اداروں میں بیٹھے ہوئے وزیرِ تعلیم سے لے کر نیچے لوگوں سے شکوہ ہی فضول ہے ان کا focus ہی یہ نہیں ہے یہ نہیں رہا ہے focus تو یا تو ڈاکٹر رہا ہے۔ اور آپ مجھے ایک بات بتائیں گلگت بلتستان کے کتنے ڈاکٹرز نے خدمت کی ہے کبھی کسی بھی field میں کسی بھی سطح پر چھوٹی سے لے کر بڑی سطح تک، ایک دفعہ ایسا خادم ڈاکٹر جس نے ہمارے لئے کچھ کیا ہو ہمارا hero بنا ہو! کتنے انسانوں کو بچایا، history میں ہیں ان کو بچایا ہے اور بچانے والا تو کبھی ہمارا بڑا نہیں بنتا hero نہیں بنتا، جو زندگیاں اجھاڑنے والا ہمارا hero بنتا ہے آج ہمارے مسجد سے آج ہمارے مذہبی عبادت گاہوں سے وہی آدمی سیلوٹ ہوتا ہے جو نفرت کی بات کرتا ہے۔ آپ مجھے ایک بات بتائیں سب سے زیادہ ایک سکول کے استاد سے ہٹ کر ایک کالج کے ایک یونیورسٹی کے استاد سے ہٹ کر میرا اور آپ کا معاشرہ جس انداز میں مذہبی اداروں سے شہری سوچ لیتا ہے وہ ہم سب کے سامنے ہے۔ میں خود اس کے حوالے سے research کر رہا ہوں، ایمانداری سے بتاؤں آپ جس بھی sect سے ہیں اس میں کیا بتایا جاتا ہے وہی کچھ کہ آپ ہی ہیں اور آپ ہی اس دنیا میں حکومت کرنے کے لئے دوسرے کو زیر کرنے کے لئے ہیں، غلطی سے بھی کہیں نہیں کہا گیا ہے کہ آپ خدمت کے لئے پیدا ہوئے ہیں۔ چھوڑ دیں اس بات کو، انسانیت کے لئے مغربی دنیا سے فنڈ generate کی ہیں اور میرے اور آپ کے دہلیز تک پہنچائے انسان کے خدمت کے لئے اور اس سے ہم جائدادیں بناتے ہیں، میں ہزاروں کو جانتا ہوں جو خدمتِ انسانیت کے نام سے باہر سے لائے ہیں اور کسی انسان تک یعنی مستحق انسان تک وہ چیز پہنچتی ہی نہیں تو آپ پھر میں یا پھر ہمارے ادارے بھی اس میں شامل ہوتے ہیں، وہ کاغذ میں اتنا صاف کر کے وہ ہضم کر جاتے ہیں جو انسان کے نام پر آجاتے ہیں شیعہ کے نام سے نہیں آتا، سنی کے نام سے نہیں آتا، اسمائیلی کے نام پہ نہیں آتا، کسی کے نام پہ نہیں آتا، انسان کے نام پہ آتا ہے اور حضرت انسان تک پہنچنے سے پہلے یہی PHD یہی Mphil یہی directors یہی sectaries بڑے بڑے اداروں میں جو CEOs ہوتے ہیں جو proposal بناتے ہیں حضرت انسان کے لئے وہی صاحبان، وہی سے دائیں بائیں ہضم کر لیتے ہیں، میں ابھی داریل میں گیا literature پر کوئی saminar تھی مقالہ تھا، وہاں کاغذات میں ۲۰۰۵ سے لے کر ۲۰۱۵ تک دس بارہ water supply کی جو سکیمیں تھیں سب کاغذات میں تھیں، زمیں پر کچھ نہیں تھا، اور ریاست کے سارے لوگ وہاں موجود تھے، جس آدمی نے یہ کیا تھا اس کا نام لینے سے سب کترا

رہے تھے، آپ کی ریاست تو یہ کر رہی ہے، ریاست تو کوئی ایسا چیز نہیں ہے جو آسمان پہ کوئی ڈھانچہ ہے وہاں سے احکام ریاست تو میں اور آپ ہیں نا، میں اور آپ ہی یہی کر رہے ہیں، ریاست کی تو جڑیں کھوکھلی ہو گئی ہیں، تعلیم کے لئے بجٹ کیا ہے ذرا دیکھ لو نا، میرے میں نے بیس اس میں بیسویں confrence میں ایک مقالہ پڑھا آج تک لوگوں نے یہ کہا کہ یار یہ کوئی اچھا کام کر رہا ہے، کہ کے آپ جیسے اچھے دوست نے کہا تو کہا لیکن ایک Engineer نے ایک building کا نقشہ بنا کے اس میں لاکھوں کروڑوں corruption اور پھر بھی وہ میرا hero ہے، ایسا ہے یا نہیں؟ ریاست کچھ بھی نہیں کر رہی سادہ الفاظ میں۔

Researcher: ٹھیک ہے، تو اس کا مطلب یہ ہوا کہ at some level ریاست اس پورے process کے اندر ظاہر سی بات ہے involve تو ہے، involve in the sense کہ یہ جو militarisation والی جو بات آپ نے کی، عسکریت والی جو بات کی، شہریت اور عسکریت کی طرف ہم نے توجہ ہی نہیں دیا بلکہ ہم نے کوشش کی ہے کہ پورے ذہنوں کو بھی militarise کیا جائے۔ تو اس میں religious segments کا جو کردار ہے جو religious stakeholders کا جو کردار ہے اس کو آپ کیسے دیکھتے ہیں؟

Shah Wali: ان کا کیا کردار ہوگا؟

Researcher: دوسرے لوگوں کا کہنا ہے کہ شاید یہ militants mosque استعمال کرتے ہیں، mosque سے مراد وہ religious clerics کی بات کرتے ہیں وہ مذہبی leaders کی بات کرتے ہیں کہ ان کی آپس کی گڈھ جوڑ کی وجہ سے یہ پورا کا پورا ایک سلسلہ جو ہے وہ آگے بڑھ رہا ہے؟

Shah Wali: دیکھیں! آپ عرض کروں نا، کچھ چیزیں media میں آجاتی ہیں دنیا کو دکھا نے کے لئے، اس کا حقیقت سے تعلق نہیں ہوتا ہے، کچھ جن لوگوں سے ہم قرضے لیتے ہیں یعنی جن لوگوں کے لئے کام ہم کرتے ہیں ان کے کچھ شرائط ہوتے ہیں آپ یہ بھی کریں گے، دو۔ تیسری بات یہ ہوتی ہے کہ ریاستوں کی اپنی بھی کوئی ضرورتیں ہوتی ہیں، چوتھی اہم بات یہ ہے کہ کچھ لوگوں کا پیٹ بھی اس طرح پل جاتا ہے پیٹ کی بھی ضرورتیں ہوتی ہیں۔ چوتھی (پانچویں) بات یہ کہ یہ صرف ملا کی بات نہیں ہے، اس میں پوری طریقے سے سیاست دان بھی involve ہیں۔ ملا اور جرنیل کے ساتھ سب سے بڑا ظلم ٹھیکہ دار کرتے ہیں، اس طرح تو ہم نے کبھی نہیں دیکھا ملا اور اس کے ساتھ مل کر درمیان میں جو کردار ادا کرتے ہیں وہ سیاست دان ہوتے ہیں۔ اور پھر بس کچھ چیزیں بتانے کے نہیں ہوتے ہیں، لیکن چلیں، ملا کو بیچارے کو بری طریقے سے استعمال بھی کیا جاتا ہے، پانچ سال ہمارے GB میں اچھا ماحول گزرا، میں اس میں لکھا ہے انشا اللہ کتاب آئے گی پانچ سو صفات کی research book ہے، انشا اللہ بہت جلد چھپے گی۔

Researcher: انشا اللہ!

Shah Wali: سب کچھ complete ہو گیا ہے میں نے شہری زندگی کی بربادی کی سارے اصول و ضوابط لکھے ہیں، تین سال کی محنت کر کے لکھے ہیں اور یہ کہ کیوں ہیں؟ اور حل بھی دیئے ہیں۔ بری طریقے سے مذہب کو استعمال کیا جاتا ہے اور پھر میں آپ کو ایک بات بتاؤں، پھر آپ مذہب کو، مذہبی اداروں کو، مذہبی رہنماؤں کو، ملاؤں کو غلط استعمال کرتے ہیں اور پھر امن اور معاہدوں کے نام پر اس پر پابندیاں لگاتے ہیں، پھر سرکار پلس ملا، پلس سیاست دان اس کی violation کرتے ہیں، اور پھر بد قسمتی یہ نہیں ہے، ان سب سے پوچھنے والا کوئی ہے ہی نہیں، پوچھے گا کون؟ یہ تو وہی

بات ہو گئی کہ قتل کر کے ہاتھ صاف کردو اور پھر قاتل کی تلاش میں نکل کھڑے ہو جاو۔ کون پوچھے گا آپ مجھے بتائیں؟ قیام پاکستان آیا اور جو real علماء تھے میں آپ کو ایک چیز clear سے بتاتا ہوں جنہوں نے اسلامی آفاقی تعلیمات کی جو بات کی ان کو تو ہم نے تزیئیک کا نشانہ بنایا ہے ہر جگہ میں یہی ہوتا ہے ہر جگہ میں ہمارے GB کی بات کریں تو وہ آدمی بہت اچھا ہے جو مار دھاڑ کی بات کرتا ہے۔ میں اپنے مسلک کے باہر نہیں سوچ سکتا، وہ بہت اچھا ہے اس ملا کی کوئی ضرورت ہوتی ہے وہ اس کے پاس جاتا ہے اور وہ اپنی ضروریات اس ملا کے ذریعے پوری کرتا ہے، اور درمیان میں نہ، ارطغرل آپ نے دیکھ لی؟ اگر آپ نے ارطغرل دیکھا ہے تو کرطعلو کا کردار باقی یہ لوگ ادا کرتے ہیں، کبھی اس پر کیوں بات نہیں ہوتی؟ کرطعلو کون ہے اور درمیان میں گھٹیا ترین کردار کون کرتا ہے؟ اچانک سے اتنے فضول سے آدمی کے پاس اتنا پیسہ کہاں سے آتا ہے؟ اس کو اتنا high protocol کس وجہ سے ملتا ہے؟ درمیان میں کیسے لوگ کردار ادا کرتے ہیں؟ آج تک اس پر کوئی بات نہیں کی گئی، تو میں بس آپ کو ایک چھوٹا سا جملہ بتاتا ہوں مسجد یا یہ جو مذہبی ادارے ہیں یہاں کچھ بھی نہیں کرتے، ان کے کچھ کام کرنے کے تھے وہ نہیں کرتے، اس کے بجائے وہ AC کا کام کریں گے DC کا کام کریں گے سیاست کا کام کریں گے، اگر وہاں سے بھی ان کو تھوڑی سی تربیت مل جائے ناں کہ آپ نے معاشرے کی اس ضرورت کو پورا کرنا ہے تو شاید آج بھی وہ لوگ ہمارے hero ہوتے، وہ ایسا نہیں کرتے، اپنا کام چھوڑ کے کوئی اور کام start کرتے ہیں۔ اس سے بھی معاشرہ بری طریقے سے مایوس ہے، میں آپ کو بتاتا ہوں آپ کہیں بھی ناں آپ جائیں مذہبی اداروں میں جائیں، یہ آپ سے ایک سوال کرتا ہوں۔ آپ وہی سوال مجھ سے کریں کہ بھائی قرآن میں، حدیث میں، دیگر ائمہ کی تعلیمات میں انسانیت پر شہریت کا تو بے تحاشا مواد موجود ہے تو آپ کو کتنی دفعہ بتایا گیا ہے کہ مسجد میں، صفائی کا احتیام بھی ہونا چاہیے آپ کو کتنی دفعہ بتایا گیا کہ آپ کے ہمسایہ کا آپ پر سب سے زیادہ حق ہے، ٹھیک ہے؟ کتنی دفعہ آپ کو بتایا گیا آپ مریض کی استعانت کریں، تو اللہ اس پر خوش ہوگا، نہیں؟ آپ کو یہ بتایا جائے گا کہ فلاں کافر ہے فلاں بھی کافر ہے فلاں بھی کافر ہے فلاں کو بھی نہیں مانتا ہوں، تو میرے رسول اللہ نے تو یہی بتایا تھا مسجد سے مدرسہ سے وہ تو بنیادی institute تھا شہری زندگی کا، لیکن آج میرا کردار زیرو ہے۔

Researcher: آپ کا بہت بہت شکریہ آپ نے اپنا قیمتی وقت نکال میرے سوالوں کا مفصل جواب دے دیا۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ آنے والے چند ہفتوں میں مجھے ضرورت ہوئی تو مزید وضاحت کے لئے آپ کو زحمت دے سکوں گا۔

Shah Wali: مجھے بہت خوشی ہوگی، آپ جب بھی مناسب سمجھیں مجھے آگاہ کیجئے گا۔

Researcher: بار دیگر آپ کا بہت شکریہ۔