

# Civics and Citizenship Education in India and Pakistan

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## Abstract

The idea of citizen and the school discipline of civics, which is entrusted with the responsibility to create an ideal citizen, have colonial imprints. Both citizenship and civics have traversed through postcolonial histories of nation-building, state formation, modernity, and democracy/authoritarianism in South Asian nation-states of India and Pakistan. In the context of globalization, the idea of a citizen has also been marked with discourses of global citizenship, identity-based movements, and a reassertion of nationalism. This chapter situates civics in the context of these histories and transitions. Drawing on existing research, it also analyses the contestations over inclusions and exclusions from citizenship as represented in the school subjects of civics, social studies, and citizenship education. The dominant pedagogic practices of the subject and alternatives to them, along with a discussion of gaps in existing research and potential news areas of study are highlighted.

**Keywords: Citizenship, Civics, India, Pakistan, Global Citizenship Education**

## Introduction

The idea and discourse of citizenship traverse various sites and texts, ranging from legal and policy documents to everyday conversations. School is just one among several institutions engaged in citizenship formation since the advent of the modern idea of education closely tied-up with the modern nation-state. In addition to the school subjects, particularly textbooks, the school's daily routine and rituals from morning prayers and assembly to different disciplinary regimes contribute to the making of a good citizen.

This chapter critically examines the contested ideas of an ideal citizen as mirrored in the civic and citizenship education debates largely in the context of the state schools. It situates them in the changing historical, economic, political, cultural, and ideological milieus of the two postcolonial countries of India and Pakistan. Drawing on our prior and ongoing work and existing research from peer-reviewed journals, monographs, commentaries, chapters on Social Sciences and citizenship education, and websites and publicity material of different organizations, this chapter analyses contestations around the idea of a citizen as represented in the school subjects of civics, social studies, and citizenship education. Different school

subjects like history, geography, economics, science, and language have also been connected with the development of rational, participatory and responsible citizenship and global citizenship (Darak, 2018; Davies et al., 2018). Though the authoritarian pedagogic relationship between teachers and students is a broader educational issue which engulfs all the subjects, in the context of civics it assumes distinct meaning as historically civics was the only subject in the school curriculum which had been directly entrusted with citizenship preparation. The recent change in the nomenclature of civics also provides a rationale to examine its legacies and the purported shift in citizenship education.

The chapter makes four contributions to the current scholarship on citizenship in South Asia. Firstly, by locating and paying attention to the colonial antecedents of civics and citizenship education, we hope to unveil the colonial legacy of the subject, suggest possibilities to examine its postcolonial trajectory with this awareness and historicize and demystify the discourses of citizenship education. Secondly, while textbooks remain a crucial focus of our discussion given the dominance of textbooks in the pedagogic culture of India and Pakistan and research in these countries, we also take note of the broader discourses in society that serve as a "hidden curriculum". Thirdly, besides focusing on the curriculum, and textbooks of civics as a school subject, we also discuss inter/national policy space and global-national-local actors/ networks to illuminate the multiple nodes of citizenship education discourses. Fourthly, discussion on global citizenship education has remained primarily focused on wealthier western countries, but our analysis contributes to this debate with a focus on countries from South Asia. We believe that this approach will allow us to be simultaneously attentive to the specific national contexts and still not be "methodologically nationalistic".

This chapter is organized into four sections. The first section focuses on the colonial origins of this subject from the 1890s till 1947 when India and Pakistan emerged as two distinct nation-states that had achieved independence from the British colonial rule. In the second section, we focus on the analysis of the history, trajectory, and debates about civics and citizenship education in postcolonial India and Pakistan. This section shows how the terms of belonging, and of being a nation's cultural insider/outsider have been waged on the terrain of civics. The other critical issues of citizenship debates, namely deliberations about character and destiny of the nation-state, questions of identity of the population, range of rights and duties, and the relations between the public and the private domain(s) and spheres also emerge in the course of this analysis. We hope to point out the inclusions and exclusions of different social groups from the cultural elaborations of citizenship pathologies and normalize them.

In the new context of globalization, the idea of a citizen has also been marked with contemporary discourses of global citizenship and other identity-based movements, as well as a reassertion of nationalism. Whether and in what ways the discussion of global citizenship education emanating from the West has circulated and is appropriated, mobilized, reinterpreted, and contested in India and Pakistan, is the focus of the third section of this chapter. We try to look at the global and local actors that are promoting the discourse of global citizenship. In the final section, we make concluding remarks and point to gaps in existing research and suggest new areas of study.

## Framework to situate Civic Education

Frameworks that inform civic or citizenship education draw on a conception of an ideal citizen. Different researchers have developed various typologies to make sense of different approaches to civic and citizenship education (e.g. Sears, 1996; Westheimer and Kahne, 2004) and global citizenship education (e.g. Andreotti, 2016; Banks, 2008; Shultz, 2007; Stein, 2015). These typologies range from *elitist* and conventional models, on the one hand, to *critical* and transformative approaches, on the other. Explaining the *elitist* conception of citizenship, Sears (1996, p. 7) adds that the idea of loyal citizens defers to authority and ‘believes in patriotic symbols, ceremonies as well as the national myths.’ The conventional approaches represent the issue of citizenship mainly as a matter of informing citizens about the organization and functioning of the government, cultural and attitudinal reform of individual citizens, and citizen’s obligations towards state and fellow citizens. ‘Personal responsibility’ to follow the law and pay taxes and engage in collective and community-based efforts is usually emphasized in these approaches (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004, p. 241). Civic and citizenship education are seen as central to advancing the projects of consolidating a unified national identity and character building.

In contrast, the critical and transformative approaches to civic and citizenship education tend to advocate an active role of citizens in the transformation of the political, economic, and socio-cultural structural root causes of inequalities. In these perspectives, the idea of citizenship is not focused on the production of docile subjectivities. Instead, it aims to provide broader conditions involving political and civil liberties, redistribution of economic resources, recognition of diversity and reconciliation and healing between divided communities (Banks, 2008; Shultz, 2007). In this ‘activist’ sense of citizenship education, the state is not viewed as a benign structure. Its ideologies, policies, and priorities and role in preserving dominance and privilege form part of a critical interrogation (Sears, 1996). Such models of civic and citizenship education focus on questioning, debating, and taking individual and collective social action to challenge and change systems of dominance.

The most widespread understanding of education in the context of globalization is entrepreneurial or neoliberal, primarily driven by the neoliberal ideology of the market (Stein, 2015). The foremost sponsors of market-based discourse are the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation, which include education within the purview of the ‘the global trading regime’ (Robertson, 2006). An entrepreneurial global citizen is expected to believe in the notions of global competition, the free market, human capital, and privatization and fit in as a rational, autonomous, and competitive worker within the global economy (Andreotti, 2016). They are not expected to challenge or mitigate the unequal power relations, bigotry,

racism, colonization, and ongoing systems of exploitation (Khoo, 2011). On the other hand, critical approaches to global engagement seek to empower students to identify and disrupt the existing structures of injustices and inequalities (Andreotti, 2006).

Given that South Asia is a postcolonial setting, our contributions to the debate have attempted a postcolonial mode of analysis. We question to what extent the idea of citizens and the school discipline of civics in India and Pakistan bear colonial imprints, and whether they reproduce existing global and national inequalities. Drawing upon Andreotti (2006), we step outside a naive binary of North-South asymmetrical power relations as the South is not merely a vulnerable dupe of broader geopolitics. Instead, the structures of and struggles against social and economic inequalities and for recognition of cultural diversities, human dignity, and democracy are part of the histories and present of South Asian societies. We also wish to acknowledge that our deep roots, lived experiences, networks in the South Asian context and our own social and geographic locations have shaped our positioning as the authors of this article.

## **Colonial civics: masking the state, sustaining the dominance**

Postcolonial theorists have noted that colonization was supported not only by political, economic, and military might, but also through representing the ‘other’ as inferior and destined to be governed and civilized by the powerful colonizers (Said, 1994). In this context, civic education was a simultaneous discursive act of signifying superiority of the European civilization; to mark the colonial difference between the colonizer and the colonized; to mask the alien, repressive and exploitative character of the colonial state; and legitimize it as the harbinger of the benefits of European progress and civilization to the colonized (Jain, 2009).

Historically, civics was incorporated as a school subject only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in England and its colonies (Jain, 2009). In the post first world war period, civics was increasingly included in the school curriculum in different provinces and at different levels but it was still not a permanent and essential feature of school curriculum (Jain, 2009). Civilizational, pedagogic and political imperatives of the colonial situation gave a different currency to both the humanistic functions associated with civics and the subject itself (Jain, 2009).

*The Citizen of India*, authored by Sir William Lee-Warner in 1897 was the first ‘official’ textbook of civics in colonial India (Jain, 2009; Jayal, 2013; Kurrien, 1976; Topdar, 2015). Shaping a pro-British political orientation of students, such as generating the respect for authority and cultivating a loyal imperial subject, became critical imperatives of civic education in colonial India (Jain, 2009; Topdar, 2015). Jayal (2013) argues that the idea of

citizenship in the colonial context was an anomaly, and there was an "easy elision between the usages of subject and citizen." To her, Lee-Warner's textbook was "a new narrative of subjecthood masquerading as citizenship" and political obligation being crafted at the turn of the century (Jayal, 2013, p. 112). Topdar (2015) has focused on the context i.e. emergence of the political child and the attempts to control and regulate the ideological character, production and distribution of textbooks. She argues that Lee-Warner's idea of a 'loyal and useful' citizen emphasized duties at the expense of rights and imagined Indians as children who required long training under British tutelage before becoming competent to govern themselves. Jain (2009) has drawn attention to the biographical background of its author and analyses the interplay of the ideology of liberalism, colonial stereotypes about shortcomings of native personality, society and institutions and ideas of colonial responsibility in this textbook. Jain's (2009) analysis of civics school textbooks and civics discourse in colonial India during 1919 to 1940s presents the argument that masses, whose radicalization threatened the existing state and civilization, were seen as an unprepared, unworthy and ignorant being who lacked political capacities to participate in a democratic and colonial rule that allowed restricted franchise. He argues that affirmation of an ideal citizen and a political state in Lee-Warner's textbook was, in essence, an affirmation of colonial rule.

The 1906 edition of *The Citizen of India* used a moral tone to discuss rights, and the righteous were restricted to personal virtues. This textbook emphasized on knowledge about the state in contrast to experience (Jayal, 2013, pp. 116–24). In comparison to Lee-Warner's textbook, critics distinguished the moral and the political and argued that discussion about rights and duties belonged to the domain of the virtuous. Necessary rights were asserted in moral (rather than legal) terms. On the one hand, it implied questioning the moral legitimacy of the colonial state and, on the other, a realization that "sense of morality" was "a weak instrument of political action"(Jayal, 2013, p. 124). Jayal argues that while Gandhi transformed this weakness to strength, local writings introduced a legal dimension to move beyond the moral and political framing. This legal angle was used to introduce ideas of reciprocity and social contract. Focus on absence of rights had implications for the ideas of reciprocity and legitimacy. It was argued that law alone did not exhaust morality and resistance could only be moral. Many Indian writers on citizenship elaborated the difficulty of being obedient in the context of denial of political rights. Nationalist leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai argued that interest in politics and affairs of state was necessary for a citizen to promote or oppose the nation's interests. To him the responsibility to promote public good was the source of resistance. As is evident, in contrast to colonial insistence on loyalty, docility and acquiescence as the characteristics of good citizen, local writings on the subject foregrounded independence and critical thinking in marking an ideal citizen and these resonated with the idea of citizen in America at the turn of nineteenth century where the voter was expected to be more intelligent than loyal (Jayal, 2013, pp. 124–7). The resentment of students and teachers to Lee-Warner's textbook, thus, testifies to the agency of the colonized to read and interpret a colonial textbook beyond its intentions to achieve

hegemonic dominance (Jain, 2009; Jayal, 2013; Topdar, 2015). It is also suggestive of both pedagogic and political contests over the idea of citizenship (Jain, 2015).

The increasing interest in civics and citizenship resulted in the publication of a greater number of civic and citizenship books in the post first world war period. This period is characterized as a phase of mass nationalism in the anti-colonial struggle. Still, the nation was not the only axis and identity around which people were mobilized in this period. Civics textbooks reflected nationalist ideas and asked questions about the legitimacy of the colonial state and mirrored gendered, religious, and caste contestations in the articulation of citizenship and the nation (Jain, 2009; Jayal, 2013). Jayal (2013) profiles the new ideal citizen by focusing on the writings of nationalist leadership and elite. Jain's (2009) analysis of civics school textbooks and civics discourse in colonial India during 1919 to 1940s suggests that these textbooks challenge the colonial state through different strategies, such as historical accounts of managing land and political institutions in the past; presenting ancient indigenous political treatises to advance claims of systems of thought on these issues; pointing to gaps between the claims and policies of the colonial state; and using the idea of democracy and morality to counter the colonial claims of progressive self- government.

Despite the apparent differences, there were striking similarities in the work of Indian educational and social service organizations and the colonial project of character building (Jain, 2009; Jayal, 2013). This discourse of character building has both colonial as well as nationalist roots, and it encompasses a variety of concerns such as the welfare of the poor, a sense of responsibility, discipline, duty, obedience, the spirit of sacrifice and service to the community, which was to make the effeminate Indians manly. Civics textbooks shared some premises of nationalism with the colonizer and also articulated the difference between the Western and Indian nationalism. The framing of the nation moving through contestations for inclusion and exclusion from the figure of the citizen around the social categories and experience of gender and caste is also borne out by analysis of these textbooks (Jain, 2009).

Having discussed some of the characteristic features of civics and citizenship discourse under colonial rule, we move the focus in the next section to the ways the two independent nation-states of India and Pakistan followed or differentiated from the colonial template.

## **Postcolonial citizen: colonial legacies & ruptures**

How did the new political elite of India and Pakistan conceive citizenship and the role of social studies and civics in the creation of an ideal, new citizen after attaining political independence? In the course of this discussion, we will also see how civics and citizenship

discourse in the two nation-states follow or distinguish is different from the colonial template. Postcolonial India and Pakistan increasingly taught civics as part of Social Studies. Thus, in this chapter, we have included research studies that focus on Social Studies to discuss the terrain of citizenship education.

The independent states of India and Pakistan have used the colonial civic and citizenship discourses as 'the template for every other civics textbook' (Jayal, 2013, p. 112). The distinctions between moral and political, knowledge and experience, and focus on personal virtues and relation of the citizen to the state marked by obligation and paternalism; have become the standard script for civics textbooks even in the postcolonial period (Jain, 2009, 2004). Nonetheless, representations of a citizen in the two postcolonial countries sharply differ from their colonial predecessors in line with each key political transition, which has led to the new conceptions and execution of new citizenship education projects. These changing formulations have aimed at ensuring the dissemination of the ideology and political agendas of the government in power. We aim to illustrate these shifts through the narrative device of a thematic as well as a chronological approach, through 1947, postcolonial to neoliberal contexts, while also indicating how they overlap with the colonial template.

#### *Civilising missions in postcolonial nation-states*

The colonial imperatives of civilizing the natives, and reforming the colonized society, its institutions and people continued to influence the framing of the subject in the post-independence period (Jain, 2005). These issues underscore the challenges of decolonization (Jain, 2005; Kaviraj, 2010; Kurrien, 1976). In India, the Secondary Education Commission (1953) which introduced Social Studies in the school curriculum, emphasized on 'training' the young to be 'good citizens' who would counter 'fissiparous' tendencies, and 'reorient people's mind in the right direction,' for the nation-building project (Kurrien, 1976, pp. 79–82). Jain's (1999) content analysis of civics textbooks in the first decade of independent India reveals that the word 'responsible' expresses the central idea of the personal characteristics of the citizens. It included the concepts of good habits, amicable speech, orderliness, cleanliness, pleasantness, hard work, honesty, health, self-respect, and truthfulness. The grand experiment of institutionalized democracy with a universal adult franchise that a postcolonial society like India undertook in conditions of mass illiteracy, poverty, and absence of massive industrialization was unnerving and challenging for the then western theories about democracy (Kaviraj, 2000). The colonial precepts of the responsibility of the citizen to understand and follow the laws and cooperate with the state in governance by supporting its 'developmental' initiatives dominated the domain of citizen responsiveness to state. Negative references to the citizens were more than four times the positive references to the citizens. Men pervaded the social universe of civics textbooks while women were mostly invisible except the domestic chores and stereotyped gender roles. Though references to villages were more than five times to urban areas, the negative references to villages (27) were far higher than the urban areas (2). Textbooks portrayed peasants and village communities negatively as lacking new knowledge (1/3rd), having quarrels (22%), being uneducated, and lacking clean drinking water (11% each) (Jain 1999). Nawani (2013) has

discussed how conception of an ideal learner continued to influence educational imagination well into the twenty-first century.

Pakistan's national elite also viewed civic education as vital to producing 'good, patriotic' citizens who facilitated the projects of consolidating a unified national identity (Saigol, 2003a, p. 162). In his 1947 speech, Muhammad Ali Jinnah hailed as the 'founder of Pakistan,' described education as necessary 'to purge men's minds of barbarism,' and a means to 'turn them to humanitarian purposes.' He emphasised the virtues of religious moral instructions in character building (Allana, 1969, p. n.p.; Bengali, 1999). 'Social Studies' subject introduced during the era of Ayub Khan (1958-68) and Pakistan Studies course established during the leadership of Bhutto in the 1970s also reflected these aspirations. The law stipulated that children must study Social Studies books from class 1 through to 8 and Pakistan Studies curriculum in grades 9 and 10. Civics is introduced as a separate and elective subject at the intermediate level. These subjects variously combine the social disciplines of geography, history, civics, economics, foreign policy, development and culture to narrate the need for character building, loyal citizenship and assimilation of the official idea of Pakistan. The Civics Textbook for Class XI authorized by the Punjab Textbook Board in 1998 defines the qualities of "good citizenship" as 'a noble character, good habits, common sense understandings, knowledge and loyalty, intelligence, discipline, and a good conscience' (Saigol, 2003a, p. 140). These qualities are assumed to ensure the security of the state. Through repetition of selectively chosen stories, representations, and memories and the formal assessment geared towards rote learning, the policy makers hope that students internalize the official narrative of Pakistani identity uncritically.

Civic and citizenship education, in both postcolonial countries, seeks to produce loyal and obedient national citizens, as opposed to critical citizens, who can question the claims of ruling elites and the state. This focus on responsibility and rational being serves to turn the individual into a self-regulating panopticon, who would match the attributes necessary for its insertion into modernity. The celebratory presence of the urban over the rural and of men over women gave a distinct dimension to the production and disciplining of docile bodies. It differentiated among the ideal bodies and the bodies that required transformation through the pedagogical relationships. It conceived the state bureaucracy as outside the social class-caste-gendered relations and usher in development. The ideal citizens were to assist in this development and reap the rewards by standing on the side of the state and by their willingness to sacrifice (Jain, 2009). Critics engaged with analysis and development of textbooks of political science have lamented the absence of politics and critical lens in the civics textbooks or even political science textbooks, thereby turning the latter to civics (Batra, 2007; Yadav, 2007). The lack of a critical lens in civics textbooks was inimical to the development of citizenship in a democracy (Yadav, 2007). These criticisms point to confinement of civics to the formal study of state institutions, their power, and their functions. Such a focus is reminiscent of colonial studies of institutions in political science, which was distant from the real politics and processes, historical shifts, and everyday experience of state and citizenship. This situation also reflects the pedagogic bankruptcy on



part of the ruling elites who reduce the meaning of education to memorising information for the larger set of citizens.

*The national ideology- contestations between religious and secular visions*

Both postcolonial nations have suffered contestations between secular-democratic and religion-based ideas of citizenship, albeit to varying degrees, in which historical factors and broader geopolitics plays an enormous role.

In 1947, the national elites of India saw the state as an ethnically diverse, and religiously pluralistic country unified by a shared history (Nehru, 1946). Indian education sought to create an inclusive and secular national identity. Kurrien (1976, pp. 73–5) contends that Indian nationalist leadership valued the ethos of nineteenth-century liberal democracy and the twentieth-century socialist democratic concern with national unity, freedom, and secularism. These words ‘unity,’ ‘emotional integration,’ democracy, and secularism were to be used repetitively also in the speeches of political leaders and reports of subsequent education commission and committees (Kurrien, 1976, pp. 79–82). The other keywords that give us an insight into the ethos, the guiding beliefs, sentiments, fundamental values, or spirit of the period were ‘sacrifice,’ ‘hard work,’ ‘discipline’ and ‘science’ (Jain, 1999, p. 231). In this discourse, one finds the intersection of the colonial rationale of education as a morally uplifting influence and the social studies discourse of ‘need,’ which is dominant in the United States of America (Jain, 2005).

The period from the late 1960s to the early 1980s was a period of disillusionment with the existing system that expressed itself in new political movements, mobilizations, and alliances. It was a period of a profound political crisis after Nehru’s death that challenged the dominance of Congress. Centralization of power was to make political differences and power of the state into a crisis of the entire country and made bureaucracy more powerful and politicized (Kaviraj, 1991, pp. 71–75). The use of popular rhetoric of removal of poverty, rights of people, and their realization and popular participation used by Indira Gandhi for electoral gains and repeated by all the political parties ‘led to a greater articulateness of the ordinary people’ (Kaviraj, 1991, p. 93). From the 1960s, there was also a rise in incidents of communal violence. After the Ram Janmabhoomi movement in the 1980s and 1990s, India witnessed increasing power and visibility of the political Hindutva (Jaffrelot, 2009).

In India, the period from the 1980s was a period of intensification of stratification, increasing marginalization of the poor, a corresponding increase in power and visibility of the Indian middle classes, and greater integration of the Indian economy with the global capitalist order due to neo-liberal policies. In the post-Jomtien phase, international agencies, local communities, NGO’s and religious groups also joined the national state to provide education to children. This emphasis on ‘community’ and NGOs coincided with World Bank’s attention to NGOs since the beginning of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in many so-called “third world” countries (Jain, 2004). The late 1980s and 1990s also witnessed degeneration of conflict and competition among the ruling classes. In this historical context,

civics textbooks did not encourage critique of state policies and instead emphasized citizen's cooperation and good disciplined citizen (Pathak, 2002, pp. 122–130). Pathak (2002) has argued that the textbooks of this period portrayed the modern/postcolonial state as an emancipator, having an active agency. Children reading these texts fail to see the social, economic, and ecological cost of modernity (Madan, 2003, p. 4657). Madan (2003) has also critiqued civics textbooks for having a little discussion about the rationale of democracy and reducing it to a formalistic study of elections and the formation of the government. He argued that the conflict of interest, which characterizes power blocs and their struggle for power, is ignored, giving children no opportunity to examine the real-life operations of decision making.

Kurrien (1976, pp. 73–5) suggests that Indian nationalist leadership was steeped in the ethos of nineteenth-century liberal democracy and twentieth-century socialist democracy, which was concerned with national unity, equality, and secularism. Scholars have argued that while the formal education system emphasized secularism, the educational discourse with its construction of both national and tradition was exclusionary and 'distanced the Islamic culture' from what it called 'our traditions' and the 'national sources' (Razzack, 1998, p. 169). Nonetheless, from the late 1970s, the debate about the role of religion and religious sentiments in defining citizenship and evaluating textbooks became increasingly pronounced (Rudolph and Rudolph, 1983).

The role of religion in redefining citizenship has been an issue that has created public controversies in the context of history at different junctures in Indian education but has acquired a distinct currency concerning civic education under the right-wing nationalist party of Bhartiya Janata Party. The class 6 civics textbook of 2002 was produced under the auspices of the National Curriculum Framework for School Education 2000 (NCFSE) during a coalition government in India led by the Hindutva nationalist party, Bharatiya Janata Party. NCFSE had emphasized the role of education in promoting social cohesion, and accordingly, it presented communities as geographical entities and avoided references to caste, gender, and religion. The nation was primarily perceived as Hindu within which organic diversities produce harmony and not conflict. Cultural identity was conceptualized statically and not 'as a hybrid, fractured, shifting, and political' (Balagopalan, 2009). In tune with the NCFSE emphasis on conceiving gender concerning Indian tradition, and the textbooks did not interrogate gender stereotypes (Bhog and Ghose, 2014).

Amidst heated exchanges over reduction and rightist revision of history following NCFSE 2000, there was the concomitant increase of civic education in the school Social Science syllabus. This period saw an increasing emphasis on fundamental duties in contrast to fundamental rights, and education was re-conceptualized in terms of moral order (Roy, 2003; Thapan, 2000). At the present historical-political juncture in India where the Hindu Right has been able to use, redefine and monopolise the ideological resources of the modern state, it is setting the terms of belonging to 'national culture' and political community with bureaucratic documentation to prove one's citizenship. Identity-based violence against Dalits, Adivasis, and Muslims is becoming routine and a new normal, and the state has increasingly deployed its repressive apparatus to delegitimize critics and create fear. The secular character of

citizenship in India and the transformation of citizenship to 'Statizenship' poses a new set of challenges for critical citizenship education (Appadurai, 2019).

In contrast to India, the national education policies of Pakistan moved from inclusive aspirations to an exclusivist idea of Pakistan, very quickly. According to Bengali (1999), the first education policy 1947 had explicitly rejected the notion of a theocratic state, even though it saw religion as a moral force for character building. Jinnah's speech at the foundation of Pakistan also echoed these sentiments (Allana, 1969, p. 407):

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

The textbooks up until the 1960s, according to Saigol (2003b), reflected the secular principles about Pakistan's constitution and even offered a positive assessment of Rama, Buddha, Christ, and Gandhi. However, successive national education policies made religion increasingly central to politics. By the late 1960s, Islam came to be represented by the political elites as vital to national unity in the 1959-76 national education policy, and the 1977-98 education policies firmly established an Islamisation agenda. The ideal Pakistani citizen, henceforth, was expected to show an absolute commitment to (the officially determined) Islam, pan-Islamism, and universal brotherhood (Bengali, 1999). The government centralized education and introduced Pakistan Studies subject in classes 9 and 10 in the 1970s to instill the Islamic ideology of citizenship in Pakistani citizens (Dean, 2013). Pupils in schools were to now re-imagine 'a world in which Islam was in great danger and thus needed pan-Islamism' (Panjwani and Khimani, 2018, p. 81). It firmly established the "Two-Nation" theory as the ideology of the nation.

The Islamisation of Pakistan was not merely a domestic affair. According to a UK-based global poverty/debt relief campaign (2018) in the 1970s, the government of Pakistan had to borrow heavily to survive the impact of high oil prices. For 32 of the last 44 years, Pakistan has obtained bailout loans from the IMF, which has resulted in the debt being passed down for generations, giving the IMF a massive power over Pakistan. It needs to pay the debt in the currency it cannot afford, a mechanism that keeps it subservient. The debt crisis has meant bolstered up autocratic or military governments (the regimes of Zia-ul-Haq 1978-1988 and General Musharraf 2000-2008), backed by the USA, in lieu of Pakistan's assistance during the Cold War, and later through the 'war on terror.'

Robertson (2006) notes that even if the enormously powerful global player(s) introduce curriculum materials that are culturally unacceptable to the citizens as a whole, the nation-state cannot override the wishes of the globally powerful actor. The nation-state effectively is relegated to protecting the interests of the global players rather than ordinary citizens. Contrary to this observation, in the case of Pakistan there was a convergence in the interests of Pakistan, the USA, and Saudi Arabia in terms of Islamisation of the Pakistani citizen in the educational discourse at this historical juncture. The military dictator Zia ul-Haq

supported by the political elites of the USA and Saudi Arabia, adopted a particular radical version of Wahabism as a state policy in the 1980s. It canonized the Wahabi version of Islam in education (Ahmad, 2008). The task of new citizenship education was now to reproduce 'true practicing Muslims' (Ministry of Education, 1979, p.2 cited in Dean, 2005). *Islamiyat* and Pakistan Studies became mandatory at the undergraduate level. There also appeared a chapter entitled, 'Education of the Citizen' for the first time (Dean, 2005). Distinctive and regressive citizenship education for women was also introduced (Durrani and Dunne, 2010). The subjects such as Social studies, languages, and *Islamiyat* Studies became some of the main sites for promoting an exclusivist national identity.

In 1979, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the USA funded the creation of textbooks to indoctrinate Afghan refugee children and adults into Islamist militants (Burde, 2014). These books were prepared and administered by the University of Nebraska located in Omaha, USA, to secure American/allies' victory in the Cold War. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) aiming to promote *jihadi* culture in Pakistan circulated millions of copies of hate curriculum in madrasas in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The then president of the U.S. Jimmy Carter declared a U.S. \$500 million funds for preparing *mujahideen* to fight against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan and pumped further four billion dollars into the project titled 'Operation Cyclone' (Looney, 2003). Consequently, several Pakistani madrasas became training centers for *Jihad*. The USA also provided arms and military training to *mujahidin*. Burde (2014) argues that these textbooks sanctioned a form of violent Jihad that had not been part of Afghan religious education. These books later became the basis of Taliban ideology and continue to circulate in many parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan, thereby adding fuel to militancy in South Asia and elsewhere.

The most recent 'civilizing mission' of the West is also well-known as the 'War on Terror.' Spivak's (1999) metaphor the 'worlding of the West as the world' reflects the trend in which Western agendas are universalized, imposed and naturalized in the world. This process is ensured through a disavowal of history and imperialism within an unequal balance of power between the 'First' and 'Third' Worlds in the global capitalist system (Spivak 1999). Having promoted Jihadist sentiments in Pakistani madrasas, the ability to place the blame towards these very institutions hails from a position of power, racist arrogance and wilful ignorance that hides 'the worlding of the world'. Placing the responsibility of the 'poverty' upon the deprived themselves is the narrative mechanism through which it justifies its 'civilizing mission'. For centuries madarasas have played a crucial role in society, but its representation with terrorism is the result of the contemporary geopolitics. The U.S. now ensures that Pakistan's madrasa and state school textbooks, including the citizenship education, move back towards a liberal-democratic direction. The U.S. strategy of the undemocratic bombing of civilian areas of Pakistan suspected of harboring the Taliban is giving rise to further deaths, destruction, and insurgencies on the one hand, and the U.S. strategy of nurturing militant Islamist movements across South Asia, the Middle East and Afghanistan, on the other, to secure its interests is having a terrible unintended consequences even for the West (Burde, 2014).

While one may argue that the religion-based citizenship discourses in India and Pakistan show distinct transformations and deployment in the postcolonial period, we also need to acknowledge that these discourses are the legacy of the colonial politics of religion. It was only during the colonial time that religion emerged as a central factor in political claim-making (Panjwani and Khimani, 2018). Bhagat (2013, p. 435) argues that the first census carried out in 1872 that asked people to classify themselves according to their religion and the resulting demographic data played an enormous role in 'raising Hindu-Muslim consciousness and their relationship in a new form in both colonial and postcolonial India.' It is in this context that the representations of Hindu and Muslims as two mutually hostile and antagonistic nation-states emerged (Thaper, 2009). There were contending narratives. For instance, the last Mughal emperor wrote about all religions sharing the same essence (Dalrymple, 2015), but as Apple (1993) observes, the curriculum is the battlefield in which the winning voices are of the powerful actors with greater access to economic, cultural, and social capital.

*Structure and Justice:* gender, caste, ethnolinguistic and regional inclusions and exclusions

Usually, processes of inclusion and exclusion construct the official idea of a citizen of the nation-state. The basis of differentiation may be gender, faith, religion, region, ethnolinguistic, or as Saigol (2003a, p. 130) suggests 'some other marker of identity that is perceived as alien or Other of the nation/state.'

In the quest to create an 'imagined community' of Pakistan, from diverse ethnolinguistic groups, geographical regions, and social classes in Pakistan, Pakistan's national ideology entirely undermined its minorities (Dean, 2013). The emphasis on an Islamic nation to unite its diverse majority rendered its indigenous populations of Christians, Hindus, Parsis (Zoroastrians), Buddhists, and the Kalasha as the second class citizens (Ali, 2002). The textbooks promote hatred towards non-Muslim religious other, and violence and inequality in society (Ali, 2002; Nayyar et al., 2005). They also twist historical facts in their presentation of the nation's cultural and political heritage (Aziz, 1985). Pakistan's adaptation of a Wahabi version of Islam in education also undermined a diversity of outlooks and practices among Muslims (Ahmad, 2008). The small Ahmadi community, which identifies itself as Muslim, was already declared as non-Muslims in 1974.

The exclusivist interpretation of citizenship and Zia ul-Haq's policies also had a devastating impact on Pakistan's democracy. According to Rosser (2003) national textbooks are anti-democratic and applaud the role of the military in politics. The curriculum glorifies militarisation and war (Nayyar et al., 2005). It further peddles this indoctrination by using Pakistan's wars with neighbouring India to project the army as an integral aspect of its nationalist identity (Rosser, 2003). Moreover, Zia ul-Haq empowered the right-wing student politics on Pakistan's campuses and encouraged a violent purge of the intellectuals, moderates, and the left in society. Halai and Durrani (2018) observe that teachers doubted the

ability of education to promote social harmony, and questioned their ability to facilitate critical thinking and democratic decision making in absence of sufficient opportunities to practice them. They also found great alignment between state ideology as presented in textbooks and teachers' take on social cohesion in Pakistan. A majority of teachers prefer to develop students' national identity based upon Sunni Islamic values rather than multi-layered identities, reflecting cultural diversity or global outlooks (Muhammad & Brett, 2017).

The citizenship education textbooks normalize male dominance, create gendered citizens, and deprive female citizens of equal rights in civic spaces (Durrani and Halai, 2018). A Civics textbook produced in 1975 for Class VI presents Pakistan in kinship terms like 'big family,' made up of 'Pakistani brothers' (Saigol, 2003a, p. 134). Women's absence, Saigol (2003a) observes, serves to 'give a sense of a strong and powerful nation' by interpreting citizenship in masculine terms. Textbooks even represent the Indian army in the 1965 war between India and Pakistan in gendered terms as soldiers who allegedly fled like women after being battered by the manly Pakistani army (Naseem, 2006). Students, according to Durrani (2008) have internalised these messages as male students mostly drew pictures of weapons, military insignia and awards as emblems of the nation when asked, in contrast, to female students who drew none of the militaristic images. The work of Ullah and Skelton (2012) also shows that textbooks contain more pictures of males than females, and the images of females mainly convey gendered messages of women as educators, housewives, and mothers. The images of men mainly show them in positions of authority, power and function in the public domain. Constitutional provisions also sustain gender-based discrimination (Saigol, 2003a, p. 130).

Saigol (2003a) notes that civics textbooks hardly mention resistance movements, led by women, workers, artisans, or peasants. Emerson (2018) also notes that citizenship education discourages girls from affecting change on the social structures that disempower them. In effect, citizenship in Pakistan implies an elite Muslim male. Social change and resistance, as categories of social and political thought, remain undervalued. They seem like blasphemy against not just the state but religion itself. The promotion of religious nationalism in the state discourse makes the security of the state override the protection of its citizens. The rights of the people are thus effectively dismantled. It disenfranchises people from the country. They exist to serve the state and not the other way round: 'the state has all the rights and the citizens all the duties' (Saigol, 2003a, p.140).

Differential access to the state apparatus and resources has contributed to ethnolinguistic nationalist insurgencies in nearly all provinces, except in Punjab, further affecting education, civic agency, and social cohesion (Durrani et al., 2017). The response of political elites has been to portray religion as under threat from its enemies, which also includes its regional and ethnic minorities (Saigol, 2003a). While Punjabi ruling elites continue to dominate the political and economic landscape (Durrani et al., 2017), activists, academics, and students, who are aware of their democratic rights and civic agency are often brutalised through imprisonment, forced displacements, executions, and torture (Aslam, 2011; HRW, 2020). Bengali-speaking East Pakistan broke up as a sovereign nation in 1971 as Bangladesh after a series of protests against the state policies which had alienated East Pakistan politically,

culturally, and economically (Fazal, 1999). Instead of addressing ethnonational grievances, the response of the national elites has been to project ethnic differences as the biggest threats to national integration and sovereignty and accentuate the role of religion (Cohen, 2004).

Also, Pakistan has a substantial population of refugees who remain deprived of citizenship rights. Pakistan is the second-largest refugee-hosting country in the world, with an estimated 1.4 million registered Afghan refugees in Pakistan (UNHCR, 2020). They have restricted access to citizenship rights in Pakistan, and no recognition in civic and citizenship education.

In the earlier sections, we have briefly drawn attention to how different social groups in India experience differential access to citizenship rights and representation in civic and citizenship education in the textbooks. Here, we focus on a few regional studies of civic education in different states in India. The NCFSE 2000 based civics textbooks earmarked distinct responsibilities of those in authority (family, community, and country) to set rules and of the young and ordinary citizens to adhere to their duties (Bhog et al., 2009). In tune with these textbooks, the Tamil Nadu and Gujarat civics textbooks have also elaborated an endless list of responsibilities. They attempt to regulate the young body and demand citizens to serve the nation (Manjrekar and Shah, 2009, pp. 97–8; Sevlam and Geetha, 2009, pp. 153–58). Patriarchal conceptions, developmental goals, constructions of nationhood, and sexual politics in complex ways define the nature and modes of women's participation in democracy. Gujarat's civics textbooks portrayed women in the private realm and conceived their education in an instrumentalist manner to the prescribed patriarchal gender and social roles. Women are seen as objects of development and crucial to cross-over to the tag of being a developed country. Still, the protection of women's honor located in heterosexual, monogamous marriages sustains family, community, and nation. They are protected by their husbands and are thus denied any agency (Manjrekar and Shah, 2009, pp. 102–106). The tone of textbooks for the Scheduled Caste (SC, an official term for groups labelled untouchable by the dominant castes) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) is patronizing and presents them as 'deficient,' 'other' and blames them for their condition. Civics textbook of Gujarat, a state that has witnessed vicious communal violence for decades including large scale violence against Muslims in 2002, discusses secularism mainly concerning minorities, marks Muslims as 'minority' and makes reference to prohibition on forced conversion and Islamic terrorism (Manjrekar and Shah, 2009, pp. 106–112). Tamil Nadu's civics textbooks do not relate to work, lifestyle, and context, and present modernity as necessarily desirable. The textbooks are careful that discussion about rights does not assume political or contentious nature and present idealized fictions (Sevlam and Geetha, 2009, pp. 166–171).

### *Pedagogical approaches to citizenship education*

Pedagogically, there exists limited scope for the 'subaltern' to speak in textbooks, principally for women, peasants, and deprived social groups who are sandwiched between patriarchy and neo-colonization. The state schooling model in both countries follow what Paulo Freire (1972) a Brazilian educator and philosopher compared to that of the 'banking' structure where education turns out to be a process of 'depositing' in which the learners are depositories and the teacher the depositor. This lop-sided practice through which teachers

issue orders and students accept these deposits is, in fact, very inadequate in advancing real education. It stifles student's creativity and inquiry, and serves the interests of the political and economic elites who seek to gain from the existing power relations.

The pedagogical approach employed in the civic and citizenship textbooks by the postcolonial state in Pakistan verges largely towards political indoctrination. Harber and MnCube (2012, p. 28) define political indoctrination 'as an attempt to inculcate values and beliefs as facts or truths intentionally. The process may involve deliberately falsifying or ignoring evidence, as well as presenting it in a biased way...where individuals have little access to alternative viewpoints.' This approach, privileges a particular ideological worldview over concern for facts and historical evidence and space for alternative perspective and debates. Pupils are treated as passive recipients of the 'official' ideologies, which is presented as the only authoritative version. Accordingly, Inayatullah (2003, p. 7) observes that textbooks carry the assumption of the inevitability of Pakistan, distort historical facts, and portray Hindu and Muslims as mutually irreconcilable nations. There is little scope for a more complex, nuanced, and critical discussion or alternative viewpoints. 'Such an attitude,' according to Inayatullah (p.7), does not develop an ability to examine social scientific phenomenon 'but creates closed and unthinking minds incapable of scientific inquiry.' This is an important claim as Dunne, et. al. (2018), show enduring impact of education on young people's narratives of identity in Pakistan. Despite the possibility of indoctrination, Kadiwal and Durrani (2018) found that the lived experiences of students and their social class, school type, neighbourhood, gender, migration, ethnolinguistic and religious backgrounds also influence their everyday negotiation of their civic and citizenship agency.

In the 1960s, political development and political socialization emerged as critical frames for the western social scientists concerned with the transition of the newly independent 'traditional' societies to modernity. Studies from the political socialization framework tried to observe how people develop particular political affiliations or "political" attitudes and classified types of political participation. Such studies gave prominence in civics regarding children's knowledge of "politics" (George, 2007; Varshney, 1983). Critics of political socialization perspective argued that such studies had emerged in the context of the threat to the existing states by attraction for radical left politics and charm of authoritarian rule among the young and aimed to gauge the impact of civics in the internalization of the norms and values of the political system. Though postcolonial, post-development, and post-structural perspectives have challenged this lens since the 1970s, it has continued to influence the frames of analysis of citizenship.

Studies using the postcolonial frame and poststructural lens of governance, normalization, and disciplining of the self are still few within the limited research work on civics and citizenship education in India and Pakistan. Even where such research exists, some conservative sections have resisted the efforts to change the curriculum and stifle student's creativity and questioning. These sections are afraid to see the world transform. They therefore, instinctively curb any efforts in changing the textbooks. Lall and Saeed (2019) observe that the conflation of religion with the nation in Pakistan blocks any meaningful



discussion on reforming citizenship education in Pakistan. Teachers and academics who may desire to explore a more analytical pedagogy citizenship education or critique the existing discourses on religion and citizenship fear being indicted of blasphemy.

Consequently, the 'official' storytelling offers students narratives in which the analysis, complexity, and nuances disappear. The textbooks continue to reproduce the "imagined communities" of the nation-states, 'composed of a fictional unity and rhetorical homogenization' (Saigol, 2003a, p. 129). Students rote learn the content, and reproduce the ideology of the state in their examinations.

While like Pakistan, the majority of civics textbooks in India present a dominant and uncritical perspective of citizenship education which aims to promote subservience of the citizen to the state, there have been few notable attempts to frame textbooks from a critical perspective. The approach of these textbooks is akin to what Freire described as a 'dialogue' between teachers and students in which there may be an exchange of ideas, experiences and mutual learning. The civics textbooks for classes 6-8 developed by Eklavya in the 1980s for use in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh were the first such attempts. The Social Science textbooks developed by Eklavya were developed by the principle that it should help the learners to interpret their lives better in the context of their own experiences. In the context of civics, an attempt was made to develop a concrete image of both administrative and economic structures and understand their functioning and effects in the context of social reality (Batra and Nawani, 2010). Batra and Nawani (2010) point out that in these textbooks, the reader was not imagined as passive. Rather, the reader was conceived as an active, curious, thinking child who has the agency to interpret the knowledge and narratives of the textbook and could contribute to further development of knowledge and understanding. Accordingly, in these textbooks, ordinary people, too, had a voice. They knew what was good for them, participated as active agents in the democratic and political processes, and were not just passive recipients of the largesse of the benevolent state (Madan, 2010, Batra and Nawani, 2010). These textbooks dissolved the traditional disciplinary boundaries and expectations from civics. They brought in other social institutions, relations, processes, and actors too as an area of study even as the state continued to have a significant presence (Madan, 2010). They brought alive the daily experience through the use of narratives, and characters in a non-legalistic simple language encouraged critical interrogation. This approach became the template for further work in the development of civics textbooks under the auspices of State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT), Delhi in 2003, and for the Social and Political Life (SPL) and Political Science textbooks after the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005. And these new textbooks acknowledged conflict and dichotomies between the imagined social world and social reality.

In 2006, the Social and Political Life textbook (SPL), which replaced civics as a school subject, envisioned a new idea of the citizen. Instead of a narrow treatment of the political as a battle for power among the elite, it focused on the relationships between political and social institutions, both institutional and everyday socio-economic processes and political transformations (Balagopalan, 2009; Bhog and Ghose, 2014; Gupta, 2015). The new textbooks raised questions about caste and gender inequalities, communal prejudices,

everyday experiences of the state, as expressed through daily enunciations and violations of the Constitution. They included both visual and written narratives of collective citizen resistance to challenge dominance. These textbooks conceptualized gender as power, and with attention to both structure and agency, focused on both rights and reformist ideas and used a variety of pedagogical resources (Bhog and Ghose, 2014; Gupta, 2015). These textbooks also used a simple language, which caused some school teachers to view them as journalistic magazines and not proper textbooks. They used a wide range of pedagogic resources that included real-life events, literature, autobiographical narratives, photographs, cartoons, research work, documents, newspaper clippings, films, art forms, songs and posters (George, 2019; Gupta, 2015). The in-text discussion points and assessment exercises at the end of the chapter also invited students to interrogate and articulate their position critically.

Despite these crucial attempts, how the rational liberal self of this exercise panned out in distinct private and government school locations and how teachers negotiated and engaged with these textbooks are questions on which we at best have only anecdotal evidence. The issues of power and relationship between the local, regional, and national have been under-researched. Critical reviews also reveal the limits of these textbook reforms in including critical perspectives and voices. These books elided crucial analysis of family and its role in the distribution and maintenance of inequality and had limited discussion on links between violence and gender inequality (Bhog and Ghose, 2014; Gupta, 2015). Also, their imagination of the reader being a liberal and rational self was a political act and reproduced the elitist pedagogic project vis-a-vis the rest of the masses in newer ways (Balagopalan, 2009).

## **Neoliberal globalisation, identity movements and the idea of citizenship**

Scholarship suggests that the processes of globalization have transformed the relationship between the nation-state and citizens (Robertson, 2006). In a basic sense, globalization assumes a growing *interconnectedness* across national borders and a growing sense that events in one part of the world are now far more likely to affect people elsewhere. Globalization processes have, thus, in theory, put a different set of expectations on the relationship between the nation-state and citizenship. These changes have implications for the very idea of a sovereign national state, and the figure of ideal citizens and what is taught in citizenship education. Predominant manifestations of global citizenship are grounded in economic assumptions. Andreotti (2006) notes that the idea of citizen is reconstituted to mean rational, autonomous, and competitive workers, unconcerned with the issues of human dignity and fairness in the global economy. Correspondingly, a literature review of global citizenship education by Goren and Yemini (Goren and Yemini, 2017, p. 176) observes that in practice, global citizenship education privileges "individual and national goals, rather than advocating for those who cannot speak for themselves."

In line with the above, in Pakistan, the global citizen basically signifies a global market-based citizen (Pasha, 2015). Competing in a 'global knowledge-based economy and information age' is viewed as the aim of education by policy makers (Naseer, 2012, p. 7). According to Pasha (2015) the document remains silent about whether students are expected to also develop a critical awareness of the past, present and the future of the world and capacity to transform the unequal power structures. The discourse of global engagement facilitated by civil society and international NGOs primarily touches upon topics such as 'promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence,' tolerance, respect for diversity, common humanity, and learning about cultures outside one's national borders. None of these approaches address the issues of inequalities, racism, and power (Kadiwal and Durrani, 2018). The neoliberal underpinning also hides behind the congratulatory reception of human rights education that claims to empower women in Pakistan (Khoja-Moolji, 2014). Further, national education neither promotes active participation in democratic life (Dean, 2013) nor inculcates the critical consciousness of the global economy (Naseer, 2012). Scholars also note that the citizenship education content in Pakistan does not help develop advocacy skills for a more just, free, and peaceful society (Dean, 2013; Naseer, 2012; Panjwani and Khimani, 2018).

Education emerges as the site of neoliberal double standards, where on the one hand young people are expected to fulfil their 'obligations to contribute constructively towards the global community' (MoE, 2017, p. 57), as attested in the draft of the National Education Policy of Pakistan released in 2017. On the other hand, the structural adjustment policies imposed by the World Bank and IMF on Pakistan has meant erosion of the state capacities to meet their citizenship entitlements (Bhutta, 2001). In Pakistan, the consequence has been curtailing ordinary young people's civic and citizenship agency, freedom, and wellbeing. Young Pakistanis are very highly vulnerable to suffering from violence, broken institutions, displacement, or other humanitarian emergencies, but hardly receive any support from their weak state systems (OECD, 2016). Subsequently, Pasha (2015) reports that learners, even in elite schools, failed to view themselves as global citizens devoid of fairer opportunities to interact with the world. Kadiwal and Durrani's (2018, p. 552) study that explored young students' negotiation of their citizenship identities in Karachi revealed that 'rather than asking for humanitarian help and charity, the young people demanded the transformation of conditions that produce poverty and conflict'. Their study found that 'students were seriously concerned about the social fragmentation' and 'held a sense of outrage and the desire to take action, but had limited capacity for transforming roots of inequities and conflict.' Contrary to students' belief in the transformative potential of education, it was 'a major enabler of inequities and conflict' in Pakistan.

Similarly, in India, the National Curriculum Framework for School Education (NCFSE) 2000 located itself in the context of liberalization, privatization, and globalization (NCERT, 2000, p. 7). Both NCFSE 2000 and the recent draft National Education Policy (Government of India 2019) make explicit reference to the knowledge society. In their conception, learning is an investment in the human being, adding value to the human and social capital resulting in

employability and paving the way for economic growth. As a consequence, citizenship loses its political content and promise, and the citizen becomes equivalent to a worker. NCFSE's grand dream of future competent citizens who used different sources for information and learned in a participatory atmosphere that encouraged exploration, problem-solving, and decision-making was premised on students from affluent sections of Indian society studying in elite private schools (NCERT, 2000, p. 16). It made no reference to and was distant from the systemic challenges and day-to-day reality of Indian schools in terms of infrastructural provisions and discriminatory, domesticating and disciplinary pedagogic regimes prevalent vis-à-vis the children of the marginalized sections. These two types of learning and teaching environment did not disrupt creation of two kinds of citizens, the elite who participated in decision making and the rest of the masses for whom decisions were taken and prescribed (Jain, 2016). Draft National Education Policy made several references to the global with reference to leadership, ecosystem, needs, knowledge and mobility, status, standards, quality, competitive, technology leader and challenges (GOI, 2019, pp. 3, 4, 12, 30, 31, 38, 50, 51). These outline the imagery and aspirations of the Indian political leadership and elite and present the concomitant expectations from the citizens to "become good, successful, innovative, adaptable, and productive human beings" (GOI, 2019, p. 12).

In the context of India and Pakistan, a range of new identity projects are being mobilized, with implications for civic and citizenship education. Lall (2009) and Kamat (2004) argue that in the context of South Asia, the national political and economic elites have tended to mobilize anxieties arising from globalization to garner power and legitimacy over control of resources. It can be argued that the increased use of religion against those of another faith or culture in the context of South Asia does not prove the 'clash of civilisations', but it is deliberately constructed through ever more narrow projections of the 'self' of the nation.

In the context of the emergence of authoritarian populism across different countries globally there are also networks of collaboration among right-wing groups across borders, influencing nationalism in India (Thobani, 2019). Nationalist identity project has, in fact, acquired a distinct approach with reference to civic education under the right-wing nationalism of BJP. It draws upon orientalist constructions of India and idyllic villages to define an authentic global citizen who would not challenge neoliberal globalisation but 'adjust' to it (Jain, 2016). Nation is primarily perceived as Hindu and cultural identity is conceptualised in a static fashion (Balagopalan, 2009). In doing so, as Patnanik (1993, p. 69) has noted, the ideology entirely rejects contradictory evidence, impartial scrutiny, the scientific method, and even a rational argument. The latest draft National Education Policy 2019 does not mention the word secular even once (MHRD, 2019). It raises questions about what it may mean for the idea of citizenship and citizenship education in contemporary India.

In Pakistan, where the exclusivist identity-based ideological projects use the religion of Islam, Panjwani and Khimani (2018) question why it appeals to well-educated middle-class youth in Pakistan, despite the incoherence of their arguments, historical inaccuracies, and a weak moral standard. The answer, according to the authors, lies partly in the failure of neoliberal conditions to meet young people's material, political, and economic aspirations. In a society where the state is weak in responding to their social and welfare needs, and other

ideological alternatives such as the left-leaning analysis and paradigms have been systematically derided, the presentation of religion as a solution to people's problems finds traction as a source of meaning and salvation, for many. This situation combined with education in mainly technical subjects, devoid of significant engagement with humanities, makes people less resilient to the exclusivist, extremist and reactive ideologies. In this sense, nationalism co-exists with market-oriented discourses, in both countries, in a way that militates against people's civic agency to transform their unequal situation.

On the whole, in both countries, poor and ordinary citizens are socialized into accepting their exploitation as a duty by the elite ruling classes, feudal landlords, industrialists, and international corporations and the military and civil structures. The welfare of the poor is regarded as a noble deed of the elites rather than their right 'implied in the very process of independence from colonial rule' (Saigol, 2003a, p. 138). Underdevelopment of the poor is considered as their fault, a lack (of efficiency, merit, and knowledge), and laziness requiring reform through training. At the same time, the structures of excessive 'accumulation by dispossession,' exploitation, and corruption remain invisible in the textbooks. In this sense, the economic imperatives of citizenship reproduce the colonial values. In Lee Warner's citizenship textbook published by the British Raj, the role of the administration was to keep discipline and order, leaving the capital to regulate labor (Saigol, 2003a). The ideas of 'social harmony' meant being docile towards the existing political and economic order, thus, minimizing class conflict and dissent (Saigol, 2003a, p. 136). Education was required to transform the 'raw savages' into 'civilized citizens' by imbibing the spirit of competition and respect for private property. As such, citizenship education has come full circle, and the colonial template of citizenship education persists though new modes of dominance. This is exactly what Freire points out that the 'banking' approach to education has sought to modify the consciousness of the oppressed so that they accept the unfair social world and individualise structural problems.

## **Further areas of research**

Given the linguistic and geographical diversity of India and Pakistan, the possibility to understand the ideas of citizenship across different regions and languages in distinct historical periods can be one area of research. Such research can simultaneously examine how the concepts of nation and region get refracted through these mutually influencing frames. Secondly, research on classroom processes, the concept of citizen, citizen-state relationship, and diverse identities as envisaged by young students and teachers, in the context of right-wing populist identity politics and neoliberal globalisation is an understudied area which can be further enriched. Thirdly, interviews with and accounts of the textbook writers can also provide significant insights about the official framing of the subject. Finally, global civil society networks promoting global citizenship, and of the conceptions of social movements and alternative schools about citizenship education can be other significant areas of research. Similarly, elite schools' approach towards global citizenship is likely to be different from mainstream schools and can be explored further, building on the existing research on colonial and postcolonial context.

## Concluding remarks

This chapter critically examined the contested ideas of ideal citizens as mirrored in the civic and citizenship education debates. It situated them in the changing historical, economic, political, cultural, and ideological milieus of the two postcolonial countries of India and Pakistan. We argue that civics and citizenship education retain the colonial legacy of the subject. While textbooks remain a crucial focus of our discussion, research in these countries suggests that the broader discourses in society serve as a ‘hidden curriculum.’ In the new context of globalization, the idea of citizens has also been marked with contemporary discussions of global citizenship and other identity-based movements as well as a reassertion of nationalism. Inter/national policy space and global-national-local actors/ networks shape the multiple nodes of citizenship education discourses. Thus, our global focus has allowed us to show that the ideas of citizenship are shaped not only by the specific national contexts but also the global geopolitical-economic calculations.

To this day, the two postcolonial states follow the conventional elite-centric notions of citizenship. Citizenship education does not enable young people to mitigate the structures of overwhelming disparities and inequalities. Education instead views it as essential to producing loyal national citizens who facilitate national unity and economic progress. Civics textbooks are employed to reform the character of citizens so that they are transformed into dutiful, obedient, virtuous, and subservient citizens of a paternalistic state. Their agency is desired only within the mould drawn by the country as a duty so that as Saigol (2003a) notes, the state can employ any discourse as it needs in any given circumstances.

The emergence of the discourse of globalization since the 1980s has brought about a qualitative shift in this normative relationship between the nation-state and citizens in both contexts. The state has increasingly receded from its normative responsibility for the protection, education and welfare of its citizens, delegating these functions to the private companies. Borrowing Jayasuryia’s (2001) observation more broadly, it can be said that the very nature of the shift in governing power that is subject to the rule of the market, has reconstructed the relationship between citizens, state and market, in ways that depoliticize both, citizens as well as the state, concerning the market in the two countries.

### *Implications*

There is a need to introduce the critical, pro-people, and advocacy-oriented proposals of citizenship and civic education that enable young people to critically examine the political, economic, and historical structures and issues that shape their lives. In this sense, instead of ensuring compliant subjectivities, civic and citizenship education need to ensure that young people learn to transform broader conditions involving political and civil liberties, economic redistribution, recognition of diversity and reconciliation and healing between divided communities, at the intersection of the global and the local.

There is a moral justification for why civic and citizenship education should enable students to explore how an unequal share of freedom and suffering is reproduced globally. Naseer (2012) contends if citizenship education can provide pupils an opportunity to question and think of the assumptions that they take for granted relating to the broader context and power relations, then this can be considered a move of active and critical citizenship. Andreotti (Andreotti, 2016) rightfully notes, a global citizenship education must address the history of colonization and the root causes of disempowerment, without which it runs the risk of reproducing power hierarchies, making it a new trendy apparatus for imperialism and a ‘civilizing mission.’ In short, critical global citizenship would enable young Indians and Pakistanis to have an informed dialogue on global inequalities and secure their dignity as the global as well as national citizens.

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