

**Examining Global Education Discourses in Social Studies Textbooks in  
Pakistan**

by

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Declaration:

I, Aamna Pasha confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

## Abstract

Within the context of a developing, post-colonial country, Pakistan has a geopolitical significance, a high vulnerability to climate change and the largest youth population ever recorded in its history. These demand an educational response that prepares Pakistani learners for the complex reality of the world they are to inherit. Global education, an umbrella term for associated educational traditions, rooted in the objective of preparing learners to grasp and respond to a complex and interdependent world, is ideally positioned to respond to this need.

Utilizing a post-structural and postcolonial theoretical framework, this study seeks to examine the ways in which a pedagogical approach for global education can be applied to the Pakistan context, and the ways in which the discursive construction of global education can be informed from a post-colonial context. Critical discourse analysis is used to examine social studies textbooks in Pakistan for the way in which discourses are shaping learners' understanding of their world. Findings revealed not only the way in which discourses were bound to neoliberal political-economic confines, but also the way in which privately published textbooks digressed in suggesting a neoliberal governmentality. Further, discourses tend to be framed in a hierarchical, homogenous, fact-based, reductionist manner that both [de]privileges the other and narrowly frames society and issues of social justice.

The study makes recommendations for the need for greater connections with religio-cultural values and local epistemologies that would help develop feelings of connection and commitment in non-Western contexts. This thesis has important implications for broader global discourses in the field by examining the discursive construction of global education, emphasising the need for the theory and practice of global education to be informed by alternative non-Western perspectives, to truly make the concept 'global' and therefore effective in the contexts in which it is being introduced.

## Impact Statement

The analysis of social studies textbooks, while helping to extend understanding of pedagogical approaches to global education in the context of Pakistan, provides insight into discursive narratives that shape Pakistani students' understanding of the world. These findings are crucial to better inform not only academicians, but also policymakers and textbook authors locally and regionally, highlighting tensions and contradictions in policy agendas and discursive narratives. This study also contributes, more broadly, to the field of social studies in post-colonial contexts, specifically in terms of viewing the field and issues of society as subjective, connected to complex socio-political realities and the need to consider religio-cultural ontologies.

In this thesis epistemological underpinnings of global education and its interpretations are explored in order to inform the field with alternative perspectives and implications rooted in religio-cultural ontologies within post-colonial developing contexts are suggested. Within academia, through international publications and conference presentations, these discussions will help to question assumptions that have been taken for granted, broaden the discourse, and strengthen the field of global education with a non-Western perspective. I have initiated this journey by presenting at the Academic Network of Global Education and Learning in June 2021. My proposed article has been accepted for a Special Issue of UNESCO Prospects on 'Global Citizenship Education Curriculum and Pedagogy in the Global South: Embracing the De-colonial Shift'.

Further, many international organizations work in Pakistan in the education sector. One such programme is the Aga Khan Foundation's Schools 2030, operating in 10 countries in the Global South with a global donor base that can be better informed through this research. That is, in critically examining endeavours to encourage competency development, the framing of such approaches within neoliberal constructs are delivered top-down and divorced from local realities. As the National lead for Schools 2030, in Pakistan, I hope to impact the programme locally and globally by broadening the discourse around the way in which we are approaching the preparation of learners for a complex world.

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My mother always says that we all have a purpose in this world and that everything exists for a reason. No one is born without purpose, and nothing takes place without reason. My father continually stresses the need to remain hopeful of God's blessings and mercy in our life. I dedicate this to the two people who define so much of who I am: who pushed us to find our purpose, to be patient and reflective in understanding the reasons and to always remain hopeful.

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## 1.0 Introduction to the Thesis – What and Why?

### 1.1 Background

This thesis seeks to examine a pedagogical approach to global education in the Pakistani context, specifically exploring discourse in social studies textbooks from a global education perspective to offer insights on the way in which students are being prepared for an interdependent and complex world. Narratives around global education and interpretations of the field are explored followed by an analysis of global education themes in social studies textbooks with the purpose of understanding dominant discourses that shape learners' perception of the world. This thesis suggests that dominant political and economic structures have implications for global education in developing contexts; it further offers an interpretation of global education that is specific to developing, post-colonial contexts, as normative approaches call for a (re)conceptualization of global education from local perspectives to circumvent structures of power, and argues for the need to create educational programmes that have greater relevance to local realities and local worldviews.

Educational agendas are shaped by the time and space in which they are being designed. The socio-political climate and phenomena, like those of globalisation or neoliberalism, influence policy agendas. Countries with differing educational contexts have tailored programmes addressing pressing issues, within national agendas, that fall under the broad thematic area of global education. The field refers to an education that broadens the scope of learning to add a holistic, global dimension aimed at helping students to understand topical complexities of today's world, be able to take advantage of the opportunities presented, while being equipped with the values, skills, and knowledge to address the many challenges that arise because of these deep interconnections. Naturally, this raises important questions, such as



what exactly are learners being prepared for? What changes are being experienced in these contexts? What opportunities are presented and for whom? These lead to questions around what skills, values and knowledge must students be equipped with?

Even without formal global education, countries are grappling with the changing nature of today's world. While Pakistan's educational paradigm has predominantly centred around development and nation-building, there is a shift evident in the recent past. The Education Policy 2009 notes that globalisation "has created opportunities and challenges for countries all over the world. An education system cannot remain in isolation of these challenges and opportunities" (2009, p. 11). The policy stresses for an education that allows students to be more globally competitive. This can be attributed educational policy borrowing, in which educational policy agendas, in this case of neoliberal ideals are transferred from one country to another. The policy document goes on to add, "a broad-based education system must be developed to ensure that graduates have not only mastered their respective areas of specialization but are also able to effectively interact with people having a wide variety of backgrounds" (2009, p. 59), implicitly highlighting the need for skills that allow for appropriate engagement with diversity.

This policy is important because it informs the curriculum framework that, in turn, informs all the textbooks analysed in this thesis. The document notes that Pakistan falls behind all other countries on education and health-related indicators in the global competitiveness index but also, that sustainability, development, and improvement of all other indicators depend on education. The discourse emphasizes the need for students to be competitive in a global market, and reiterates the strong link between education, economic growth, and social development; all within the paradigm of nation-building and development. Pakistan's draft of

the 2017 Education Policy has similar underpinnings to the earlier 2009 policy, stating more bluntly that “global competition demands human capital that is creative, constructive and contributing to individual and collective wellbeing” (2017, p. 4). The 2018 National Education Policy Framework (2018) reaffirms worries of being “left behind in global competition” (p. 5).

Tensions and complexities exist within Pakistan’s educational policy, as well as discourse around global education and the approaches to it. Pakistan’s tumultuous history, after its independence from the British rule and the division of the subcontinent, has left the country desperate to form a strong national identity and national cohesion. Given its geopolitical positioning, further complexities exist whereby Pakistan has sought to make strategic alliances, such as those with the United States during the Cold War or the War on Terror, or those with Arab states and more recently with China. There are resultantly, international foreign policy goals that guide agendas. These complex aims mark a tension between local needs, global competition, and international foreign policy, that influence educational agendas.

As a post-colonial, developing country facing challenges of poverty, inequality, illiteracy, and environmental concerns, to name a few, questions arise as to what a global education for Pakistan might look like? Is it relevant? How does one balance concerns for the local with the global? Can a balance exist and what does that look like in developing contexts? This poses broader questions within global education discourse around how the local and the global is being understood and defined. The purpose of this thesis is to explore such questions in order to inform a pedagogical approach for Pakistan. Before proceeding, I document my interest in the field and my positionality that naturally informs my perspective in this study.

## 1.2 Personal Statement

My interest in the area of global education arises from my distinctive family background that is a product of an interconnected and complex history. In 1510, the capture of Goa by the Portuguese paved the way for an idiosyncratic blend of Indo-Hindu and Luso-Christian culture (Inam, 2012). Later, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Goan Portuguese moved to Karachi for economic reasons. This is the chronicle of my maternal grandparents. My mother was born a Christian, in Karachi. My paternal grandparents, meanwhile, were wealthy landowners in India. Upon partition in 1947, they were compelled to leave their home and lands behind and relocate to Karachi. Having lost both status and wealth, my grandparents struggled to adjust to their new reality.

Before Zia's military coup, in 1977, and his Islamization policies, Pakistani society could be described as liberal which was around the time that my parents met. At the time, marriage of this kind did not meet with significant surprise, contempt, or disapproval. The lived religious experience in my household was unique. My mother, now converted, would not observe any of the rituals of the Islamic religion that were deeply followed by my father, but faith carried heavily in all family decisions.

My siblings and I attended Karachi Grammar School; an expensive 'Grammar' school established by the British in 1847 and considered to be one of the 'best' schools, both in the city and the country and remains a constant reminder of the country's neo-colonial era. It was here that I began to be more acutely aware of my parent's mixed marriage given the disparaging remarks made throughout my school years. When I was 10 years of age, my family immigrated to Canada. The experiences here shifted drastically from my parent's multi-faith marriage to my skin colour, race, and religion. At the time, the internet was still in its nascent

stages due to which the unfamiliarity on both sides: mine and my classmates, was tremendous. There was a very real experience of culture shock which was coupled with profound questions about identity and transnationalism. These questions of identity continued throughout my years in both North America and the United Kingdom through my undergraduate and graduate degrees. In the first year of my doctoral studies, I married outside of my religious sect and was met with myopic worldviews, strong disapprovals, and religious prejudice.

These significant experiences made me keenly aware of the intertwining of religions, cultures, and ethnicities. I was compelled to examine intersectionality, interconnectedness, and differences; and to recognize the complexities of these experiences in which one is simultaneously marginalized and privileged; where one is more easily internationally mobile than nationally. These encounters had another effect; they posed broader questions around what was truly local and what was global? If historically, the global and the local have intermingled through experiences of colonization and migration, can anything truly be one or the other?

On a professional front, I have many years of experience in teacher development. Before undertaking my doctorate studies, I was working at the Aga Khan University Examination Board where I co-created the Middle School Programme. This was a project-based learning approach for students of Grade 6 through Grade 8 to help develop global skills. Along with creating projects each year aimed at developing core skills, I also headed the teacher development team that trained teachers across Pakistan. The nature of my work allowed me to travel across Pakistan extensively, visiting marginalized, religiously persecuted communities with patriarchal school set ups and experience numerous other contextual

realities. While there were tremendous learnings through these experiences, a few stood out. Foremost, I genuinely began to understand why pedagogy goes beyond the classroom and needs to be understood more broadly. The need to explore students' lived experiences, perspectives, and their differing starting points was both important and immensely valuable. Secondly, I began to recognize the ethnic, cultural, and religious differences that existed within the country, and re-evaluate what it meant to really be 'Pakistani'. It was quickly apparent that there was no clear answer to this question, but it also brought forward the uncomfortable reality that 'differences' of any kind were rarely acknowledged and even more seldom, accepted. This presented larger questions around what 'us' and 'them' meant and by extension, how local or 'us' was interpreted; how interdependence is understood and acknowledged in the absence of an acknowledgement of the other; how resources were shared, how environmental stability, poverty and other factors of marginalization were understood. More importantly, I came to recognize how immense local knowledge and ways of being was not visible in any way in the classroom. Amalgamating with my broader interest in education, these experiences have tapered into an interest in global education, the foundation of this thesis.

The framework of global education and its applicability in a post-colonial developing context both appealed and concerned me because of the contradictions it raised. I found myself agreeing with critiques that it dangerously promoted values or an educational ideology as 'universal' or 'global'. My master's thesis on Global Citizenship in Pakistan revealed that students felt they did not have the opportunity to be a global citizen, and that it was more important to address and be concerned with local challenges rather than global ones. These made me question the place and scope of global education in developing contexts where students struggle with immense challenges of their own. Is global education only relevant or

applicable if you are working outside of the 'local'? Given that dominant narratives in the field come largely from the Global North, I was eager to dig deeper into these questions from the perspective of post-colonial developing contexts.

Undoubtedly, there is a pertinent need to inform global education from the Global South, encountering the field with and from non-Western perspectives. Although much of the discussion around global education is centred around scholarship, declarations, debates, and practices, predominantly from the Global North, there are contributions from the Global South, such as those offered by African scholars who explore the notion of Ubuntu, linked to African cultural heritage, as an alternative paradigm to global education. As I explored these alternative approaches, I found myself toying consistently with the question of what a pedagogical framework for Pakistan might look like.

Recognising the potential global education offers for the construction of a framework that prepares learners for the realities of our world today, I critically explore the global education paradigm within the social studies textbooks in the context of Pakistan. By analysing social studies textbooks from a global education perspective, I wanted to explore the discursive elements shaping learners' understanding of a complex, interdependent world. I was cognizant that because global education is influenced by the broader social, political, and economic structures in which it is embedded, there is a danger in adopting a one-size-fits-all approach that becomes a "civilizing mission" (Andreotti, 2011a), propagating myths of universalism and a superficial preparation for a global world under the corrupted guise of a culture of responsibility from below (Spivak, 2004). This amplified questions around whose global education and for whom? What exactly are we preparing students in Pakistan for? What should we be preparing students for?

In the next subsection I outline the research questions that guide this study and encapsulate these important questions.

### 1.3 Purpose of the research and research questions

The two main overarching questions of this thesis are:

Q1. In what ways do Social Studies textbooks for grade 5 discuss themes related to global education?

Q2. What skills and values related to global education are evident in the social studies textbooks for grade 5?

While formal global education may not be a part of Pakistan's educational policy, Pakistan's educational policy has been influenced by global policy trends that are associated with global education. An absence of the formal adoption of global education does not mean an absence of discourse of comprising themes. Indeed, countries have their own distinct entry points and socio-historic reality. Textbooks for Grade 5 were analysed for themes of global education to study their inclusion, and the way in which these themes are touched upon; not only was there consideration of explicit references, but also of implicit ones. When considering the theme of understanding the other, for example, references to people and cultures, but also to economic structures, social structures and governance systems were examined.

The field of social studies was selected as the medium in which to explore the existence of themes of global education based on the aim of the field to aid students in developing an understanding of the world and cultivating responsible citizenship. Although global education is not limited to the realm of a specific subject area, social studies, much like global education, is not a static field. It is responsive to the socio-political climate of the context in which it is

being taught. What is being taught within the course of study evolves with time to reflect the changes in society and of political ideologies. Social studies thus, offered greater opportunity for the examination of themes of global education.

Textbooks have been selected as the basis for my research due to their role as “one of the most important educational inputs” in the classroom (Altbach, 1991, p. 257). In Pakistan, where teacher absenteeism is high (Qureshi, 2015), teacher training is poor (Azhar et al., 2014), and teaching to the textbook is the norm (SAHE, 2018), textbooks are perhaps the most important educational resource in the system. I aim to explore the tensions and complexities of these discourses in social studies textbooks of Grade 5 from both private and government published textbooks to fully understand the narratives in both the public and the private sector and their broader implications for global education in Pakistan.

This thesis examines the theoretical foundations of global education, the influences that have come to inform the field and educational policy, and the underlying assumptions of these interpretations, in order to consider the implications of dominant narratives of global education in post-colonial developing contexts. From the perspective of the Global South, there are important contributions that these findings make to broader global discourses on global education which will be explored. I see my thesis making contribution through the discursive analysis of textbooks. Through this study, I aim to highlight the ways in which students, in Pakistan, are understanding their world. This would contribute not only to broader policy discourse for Pakistan but also for global education. Further, findings also contribute to discussions around social studies more broadly. Given that the field is predominantly influenced and informed by discourses from the Global North, discourse around global education from the Global South, would help to critically examine the



normative framework and dominant discourse around global education. The implications of these findings lend themselves to the exploration of a pedagogical approach for a local context, contributing to discussions around alternative ways of knowing and being that are more relevant in the context and that can, not only be more effectual, but also counter hegemonic discourses.

#### 1.4 Organization of the Study

I have organized this thesis over 16 chapters. After this chapter, in which I have introduced the study and my interest in the area, I present an overview of global education. The review will explain the history of the field, and its associated educational traditions to emphasize the way in which the field has been responsive to the social, political, and economic realities of the time. This will provide the basis for understanding the need for engagement with the underlying assumptions and interpretations of the field from local contexts.

In Chapter 3, I provide an overview of the context of Pakistan and of education in the country. By exploring Pakistan's geo-political, historical landscape and the aid industry that influences educational policy, I aim to help situate the discourse in the context within which it is taking place. Explanation on the structure of education and educational governance in Pakistan supports the understanding not only of curricula and textbook development but also of the way in which policy impacts these. By exploring aspects of the context population demographics, mobility of students beyond national boundaries alongside the culture of teaching and learning in the country, teacher's role, and agency, I aim to emphasize the value and the scope of global education in the context of Pakistan.

In Chapter 4, I describe the theoretical framework of my research, which centres around the French historian Michel Foucault's articulation of post-structuralism, specifically the interlinks between knowledge and power, a key concept that I have used to analyse the discursive formation of global education. To enrich this inquiry, I also apply Foucault's theories of governmentality to scrutinize the ideological and institutional structures in which these discourses are housed. This is coupled with postcolonial renderings of how power, knowledge and subjectivities are shaped and exhibited in post-colonial contexts. In this chapter I explain why I have chosen textbooks for analysis and the way in which textbooks are regarded as discourses or 'ways of knowing'. I specifically discuss critical discourse analysis (CDA) as explicated by Norman Fairclough (1995), and James Paul Gee (2001), that not only advance Foucault's theories, but provide a framework for researchers to explore the relationships between discursive texts while examining wider social, cultural, political, and economic contexts.

In the subsequent chapter on 'Interpretations and Influences on Global Education', I study the way in which global education is conceived and interpreted. I analyse underlying assumptions and complexities by exploring dominant discourses and influences on the field from a post-colonial lens to dismantle notions of universality and highlight the need for alternative discourses to inform global education. This chapter explores the discursive construction of global education from a post-colonial context.

In Chapter 7, I explore global education as a pedagogical framework that informs teaching and learning about local and global problems. I define pedagogy as a complex, multidimensional practice that connects *what* is being taught and *how* it is being taught with the lived experience of students which organically mandates locally rooted approaches and

orientations that inform their worldview. In this chapter, I consider common emerging themes in academic scholarship around the pedagogy of global education, and alternative perspectives. These, alongside an examination of contextual needs and relevance, inform the themes I have selected to investigate in the analysis of textbooks that encapsulates one aspect of pedagogy: 'what' is being taught.

In Chapter 8, I present an overview of the field of social studies, its historical origin, and its emergence in Pakistan, particularly highlighting the way in which it continues to be epistemologically occidentally informed. This chapter also explores the ways in which national political agendas have influenced the subject area providing a background to the analysis.

Chapter 9 through Chapter 13 present the findings and content analysis of the social studies textbooks organized under the themes of: interdependence, understanding the other, environmental sustainability, power and privilege and social justice. These chapters all begin with a literature review of the theme. The literature review contained within the analysis chapters also provides an opportunity to grasp more fully the findings and their implications.

Chapter 14 presents the findings on skills and values in the textbooks. Chapter 15 ties together the findings reported in the previous chapters, examining what these mean collectively and the implications of these findings for global education for Pakistan. In the concluding chapter, the key findings of this study are recapitulated in view of the research questions. This chapter presents the contribution to knowledge of this thesis and outlines limitations of the study alongside possible further research areas.

## 2.0 Introduction to Global Education

This chapter provides an introduction to global education. The review will lay out the emergence of the field and the associated educational traditions that have come to inform it. The discussion highlights the way in which these traditions responded to the social, political, and economic realities of the time in which they were founded. The discussion emphasizes the need for engagement with the underlying assumptions of the field to account for contextual differences and complexities. This chapter concludes with an examination of global citizenship education, the field most closely associated with global education. I explore this sub-field not only to help clarify terminologies and my approach to global education but also to explore the contribution it offers more broadly to global education, particularly in its ideological, cosmopolitan underpinnings.

Global education, as it has come to be known today, has emerged from a long history of associated fields of study with influences from policymakers, scholars, international organizations, and government institutions, concentrated predominantly in the Global North. Principles underpinning global education appeared distinctly in response to the socio-political climate within different countries. In the United States, international education in the post-World War II period was positioned around the politics of the Cold War as both the United States (U.S.) and the Soviet Union attempted to use international education as a means of expanding their influence (Altbach & Wit, 2017). In the late 1960s and early 1970s there was an increased influence of federal policy in the internationalization of education (Dolby & Rahman, 2008). This outward looking education, that broke away from colonist traditions, was led by UNESCO and its Associated Schools Programmes, and included exchange programmes, as well as the introduction of social studies in the curriculum (Bourn, 2015b). In

1968, the U.S. Office of Education provided funding to the Foreign Policy Association to develop goals and objectives for global awareness education. Hanvey, in 1976, played an influential role in exploring what a global perspective within the curriculum might look like with his landmark paper 'An Attainable Global Perspective'. In the 1980s, the Task Force of the United States Governors Association concluded that "international education is as important as economic prosperity, national security, and world stability" (Abdullahi, 2010, p. 26). American perspectives on global education located the concept within the social studies curriculum, which has itself remained an "ideological battleground" (Ross, 2006).

While the United Kingdom had elements of an international outlook within its curriculum, it was dominated by colonist worldviews (Bourn, 2014). In the 1970s, Richardson's World Studies Project provided the breakthrough in a global dimension in the curriculum that came to be known as world studies, and later global education. Afterwards, there was an interest in linking an international perspective with development aid programmes, which influenced organizations, like Oxfam, to work with schools. Development education, that first emerged in the 1970s, grew in response to the newly found independence of nations from colonial rule and the need for NGO's to secure public legitimacy for aid and development (Bourn, 2008; Standish, 2014). This field evolved to link more closely with global education. In the 1990s, a variation to this term emerged with the aim of combining these educational traditions together because of their perceived interconnectedness.

Global education and its emergence is not relegated to the realm of academia, but rather also finds roots in political agendas that have continued to evolve over time. Whilst this is true for education at large - in that all education has a political motive in terms of strengthening a certain group, determining what is taught and what is withheld (Russell, 1916), it is perhaps

more evident with global education as a result of the very premise of the field emerging as the direct result of the non-static nature of society, and in response to the complexities these pose.

Over time other educational traditions, such as education for development, humans rights education, multicultural education, have also come to associate with global education as the themes underpinning these areas were closely connected (Bourn, 2014; Pike, 2000). For example, after the Second World War, education for international understanding was envisioned as a vehicle for sustainable peace movements (Pike, 2008), and founded as a response to war; a need to understand other perspectives in recognition of the fragility of peace. The rising need to equip students to respond to globalisation caused another shift, both in terms of determining what is important to teach but also in revising terminology from international to global. David Hicks provided a valuable guide to exploring this historicity of the field. He categorized, under the banner of “issue-based educations”, educational traditions that emerged from the 1960s onwards (Hicks, 2007, p. 5). I have adapted this list to explore the priority areas within these fields, and include educational traditions emerging after global education, such as global learning and global citizenship education.

Table 1: Educational traditions and their focus

Educational Traditions	Focus and Influence
Education for International Understanding	Originating as a response to the two World Wars, the idea was that learning more about others and transnational sovereignty would eventually lead to world peace (Fujikane, 2003).
Development Education	Influenced by the desire of policymakers and aid organizations to gain public support for development work. Focused on raising

	awareness and understanding of development issues.
Education for Sustainable Development	Originally termed 'environmental education', the focus was on the role of education in addressing sustainable development issues.
Peace Education	Originating in relation to armed conflict during the 1950s, the field broadened to address issues of peace and conflict in a wider sense, ranging from concepts of indirect or structured violence.
Race, Diversity and Multicultural Education	Focusing on issues of racial equality and diversity and multiculturalism in the 1980s and 1990s.
Futures Education	Emerged in the 1960s and 1970s to explore "possible, probable and preferable futures" (Bell, 1997, as cited in Hicks, 2004). The need for education to encourage reflection on the possibilities of the future.
Citizenship Education/Global Citizenship Education	Following lengthy debates around citizenship and education, citizenship was included in the national curriculum in the 1990s. This later widened to a global citizenship perspective to develop a sense of shared responsibility with the aim of tackling issues of injustice and inequality.
Global Learning	Widening the field of global education to denote a pedagogical approach that focuses on enquiry and critical thinking as opposed to a prescriptive education.

(Adapted from Bullivant, 2010).

While the focus might be disparate, Bourn (2015a, p. 12) suggests that global education must be seen as a unifying concept, encompassing the common grounds of the "adjectival movements" to integrate a variety of educational traditions under one term and enriching the understanding of global issues from multiple perspectives. Common themes that underpin much of global education are well summarized by Tye (2014), to "involve learning about those problems and issues that cut across national boundaries, and about the interconnectedness of systems, perspective taking – seeing things through the eyes and

minds of others and involves taking individual and collective action for social justice and the creation of a better world” (p. 858).

Unsurprisingly, a widespread critique of global education is that it is heterogeneous in nature and has been unable to make a distinctive place for itself, characterized by diverse focal points, pedagogy and philosophical underpinnings (Davies, Evans, & Reid, 2005; Pike, 2008; Standish, 2014). The breadth of the field has resulted in it being described as a mile wide and an inch deep (Gaudelli & Wylie, 2012). This apparent fragmentation of points of focus raises the question as to whether the field requires a tight knit definition or whether a more fluid characterization allows for additions to the field, that could potentially arise in the future in varying social and political climates. Bourn (2020) argues that a lack of consensus allows for innovation and inclusion of different voices, discouraging the dominance of a singular viewpoint. I contend that singular interpretations and approaches to the field not only dilute the complexity of influences that come to inform the field, but also pose threats of hegemonic discourses under the mask of ‘universality’ and uniformity. The uniformity or singularity of approach to global education poses theoretical questions. If global education is understood as rooted in the reality of the interconnectedness of the world today, does this assume that interconnectedness is experienced uniformly across the world, at the same pace and in the same way? Are the challenges and opportunities offered by these interlinkages similar across nations? To the contrary, globalisation is experienced differently, with some countries more favoured than others, exasperating the polarization of central and peripheral economies causing greater disadvantage, exploitation and powerlessness (Cole, 2005). This interconnectedness has also meant that issues, such as environmental pollution, population growth, refugees, poverty, conflicts, inflation, have affected people in other parts of the world (Abdullahi, 2010). I argue that responses to the realities of a changing world must be



dynamically informed by the contexts in which they occur, as experiences of these challenges and opportunities vary. This on the whole becomes all the more vital given that global education has been informed within western intellectual tradition. Its emergence and development is still predominantly mono-locational and mono-epistemically informed (Abdi, 2015; Andreotti, 2006).

The above discussion makes other conclusions; foremost, it highlights that because educational policy is informed within national policy agendas framed within geopolitical and socio-economic realities, and influenced by global trends and international organizations, the discourse around what a global education should entail is broad, with the breadth of approaches and understandings of the political, social, economic, environmental, and moral issues at stake. Within colonial countries, interest in the wider world itself grew as a result of their dominance across borders. The United States saw other political structures as threats to democracy giving rise to interest from policymakers in an international outlook. Naturally, from the Global South there are additional layers of complexity with questions around hegemonic narratives, participation, dominant orthodoxies marking dangers of neo-imperialism.

Within national contexts, there are complexities with balancing a global outlook with local concerns and challenges that are more prominent in developing post-colonial contexts. These tensions resemble the attempt to balance the inadvertent reality of an increasing global community with the deliberate struggle for a strong national identity. Set against this backdrop, global education grapples with the very complexities within which it is set; posing questions around what, if at all, is the aim of a global dimension within national curricula?

At this stage, I pause to clarify what global education is understood as. Landorf found, from analysis of literature, that global education was described as a field of study, a movement, a curriculum, an approach to learning and as components and objectives (2009, p. 54). Alongside the study of the field, as a concept that covers related educational traditions, global education has also been understood and explored as an (1) international policy framework (the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are an example of a framework linked to global education); (2) an educational field of theory and practice interested in generating knowledge about global issues; (3) a body of knowledge on global issues and (4) a pedagogical framework to teaching and learning about local and global problems (Pieniasek, 2020). I do not consider these interpretations to be distinct or detached from each other. For example, a field of theory and practice would be guided by policy agendas and would need to be informed by a pedagogical framework.

In summary, global education has emerged from a long tradition of educational fields which, although have distinct priority areas, are tied principally together with the acknowledgement and acceptance of the complex interlinkages that define our world. A common goal of readying students to inherit and respond to the challenges of a complex, interconnected world can be understood as the unifying force behind global education (Bourn, 2015b; Case, 1993; Pike, 2008; Scheunflug, 2008). However, interconnections are neither uniform nor linear across nation states with each having diverse experiences of globalisation after similarly diverse and complex historicity of colonisation.

Global education, as an all-encompassing field of other closely related educational traditions, is framed within western intellectual tradition. The power-knowledge nexus comes into play with the disempowerment that occurs with a one-dimensional reading of the world, one in

which marginalized populations are analysed from afar. This is particularly problematic as “anything that is classified as global, especially when it is uni-theoretically conceived and produced, can too easily be co-opted into serving neo-colonial, neo-imperial or even neo-patriarchy systems that deliberately globalise neoliberal ideologies which de-legitimate the needs and aspirations of marginalized populations” (Abdi, Shultz, & Pillay, 2015, p. 3). This discussion suggests that there is a need for investigation and deconstruction of the multiple and contested discourses, which must be done in tandem with a critical examination of theoretical and cultural underpinnings from which the field has emerged.

Essentially, there is a dire need for spaces or discussions that are more epistemically inclusive. In addition to undoing homogenising narratives, these also encourage the field to truly be ‘globally’ informed. Jorgenson (2014) contends that spaces for negotiating presuppositions of different ways of knowing and being, help to dismantle stereotypes and where conceptions of self and others are humanized (p. 226).

I find that Wiegmont’s (2020) eight foundational dimensions provide an important blueprint to examine the conceptual and theoretical construction of global education. I find this model useful to examining not only the adequateness and appropriateness of any model of global education, but also in framing global education within the contexts in which it is being applied.

I have adapted and posed these here as key questions:

- What do we understand and believe about the world, the environment, and human’s place in it?
- What do we believe about the nature of being and becoming? How does change come to be? Why is change important?
- How do we understand right and wrong?

- How do we understand the nature of knowledge? of understanding? of interpretation?
- What relationship does the individual have with the state? with the global? with the local?
- How have we decided what is to be learnt? How do we choose what is to be learnt? What is required?
- How do we organize learning? How do we teach?

This thesis may not be exhaustive in responding to some of these questions, simply because of the immense depth and philosophical scope of these questions which would be beyond the capacity of this research. The aim of posing these here is to offer a blueprint for the epistemological reconsiderations that are an important critique of this field. These are vital dimensions of global education that are valuable to consider when examining its mainstream narratives, and when investigating alternative possibilities in light of the need for global education to be more broadly appraised and locally constructed, to account for contextual diversities.

## 2.1 Global Citizenship Education and Global Education

Of all of the educational traditions associated with global education, that are outlined in Table 1 above, global citizenship education is perhaps the current, most popular field since the United Nations Global Education First Initiative, in 2012, which was followed by the term's introduction in the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda (Akkari & Maleq, 2020). Its explicit mention in Goal 4.7, has meant that academic scholarship, international organizational policy, and political agendas have centred around the concept arguably making it the fastest growing educational reform movement (Dill, 2012). In this section, I explore this sub-field and the

contribution it offers more broadly to global education, particularly in ideological cosmopolitan underpinnings, and also explain why I choose global education in my thesis as opposed to global citizenship education.

To begin with, clarity of the terminology is important to understand implicit implications as well as focus. The term 'global' gained popularity from the acknowledgment that society was in a Global Age defined by globalisation (Standish, 2014). The term shifted away from 'international' that was not only narrower, but also denoted an enrichment through cultural exchange, which was particularly the case in North America (Pike, 2015). The term 'international' also had political undertones of advancing political and economic power beyond national borders (Standish, 2012).

Citizenship meanwhile refers to membership, usually as part of a political community that can come with a legal status, duties, obligations, and functions (Block, 2011). Globalisation urged an evaluation of the concepts of identity, loyalty and citizenship (Pike, 2008). Because there is no formal or legal status associated with global citizenship in the form, for example, of passports or citizenship papers that come with national legal status, the concept denotes a feeling of being part of a larger community and acting in the interests of that larger community. Global citizenship education then, refers to a widening of citizenship to include the global in recognition of the opportunities people have today to engage and affect others in a global context.

Growing out of the tradition of citizenship education coupled with interpretations of globalisation, global citizenship education has multiple definitions. Interpretations, such as that by UNESCO (2014), can be understood as a reframing of existing citizenship education for global, plural and heterogeneous societies (Tarozzi & Inguaggiato, 2018). In some cases, it

is seen as being less of a reframing and more of a repackaging, in which international content is simply added to existing citizenship education programmes. In extension, it is a repackaging of international education that prepares learners to be competitive in a global market, with the focus being on the creation of a market-based global citizen given how global citizenship education is framed around an economic mission (Auld & Morris, 2019; Wit, 2013). Within this idea of neoliberal individualism as global citizenship, well-resourced individuals from rich economies with unlimited mobility claim an uneven access to the resources of the world, while those from disempowered economies are taught their place in the global labour market (Sant, Lewis, Delgado, & Ross, 2018).

Resultantly, the field has been approached with scepticism for its surface approach to international awareness and concern for others, which dangerously mimics a cloaked form of colonialism (Abdi, 2015; Andreotti, 2006). In such an approach, for example, poverty might be simply presented as a lack of resources, services, and education rather than as a lack of control over resources and enforced disempowerment (Biccum, 2005). A post-colonial interpretation of global citizenship education is rooted in the need to analyse power relations that break away from asymmetric models that only work to reproduce social inequality (Andreotti & De Souza, 2012), and in being critical of assumptions that values are shared by all, and of the presumed supremacy of Western beliefs and systems which are then imposed as universal.

There have been important questions raised about the ethics and accessibility of being a 'global citizen' for the ordinary individual (Dower, 2008). Questions also arise around what it means to be a global citizen: is it a feeling, a status, practice or a state of mind (Jooste & Heleta, 2017; Osler & Starkey, 2005). Resultantly, Pashby (2016) correctly defines global

citizenship education as “extend[ing] the idea of rights and responsibilities beyond the limits of the nation-state”, arguing that it “can be understood in a variety of ways and reflects different ideologies and ideas of what is and ought to be desired of citizens” (p. 85).

Because all (national) citizenship education efforts aim to consolidate national cohesion and contribute to nation-building (Cantón & Garcia, 2020), global citizenship education works to bridge the love for one’s country with respect for the other (Landorf, 2009). What this means is that interpretations of global citizenship education demand a consideration of the different ways in which citizenship is conceived in different parts of the world along with the way in which globalisation is understood. Since citizenship can be inferred in several ways, such as within nationalist or neoliberal views (Tarozzi & Inguaggiato, 2018), approaches to global citizenship education can also be shaped in different ways.

Citizenship in Pakistan is confined within nationalistic, neoliberal, and religious boundaries. Rather than citizenship education as the creation of democratic citizens ( Ahmad, 2004), the curriculum makes little distinction between religious education and citizenship education in that it suggests a citizen of the country is one who is a practicing Muslim. The aim of such an ideological underpinning is national cohesion based on religious identity, however it is exclusionary in its conception of citizenship. Dean (2005) reviewed all aspects of a student’s educational environment, including the curriculum, textbooks, interactions in the classroom, and schools’ organizational structure and management to evaluate the preparedness of students for citizenship. She finds that citizenship education is passive with a focus on factual knowledge over skill acquisition that does not effectively prepare students for participation in democratic life. She also argues that schools are organized hierarchically and managed authoritatively providing little opportunity for modelling democratic processes.

A case study of global citizenship in Pakistan, in which students and teachers were interviewed, suggested that strong nationalistic values were evident in students' values and attitudes towards the country. This, alongside the feeble grasp of citizenship and the failure to see how they could contribute or participate outside of national boundaries, meant that students did not identify as global citizens (Pasha, 2015). They did, however, exercise global citizenship in their concern and demand for social transformation (Kadiwal & Durrani, 2018).

This kind of citizenship education in national contexts adds a layer of complexity to the core of global citizenship education because the coexistence of the two levels of citizenship education, global and national, is only possible if there is a critical approach to patriotism (Osler, 2011). Particularly, a transformative global citizenship education, one that does not simply give it a tokenistic nod, requires critical thought of one's own assumptions and biases.

Global citizenship in a postcolonial country, like Pakistan, moves away from being tied exclusively to the state and towards something broader, and is riddled with complexity given how policymakers in Pakistan have focused heavily on citizenship education in an attempt to forge strong national unity. This "religification" (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2012) in which religious identity supersedes all other identities and is used as a tool for national cohesion is empirically unsound and detrimental to the understanding of the self and others. Moreover, it creates an artificial discourse of difference between communities, a binary that tugs at the social fabric of society (Kadiwal & Durrani, 2018).

Consequently, I chose global education in order to focus on interdependence and responsibility, against the backdrop of nation-building efforts, as opposed to broadening of the discourse around citizenship. Particularly in view of the tensions in developing post-colonial contexts like Pakistan, where a focus on nation-building is strong and the approach



to citizenship as a practice is passive ( Dean, 2005; Pasha, 2015). In addition, citizenship is in itself a politically charged concept, linked to nations and boundaries ascribing membership to a human construct. A broader perspective would be to include a moral/religious/spiritual dimension to interdependence and responsibility. For example, an approach that acknowledges that God has created all things in proportion and harmony, and this balance applies to the world in all matters and manners, which must be maintained beyond the delimits of man-made boundaries and nation states. For these reasons, in this study, I focus on the term global education.

Discourse around global citizenship education provides valuable understanding that is relevant to this thesis and also of approaches that are applicable to global education.

Literature around global citizenship education has the following underlying essential themes:

1. A need to understand and know globalisation, interdependence, and most importantly, the global context.
2. An inclusion of a global identity amongst other identities: a sense of belonging that forgoes the local for a global society.
3. A sense of shared responsibility with the larger community.
4. Shared values of compassion, peace, and mutual respect (Pasha, 2015).

Naturally, there are overlaps with global education given that global citizenship education falls under the ambit of global education in its focus on understanding globalisation and interdependence, with the goal of equipping learners to inherit a complicated global reality. From a post-colonial perspective, Andreotti (2006) offers two contrasting approaches to global citizenship education that are valuable to consider: the 'soft' and the 'critical' approach

to global education. Soft approaches simply provide an understanding of or 'about' the world as opposed to a deep engagement with it. They do not encourage an examination of the complexities of issues, such as poverty and inequality, or encourage reflexivity and dialogue that 'critical' approaches promote. In this thesis, my reference to critical global education derives from this conception and, refers to a transformative approach to global education as opposed to a superficial engagement with themes.

The second important contribution that research around global citizenship education offers is the examination of ideological underpinnings that link to global education. Oxley and Morris (2013) attempted to condense prevalent literature by distinguishing global citizenship education on the basis of ideology. They identified eight main categories around global citizenship, which are divided into two types: Cosmopolitan and Advocacy. The former relates to social dimensions and entails political, economic, moral, and cultural approaches. Economic and political dimensions focus on enabling students to function and compete in the global economy and understand the way states influence each other. While the moral focuses on human rights and responsibility, the cultural dimensions focus on the globalisation of aspects of culture, such as the arts, media, languages and so on.

The term 'cosmopolitanism' refers to ideas of universality where the 'cosmos' (universe/world) is one's 'city' (living place/community) derived from Ancient Greek philosophy (Oxley & Morris, 2013), translating quite literally to a 'citizen of the world'. Formulated by Kant and advanced by other scholars, cosmopolitanism "expresses a transcendent moral truth relating to political reasoning not narrowly bounded by national states" (Unterhalter, 2008, p. 540).

## 2.2 Cosmopolitanism

Appiah's philosophical exploration suggests that a response to the interconnectedness and burden of the modern times is a revival of cosmopolitanism (2006), which he suggests can be understood as universality plus difference (Appiah, 2008). Though, he cautions this as the challenge for cosmopolitanism: the clash of universal concern and respect for legitimate difference (p. 13). This ideology is not only evident explicitly in strands, such as 'cosmopolitan citizenship' (Osler & Starkey, 2008), as a way of being, based on feelings of solidarity with fellow human beings wherever they are but also in other educational policies, such as 'all children' and leave 'no child behind', that are rooted in a philosophy of cosmopolitanism (Popkewitz, 2012). Beyond global citizenship education, there are ideological underpinnings of cosmopolitanism that endure in educational policy and practice.

At this stage, I examine what the significance of this ideology is to global education and therefore this thesis. Foremost, cosmopolitan underpinnings find roots in the social justice interpretation in which, central to global education is emphasising a social justice orientation that demands scrutiny of issues of equity, justice, and sustainability. This is juxtaposed to discourses of global education within neoliberal constructs that has economic undertones emphasising the need for learners to be prepared to be competitive and skilled for a global market. These will be further explored and discussed in Chapter 6.

Secondly, philosophical debates around cosmopolitanism provide crucial insight on values that have relevance to this thesis. Appiah (2006) argues that acts, thoughts, and feelings are responses to the values held and so a concept, such as social justice, guides action *because* it is value-laden. He explains that "learning what kindness is means learning, among other things, that it's good" (p. 35). Ascribing to this ideology would mandate the need for an

examination of a values-based approach to global education in recognition that actions are simply responses to values held. He suggests that the language of values is one of the central ways we coordinate our experiences and understanding and, therefore, live with one another. Organising global education around values relevant to local contexts and traditions can encourage greater connection and action to issues of social justice.

Moreover, when considering the universality of educational traditions like global citizenship education, a critical examination of its ideology is pivotal to circumvent dangers of a “civilizing mission” (Andreotti, 2006). The idea of humanity as one exists in both Western and non-Western traditions and not relegated to the Western genealogy. While cosmopolitan traditions of unity exist, their rationale might differ based on world views. The dominant Islamic worldview, for example, is intrinsically a universal creed based on the equality of all men who are subservient only to God. Resultantly, there is a direct relationship between rights and justice and, that the rights of a person are God-given and not state-given and so equal for all. There is a need to recognize that mainstream approaches do not adequately consider non-Western cultures and their cosmopolitan traditions, and do not do so within their post-colonial realities. They pose a danger of implying that ideologies or humanistic values and norms have only existed in the West, contrasted against others who are ‘close-minded’, ‘tribalistic’ and uncaring of the world beyond certain boundaries (Jooste & Heleta, 2017).

Many of these discussions will be built upon in Chapter 6, which explores the influences on the field of global education and its interpretations, examining these in the context of Pakistan to make conclusions around how ‘global’ is global education and what the role of the local is within broader discourse. Before doing so, the subsequent chapter will consider the

theoretical framework used to inform this study. I explain the role of different theories and theorists and how they relate to the discursive constructions pivotal to this thesis.

### 3.0 Understanding the Pakistan Context

As discussed in the previous chapter, educational policy is informed within national policy agendas framed within geopolitical and socio-economic realities, influenced by global trends and international organizations. This section provides an introduction to the relevant geopolitical and economic policy features of the country with the aim of framing the context of this study. An exploration of education policies and educational governance in Pakistan aims to inform understanding on the impact of these on curricula and textbook development. Finally, this chapter examines the population demographics, the culture of teaching and learning in the country, teacher's role and agency and the mobility of students beyond national boundaries in an attempt to situate the scope and value of global education.

Crucial to understanding Pakistan, its interlinkages, and its complexities, is recognising the country's geographic positioning because of which, for much of its existence, Pakistan has remained centre stage through global affairs. Geographically, the Islamic republic of Pakistan neighbours China in the north, Afghanistan, and Iran to its west, India on the east with the Arabian Sea to the south. The subcontinents' independence from the British colonial rule, in 1947, resulted in the creation of Pakistan and India as two sovereign countries, both of whom have remained locked in a volatile relationship ever since.

British policies in India in the era of colonisation heightened religious consciousness that resulted in new socio-economic structures replacing previous forms of identity politics, based on tribes, regions, lineages and ethnicities (Panjwani & Khimani, 2017). This had deep-rooted impacts that ultimately led to the formation of Pakistan based on religious affiliation. This Islamic identity has been emphasized in varying degrees and it continues to play a dominant role in many facets of society. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, in a now

famous phrase, envisioned Pakistan to serve as a 'Laboratory of Islam', which could then be applied to other lands (Rehman, 1985). The degree to which this Islamic tenancy has been emphasized in the history of the country has varied but has never been entirely absent. In education, it has appeared in the form of Islamizing the curriculum attempted by successive governments in varying degrees. The persistence of this narrative is attributed to the attempt to building a strong national identity with Islamic identity being used as the social cohesive glue. These attempts have not necessarily been successful as "Pakistan has struggled to harmonize the culturally rich layers of a complex past going back several millennia with its brief and politically turbulent recent history" (Jalal, 2014, p. 7).

This inward struggle has been matched with an equally complex outward role; in Pakistan's relatively short history, it has remained at the centre of world politics. The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) conducted a two-year research project that sought to examine Pakistan's internal landscape and external geopolitical environment. As the report highlights in its introduction: "Pakistan today represents one of the world's most significant and vexing geopolitical challenges. Its geographic position at the nexus of the Middle East and Asia, its nuclear stockpile, and the strength and determination of domestic extremist groups make Pakistan's future course a top geopolitical priority" (Ahmad et al., 2016, p. 2). Pakistan's geographic positioning has undoubtedly played a role in its political endeavours and resulted in the country having a ubiquitous presence in global politics and policy agendas. In 1976, it came in possession of nuclear energy, causing the country to remain under scrutiny in the international arena. In the 1980s, Pakistan played a role against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan alongside the United States of America (USA) and Saudi Arabia. The country played a dominant role in the War on Terror in the last decade and continues to ally with the USA. It has also taken in the largest number of Afghan refugees.

Close relations with China is a key agenda of Pakistan's foreign policy. In global politics, this relationship between the two countries is a significant one. Pakistan functioned as China's backdoor during its years of diplomatic isolation, and the front-line in Beijing's struggles with the Soviet Union during the late stages of the Cold War. Today, Pakistan lies at the heart of Beijing's plans for a network of ports, pipelines, roads, and railways connecting the oil and gas fields of the Middle East to the mega-cities of East Asia. Pakistan's coastline is a crucial piece to China's propulsion as a naval power, extending its reach from the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea (Small, 2015, p. 1). The China-Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a collection of infrastructure projects under construction throughout Pakistan. It is cited as a framework of regional connectivity benefiting not just China and Pakistan but will also positively impact their neighbours and the region. Its purpose and vision is to enhance geographical transport links to encourage greater trade, business, exchange of people, improve understanding by developing a win-win model that will result in a well-connected, integrated region of shared destiny, harmony and development (Introduction | China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Official Website, n.d.). At the same time Pakistan has acted as a conduit for China as it navigates its growing interests in the Islamic world. For Pakistan, China provides the best possible ticket out of instability and economic weakness. China has been Pakistan's diplomatic protector, its chief arms supplier, and a heavy investor. Pakistan's strategic geopolitical positioning has been an important reason for it receiving aid (Ahsan, 2005) over the course of its existence. A case in point, is the educational aid for Pakistan between 1980 and 2000, which was not focused only on improving educational outcomes, but as a means to curtail extremist ideologies (Curtis, 2007). A key to understanding Pakistan's policy agendas and ideologies is examining the involvement of foreign economic assistance to understand the impacts of these.



By 1980, Pakistan had become the 10<sup>th</sup> largest recipient of the World Bank/IMF loans and continues to be one of its largest debtors (Khushik & Diemer, 2018a). Pakistan's large loans compelled it to make structural reforms to abide by the neoliberal globalisation agenda of these loans. In Pakistan, policies of deregulation and liberalization, adopted since the 1980s, is attributed to the pressure by the IMF/World Bank (Gardezi, 1998). Neoliberalism refers to the economic theory that favours market deregulation, privatization and minimal state intervention in economic and social affairs (Venugopal, 2015). It is important not to see this as simply a state-versus-market phenomenon but a more complex model in which the state is in fact used in the transfer of public funds to private entities. Thus neoliberalism is more of a state led market agenda that does not indicate an absence of the state, but instead includes a role for the state in supporting such policies (Davies, 2018). In this way, neoliberalism is not simply an economic model but is instead an implicitly political and sociological reform model.

Neoliberalism has become the dominant public policy of many developed countries and international agencies (Navarro, 2007). These policies create unprecedented profits for multinational corporations and international banks, "by means of a lean and mean regime of flexible accumulation and downward spiralling competition which has promoted unemployment, aggravated global poverty and widened the gap between the rich and the poor" (Gardezi, 1998). Loans set into motion power dynamics and cause structural inequalities that become deep rooted and further plunge developing countries into greater disadvantage. It is perhaps then unsurprising that such policies and reforms have the support of middle classes who tend to benefit most from these policies (Nambissan & Lall, 2011). Neoliberal approaches in the delivery of educational services inevitably involve the privileged as it is through these "local elite networks that policies and programmes promoting private interests are devised, implemented and given legitimacy" (Shams, 2015, p. 138)

Pakistan continues to receive a high amount of international aid with the amount of aid for education alone standing at \$650 million in 2015 (Sheikh, 2017). Aid towards education is similarly tied to the import of specific reforms; “funds are not simply transferred from the donor to recipient country. The entire package consists of both funds as well as policy ideas and reform practices” (Shams, 2015, p. 20) These can present in the form of “technical assistance, policy level plans and recommendations under ‘best practices’, and specific implementation level strategies for improving the overall education system of recipient countries” (Shams, 2015, p. 14) The transference of educational reform ideas from one country to another is termed policy borrowing (Steiner-khamsi, 2012). Ali & Tahir (2009) argue that policy discourses around decentralisation, equity, efficiency, quality human capital and privatisation are ‘policy prescriptions’ within the domain of education and is evident in many parts of the world (p. 2).

Carnoy (1999) suggests three ways to classify these reforms which are valuable in examining policies. These are: competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms, and equity-driven reforms. The first, competitiveness-driven reforms refer to “reforms that respond to shifting demand for skills in both the domestic and world labour markets and to new ideas about organizing the production of education achievement and work skills” (Carnoy, 1999, p. 37). Unsurprisingly the focus on human resources in South Asia has attained a dominance with education framed “as a process of harnessing human capital through equipping the young with marketable ‘skills’” (UNESCO MGIEP, 2017, p. 142)

Finance driven reforms focus on reducing public-sector budgets to shrink government spending and increase privatization. These reforms are evident in policies around shifting public funds from higher to lower levels of education, privatisation of secondary and higher

education and reduction of cost per student at all schooling levels. While equity-driven reforms are focused on providing equal opportunity to all, to access education. Programmes such as Education for All (EFA) are classic examples of such reforms. Ali and Tahir (2009) map Pakistan's educational policies over the years to suggest that agendas of privatization, decentralization, universal primary education and literacy campaigns, higher education reforms and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms have all followed global reform policy patterns. The subsection below looks at Pakistan's education policy focus and governance to highlight areas of focus over the course of the countries existence.

### 3.1 Educational Policy Focus and Governance

National educational policy and focus has evolved with changing political parties and political focus. Pakistan started out with a development-oriented worldview given the growth-focused goal of the newly founded nation state. This was echoed by the early curriculum which, although nationalistic, was also focused on the future. The shift was from colonial-administrative focus to a professional and technical system deemed more suited to the progressive economy. The vision of the government, as noted in the Shariff Report at the time was:

“But narrow nationalism in the modern world is not enough; and if we gave the child only this, we would be doing him a disservice. Nations are a part of one another, and none stands alone. Pakistan is in a particular position of having cultural, historical, and spiritual ties with the Middle East, Europe, and North America. This rich heritage is itself a national asset and provides an ideal starting point for teaching international

understanding and a realisation of our membership in a comity of nations” (Khan, 1961, as cited in Saigol, 2003, p. 18).

This approach to education Zaidi (2011) argues “was conducive to producing a much more forward-looking curriculum than would appear later, emphasising multiculturalism and recognising the tempering effects of humanity on ideology” (p. 45). Until the late 1950s, the focus remained on industrial development and human resource development. In 1958, a commission set up by the military government resolved that “education should serve the creation of a progressive and democratic society and identified three limitations to achieving this goal: ‘the lack of national unity; the failure to make economic progress and create a social welfare state; and the attitudes of passivity, indiscipline and non-acceptance of public authority’” (Ministry of Education, 1959 as cited in Dean, 2008, p. 6-7). From the mid-1960s onwards, the focus of education in Pakistan was the reform in curriculum by production and dissemination of exemplary curriculum materials. The 1998 policy stated the direct link between quality of education and quality of instruction in the classroom. In line with this there was greater focus on teacher training. During this time steps such as linking pay scales to teacher’s qualification, updating, and reviewing the curriculum, as well as encouraging multiple textbooks options were taken. The 1998-2010, and 2009 policies allowed the use of multiple textbooks both in public and private schools (Mahmood, 2010). The 2009 policy differs from earlier policies in one main element, that is, the policy is not written following the sectoral approach with guidelines under the heads of primary education, secondary education, technical education; but instead, takes a thematic approach, focusing on areas of access, quality, governance and so on (Brock & Ali, 2014). Below, Table 5 presents a summary of some of the core objectives within the educational policy documents that were created over time:

Table 5: Tracing Educational Policies in Pakistan

Education Policies	Key Objectives
National Education Policy 1947/ Educational Conference	Education should be inspired by Islam; free and compulsory elementary education; character building; and emphasis on science and technical education
Education Policy 1970	Islamic values; compulsory primary education; emphasis on scientific and technical education; national language as medium of instruction; social change for democratic society and equal access to education; strengthen educational institutions; dignity of labour
Education Policy 1972-80	Ideology of Pakistan; national cohesion; equal access to education for all, participation of all stake holders, skill development for economic activities with a special focus on technical and vocational education
Education Policy 1979	Islamic principles of life and commitment to the ideology of Pakistan was its primary aim; scientific and technical education; provision of non-formal schooling
Education Policy 1992	Islamic principles; universal primary education; emphasis on teachers for enhancing quality; improving adult literacy
Education Policy 2009	An education which caters for social, political, spiritual needs of society; Pakistan ideology; nationhood; social cohesion; holistic development; responsible individuals and global citizens; greater equality.

(Khanum, 2019; Khushik & Diemer, 2018b; Mahmood, 2010).

Evidently, a persistent thread across the national policies of education is the commitment to the ideology of Pakistan and the objective of developing Islamic values. The 2009 policy document correctly identifies that “there is an unresolved and continuing debate on how and what religious and moral values to be taught through the educational system” (Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 16). It is important to highlight that the debate is not around whether there should be an inclusion of Islamic values, but instead how these values should be inculcated and what values should the focus be on. The document does not resolve or attempt to address this question but does stress for “Pakistan’s educational interventions... be based on the core values of religion and faith” (p. 9), with the need to “secure values without regressing into unnecessary anachronism and parochial insularity” (p. 18).

Throughout its history, governments have aimed in different measure to use education to promote and inculcate Islamic ideology and identity to create social cohesion in a plural society (Khalid & Khan, 2006). This reductionist identity focus is meant to encourage national unity across the diverse ethnic groups using the Muslim identity as the only identity marker of the Pakistani 'self' (Durrani & Dunne, 2010).

Focus on nation building is not a phenomenon isolated for Pakistan, but rather, is evident in post-colonial countries. UNESCO-MGIEP (2017) in their report highlight that "the orientation of schooling towards promoting identities that are highly (if not exclusively) nation-centred is extremely strong across Asia. This has much to do with the historical legacy either of direct colonial rule over much of the continent, or the threat of Western (or Japanese) domination, in stimulating highly state-centred forms of 'catch-up' modernisation. Especially in countries that gained their independence from colonial rule within living memory, and are still marked by mass poverty, acute socio-economic inequality, and internal ethnic or religious tensions — as is the case across much of Central, South and Southeast Asia" (p.16)

Alongside the focus on national cohesion, the second main feature of almost all policies are competitiveness driven reforms. A strong case in point is successive governments language policy. The perception around English medium schools is largely one of a 'passport to privilege', as English is used in all domains of power in Pakistan (Rahman, 2005). The Language Policy, in the National Education Policy 2009, acknowledges the importance of English language as a language of international competition: "English is an international language, and important for competition in a globalized world order" (Ministry of Education, 2009), while Urdu is described as a language that connects people and a symbol of national cohesion and integration. In the National Curriculum, English is employed as the medium of instruction

for sciences and mathematics from Grade 4 onwards. However, the dominance of textbooks in the English language at the primary levels illustrate the demand for English textbooks. All of the privately published textbooks for social studies are in the English language suggesting the ideological differences between private and public schools. In the public sector, the textbook from the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is the only one that is only available in the Urdu language. Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan have made the textbook for social studies available in both languages.

Further linking to global education and the objectives of this thesis, the policy document states the following objective:

“Emerging trends and concepts such as School Health, Prevention Education against HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, Life Skills Based Education, Environmental Education, Population and Development Education, Human Rights Education, School Safety and Disaster and Risk Management, Peace Education and inter-faith harmony, detection and prevention of child abuse, etc shall be infused in the curricula and awareness and training materials shall be developed for students and teachers in this context, keeping in view cultural values and sensitivities” (Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 45).

The current government has been working on developing and releasing a single national curriculum (SNC). The document is a response to addressing the lack of uniformity in the multiple, parallel education systems operating in the country. Pertinent to this thesis, one of the features described is the focus on “equipping learners with principles and attributes such as truthfulness, honesty, tolerance, respect, peaceful coexistence, environmental awareness & care, democracy, human rights, sustainable development, global citizenship, personal care and safety”. As in the earlier policy, many of the educational themes that encompass global education are clumped together in this objective as emerging trends indicative perhaps of

the lip service agreement to these externally driven, global trends that are part of travelling policy reforms. There is a particular mention of adhering to the values of the Pakistani context when developing these themes of study.

While objectives of policies are reflective of the aspirations of the country, implementation has remained a challenge. A lack of political will, bureaucracy, and lack of merit-based appointments in government institutions and schools have exasperated issues of infrastructure, overcrowded classrooms, poor quality teachers and assessments. The existence of alternative education and examination systems, such as the GCSE and IB examinations, suggest that demand for quality has existed which was not however been met by local supply.

Finance driven reforms meanwhile are evident in the matter of educational governance. From 1956 to 1972, education was assigned to the exclusive domain of the provinces. In 1972, the socialist government formulated a new Education Policy by recommending the nationalization of all the privately managed institutions. The purpose was to provide education to all by providing free and universal education, an equity driven reform goal. This however put an immense strain on government expenses and was later reversed in 1978, as the new military government denationalized the institutions and encouraged private education. Education administration was also decentralized. This part of Pakistan's education history was dominated by the discord between nationalization and denationalization, socialization and Islamization and centralization to decentralization. Later, education policy, planning, curriculum, syllabus, standards of education and Islamic education was placed in the realm of the federal government, empowering it to play a dominant role in the affairs of education while the role of the provinces was restricted to implementation. The Education



Sector Reforms (2000-2003) actively encouraged the involvement of private sector in education, the role of public-private partnerships, good governance and stressed the importance of education for all and “education servicing the imperative of human resource development” (Ministry of Education, 2000, p. 4) A major modification came in 2010, with the passing of the 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment under which there was a devolution of power to the provincial governments, with the federal government now only serving as a monitoring and evaluation body for the provinces.

In summary, Pakistan’s present day policy agendas focus on Islamic values and character-building alongside national unity within a human capital approach to education (Dean, 2005). There is also a strong emphasis on the goal of being among the ten largest economies of the world in the next 25 years (Government of Pakistan, 2015a). Over the years, evidence of competitive, finance and equity driven reforms are evident in different policies. Decisions towards privatisation and decentralisation; an emphasis on global emerging trends and the achievement of EFA and MDG targets; alongside the focus on improving governance systems actually follow global directions and suggest not only an influence of globalisation on education (Carnoy, 1999) but also a process of education policy borrowing in Pakistan (Ali & Tahir, 2009).

### 3.2 Textbooks in Pakistan

One of the consequences of the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment has been the lack of uniform textbooks across the provinces. Provincial textbook boards, established in the early 1960s, developed textbooks for both public and private schools. Content was first evaluated and approved by the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education, after which they were published by the provincial textbook boards located in each province (Zaidi, 2011). Curriculum planning and

textbook development and publishing now lies with the provincial government although not all of them have developed a revised syllabus. Textbook development and, in some cases, revision has preceded syllabi development; this speaks volumes for the power of the textbook in the education system in Pakistan, which is the singular source of information and classroom teaching and learning. In 2007, the Ministry of Education had revised the social studies curriculum for Grade 4 and Grade 5 which continues to be in use by most provinces despite the amendment.

The textbook development policy (Ministry of Education, 2007), went through some modification after the devolution of powers to the provinces. In an effort to develop better quality textbooks the Government had initiated public private partnerships to publish textbooks as opposed to keeping the mandate with provincial textbook boards alone (SAHE, 2018). The process of development and review is detailed below:

Step 1: Textbook Boards invite provincial/national publishers to register their interest or intent and specify for which subjects and grades they intend to develop and submit manuscripts. The Sindh Textbook Board (STBB) invites writers directly.

Step 2: Publishers develop a manuscript and submit it. In STBB, a team of writers, led by a senior writer, divide topics, and develop a manuscript. The senior writer compiles drafts and edits manuscript before submission.

Step 3: An internal review committee is set up that review the manuscript for alignment with the national curriculum and for quality. In each province, the committee varies having between 4 to 6 members. Publishers incorporate suggestions.

Step 4: External review committees are set up to review manuscripts and submit its recommendations. These committees are constituted by the curriculum authority. The external review committee recommends which manuscripts to adopt. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, these manuscripts go through a pilot testing phase.

Step 5: A final selection is made by the selection committee appointed by the Department of Education and a No Objection Certificate (NOC) is issued. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, this is done after the pilot testing.

The use of multiple textbooks was common in the 1960s, however with the creation of Provincial Textbook Boards, this practice ceased. The Commission on National Education cited a number of reasons for the creation of Textbook Boards and the use of single textbooks; which included: “a) non- availability of first rate textbooks, b) most of the books were developed by non-professionals, c) poor presentation of textbooks, d) selection of textbooks on the basis of administrative pressure instead of merit, e) temptations offered by the publishers, f) lack of evaluation by the experts, g) high price of the textbooks, and h) students were forced to buy cram books in addition to textbooks etc” (Mahmood, 2010, p. 17). While initially the purpose may have been met with an improvement in quality, with time, the quality of textbooks began to decline once again. Unsurprisingly then, the National Education Policy (1998-2010) stated that the “quality of textbooks has been a continuous source of concern. [Single] Sole-textbooks, which are prescribed up to the secondary level, are causing a number of problems in teaching, learning and evaluation of students” (as cited in Mahmood, 2010, p. 17) In view of this, the National Education Policy of Pakistan 1992 emphasized that “a competitive system of multiple textbooks is being introduced at secondary level. The availability of multiple textbooks instead of sole-textbooks is expected to broaden the

knowledge base of students and minimize the chances of rote learning” (p. 3). The current policy continues with this stance of promoting the use of multiple textbooks both within the public and private sector.

Turning to the content of the textbooks, Muhammad (2015) in his research study finds that liberal-democratic discourses found in policy documents at the macro level seemed to disappear at the micro level in textbook discourses. He attributes this to the fact that policy documents are open to interpretation by textbook writers. While there may be certain themes visible in policy documents, these may find their way in textbooks in differing ways. Further, writers are given no training or debriefing to assist in the interpretations of the curriculum document and aligning student learning outcomes. While there has been little research conducted on the textbook evaluation process in Pakistan (Mahmood & Iqbal, 2009), there is some agreement that reviewers and textbook developers lack expertise in the area and are often appointed due to their positions in the government (Mahmood, 2006; SAHE, 2018). Politics of power and ideologies greatly impact the review process. In some cases, it is the gap between writers and review committees with writers disagreeing or refusing to incorporate suggestions. Political pressures hinder quality approvals and, in some cases, such as that of Balochistan, the shortage of publishers means they exercise a significant amount of power (SAHE, 2018). The political process evidently, plays a major role in the process of textbook development.

While international policy discourses influence the education sector these do not necessarily translate in the way they are envisaged. The lack of ownership, equivocal interpretations of policy documents and lack of expertise of writers contributes to divergent discourses. Further, the power at play in development of these texts reverberates Apple’s argument that texts are

a playing field in the creation of what societies recognize as legitimate and truthful and thus truth itself is socially constructed (1990). Foucault (1984), in the examination of discourse, urged questions around how we know what we know, These systems and procedures around textbook development, are designed to control the inculcation and transmission values considered to be true. Indeed Lall & Saeed (2020) in their book assert that the “ideological intersection that reinforces a form of Islamic nationalism as the defining feature of the Pakistani identity has also been found in the textbooks published in 2014–15, 2015–16 and 2016–17, despite the commitment to reforming the curriculum” (p.102) that came after the passing of the eighteenth amendment. The political influence thus exerted over the development of the textbooks not only have effects on the quality of these resources but are also working to create a certain ‘truth’ through institutional power and control. Crucially, there isn’t one single institutional power at play but instead, multiple external and internal forces are consistently negotiating the narratives of these discourses.

There has been considerable research around textbooks in Pakistan. What all of these have in common is a consensus on the importance of the textbook in Pakistani schools because, as the Green Paper on Textbook and Learning Materials of Ministry of Education itself confesses, “the textbook is the only available learning material in most schools. Additional materials like teaching aids, supplementary reading materials and school libraries are virtually non-existent” (Government of Pakistan, 2006, as cited in Mahmood, 2010, p. 15).

Much of the research on textbooks is focused on particular regions, such as Panezai & Channa's 2017 study on teachers'-led evaluation of the public school English textbooks of Grades 1–5 in the province of Balochistan; or the issue of overtly Sunni textbooks in the Northern Areas produced by the Punjab Textbook Board that enraged the local Shia

population (Ali, 2008). Other work in the area focuses on specific themes, such as that of exploring gender disparities in textbooks (Islam & Asadullah, 2018; Shah, 2012). Research, however, is particularly tilted towards exploring the Pakistan studies textbooks and the teaching of history to explore concepts of citizenship, nationalism and religious indoctrination and their links to intolerance, hate and 'othering' (Anand, 2019; Dean, 2005; Dean, 2008; Emerson, 2018; Lall, 2008; Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Saigol, 2005; Zaidi, 2011a).

There exists a gap which this research aims to fill. Foremost, while adjectival education has been promoted in national policy as discussed earlier, there has been little groundwork on current discourses around these themes. Policies can translate in different ways in classrooms given the differing interpretation of curriculum documents by textbook writers and the context of local textbook development. This research can help to inform the current construction of themes of global education within textbook discourses. Findings from this study can help to inform discourse and future textbook and policy developments in the area by addressing possibilities and challenges. In addition, most of these studies consider content and not the skills and values imparted in the textbook. By considering the triangulation of knowledge, skills and values, a more holistic approach to understanding the discourse of the textbooks can be achieved.

Given its undoubted importance in the classroom, this thesis focuses on the Grade 5 social studies textbooks developed and circulated by each province for the subject area, as well as all privately published textbooks for the same grade level. The subject of social studies is inclusive, not only of history and geography, but also of economics and sociology that more broadly align with global education.

### 3.3 Demographics of the Education Sector

This section focuses on the demographics of the educational sector, to explain the distribution between the public and the private sector in servicing education as well as the number of enrolments at different levels. Because this study analyses government and private sector textbooks, this information is aims to identify the audience of these classroom resources.

In Pakistan, 37 per cent of all schools are private, while 63 per cent are run by the government (Khan et al., 2017), (Madrassahs are not tallied in this report, nor considered in this study). Of the total school-going population, about 40 per cent are enrolled in low-cost private schools (Naviwala, 2016). In urban centres, 62 per cent of education institutions are run by the private sector, while in rural areas, only 19 per cent fall under the private sector (Government of Pakistan, 2015b). Schools in the private sector charge between \$3 and \$25 per month with their per child cost being half of what the government spends per child (Naviwala, 2016). The fee structure spectrum accommodates the diverse socio-economic backgrounds of the families, with parents choosing private institutions that they can afford. The varying fee structure impacts the standard of teaching and facilities provided in these schools. The prevalence of private schools in the school-going population varies by province (Balochistan: 10 per cent, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: 31 per cent, Sindh: 39 per cent, Punjab: 42 per cent). Private schools are more common in urban areas and more likely to attract children from higher income households. These schools are perceived as being 'better', associated with stronger learning outcomes and with English as a medium of instruction. Although private schools have a higher number of teachers, they are not necessarily better qualified or more experienced than government school teachers (Azhar et al., 2014).

The schooling system in Pakistan is divided into five levels:

- i. Pre-Primary: constitutes Early Childhood Education (ECE), preparatory school for children age 3-4 years.
- ii. Primary: comprises Grades 1 through Grade 5. 88 per cent of primary schools are in the public sector enrolling 61 per cent of the school-going population. With regards to this thesis, it is fair to assume that the audience of primary level textbooks is the largest.
- iii. Middle: refers to Grades 6 through Grade 8, with 34 per cent of schools in the public sector enrolling 62 per cent of the school-going population in this age group.
- iv. High: constitutes Grade 9 and Grade 10, leading to the Secondary School Certificate (SSC). 42 per cent of all educational institutions that serve 68 per cent in this age group are in the public sector.
- v. Higher Secondary/Intermediate: Grade 11 and Grade 12, that lead to a Higher Secondary School Certificate (HSSC). The public sector runs 39 per cent of the institutions and caters to 88 per cent of this age group.

Net enrolment at the primary level stood at 67 per cent, according to the Asian Development Bank's sector assessment (2019). However, at the middle school level this drops to 37 per cent and further decreases to 27 per cent at the high school level.

The high enrolment numbers at the primary level can be attributed to policy shifts that came with the international shift of focus of educational targets. Malik (2007) notes that it was at the Dakar Education Conference, in 2000 that the international community committed itself to providing the necessary financial support to countries that had viable plans for achieving Education For All. This, she argues, impacted discourse in two ways, the first was the shift in the targets towards universal primary education which "the World Bank and other research



concluded provided greater returns (primarily economic but some social)” (p.17). The second was the nature of donor roles in achieving those targets which shifted away from standalone projects to strengthening existing delivery mechanisms and cross cutting sectorial objectives.

Other key factors for the low transition to other levels of education is the lack of access to schools in many areas. These statistics are perhaps also indicative of the view of education as not yielding returns; in addition to the possible financial burden of an education that is viewed as irrelevant with issues of quality (Najam & Bari, 2017). These enrolment statistics are well behind neighbouring India and other South Asian countries, such as Bangladesh and Sri Lanka (Development Bank, 2019)

### 3.4 Population Demographics

Pakistan currently has the largest percentage (64 per cent) of young people under the age of 30, ever recorded in its history (Najam & Bari, 2017). This massive youth population signals to a large emerging group that will be engaging with a complex, dynamic, and interdependent world. However, shallow and disjointed initiatives, a lack of political will and accountability, corruption and short-term attitudes to economic policies and education plans have been blamed for not tapping into the immense resource that a large youth population offers in terms of social and political participation (Ashraf, Ali, & Hosain, 2013; Hafeez & Fasih, 2018). Although educationally untapped, paradoxically, political parties have begun to focus on youth-oriented campaigning, given that they make up 35 per cent of the voter base, are more able to sway family decision making, and can play a crucial role in gathering and organising public events (Hussain, Sajid, & Jullandhry, 2018). While political parties recognize the power of the youth for elections, they do not focus on utilising their potential for a broader citizenship role once in power by broadening educational policy. Thus Lall & Saeed (2020)

suggest, “there has been a historical failure by the political elites to make the state relevant to the wider population” (p.32).

There are other statistics important in understanding the challenges and realities of this demographic. First, Pakistan ranks poorly, falling among the top 20 of the most fragile states in the world (“Country Dashboard | Fragile States Index,” 2018.). This index measures the vulnerability to conflict comprising 12 dimensions to measure the condition of a state at any given moment. These include security apparatus, factionalized elites, group grievance, economic decline, uneven economic development, human flight, and brain drain, state legitimacy, public services, human rights and rule of law, demographic pressures, refugees and internally displaced people, and external intervention. This youth population will continue to confront challenges of the nature listed above.

Examining some of the indicators mentioned above, Pakistan was among the top 10 refugee-hosting countries, predominantly hosting refugees from Afghanistan (McAuliffe & Khadria, 2019), with almost 1.4 million Afghan refugees in the country (UNHR, 2018). However, the government’s approach to refugees and their legal position remains unclear. Refugees are not able to access education or healthcare, to open a bank account or work, as Pakistan is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention (Amnesty International, 2019). This is indicative of institutional practices that (il)legitimize refugee groups in society.

Additionally, brain-drain, the migration of highly qualified and highly-skilled youth, is a continued concern for Pakistan that ranks sixth in the world for human capital mobility (Farooq & Ahmad, 2017; Hashmi et al., 2012), and ranks in the top 10 countries receiving remittances from overseas (McAuliffe & Khadria, 2019). Youth lived experience is not bereft of a desire to engage with the outside world with almost 48 per cent expressing a desire to

move abroad (Zafar, 2016). The strong emigration culture results in remittances that contribute to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and strengthens the narrative around 'human capital being the most important asset of a country' (Government of Pakistan, 2018). What this also demonstrates, is that within the domain of education, what is prioritized, rests on economic and political motives based on the returns these offer.

There is evidence of positive correlation between remittances and social outcomes, such as those of school enrolment and a reduction in child labour (McAuliffe & Khadria, 2019). Within neoliberal parameters there is an important need to focus on an outward-looking education that prepares students to positively engage with issues of social justice, such as with those of refugees.

Alongside the lack of confidence in the state (Lall & Saeed, 2020), there is a desire for engagement with social issues. The National Human Development Report, found Pakistani youth to have a "surprising intensity and preoccupation with making a difference and taking a stand one way or another that characterizes Pakistan's youthful population, particularly in the urban areas" (Najam & Bari, 2017, p. 36). While students in Pakistan often do not feel they have opportunity to interact or impact outside of their local contexts (Pasha, 2015), they held concerns on issues of social fragmentation and inequality (Kadiwal & Durrani, 2018), as well as on poverty and corruption (Lall, 2012). Although students express alarm over issues of social justice and express desire to act, there is little understanding as a result of political literacy with educational attainment being the only expression of agency (Kadiwal & Durrani, 2018). Lall & Saeed (2020) found that the majority of young people in their study were either apolitical or antipolitical which they attributed to the education system that does not encourage critical thought.

Given the breadth of challenges faced within Pakistan, it is increasingly important for education to teach young people to understand the complexities of issues that occur inside and outside their national borders. For a country that has focused on singular identity formation and been unable to subvert the rifts that have arisen due to ethnic, cultural, or religious segmentation, focus on the themes, values and skills of global education is critical as sentiments, demographics, and political inclinations of the country shift. Power structures, injustice, inequality, poverty, and environmental sustainability coil to impact each other and have implications beyond the immediate settings. Learners interest in social issues suggest a fertile ground for the engaging with themes of global education.

Within these existing realities, I now turn to examine the context within schools and the classroom that thwart potential for transformation. Teaching and learning in Pakistani classrooms is centred around syllabus coverage and specifically focused on teaching 'to' the textbook (Dean, 2008). There is a strong focus on assessment not just because it is seen as the only indicator of learning, but also because teachers' upward mobility is positively correlated with students' results in annual examinations (Nasreen, Naz, & Awan, 2011). Classroom interactions commonly focus on 'facts' that must be memorized to pass examinations, which are not constructed to assess higher order thinking skills but are instead focused on memorization of information. The examination culture discourages teachers own initiatives in supplementing the curriculum, as ultimately students would be tested on the factual material in the textbook (Dean, 2008). There are numerous critiques of the teaching of social studies, specifically in the context of citizenship. It has been critiqued for the absence of a critical approach that is devoid of reasoning skills and only parrots the textbook, preparing students for the regurgitation of facts (Dean, 2005; Hoodbhoy, 1998; Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Saigol, 2005). Dean (2008) explores all of the different elements of a school system, from its

teachers, curriculum and textbooks to the schools management and building to demonstrate how the macrocosm of schools as a whole is not conducive to encouraging or modelling critical, democratic educational practices. Indeed, Anand (2019) in her thesis finds that teachers find it difficult to articulate and develop critical thinking among students. Moreover, her findings conclude that teachers' attitudes are constructed in response to the expectations and assumptions of the school environment. Classroom practices then act to reproduce inequalities and are not transformative in developing a sense of agency nor critical thinking. It would be fair to assume then that while students are aware of and have a desire to engage with social challenges, they lack the skills to actively participate in addressing these. This chapter makes a few important conclusions. First that Pakistan's historical legacy has resulted in its agenda of nation-building through a deliberate focus on developing a singular Muslim identity. Its geopolitical positioning meanwhile has kept it at the forefront of global world affairs and contributed to the significant aid the country has received over its history that have come with neoliberal policy reforms agendas which have also influenced educational policy and focus. These reforms include the emphasis on competitiveness and themes termed 'global emerging trends' which contain much of global education. Borrowed policies, however, lack effectiveness because of the lack of ownership. The other key argument here is that Pakistan's role in geopolitics, fast-paced globalisation and its population demographics present a pressing need for students to be prepared to face the challenges of a complex reality. A failure to appropriately educate and skill these youngsters could turn into what has been called a "disaster in the making" (Constable, 2017), in terms of putting pressures on the environment, health and education services and further destabilising an already fragile country.

## 4.0 Theoretical Framework

Global education, as an all-encompassing field of other closely-related educational traditions, is still predominantly mono-locational and mono-epistemically informed which has remained its biggest critique from critical educational theorists (Abdi, 2015; Andreotti, 2006). Given that global education is framed within socio-economic and geopolitical realities, it is crucial that it is explored from diverse settings not only to challenge dominant narratives in the field but also to enrich the field and make it relevant in other contexts. For this purpose, it is important to understand the construction of global education, the way in which it can be enriched to adapt to this context, and also consider the narratives around themes of global education in textbooks to evaluate the potential for teaching and learning around global education. This thesis thus seeks to answer the two main questions: In what ways do Social Studies textbooks for grade 5 discuss themes related to global education? and What skills and values related to global education are evident in the social studies textbooks for grade 5?

These main questions guided my methodological choices, data set and data analysis, which in turn directed my theoretical framework. The theoretical underpinnings from Michel Foucault, particularly the interlinks between knowledge and power, along with Derrida's theory of deconstruction are key concepts that I have used to analyse the discursive formation of global education. I am interested in posing wider questions about the role and place of global education in the Pakistani milieu. My research question does not seek to consider *whether* global education is being imparted or not, but rather *how* themes that fall within the domain of global education are presented in textbooks in Pakistan. For this reason, I am not looking at how these are enacted in the classroom and instead, the scope and boundaries of my analysis is rooted in discourse analysis to consider the construction and expression of themes

in a post-colonial context. Discourses, or ways of knowing, cannot be scrutinized without reference to the ideological and institutional structures in which they are housed. This is why, in this thesis, I apply as my theoretical framework Foucault's theories of discourse, power/knowledge and also of governmentality. Foucault's theories coupled with postcolonial renderings of how power, knowledge and subjectivities are shaped and exhibited in the post-colonial context, frame my analysis.

In the following subsections, I will consider some of the core ideas in the works of the post-structuralist theorists, Foucault and Derrida, and the theoretical underpinnings of postcolonialism that lend themselves to the methodology I employ to respond to my research questions. The organization of the theoretical framework differs slightly in that it is organized by the flow of ideas and not by the theories. The subsequent chapter will outline the methodology in more detail.

#### 4.1 Truth, Power and Discourse

According to Michel Foucault, a post-structuralist philosopher of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, human knowledge is locked in an intimate relationship with power (1977). Post-structuralism, the school of thought to which Foucault belongs, can be described as challenging the notion of one truth in favour of an examination of multiple realities. For Foucault, knowledge, rather than being universal and objective, is instead historically contingent. It is produced within institutions, encouraged by economic and political motives. Universities, journalism, armed forces are some of the dominant (but not exclusive) institutions within which the production of truth are centred. While institutions may be the source of production, it was society, he argued, within which truth was being negotiated. It was consumed, diffused, and moulded.

Each society has its regime of truth(s), its "general politic of truth, that is, the type of discourse it accepts and makes function as true" (Foucault, 1984, p. 73). It was within societies, he reasoned, that systems and procedures were developed to inculcate and transmit values considered to be true. Foucault's scepticism around claims to universal truths compel a critique of all things assumed to be true. For him, critique was pivotal which he saw as being concerned with questions such as: "How have my questions been produced? How has the path of my knowing been determined?...How have I been situated to experience the real? How have exclusions operated in delineating the realm of obligation for me?... What are the struggles in which I am engaged? How have the parameters for my aspirations been defined?" (Foucault, 1991). I argue that his approach be understood as 'suspicion' of absolute truths as opposed to a complete rejection. From a position of suspicion, he encouraged a process of critique for everything considered to be true, as opposed to delineating parameters of universal and non-universal truths.

In today's globalised world, societies extend beyond immediate borders and so, institutions partaking in the construction of knowledge extend beyond boundaries. Pakistan, for instance, being strategically placed geopolitically has been subject to immense external influence. On an economic side, as discussed in chapter 3, Pakistan continues to be a large recipient of international loans and aid (Khushik & Diemer, 2018a; Sheikh, 2017) which has compelled it to make structural reforms to abide by the neoliberal globalisation agenda of these loans. What is financed and given priority within the domain of education is determined by this aid. It is not surprising then that the development of social sciences within Pakistan was a result of American influence on Pakistan and the country's close political proximity to the US during the Cold War. Disciplines such as public administration (1950s), sociology, social work, applied psychology (1960s), anthropology, area studies, strategic studies (1970s), peace and conflict



studies, and women studies (1990s) were established with American assistance (Krishna & Krishna, 2010). What these examples demonstrate, within the domain of education, is that what is prioritized and propelled rests on economic and political motives and is not free from the politics of power.

Foucault would describe this as meditating power and control through institutions and elites who construct what counts as true (Foucault, 1984). Within Pakistan, the continued emphasis on Islamization in educational policy, where teaching to read the Quran in Arabic is now mandated in order to construct a Muslim identity (Rahman, 2019), is an added example of powerful institutions dictating what should be part of everyday school practice. Michael Apple, throughout his work on education and power echoes that “what something is, what it does, one's evaluation of it, all this is not naturally preordained. It is socially constructed” (1990, p. 17).

Apple (1990) argued that it is social interests that determine what makes its way into the school's textbooks and this had underpinnings in three concepts: ideology, hegemony, and selective tradition. Dominant groups, world- views or outlooks, not only justify and legitimate their ideological control which become hegemonic as they silence those in the periphery. Teachers and textbook authors participate in the selective tradition, by maintaining and retransmitting certain knowledge over others.

He saw texts as “participate[ing] in creating what a society [or parts of a society] has recognized as legitimate and truthful” (p. 20). Texts, as part of a curriculum, participate in the organized knowledge system of society. This study is premised on an examination of textbooks as they are not simply “‘delivery systems’ of ‘facts’; they are at once the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises...they signify — through

their content and form — particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge” (Apple, 1990, p. 19), and encapsulate what the dominant culture considers legitimate knowledge.

Discourse and society, consequently, are deeply intertwined. The language of social and cultural practices dominates, legitimize, and reinforce present socio-cultural status quo power relations. Foucault, resultantly, urged interrogation of materials for their hidden influence and agenda and was interested equally in what was *not* being said, as what was being said. He was intent in examining how different discourses operate in making claims about ‘truth’, and how such discourses construct the world in the way that they do. A Foucauldian would, for example, be interested in what discourses define the domain of ‘social studies’, how these discourses have become dominant and how they shape what is understood of the field.

The French post-structuralist philosopher Jacques Derrida’s philosophy of deconstruction offers a valuable perspective to the discussion around power and discourse. Derrida suggested dominance of one particular way of knowing about the world over another by framing the world in binaries. In this way, power relations were a ‘violent hierarchy’ that privileged one term over another (Lüdemann, 2014). Derrida’s work emphasized the need for greater hybrid and fluid appreciation and representation of the world. Derrida’s work is, for example, valuable in examining the binaries of global and local.

There are two key elements to understanding Foucault and therefore discourse analysis. Foremost, Foucault did not seek to identify what is truth and what is false, instead he was interested in the construction of that ‘truth’. He argued that statements and practices constituting objects of our knowledge are socially and historically produced. In Archaeology

of Knowledge (1969), Foucault called this a discursive formation, whereby objects and statements are understood in a certain time and place, in a specific way, which denote certain 'truths' in particular ways. Discourse analysis, informed by Foucauldian scholarship, avoids the substitution of one 'truth' for another (Graham, 2005). This notion serves as a cautionary note against considering discourses to be absolute and applicable across time and place. Given that global education is a relatively recent field of study, analysis of discourse around global education must be understood within specific historical and geographical contexts and, attempts to apply discourse across contexts must be cognizant of these conditions. The purpose is then to situate the field in its socio-historical context in order to describe the historical assumptions of this episteme of thought (Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004). It is undeniable that Foucault's philosophy is self-refuting in nature as his thinking is subject to the same conditions that his theory puts forward. That is, his ideas are historically contingent, propagated by an 'elite' intellectual. The notion around the absence of absolute truths can be contested as in many beliefs and traditions around the world there are some absolute truths and universal ethics that inform perspectives. These are not social constructs that change over time, but are rooted as absolute universal truths. Most crucially, it is imperative to consider what the purpose of discovery, thought and exploration is if it does not lead towards the creation of a better world (Butler, 2001). In other words, what is the purpose of uncovering the truth if not to advance a more just reality? Foucault's own notion that resistance exists wherever power is enacted (Foucault, 1978), and the link between knowledge and power itself demonstrates the existence of consistent struggle for a better reality. Indeed, relativism of truth has encouraged conversations and resistance movements, such as those around feminism or anti-colonial struggles. While Foucault can be understood as urging to *problematize* rather than *reject* one truth for

another, hegemonic ideologies do exist and uncovering these are for the purpose of going beyond problematising to allowing other 'truths' to come to the forefront.

Another important criticism is from Fairclough who argues that Foucault's work is centred around the social and political analysis of discursive practices as systems of rules, rather than with textual analysis of real instances of what is said or written, that is with the analysis of actual texts (Olssen et al., 2004). Foucault's Discourse Analysis (FDA) is the broader methodological family to which Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is related. CDA provides tools for examining the ways that language and texts contribute to creating a reality which is important for global education more broadly because it urges the critical evaluation of imposed categories of thought and perception and challenging assumptions. Critical discourse analysis will be explored in greater detail in the subsequent chapter on methodology.

The second key element to understanding Foucault is that he saw power as a web, a kind of invisible network that surrounds us; that is, it was everywhere and anyone (except for those who are physically confined) can exercise it this power in relation to others. His philosophy stepped away from the binary division of those who possess power and those who do not and are therefore victims. This does not mean that he did not presume that all individuals and groups are equal; he stressed that imbalances in power relations exist. Instead, his viewpoint was that discourses are ways of knowing and everyone using language participates in the circulation and creation of these pieces of knowledge and so everyone is, in a way, exerting a kind of power.

To illustrate these two principles, I will use the example of global education. What we know of 'global education' is that it is a field of study pressing on the need for students to be able to respond to the need of the times. Global education programmes allow students to develop

the necessary 'knowledge, competencies and values' needed in order to be 'positive contributors' in the world. From a Foucauldian perspective, global education is a field where practices are defined through discourses. There are many experts taking part in this discursive formation, such as teachers, researchers, school management and policymakers. Within the field, a certain type of discourse around global education may dominate the field because 'positive contribution' is defined in a particular way or necessary 'knowledge, competencies and values' is characterized a certain way. Everyone who talks or writes about global education takes part in circulating this knowledge. For example, teachers who debate the purpose and effectiveness of certain pedagogical practices or parents who weigh 'academic achievement' qualitatively and are hesitant about the role of global education programmes within their child's school curriculum. Organizations, like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Health Organization (WHO), regularly commission research and articles discussing the role, purpose, and practices in the field. Publications, in a sense, are a practice identified through discourses or ways of knowing what is worth researching or worth publishing. Therefore, everyone is exercising a kind of power by circulating and creating these pieces of knowledge. Discourse analysis aims to detect what kinds of knowledge dominate fields and where they come from without subjecting them to a moral compass. This allows the problematising and deconstruction of debates; for example, the interpretation of global education in economic terms, cannot be considered bad per se – it certainly may develop students who are globally competitive and hence successful – but if it becomes the 'only true way' of looking at global education, it suppresses other perspectives in the field (Markula, 2009).

## 4.2 Postcolonialism

Postcolonialism refers to a group of theories that seek to establish genealogies of knowledge and other processes of knowing that seek to challenge dominant narratives of hegemony. Postcolonial theory is not bound to a historical-temporal locality or project to avoid narrowing the scope of the field and allows the inclusion of diverse manifestations of colonisation. For this reason, the hyphenated form 'post-colonialism' is used as a temporal marker of the decolonising process. The run along term 'postcolonialism' is used to suggest an ideological continuity and relates to a range of voices that challenge colonial discourse, policy and practices and create space for and recognition of subjugated knowledges (Jorgenson, 2014).

A gap in Foucault's work was his failure to consider colonial expansion as a feature of the European society, or take into account how colonialism may have affected the power/knowledge nexus of the established European state (Loomba, 2015). Ironically, his work has been pivotal in colonial studies. In fact, Stoler has claimed that "no single analytic framework has saturated the field of colonial studies so completely over the last decade as that of Foucault" (1995, p. 1). Edward Said's 1978 book, 'Orientalism', is recognized as the first attempt to apply Foucault's theories to bear on the processes of colonisation, emphasising how knowledge about and power over colonised people were related. His analysis was embedded in the socio-historical context under examination. Willaert (2012) asserts that Foucault's 'influence' is far reaching, saturating the humanities but, more importantly, that in turn, postcolonial studies has actively contributed to the popularity of Foucault's work in probing and contesting remnants of colonialism and the subsequent imperialism.

While Foucault's post-structuralism school of thought and postcolonialism have similar roots, in that they both look at how received knowledge has been constructed and reproduced,

Foucault's analysis of prisons or mental institutions in Europe, does not fully capture the intricacies of discourse and power/knowledge in a colonised context. My decision to draw on postcolonial authors was in recognition of the theoretical gaps, as well as the contextual realities within which this research is positioned. Pakistan, as a post-colonial state with imbedded power structures innately tied to its colonial history, neoliberal economies, realities of globalisation and influence because of its geopolitical positioning, requires an examination in line with these realities mandating the inclusion of post-colonial scholarship as part of the theoretical framework for this thesis.

Alongside Said, significant contributions to the study of the effects of colonisation were made by Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha. A key aspect of Bhabha's work was focusing on the similarities that colonisation created. He argued that the colonised often begin to 'mimic' the coloniser, in terms of its cultural semantics such as patterns of dress, language, or attitude. This copying is in the hope of having access to the same power held by the coloniser. Bhabha claims that the very act is also unintendedly subversive in nature, presenting the very hollowness of these expressions of power. He also put forth the notion of 'hybridity' – the emergence over time of 'hybrid' cross-relations that exist because of our history. For Bhabha then, culture is "an uneven, incomplete production of meaning and value often composed of incommensurable demands and practices produced in the act of social survival" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 172).

Spivak meanwhile focuses on the way in which colonisation continues today; for which reason she uses the term 'imperialism' in her writing. She argues that globalisation continues the inequality and impoverishment that began during colonisation through the international division of labour. Spivak also focuses on the cultural dimension of colonisation contending

that a domination is at play in which there is, what she calls, “worlding of the West as world” (Spivak, 1990), where Western interests are universalized for the rest. While the global capitalist system perpetuates and naturalizes the unequal balance of power, the failure of ‘third world’ countries to see this only makes them want to ‘catch up’ to the progress of the West. Spivak, cautions about discourses around globalisation, modernization, and poverty; of the impacts of what is said and what is omitted and the way in which these ‘truths’ perpetuate injustices, shift blame and toe the line of neo-imperialism. For example, within such a framework, poverty is presented as a lack of resources, labour, education etc., rather than as a by-product of the control exerted on the production of resources.

Spivak also speaks of continuity in the way in which an elite group within the colonised reproduce these ideologies. This ‘elite global professional class’ is “marked by their access to the Internet and a culture of managerialism and of international non-governmental organizations involved in development and human rights. She [Spivak] maintains that this global elite is prone to project and reproduce these ethnocentric and developmentalist mythologies onto the Third World” (Andreotti, 2006, p. 45).

What is crucial to consider is that not all subordinating discourses and practices present in the same way over time or across the globe. While colonial powers may be restructured as contemporary imperialism, they are not the same phenomena (Loomba, 2015). This has been one of the main critiques of postcolonial theory: that it disregards the way in which global capitalism works concealing the manner in which our world is being shaped by this phenomenon (Dirlik, 1994). Chibber (2013) maintains that postcolonialism tends to present cultures as fixed and static thereby essentialising them. He suggests that in presenting an



unbridgeable gap between the east and the west, postcolonialism rejects any notion of commonality in aspirations or interests.

These critiques advise against polarising binaries of East and West and against considering the possibility that notions, such as those of cosmopolitanism, for example, are not universally found. A critical approach to neoliberal approaches to global education and an analysis of the way in which the field provides both the opportunity and the threat of perpetuating this ideology can help to better describe the way in which global capitalism is shaping our world. Vanessa Andreotti, a Brazilian postcolonial scholar, much like Spivak, focuses on the role of education in maintaining and perpetuating hegemonic ideals and the potential role of education in breaking away. Andreotti's work is particularly valuable in the field of global education as she cautions against an ideology that sustains hegemonic discourses, stressing the importance of a 'critical' approach. She argues for the complexity of global issues to be critically addressed and analysed or else there is possibility of promoting a 'civilizing mission'. In her words if we do not encourage critical global citizenship: "this generation, encouraged and motivated to 'make a difference will then project their beliefs and myths as universal and reproduce power relations and violence similar to those in colonial times" (2006, p. 41). Andreotti depicts 'soft' approaches as those that denote a sense of generosity, compassion, paternalism, without challenging unequal power relations and neocolonialism, hence becoming a 'civilizing mission'.

In sum, these scholars provide ideas and caution that are central to this research. They suggest a continuity of hegemonic ideas that need to be understood in the many ways that they present themselves, such as through global capitalism, presentations of the 'other' and notions of poverty, marginalization or inequality that shift blame. In addition, there is a

scepticism toward grand narratives and a caution against discourse that often leave out or leave behind discussion on colonisation, so that there is little or no acceptance or realisation of its affect and its construction on the present situation as it is today. Examining ‘critically’ the theoretical underpinning of discourse around global education, with the counter-discursive practice of locating the ideology within the time and space of the context of Pakistan, will be valuable in ensuring that a singular approach is not universalized for the rest and that the historical construction of our present day is considered.

Postcolonial theory provides a critical lens with which to analyse the power relationships between nations, cultures, and knowledge. Specifically, in post-colonial contexts, the complexity of societal discourse mandates a deeper analysis of how power intersects and manifests in local, national, and global discourses. For instance, while international organizations play a key role in furthering conceptions of global education, institutionalized elements of global education are also promoted through their work in different countries. For example, institutionalised discourse around human rights took place after 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was signed, that signalled toward the global priority of human rights. National educational policies worldwide were influenced by rights-based discourses over several decades following this, and Pakistan was no exception. Particularly, because Pakistan along with India and Afghanistan were among the original 40 signatories to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (Bajaj & Kidwai, 2016), but only 58 states were UN members on what was termed a ‘universal’ document. Ironically, and unsurprisingly, the UDHR did not describe colonialism as a violation of human rights. Instead, it stated in the preamble that the rights detailed were applicable “both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction” (as cited in Saghaye-biria, 2018, p. 61). It has since been critiqued for its inconsistency, its euro-

centrism, paternalistic approach, its notions of universality (Mutua, 2016; Saghaye-biria, 2018), that collectively place a “northern-ideological pressure” even when it comes from the South (Spivak, 2004). This continuity of dominance and unquestioned assumption of universal or now ‘global’ needs to be evaluated critically. How ‘global’ is ‘global education’ if there has been unequal participation in the development and advancement of the field? Is there a perpetuation of ideology from the North to the South? These questions are not mitigated by a rejection of the field entirely but instead can be addressed by offering alternative discourses particularly in the framing of global education. As will be detailed in later chapters, I am cautious of discussion in binaries and of insular terminologies of West versus the rest but, instead as issues of power and hegemonic narratives that exist even within the local and exert themselves as absolute.

Lastly and importantly, Spivak maintains that researchers, like myself, have historical, geographic and class positionings while being positioned as academics in the West and thus pose a real danger in being complicit to the reproduction of Western hegemonic power. However, she also suggests that there is room for critical negotiation within as opposed to complete rejection of Western cultural ideas, tests, values, and institutions. While being cognizant of where and how I am placed as a Pakistani having had the opportunity for upward mobility, I am cautious of not only the dangers of ‘mimicry’ and recreation of Western ideals, but also of the prospect of enabling alternative perspectives and approaches to be made within the ideology of global education.

For these reasons, to enhance my inquiry, I will be drawing on the work of postcolonial theorists to add nuance and pragmatism to this discussion to help imagine global education outside of Eurocentric paradigms. A critical analysis is fundamental to inform decisions when

defining a framework and what focus to choose but also to recognize the implications and thereby make responsible pedagogical decisions.

Having outlined the theory around power, knowledge and truth and considering post-colonial contextualities of these, the next subsection moves back to Foucault and his theory on governmentality. Below, I describe his theory framed within the context of this study.

### 4.3 Governmentality

As discussed earlier, discourses function within a specific time and space and consequently it is imperative that they be scrutinized with reference to the ideological and institutional structures in which they are housed. Themes of global education within textbooks, and more specifically within social studies textbooks, are working within certain boundaries, with the core purpose of including this subject in the curriculum and historical realities that need examination, which is where the framework presented by Foucault's concept of governmentality plays a contributory role.

The term 'governmentality' was used to denote the control and influence of populations. Government, "[does] not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather, it designate[s] the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed. [...] To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others" (Foucault, 2012, p. 270). Foucault referred to two kinds of power: disciplinary power and biopower. The former refers to control of individual behaviour while biopower refers to techniques of power that target an entire population to delineate, monitor, and manipulate. Foucault argued that an educational system becomes the "political means to maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, with the knowledge and power they bring with

them” (p. 227), while educational policy formation can be understood as the enactment of biopower. For this thesis, specifically in the context of education, it is important to consider the historical biopower and frame the reality within which discourse around global education is being constructed. This requires an examination not only of colonialization in the subcontinent but also the Islamic movement and its influences in the subcontinent.

To illustrate why the theory of governmentality is significant to consider in the context of Pakistan, we need to simply look at the emergence of educational systems in the country. In the subcontinent, at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were two competing systems of education: the school system of Brahmins; and the school and college system of the Muslims. Education was regarded as an extension of primary socialization through the immediate environments of family, caste, creed, and heritage. “Two patterns, shaped by vocational relevance, were prominently recognized: Ordinary Tradition for providing practical education to administrators and merchants to cope with the day-to-day needs of society through locally dominant languages: and Advanced tradition for providing education to the elites (sons of priests, the ruling class and high officials) by reading of scriptures and historical texts, through the classical languages - Sanskrit or Arabic-Persian” (Khubchandani, 1997, p. 370). These distinctions were clearly based on social status and thereby were economic in nature.

The emergence of British imperialism at this time was politically and economically motivated. This contrasts with the evangelical motivation that dominated Portuguese and Spanish imperialism in Latin America or the cultural diffusion exhibited by the French or the Americans in their colonies. The main changes which the British made in Indian society were at the top, replacing the aristocracy with a bureaucratic-military establishment and utilitarian technocrats as a way of efficiently maintaining law and order (MacPherson & Maddison, 1972,

p. 1). Resultantly, distinct patterns of education emerged that segmented society on vocational grounds. In summary, Western dominance was legitimized by “principally teaching three things: the English language, modern law and modern administration” (Rahman, 2012, p. 75). The purpose was in creating what Rahman calls ‘Western Indigenously Bourgeois’: an Indian class of society that was exploited to act as the link between the masses and the British and, thereby, reinforce the authority that was held. Ironically, it was this very group of Westernized elites that were heavily involved in the struggle for independence. In summary, colonial rule embedded superiority of language, of education, and of scientific knowledge alongside a colonial intelligentsia, a distinction that has an enduring shape in Pakistan.

Today, the educational infrastructure bear signs of this history, indicating the reality of control having shifted from outside colonisers to the elite in society. A parallel system of education exists to the national one, which still follows the GCE and GCSE board with students giving their Ordinary (O) and Advanced (A) Level examinations and being certified with the same. The O and A Level examinations are highly valued and those who can afford to be educated under this system and give these examinations gain better opportunities, in terms of both higher education and the job market, and pervading the politics of language echoing the distinctions from the colonial era. The increase of global workers also raised the need for and the introduction of the International Baccalaureate programme in Pakistan.

It is insufficient to consider only the colonising power of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when speaking of the subcontinent and governmentality. There is an essential need to examine the role of Islam and the aim of making it a relevant source of power and social control post-independence and in different waves in the Mughal Era. The Islam that became operationalized was rooted in the decades between the British colonial rule in India and the birth of Pakistan (Zaman,

2018, p. 52). It is necessary to clarify here that Islam is not confined to the individual or confined only to a system of ritual and belief. It is instead considered by majority Muslims to provide a complete and comprehensive way of life. The transformation of societal discourse towards Islamic teachings has meant fundamental changes in power structures and social controls that legitimize and regulate knowledge and meaning in society.

After the independence of Pakistan in 1947, a section of society saw the nation as an Islamic state that needed to establish and govern within the full corpus of religious law. The government found itself wrenched between traditionalists and modernists and attempted to circumvent this by establishing a course on Islam and its history for all grades (Talbani, 1996). The 1970s saw a rise in fundamentalism with a staunch alliance between the military and the fundamentalists with the aim of implementing an “Islamic socio-political system and construct a new power relationship between the state and religion with new social realities” (Talbani, 1996, p. 74). The educational policy of the time resultantly, intended to shift the discourse and socialize students into the official ideology of the state and of the religion of Islam. Although recent Islamization, the process of the society’s shift to an Islamic social and political system, have been less severe, a wrestle continues to reduce the discontent of traditionalist and integrate Islam into everyday social discourse.

The educational system in Pakistan today rests uncertainly on the remnants of the colonial educational structure, with a tussle between modernists and fundamentalists and the state. The Cambridge System refers to a school system that implements the Cambridge international qualifications and follows the curriculum associated with these examinations. A multitude of schooling systems resultantly have come into existence within this sphere:

Table 2: Types of Schools in Pakistan

	Type of School	System of Education	Medium of Instruction
1.	Government public schools	National	Urdu
2.	Army public schools	National/Cambridge	Urdu/English
3.	Low-cost private schools	Cambridge	English
4.	High cost 'grammar' schools	Cambridge	English
5.	Madrassah schools	-	Urdu/Arabic
6.	Private Islamic schools	Cambridge	English/Arabic

The impact of these governmentalities have shaped educational structures, policies, and societal discourse. It is within this ideological battleground that my research aims to understand the discursive construction of themes of global education: power, environmental sustainability, social justice and the 'other' in both private and government textbooks.

## Conclusion

Stephen Ball reasons that theory in educational research should be "to engage in struggle, to reveal and undermine what is most invisible and insidious in prevailing practices" (2006, p. 20). Foucault's work lays the theoretical underpinnings for discourse analysis positioned to do this. It regards the use of language as a form of social practice and focuses on the relationship between discourse and society. While Foucault has made immense contribution to theories of discourse analysis, Fairclough pointed to the neglect of textual analysis in his work and suggests that this is a serious limitation. Critical discourse analysis is related to the broader methodological family of FDA and provides tools for examining the ways that language and texts contribute to creating a reality, an identity through the representation of social actors, structuring power, and developing naturalism or "common sense" that is often



considered 'understood' and not questioned (Fairclough, 2013; Gee, 2011; Rogers, 2004; Wodak, 1996). It is the methodology I use to examine the way global education themes are presented and the differences that lie in their presentation in public and private textbooks.

Collectively, these theorists and their ideas comprise the theoretical framework for my research which will help to illuminate the ways in which global education is caught within a web of discourses, social practices and regimes of truth that construct and challenge what global education means in a certain time and place and what it could mean in other contexts. In addition to this, it seeks to examine how concepts of global education are being fashioned within educational discourse and the interplay of society, culture, and language in shaping a reality and (de)legitimising certain 'truths.'

## 5.0 Research Methodology and Design

In this chapter the data selection of my research will be explained along with methodological choices. I also address some of the limitations and delimitations of this research methodology and design. Lastly, I discuss how I conceptualised and ensured trustworthiness in this research process and explore the ethical considerations of this work.

### 5.1 Why Textbooks?

Central to this study is the analysis of textbooks where I am regarding textbooks as discourse or 'ways of knowing'. Discourses, according to Foucault are statements and "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (1972, p. 49); they involve the deep-seated ideas, assumptions and reasons that are behind the concepts and practices we take for granted, as well as the structures and epistemes (the knowledge system of a particular time) that allow or restrict certain thoughts and objects of our knowledge to emerge (Foucault, 1972). For example, the focus of Pakistan's policy on a singular Muslim identity formation for its citizens constructs a certain reality that is limited, and suppresses other identities, practices, and worldviews.

Textbooks participate in the construction of certain ideologies. Apple and Christian-Smith's (1991) work is seminal in unpacking the ideological influences found in textbooks. They argue that dominant culture defines what is considered legitimate knowledge through textbooks which, "signify through content and form- particular constructions of reality, particular ways of seeing and organising the vast universe of possible knowledge" (Apple, 1990). Further complexity is added with the fact that textbooks are not only 'cultural artifacts' but also 'economic commodities' in that they need to do well in the marketplace. This would hold true for all the privately published textbooks in Pakistan.

Textbooks, particularly in the area of social sciences, are "...a reflection of what a nation, considers worthy of dissemination from one generation to another and as such they reflect a nation's core political and ideological themes" (Crawford, 2004, as cited in Batra, 2010, p. 26). Because of the nature of social studies in understanding the world and cultivating responsible citizenship there is a high national interest in the subject and its content, particularly in post-colonial contexts like that of Pakistan.

Signalling to the power, scholars conceptualise textbooks as the "potentially implementable" curricula (as cited in Jimenez et al., 2017, p. 461). The authors argue that they are "intermediaries between curricular guidelines and classroom activities, as well as one of the most-used classroom tools worldwide" (p. 461), though its importance varies across countries. Echoing this, the research of Arthur Applebee, Judith Langer, and Ina Mullis (1987) indicated that textbooks constituted as much as 90 per cent of instructional time. "Textbooks are the draft horse of the social studies curriculum. They are familiar, efficient, portable, and relatively cheap. They provide an organized sequence of ideas and information. Textbook's structure teaching and learning" (Sewall, 2000, p. 3).

In Pakistan, many of the observations highlighted above hold true though reasons for that may vary. Textbooks, in the country, hold a particularly strong influence on teaching and learning for the following reasons:

- a. Teachers are largely untrained. The depth and breadth of this problem is staggering. In an extensive nation-wide survey of over 1,250 teachers and head teachers in more than 600 primary, elementary, and high schools across the country's four provinces, covering government and private schools in urban and rural areas, it was found that:

- i. There appeared to be little correlation between the faculties in which degrees were earned by teachers and the subjects they go on to teach, which means teachers are often not content experts of the subject they are teaching.
  - ii. 71 per cent of teachers in government schools and 69 per cent in private schools report holding the minimum required professional qualifications (ASER, 2019), which alludes to their lack of pedagogical expertise.
  - iii. Higher qualifications did not appear to have a major impact on the quality of teaching and learning, thereby speaking to the quality of the degrees awarded.
  - iv. Only 42 percent of government teachers and 26 per cent of private school teachers know what the national curriculum is. The textbook is the structural guide for the teaching and learning in an academic year.
  - v. 67 per cent of government teachers and 81 per cent of private school teachers have no idea what student learning outcomes, taxonomies or assessment techniques are (Azhar et al., 2014).
- b. While teacher absenteeism in government and private schools is has steadily declined over the years and now stands at 11 per cent (ASER, 2019), this has been a challenge that has made the textbook in these cases, the only low cost, accessible source of information for students.
  - c. It is the only medium available outside the classroom; that is students can take these to their home, use them for self-study and review, and therefore an important medium to analyse and study.

Indeed Muhammad (2015) in his doctoral study found that most teachers' practices were confined because of "time constraints, large classes, and an examination system that

overwhelmingly only assesses students' knowledge of the textbook content" (p.180). Further teachers were found to have limited knowledge of curriculum policy or apply policy recommendations around instructional strategies. Given the lack of expertise, time constraints and assessment practices, it can be concluded that the textbook content is of high importance in such a landscape.

Whilst there are strong reasons for conducting a textbook analysis, it is important to also point out the limitations of this. In any teaching and learning space, both teachers and students mediate the teaching and learning process where the textbook is used. The teachers bring their own prior knowledge of the content of social studies, as well as their teacher training expertise and experience. Students themselves may also, at times, bring frames of reference and some prior understanding of topic areas. The classroom usage of a textbook is a dynamic one, while the analysis of a textbook, independent of this interaction, is a static one. However, the in-class use of textbooks, while representing an important area of investigation, was not the focus of this study.

Additionally, textbooks are developed and published by a small segment of society and their thoughts cannot be assumed to mirror that of the entire population and, neither should the role of the teacher and the school be underestimated in the teaching and learning that takes place in the classroom.

## 5.2 Data Selection

I selected Grade 5 social studies textbooks for this research for two main reasons. After Grade 5, in some provinces, the subject of social studies splits to two independent subjects of history and geography. Across provinces and private school systems this is the only uniform grade at

which social studies is taught allowing for a cross examination. Secondly, the themes in the social studies curriculum shadow themes in global education and can be examined for the way in which these are presented.

Not all textbooks have been developed based on the National Curriculum of Pakistan. Most private schools use textbooks distinctly prepared with no unifying curriculum goals. There are 4 textbooks that are published by government textbook boards, one in each of the provinces of Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. There are 8 privately published textbooks with 3 of these published in accordance with the national curriculum of Pakistan. 3 of the remaining 5 textbooks that are not based on the national curriculum are written by non-local authors.

I am including all the textbooks published by local and international publishers at this grade level alongside government sponsored ones. This will allow for a more thorough analysis of the way in which the themes of global education are presented and how, overarchingly, the 'global' is perceived across Pakistan. With the enactment of the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, curriculum planning and textbook publishing lies with the provincial government, while local and international publishers respond to the textbook demands of private schools. Private schools select textbooks they find suitable themselves. Their selection criteria is commonly based on three main factors: availability, cost and content coverage that reflects the school's values and attitudes.

In addition, global education as a pedagogical approach is not limited to content knowledge but would also include competencies and values which would also need to be analysed. To analyse skills and values in addition to content areas, the 'suggested activities' and 'exercise' sections throughout the textbooks will also be considered. All of the textbooks have both

visuals in colour and text. Most list key points at the end as summaries, some have 'know more' or 'did you know' sections for additional snippets of information. Overarchingly they all cover aspects of history, geography, and economics.

Of the 12 textbooks that were part of this analysis, the government textbook from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab textbook is available in both Urdu and English (A complete list of these textbooks can be found in Appendix 1). The perception around English is largely one of a 'passport to privilege', as English is used in all domains of power in Pakistan (Rahman, 2005). As discussed earlier, the British introduced a class of Indians educated in the English language, who were to assist the British in ruling India (Peabody, 1995). Because the military and the higher bureaucracy, after independence, both came from this elite background, schools with English as the medium of instruction multiplied in Pakistan as the professional middle-class started expanding in the 1960s. Unsurprisingly, members of these two elite groups came up with policies that supported English-medium schools (Rahman, 2005, p. 26), that continued to maintain the dominance of the language. In language policies since then, a common thread remains; that of English as medium for modernization, being the language of science and technology and Urdu as crucial for Pakistani nationalism since it provided unity in the existing diversity (Rahman, 2019). Khalid's (2016) research on attitudes and motivations toward learning the English language support the observation that "colonial association of English and its Western cultural values are now underemphasised. Instead what seems to be stressed is the power of English as an instrument of individual and societal transformation" (as cited in A. Khalid, 2016, p. 12). Rehman (1999), in his survey, found that the desire to learn English existed within all school types including madrasah (religious schools) which represent the most conservative segment.

There was little room for inclusion of the mother tongue since Pakistan is in fact linguistically diverse. In 2010, under the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment to the Constitution, education became a provincial subject allowing provinces to make critical policy decisions around education, however, other than Khyber Pakhtunkhwa all promoted the English language.

### 5.3 Data Collection

This study employed purposeful sampling in which sources were deliberately selected from which the most can be learned (Merriam, 2009). I requested my colleagues in other provinces to visit bookstores and acquire any and all available textbooks for social studies used at the Grade 5 level. In Karachi, I visited two of the largest book vendors in the city to purchase the necessary books. I also contacted publishing houses telephonically or via email informing them of my study and communicating to them the books I had acquired thus far. The intent was to find out if there were other books that were not easily available that I had overlooked in my collection. One publishing house, Paramount Books, did respond to point out that one of the books I had acquired was discontinued and two new publications were introduced this year (2019), which they dispatched to me. Through this method, a total of 12 textbooks that are in circulation across the country for Grade 5 were collected for the purpose of the study.

### 5.4 Textbook Analysis

As discussed earlier, Foucault whose work forms the theoretical basis of this research, urges interrogation of materials for their hidden influence and agenda, examining them “not from the point of view of the individuals who are speaking” (such as the publisher of the textbook, its author, or the provincial governments which sponsored their printing), “nor from the point of view of the formal structures of what they are saying”, (such as the curriculum), but instead “from the rules that come into play in the very existence of such discourse” (Foucault, 1970,



p. xiv). In the context of this research, identifying these will enable me to observe the possibly implicit messages around the themes of global education. For example, this could reveal the ideals of development apparent in local private publishers catering to a specific socio-economic class. Pingel suggests a similar scrutiny, advising textbook researchers to consider the “*hidden curriculum*, the *underlying assumptions* and the *connotations* which a text may evoke in the student’s mind” (Pingel, 2009. p. 67).

Thematic content analysis refers to a “systematic formalised coding process” that can support qualitative research by confirming the validity and reliability of deductions made from specific examples (Rivas, 2012, p. 367). I intend to code sections of text, within the textbooks, to build a framework of recurring categories and classifications, enabling me to identify patterns and trends within the data. The framework of categories and classifications can be built through deductive and inductive means. With regards to inductive means, I anticipated that additional categories and classifications may arise after preliminary examination of the textbooks. This enabled me to address my first research question: In what ways do Social Studies textbooks for grade 5 discuss themes related to global education? Whilst deductive coding was based on existing scholarship and my literature review, inductive coding enabled me to identify new classifications that allow analysis of my research questions.

Each textbook was analysed for the prevalence of global education themes using the coding framework. The ways in which these themes are addressed either positively, negatively or using neutral expressions will also be studied. The coding data was then be analysed to determine trends across global education themes. In this way, I was able to examine how themes of global education are approached across the textbooks, while also being able to compare public textbooks to private ones.

## 5.5 Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a methodology for analysing text by adopting an approach that is qualitative, interpretative and constructionist. While discourse analysis is broad, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a branch, within discourse analysis, that stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice. What makes discourse analysis 'critical' is in viewing that the "language in use is always part and parcel of, and partially constitutive of, specific social practices, and that social practices always have implications for inherently political things like status, solidarity, distribution of social goods, and power" (Gee, 2011, p. 33). CDA is valuable in reflecting on dominant discourses, encouraging critical evaluation that can help to address the undiscerning acceptance of a neoliberal paradigm. One in which cultural understanding is superficial and, interdependence is self-serving as opposed to a transformative paradigm that is defined by an ethical concern for social injustice, equitable sharing and sustainability of global resources alongside socio-political activism (Ellis, 2013).

Within CDA, Fairclough (1995) distinguishes between two general types; one which pays close attention to language and linguistic features of text, which Gee (2011) referred to as discourse with a lower case *d*; and the second, influenced strongly by Foucault, which focuses on the historical and social contexts of the text which is distinguished as Discourse with an upper case *D*. In crux, CDA with an upper case *D* is an interdisciplinary approach to understanding and de-mystifying power relations and ideology by exploring the relationships between discursive practices, events, and texts while examining wider social, cultural, political, and economic contexts (Wodak & Myer, 2009). This approach would address questions such as: What can/cannot be said in a certain time and place? What are the conditions of the

emergence and transference of such discourse? And, what consequences does it have for the shaping of society? (Jäger & Maier, 2009).

Researchers who use CDA are concerned with a critical theory of the social world, the relationships of language and discourse in the construction and representation of this social world, and a methodology that allows them to describe, interpret, and explain such relationships (Rogers, 2004, p. 1). But how exactly is critical discourse analysis done? It is important to point out here that no specific method or design for critical discourse analysis studies exists (Meyer, 2001). The researcher must identify strategies, tools, and methodologies that work best for their particular research project. Given that each discourse emerges through different actions and communications, and because each discourse can be analysed from a variety of lenses, the investigator must determine a course and tool kit that will be the most suited for his/her work. In her thesis, Swayhoover (2014), for example, uses CDA to evaluate global education lesson plans for assumptions, collective wisdom and other cultural constructions and instances of taken-for-granted assumptions, to identify the ways in which these “message systems may act to perpetuate stereotypes, sustain imperial frameworks, or support hegemonic constructions that impede fair and equitable treatment of all people” (p. 15). Other studies similarly employ CDA and linguistic framework, such as Gee’s, to investigate the discursive practices of elite high schools and the ways these practices create and preclude opportunities for social justice education, study how newspapers interpreted and framed issues of educational policy (Herrmann, 2015; Khalifeh, 2017).

A critique of CDA is that it seems to dismiss the complexity and interplay of multiple discourses recipients are exposed to. This holds true particularly in a globalised world where individuals would be subjected to several different discourses, which they learn to navigate

around; ignoring, accepting, or rejecting discourses as they see fit. It is important and realistic to acknowledge from the outset that there isn't a simple, one-to-one relationship between the text and its reader, or the discourse and its recipient (Breeze, 2011). The analysis of the textbooks is only one form of discourse and does not sum up all of students' discourse exposure. Verschueren argues that findings from CDA run the risk of being "the product of conviction rather than the result of a careful step-by-step analysis that reflexively questions its own observations and conclusions" (2001, p. 65), and stresses the need for methodological rigour. The rigour of the process is explained in greater detail below and throughout the analysis, I tried to exercise reflexivity to tackle this criticism.

Fairclough (1989, 1995) offers a model for CDA that consists of three interrelated processes of analysis which are tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are:

1. The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts);
2. The processes by which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects;
3. The socio-historical conditions that govern these processes.

According to Fairclough, each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis:

1. Text analysis (description);
2. Processing analysis (interpretation);
3. Social analysis (explanation).

The work of James Paul Gee has been illuminating in illustrating the 'how' of discourse analysis. Gee, an American researcher in the area of psycholinguistics, discourse analysis,

sociolinguistics and literacy, argues that all discourse analysis must be critical as language is itself political. Gee (2011) outlines “seven building tasks” of language that he explains thus: “whenever we speak or write, we always (often simultaneously) construct or build seven things or seven areas of “reality” (p. 24). He clarifies that we create our reality in the world through language. These are outlined below along with the Discourse Analysis questions that, Gee suggests, can be asked to exemplify each one.

- i. *Significance*: How is this piece of language being used to make certain things significant or not and in what ways?
- ii. *Practice (activities)*: What practice (activity) or practices (activities) is this piece of language being used to enact (i.e., get others to recognize as going on)?
- iii. *Identities*: What identity or identities is this piece of language being used to enact (i.e., get others to recognize as operative)? What identity or identities is this piece of language attributing to others and how does this help the speaker or writer enact his or her own identity?
- iv. *Relationships*: What sort of relationship or relationships is this piece of language seeking to enact with others (present or not)?
- v. *Politics*: What perspective on social goods is this piece of language communicating (i.e., what is being communicated as to what is taken to be “normal,” “right,” “good,” “correct,” “proper,” “appropriate,” “valuable,” “the ways things are,” “the way things ought to be,” “high status or low status,” “like me or not like me,” and so forth)?
- vi. *Connections*: How does this piece of language connect or disconnect things; how does it make one thing relevant or irrelevant to another?
- vii. *Sign Systems and Knowledge*: How does this piece of language privilege or dis-privilege specific sign systems (e.g., Urdu vs. English, technical language vs. everyday language,

words vs. images, words vs. equations, etc.) or different ways of knowing and believing or claims to knowledge and belief (e.g., science vs. the Humanities, science vs. “common sense,” biology vs. “creation science”)?

## 5.6 Research Design

Global education, whilst providing knowledge about the global world society, needs to be matched with skills and values to deal with contradictions and complexity to translate this thinking into action. Social studies itself is interdisciplinary, recognized as an amalgamation of social science (economics, psychology, sociology, political science) and humanities (history and geography) commonly intended to help students understand society and promote civic engagement and competence (Baildon & Damico, 2011, p. 1). This requires the development not just in crucial areas of understanding, but also in associated skills and values. This sentiment is similarly echoed by the National Curriculum of Pakistan for Grade 4 to Grade 6, which states:

“The main purpose of teaching Social Studies is to prepare young people as citizens to be able to participate actively and responsibly in a democratic society. Citizens of a democratic society need to be informed about public affairs, act to safeguard their rights, fulfil their responsibilities as citizens and engage in community service and action aimed at improving their own communities, the nation, and the world. The Knowledge, Skills and Values taught in the Social Studies must enable students to accomplish these citizenship tasks effectively” (Ministry of Federal Education & Professional Training, 2007, p. 1).

Therefore, the research design has been divided into three distinct parts to effectively analyse, the knowledge, skills and values presented in the textbook. Each of these are individually explained below.

### Part 1 – Knowledge

CDA was employed to fully answer my research question that seeks to understand the ways in which the themes of global education are presented in the social studies textbooks for Grade 5. Because this question does not simply seek to examine the inclusion of themes of global education, but rather examine the construction of the discourses that shape students' understanding of the world, it is important that CDA be utilized.

The data analysis for this study was conducted in three phases. Each phase is explained below:

*Phase 1* – I conducted a deductive search of scholarly and practitioner literature to discover key terms and phrases employed in the discourses of the identified themes of global education that are also contextually relevant. I used these themes to identify a coding framework that is described in the next subsection to begin coding sections of text. I then used inductive coding to identify additional topics that fit into the themes of global education that are to be analysed.

*Phase 2* – The coded sections from Phase 1 informed the content selection for CDA. I was able to identify a manageable sample from the 12 textbooks to be analysed. In many cases, content was coded in multiple categories. For example, sections on culture were coded for both interdependence as well as for understanding the 'other'. The seven building tasks were used to analyse each data set to fully respond to the research questions. Each of Gee's (2011) building block categories and associated questions were applied more than once if the data was coded in more than one category as mentioned in Phase 2. This ensured the data was being analysed from the lens of one theme for each analysis. I then chose to present my findings under Fairclough's three dimensions of analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation.

*Phase 3* – Common themes across textbooks that appeared from the analysis in phase 2 were collated. As a result of this, broader themes began to emerge. This process allowed comparisons to be made between public textbooks and privately published ones, to determine what differences exist between public and private school textbooks with regards to the themes of global education.

### Part 2 - Skills

Textbooks that include pedagogical exercises provide opportunities to analyse what students are being directed to do and what is deemed most important for students to know from the text. In order to fully understand the ways in which the themes of global education are presented, there is a need to analyse the skills conferred in the text. It is important to clarify that the idea is not to evaluate whether students are engaged in, for example, ‘critical thinking’. Undoubtedly, a textbook analysis would not allow such an evaluation. Instead, the goal is to understand whether there are opportunities to engage in critical thinking. To do this, the quality of the pedagogical exercise areas (termed ‘suggested activities’, ‘What did you learn’ or ‘exercise’) throughout the textbooks need to be considered.

The second part of the analysis involved assigning an educational objective to the tasks using Bloom’s taxonomy as the framework for this. Bloom’s Taxonomy is a list of “educational objectives...which attempts to divide cognitive objectives into subdivisions ranging from the simplest behaviour to the most complex” (Carneson, Delpierre & Master, 1996). The revised hierarchy created in 2001 listed the domains from bottom up as follows: Knowledge, Understanding, Application, Analysis, Creation and Evaluation. It is crucial to caution that Bloom’s list described ways of knowing that came to be visualized as a hierarchical list. This suggests a greater preference or importance to a certain way of knowing over another, whilst



also implying that learning is linear. Bloom's must be viewed as the holistic way in which to understand 'ways of knowing', whereby all aspects of learning are important; one needs to recall basic facts to explore, understand and evaluate them and these are integrated processes (Berger, 2018). Within this thesis, the purpose is not to evaluate existing assessment tools for lower or higher cognitive tasks, but rather to use these classifications with an eye to the types of student learning the instructional designer seeks. To explore the diversity of cognitive abilities encouraged as just one type of cognitive objective limits all other ways of knowing.

The thematic coding from Part 1 of the research was identified and the exercise that followed the coded text were chosen for analysis as they directly relate to global education themes. Overall, findings of each book were tabulated and further analysis on the nature of the tasks was done for each.

### Part 3 – Values

In order to understand the values presented in the textbooks and their alignment with themes of global education, I conducted a word level content analysis. Inductive and deductive coding was used to identify a coding framework for values in global education. A text search query within NVivo with coding rules allowing for inclusion of stemmed words. The purpose for creating coding rules was so that these word segments could be transparently categorized in a logical fashion. The results were then analysed not only in terms of the presence of these values, but importantly about the way in which these values were constructed in context. For example, in the Punjab social studies textbook 'respect' was a value that appeared in three distinct ways. The first was mostly with religious connotation. For example, respecting the Quran, the prophets, prayer times, saints and the founders of the country who have been

designated a high religious status in the book. The second way the value has been framed is in terms of needing to respect the law and for the government to have a constitutional obligation to respect its citizens honour and dignity. The third use of the term is in relation to tradition or culture, that is for example, the turban being a symbol of respect or the need to respect language and take measures to promote it. A telling absence was in respecting the environment, women, minorities, disability groups or any other non-dominant cultural, religious, or ethnic group.

### 5.7 Coding Framework

Global issues are intertwined and multidimensional; environment issues for example, are inseparable from issues of social justice, equity, and development (Selby, 2019). For these reasons, the coding framework was challenging to develop. I chose to lay the groundwork by referring to 'Global Citizenship Education: Topics and learning objectives' (2015), a pedagogical guidance from UNESCO on global citizenship education. As discussed in chapter 2, global citizenship education and global education have close overlaps and this framework was the most comprehensive. I used deductive coding to strengthen the framework. The theme of social justice was not present in UNESCO's document, which I included by looking at relevant literature, including OXFAM's 'Education for Global Citizenship: A guide for schools' (2015), Bourn's 'The Theory and Practice of Development Education: A pedagogy for global social justice' (2015b), as well as scholarship around the concept of social justice itself (Arauco et al., 2015; Macrine, McLaren, & Hill, 2010; Odora Hoppers, 2008). I then worked to tease apart the themes in a way that would allow for clarity during coding. The theme of power encompasses elements of structural, military, economic and physical power and includes premises of colonialism, politics, governance, and terrorism. The theme of social

justice is focused on justice, equality, gender, and rights. It can be argued that issues of social justice have a group-based nature. Such “disadvantage is often the product of social hierarchies which define certain groups as inferior to others on the basis of their identity...denying them full personhood and the equal right to participate in the economic, social and political life of their community” (Arauco et al., 2015). Inequality and social inclusion may take different forms in different societies. This is the philosophy with which I have approached the coding framework for social justice in which I have accounted for groups on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and caste, which I have separated from institutional structures of power. Despite this, it is crucial to acknowledge that these cannot be entirely and cleanly split apart, as issues of social justice, interdependence, power, or environmental sustainability are fundamentally interlinked and draw from the way the ‘other’ is understood. The coding framework is presented in Table 3 and Table 4 below.

Table 3: Coding for Themes

Global Education Theme	Textbook Coding: Keywords
Interdependence	Biodiversity, climate change, collaboration, dialogue, disease and malnutrition, environment globalisation, migration, natural disasters, population, respect, sustainable, trade, water quality
Understanding the ‘other’	Attitudes, behaviours, beliefs, care, community, compassion, concern, country, culture, discrimination, empathy, ethnicity, fairness, family, gender, honesty, identity, integrity, kindness, languages, legal structures, love, minorities, neighbourhood, peace, provinces, religion, respect, school, solidarity, stereotype, tolerance, values, value systems, understanding, world
Power	Army/military, colonial, corruption, decision-making, democratic processes, good governance,

	institutions, language, migration, politics, power relations, resources, structures, terrorism, wealth
Social Justice	Access, caste, discrimination, equality, equity, ethnicity, gender, justice, languages, poverty, rights (children’s rights, human rights, right to education, women’s rights)
Environmental Sustainability	Biodiversity, climate change, composting, conservation, cultivation, deforestation, disaster, emergency responses, environment, global warming, greenhouse effect, human effects/human activity, land, natural disasters, pollution, protection, recycling, reusing, sustainable development, water quality

(Adapted from UNESCO, 2015, p. 43).

Table 4: Coding for Values

Global Education Values	(Coding Keywords)
Social Justice	Equality, equity, fairness, justice, rights
Respect	Consideration, dignity, recognition
Empathy	Compassion, pity, sensitive, sympathy,
Acceptance	Open-minded, tolerance, understanding

## 5.8 Ethical Considerations

Although this study involves the analysis of textbooks, a secondary data source, there are ethics to be considered as studies like this one can have broader implications, influencing and informing educational policy and discourse. Suri (2019) suggests that researchers should pay careful attention to the following to ensure ethical decision making when undertaking an analysis like this one: identifying an appropriate epistemological orientation that aligns with the purpose of the research; identifying an appropriate purpose and examining potential conflicts of interest, searching for relevant literature that is inclusive; being reflexive when evaluating, interpreting, and distilling evidence from selected reports; self-reflexivity and

positioning when constructing connected understandings and communicating with an audience (p. 42)

The epistemological orientation adopted in this study is a Foucauldian approach, that examines dominant discourses to problematize prevalent narratives. A critical analysis focuses on problematising what we know by raising “important questions about how narratives get constructed, what they mean, how they regulate particular forms of moral and social experiences, and how they pre- suppose and embody particular epistemological and political views of the world” (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, pp. 80–81). The purpose of the study is to contribute to an understanding around how narratives are constructed. Because this study is not funded there are no influences at play that might bias findings. However, my positionality is indeed a limitation as any researcher is not placed outside of the discourse which they are analysing. Throughout the process I have tried to be reflexive in examining how my subjective positioning is influencing and being influenced by the findings. The selected data is inclusive of all available books from private publishing companies and public textbook boards to ensure breadth of analysis across Grade 5. I have taken care to support this study with sources from relevant primary and secondary research allowing a more holistic perspective to understand the findings and their implications. I consider these in the subsection below on limitations and delimitations. Finally, I steer away from unintended extrapolation in declaring the findings from this study as applicable only to the context of Pakistan and until these textbooks are in circulation and use. All of the publishing houses were contacted for their consent to use images from the textbooks in my findings in order to provide greater transparency and also a visual insight of the discourses being analysed as the use of images from the textbook were subject to copyright. I did not receive a response from many for which reason, the texts were described to address this issue. In this way, using these

guiding principles I have attempted to ensure ethical decision making throughout this research process.

### 5.9 Limitations and Delimitations

As with most studies, the design of the current study is subject to limitations. The most fundamental limitation of this research relates to the nature of qualitative research itself. Within discourse analysis itself, there is considerable ambiguity with regard to a clear research methodology. To address this limitation, I draw on Lincoln and Guba (1989) who posit that trustworthiness of a research study is important to evaluating its worth. In order to ensure credibility, I employed the method of triangulation of source and triangulation of method (Denzin 1978; Patton, 1999, as cited in Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014). The purpose is to capture different dimensions of the same phenomenon. Triangulation of source was done by analysing all available textbooks across the private school spectrum, as well as those used in public schools.

Another limitation of this research was my positionality. Any researcher conducting discourse analysis, particularly inspired by Foucault, must acquiescent that they are not situated outside of the discourse they are analysing. It is crucial to acknowledge that while “he/she can base his/her analysis on values and norms, laws and rights; he/she must not forget either that these are themselves the historical outcome of discourse, and that his/ her possible bias is not based on truth, but represents a position that in turn is the result of a discursive process” (JaÈger, 2011, p. 34). While I was born and raised in Pakistan, all of my higher education was completed outside of the country, in Canada and the United Kingdom respectively. My understanding of global education itself was shaped within elite, institutionalized

constitutions. I am cognizant of this and sought to consider the taken-for-granted assumptions that I held.

While delimitations clarify what a research is not going to do, they impact the external validity or generalizability of a research (Ellis & Levy, 2009). Selection of a certain data set, in essence, is delimiting in narrowly capturing and understanding the social world. In this case, textbooks are the only analysed data set when considering how themes of global education are framed. I do not intend, to generalize my findings to speak for all countries in the Global South. My findings are to be interpreted in the context of Pakistan and till the time these textbooks are not changed altogether. I have tried to analyse themes, for example of nationalism, more broadly to allow for some degree of transferability of the findings, however, the extent of transferability cannot be ascertained.

In a similar vein, selecting certain themes of global education, a certain theoretical perspective and associated methodology all increase the limitedness of describing a phenomenon as they define the boundaries of inquiry. The post-structural and postcolonial theoretical frameworks, coupled with discourse analysis, that I have employed played a pivotal role in my analysis and understanding of the discourse of global education and its themes in Pakistani textbooks.

## 6.0 Interpretations of and Influences on Global Education

The very nature of the field that is informed by society, and the very nature of society that holds its own 'regime of truth', mandates that the influences on the discourse of global education are considered. As discussed in the previous chapter, Critical Discourse Analysis is important to understanding and de-mystifying power relations and ideology by exploring the relationships between discursive practices, events, and texts while examining wider social, cultural, political, and economic contexts (Wodak & Myer, 2009). This is achieved by asking what the conditions were for the emergence and transference of such discourse and what consequences it has for the shaping of society. This chapter explores the discursive construction of global education from a post-colonial context. Given that global education is rooted in Euro-American theoretical foundations, it is crucial that the discursive formation of global education be examined within specific historical and geographical circumstances, sensitive to contextual realities.

This chapter examines the way in which approaches to globalisation have come to influence discourses around education and around global education, in particular. These have impacted interpretations of global education, but also raise important questions around the role and place of the local in the global which is discussed in this section. This is followed by the role of international organizations and the influence they exert in furthering these conceptions. Collectively this section highlights the need for consideration of alternative perspectives by exploring the dominant discourses that have come to influence the field and by challenging notions of universality.



## 6.1 Globalisation

As discussed in Chapter 2, a commonality of all the educational traditions that have come to inform global education was the acceptance for the need of a global outlook. Globalisation has been a powerful driver of outward looking educational streams. Blackmore defines globalisation as “increased economic, cultural, environmental, and social interdependencies and new transnational financial and political formations arising out of the mobility of capital, labour and information, with both homogenising and differentiating tendencies” (2000). Popkewitz & Rizvi (2009) fittingly argue that changes to global interactions are not ‘new’ but can in fact be traced as far back as the 15<sup>th</sup> century by way of “trans-Pacific connections; global awareness through mapping; flows of exotic objects, medicines, experts, religion, and dynastic genealogies; and ideas associated with universal power, including centralized states to sponsor and protect long-distance trade” (p. 10). Similarly, Spivak sees globalisation as a process continuing from colonisation in terms of the international division of labour and thus the inequalities it perpetuates (1990).

While global interactions are most certainly not new, their pace has accelerated due to advents in technology. Governments around the world responded to this global integration in several ways, such as trade agreements, macro-economic policies, educational policies, cross-cultural management, amongst others. Globalisation impacted educational ideology and influenced what is needed from education. However, viewpoints of what is needed from education have been distinct. This reality, alongside critiques, such as those by Spivak, mandate an examination of how the phenomenon is understood, particularly since a key driver of global education has been globalisation.

Normative approaches to understanding globalisation offer three distinctions that describe its global economic, political, and social impact (Gaudelli, 2009; Jackson, 2016; McGrew, 2000). A neoliberal or globalist approach emphasizes the importance of cultivating a global market with principles of free, open, transnational trade and places competition at the centre of interactions. The second is a contrasting radical or sceptical approach that views globalisation in one of two ways: either as having little or no significance to nation states or being iniquitous. The final approach is that of transformationalism in which globalisation is broad, encompassing cultural, social, environmental, and political aspects in addition to the economic. Under this approach, globalisation is not seen as one directional or static, but instead as having both positive and negative impacts, paving the way for new patterns of opportunity, of inclusion and exclusion, and hierarchies of power.

Under the transformationalist approach, alongside the possibility of economic opportunity, there are also other benefits gained (Neubauer, 2007). For example, a radical approach might argue that globalisation is swallowing local cultures and ways of being. A transformationalist approach would point to Bollywood as an example of the way in which local cultures are held on to while adapting to global influences or what has been termed 'glocalization'. This approach is valuable, as polarizing the global as bad and the local as good itself is narrow and poses significant threats as it suggests a blind acceptance or exoticism with all that is 'local'. However, local traditions and cultures contain damaging ideologies, such as those of patriarchy. Resultantly, Giddens (2000) used the term 'detraditionalization' rather than decline of tradition to reflect the way in which locals continue their traditional way of life, but are also able to actively question and challenge hegemonic practices that have come about as a result of exposure to other ways of being.

The purpose here is not to 'pick one' approach over another. Instead, the objective is to highlight how global education discourses are guided by the approaches that underpin them, not only in the framing of the concept, but also in its criticism, such as the sceptical or radical approach, that is evident in postcolonial critiques that seek to examine Western global hegemony that have manifested themselves in education.

In my thesis, I interpret globalisation as a dynamic, unequal, and complex phenomenon of interaction of people, ideas, things. Much like the distinctive experiences of colonisation, experiences of globalisation vary; the post-colonial global world is neither simple nor static. I see these approaches or discourses around globalisation and resultantly around education at work like waves often crashing into each other. These complexities are discussed later in this section.

## 6.2 Interpretations of Global Education

Education is impacted by globalisation as are other domains in society. Education, as we know it today as being a mass system of schooling, can be regarded as symptomatic of globalisation's impact on education (Jackson, 2016). This is not to say that education arose because of globalisation, to the contrary, education has existed for centuries: as community-based, vocational, or skill-based training and/or religious education.

Instead, what this implies is that it is not just the *way* in which education is conceived and delivered that is impacted, but more importantly that "globalisation works both on and through education policy; that not only is education affected by globalisation but it has also become a principle mechanism by which global forces affect the daily lives of national

populations” (Tikly, 2001). From a postcolonial perspective, there is a need to evaluate this global force and the underlying ideological assumptions of global education within this.

Within these interpretations of globalisation, global education, and its adjectival fields, such as those of global citizenship education, have organically taken on different approaches. Global education discourse around globalisation, within neoliberal constructs, has economic undertones where global education retains a market-based focus emphasising the need for individuals to be market savvy and thereby competitive. As discussed in chapter 3, the defining characteristics of neoliberalism is “(a) Free market economics, (b) A commitment to free trade (c) The self-interested individual: a view of individuals as economically self-interested subjects. In this perspective, the individual is represented as a rational optimizer and the best judge of his/her own interests and needs, (d) A commitment to ‘laissez-faire’” (Banya, 2010, p. 15) . These market-oriented reform policies reduce state influence and work within the assumption that economic growth leads to human progress.

The globally competent stance is focused on educating students to be globally mobile and compete with others on an international scale to take advantage of opportunities that may be political, economic, environmental, or cultural, and adapt to changing social and economic needs. Under this interpretation, there is a focus on acquiring the right knowledge and skills for the marketplace (Dill, 2013). Skills, such as those of communication, collaboration, critical thinking and the knowledge of global systems, and multiple perspectives are at the fore (Coomans, 2018; Pike, 2008).

The taken-for-granted assumption here is that “the global market brings economic prosperity to individuals and society and even cultural harmony and peace” (Dill, 2013, p. 56). The concentration within education then, is on skills formation for a global labour market that

corresponds closely to the 'human as capital' view of education, that sees schools as training ground for human capital. The Human Capital Theory can be traced to Adam Smith and his 1776 work, 'The Wealth of Nations'. Over the centuries, this idea was developed and finally elaborated in Gary Becker's 'Human Capital' where he argued: "investments in human beings could be viewed as similar to investment in human capital, just like investment in physical infrastructure would yield a rate of return, which could be calculated" (Unterhalter, 2008, p. 788). This approach is evident in publications like TIME magazine's cover that asked: 'How can we build students for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?' (Wallis & Steptoe, 2006).

Another example is that of 'The Partnership for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Skills' that brings together the public and private sector with inputs from teachers, education experts and business leaders to identify the skills and knowledge needed to succeed in work and life. Their most updated website asks, above two pictures of students in a classroom, 'which student will be best prepared to contribute and compete in this global economy?' Under the first picture of a boy in a traditional classroom, the subjects of mathematics, science, social studies and English are listed; while, the list under the second picture of a girl working on robotics reads: content mastery, communication, collaboration and other 21<sup>st</sup> century skills (Partnership for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Skills, 2018). Corporations like Apple, Dell, Microsoft, McGraw-Hills, LEGO group, to name a few, were part of the initial formation along with the largest labour union in the United States, corporations for public broadcasting and non-profit educational organizations. In view of this, Dill (2013) rhetorically asks: "what is it that unites such a disparate group?" Unsurprisingly, approaches packaged as 21<sup>st</sup> century skills have specifically come under critique for the neoliberal narratives they promote (Mehta, Creely, & Henriksen, 2020).

Such approaches have been positioned under terms like the neoliberal global education, where “one studies the other to be able to teach them, work with them or market to them” (Heilman, 2010, p. 4). Within the neoliberal ideology, competition and competitiveness are primary and fundamental virtues (Davies, 2018) which is why a neoliberal global education denotes the emphasis on these key aspects. A more recent reference for global education is the ‘PISA paradigm’: the educational reaction to globalisation in which education is seen as the response to the increasing competition and opportunity produced by globalisation (Lehner & Wurzenberger, 2013). The name alludes to the Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) that has included global competence to its latest assessment.

In higher education, Study Abroad programmes are touted for encouraging the development of “‘global awareness and knowledge’, ‘intercultural competencies’ and ‘global citizenship’ all with the aim of improving students’ employability and prepare them for the demands placed on today’s global workforce” (Wright, 2015, p. 16). This tendency to monitor the needs of the global market and train students to be able to work and compete in the global marketplace exists in many countries. Taiwan, for instance, emphasizes global competencies in ways such as encouraging foreign language learning and proficiency in order to increase students’ global competitiveness (Chou, 2020), while there is an increasing neoliberal education focus in Ghana (Eten, 2020). In Singapore, global education is closely tied to economic realities housed within a nationalist approach (Koh, 2013). Pakistan is no exception to the phenomenon of developing a competitive workforce guided by the aid packages received. Pakistan’s Education Policy 2009 notes that globalisation “has created opportunities and challenges for countries all over the world. An education system cannot remain in isolation of these challenges and opportunities” (2009, p. 11), and therefore strives for an education that allows students to be more globally competitive. While the 2017 policy states more directly that

“global competition demands human capital that is creative, constructive and contributing to individual and collective wellbeing” (2017, p. 4). So, a neoliberal approach within education might, for example, give the English language vital importance or focus on trends that drive international markets, such as technology, science, and mathematics. UNESCO-MEGIEP (2017) in their report suggest that concepts of critical thinking, problem solving are trendy amongst policymakers and curriculum developers across Asia with the focus being on the instrumental value of these attributes in terms of enhancing economic competitiveness. Much of the aid around the world is tied to neoliberal policy reforms (Ali & Tahir, 2009). Narratives that promote neoliberal ideals, within educational practice, has originated from the international organizations, private sector, the corporate world, and policymakers rather than from academicians, students, parents or other school stakeholders (Mehta et al., 2020). The social justice interpretation, discussed further on in this section, is more strongly embraced in academic scholarship. This speaks to the governmentality and underlying structures of power that propagate certain discourses over others alongside acts of resistance.

At this stage I pause to clarify that within a neoliberal approach, the idea of the nation state is not outdated. Instead, the features of nation states are defined by universal market cooperation. Gaudelli (2009) argues that discourse around education within neoliberal parameters is “too often implicitly neoliberal and nationalist, for example, as though the desire for economic vitality and national allegiance are universally true and necessary” (p.79). While these certainly may not be universal, the advent of globalisation and a neoliberal world order in the period post the Second World War, coincided in many parts of the world with the processes of independence from colonial rule and the development of national identity. This was the case for Pakistan whose educational policy is reflective of these complexities,

stressing the purpose of education to be the building of character, national identity and human capital (Bengali, 1999). Within these realities in post-colonial contexts, Jooste & Heleta (2017) argue that the developed world has paradoxically protected its sovereignty, while violating the sovereignty of developing nations through the imposition of policies, norms and standards; with hegemonic global education ideals of universality being an example.

While a radical approach to global education would be entirely dismissive of the concept, viewing it as a neo-imperialistic endeavour, Shultz (2007) suggests that within a radical approach, the objective of global education is to challenge the very structures, particularly financial institutions, that are the main architects of the global economic world order. This has merit in a context like Pakistan where the government introduced structural adjustment policies in line with demands from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in the 1990s. These policies caused significant loss to domestic industries, which led to higher unemployment rates, which led to higher poverty rates. Between the years of 1987 and 1999, poverty rose from 17 per cent to 32 per cent of the population (Naseem, 2012). A critical examination of these structures of dominance, that perpetuate poverty and inequality, is crucial. I reason that a key role of this approach is to place historically marginalized countries at the centre, as opposed to the periphery, of the discourse around global education.

A transformationalist approach, meanwhile, looks beyond neo-imperialism or a global market economy to globalisation as uneven, complex, and dynamic. The transformationalist approach is critical of both the new patterns of divisions and marginalization that cut across the North-South divide and of the ever-evolving relationship between the local and global. The social justice interpretation to global education has connections with the transformationalist approach to globalisation in acknowledging the reality of globalisation,



whilst critically examining power structures, hegemonic narratives, and issues of growing marginalization.

This interpretation of global education formally grew in the challenges emerging from the two great wars and the years of great social and political violence (Abdullahi, 2010). Education for international understanding was the predecessor to global education as evident in UNESCO's Constitution preamble in 1945, which stated that the national educational systems of member states should include "(a) the provision of accurate knowledge of other countries and cultures to promote friendly relationships, (b) learning about universal human rights to foster human morality, and (c) the study of the United Nations to understand the international system of nation states" (Bridges, 1970, as cited in Fujikane, 2003, p. 135).

The shift of focus to world inequality and underdevelopment brought about development education. This was contrasted with approaches that imposed Western industrial models and ideals on developing countries (Fujikane, 2003), particularly from the United States, matched with concerns that equated international outlooks with communism and socialism that were set against the backdrop of 'containment' policies of the Cold War (Tye, 2009). In the UK, there was a more critical approach towards the aid industry by practitioners who saw the need for greater emphasis on social justice; alongside the emerging influence of Paulo Freire's work; all of which had an impact on the field of development education (Bourn, 2014).

Alongside this, there was a realization that globalisation and neoliberalism posed challenges of social injustice that needed to be addressed. Neoliberalism introduced a new mode of regulation or form of "governmentality" (Foucault, 1991). Globalisation meanwhile was polarizing central and peripheral economies, causing greater disadvantage, exploitation and powerlessness (Cole, 2005), but also the increased interconnectedness meant that issues

elsewhere, such as those of environmental pollution, population growth, refugees, poverty, conflicts, inflation, had the potential to affect people in other parts of the world (Abdullahi, 2010).

This alternative to the globally competitive approach has been described in numerous ways including as humanistic (UNESCO, 2015b), moral (Veugelers, 2011), solidarity (Torres, 2017) or the globally conscious interpretation. Dill uses the latter term to denote the acknowledgement of different perspectives, a realization of being part of a global community with moral consciences to act for the greater good (2013, p. 46). Shultz (2007) suggests that learning with transformationalist approaches help explain how power relations become negotiated in localized contexts by establishing spaces of interaction driven by dialogue and deliberation, which ultimately become global spaces of transnational connections and alliances of solidarity (p. 257). Bourn (2020), exploring the need to see global education as a distinct pedagogical approach, argues for greater emphasis on interconnections and a broadening of perspectives on global issues, but locates these within discourses of globalisation to help learners recognize the influence of global forces and power relations in the world.

Common to all of these perspectives of alternatives to the globally competitive interpretations is emphasising a social justice orientation in global education, that demands scrutiny of issues of equity, justice, and sustainability; preparing students to be sensitive to the nature of the human condition in an interconnected world require solidarity and a coordinated response. Here the complexities and nuances are considered through a process of critical evaluation, self-reflexivity, dialogue, whilst encouraging a sense of shared

responsibility to address global and local inequalities (Andreotti, 2006; Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Pais & Costa, 2017).

This social justice interpretation is rooted in an educational philosophy, such as that of Dewey and Makiguchi, that looks at education as more than simply preparation for future jobs. Dewey saw education as growth, a way of being in the world that developed healthy and equitable democracy, while Makiguchi's Value-Creating Education develops the capacity of children to become contributing members of society (Cruz, 2020).

Landorf (2009) argues that global education is rooted in human rights and rests on the core concept of moral universalism. Indeed, the social justice interpretations to global education has underpinnings in older narratives around cosmopolitanism – the idea that humans are bound by shared values that supersede other aspects of our identity (Appiah, 2006; Gaudelli, 2009; Oxley & Morris, 2013; Sharma, 2020). The notion of 'natural rights' advanced in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was the foundation of human rights and rooted in notions of cosmopolitanism, while the Enlightenment – a philosophical movement that emphasized human reason and the development of science to improve individual and collective wellbeing, fanned this idea (Reimers, Chopra, Chung, Higdon, O'Donnell, 2016). It is crucial to highlight that notions of cosmopolitanism, the ideals of one humanity and of justice extend beyond its Western genealogy to other world traditions. Cosmopolitan traditions of unity within diversity also exist in Chinese and Indian thought (Delanty, 2014), and in dominant Islamic worldview that is a universal creed based on the equality of all humankind who are subservient only to God. Similarly, it would be dangerous to assume that such ideologies or humanistic values and norms, such as those of compassion, have only existed in the West. This implies an 'open-minded', 'enlightened' worldview relegated to a Western realm with others being 'close-

minded', 'tribalistic', and uncaring of the world beyond certain boundaries (Jooste & Heleta, 2017). The conclusion I make here is that there is a need to recognize that mainstream approaches do not adequately consider non-Western cultures and their cosmopolitan traditions and do not do so within their post-colonial realities.

I have aimed to highlight some important themes thus far. Foremost, the importance of discourse around globalisation in understanding education policy, and the way that education in turn is seen as a response to globalisation. I have described the influences on the two dominant interpretations of global education – the competitive and the social justice interpretations, with the intention of drawing a better understanding of the underpinnings shaping these approaches. More importantly, what I hope to have demonstrated in the section on globalisation is the complexity of discourse around global education. Different approaches to globalisation can explain not only the construction of the concept and its underlying notions, but also the critiques to the field. They help to caution against 'soft' approaches that do not critically examine and thereby (re)enforce structures of dominance. The following subsection explores the critiques around the interpretation of global education and the debates around the place of the local in the global arising from this discussion on globalisation.

Both interpretations of global education: the globally competitive and the social justice, are not without critique. The globally competitive stance faces critique for not responding to and possibly aggravating injustices and inequalities whilst the social justice approach could be perceived as a reaction to the problems posed by the neoliberal approach that often produces and maintains structural inequalities. In this way then, the social justice approach is simply a knee-jerk reaction to the challenges presented by neoliberalism as opposed to addressing the

ideology itself. This critique poses critical questions around the convivence of teaching students to 'deal' with the effects of their disadvantage, and for those in structures of privilege, to simply recognize that inequality exists. A stronger reproach of the social justice approach is that it is a vague rhetoric with those from the Global South, that is largely excluded from the debates about the concept, and one which assumes that "close-minded, nationalistic and tribalistic" peers need to be taught to care for the people or world beyond their ethnic or religious groups or outside the borders of their countries (Jooste & Heleta, 2017, p. 46).

There are similar binary divisions in the debates around balancing the concerns of the local with those of the global. There is an underlying tension around the local and the global in discourse around global education, particularly "where do you start, what is the balance, how to ensure that concern for those who suffer most, in the majority world, and the causes underlying global injustice, are adequately linked to a concern for those who suffer closer to home"(Global Education Network Europe, 2018, p. 9). Here, the 'majority world' refers to where much of the world population resides, sometimes referring to developing countries. A more popular term within academic scholarship: 'Global South' (which is used in the context of my work), marks a shift from a central focus on development or cultural difference toward an emphasis on "geopolitical relations of power encompassing an entire history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social change through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy, and access to resources are maintained" (Dados & Connell, 2012).

Further complexity is added with the argument that in a sense the North has a global reach while the South only exists locally (Dobson, 2005, as cited in Andreotti, 2006, p. 43). Dobson

(2005) argues that the process of globalisation itself is an unequal one with only the seven powerful G7 countries (United States of America, United Kingdom, Japan, France, Germany, Italy, and Canada) dictating global affairs. The benefits that stem from the process of globalisation are still narrow, local, and insular. This poses wider questions about what concerns those in the South should have towards those in the Global North? Is there a need to have a concern at all? Are we maintaining hegemonic power structures?

Correspondingly, dominant narratives in international educational policy are influenced by financing power. While this poses questions around ownership of outward-looking education initiatives and its alignment with larger national policy objectives, it also begs the question of whose global education and for whom? Are we doing enough to examine the local/global dimensions of our assumptions? In the Pakistani milieu, what is the place and role of global education?

The discussions around global education can be summed up as debates focusing on developing globally competitive youth or those with a social justice orientation; the role and responsibility of the local to the global, particularly in context of the Global South and the concern around the place, if at all, of the global within the local; ownership and relevance of global education within national policy agendas. Before scrutinising these discussions, it is imperative that key terminologies and underlying assumptions are explored which is the objective of the next subsection.

### 6.3 Exploring Assumptions and Terminologies

In order to respond and engage with these tensions and scrutinize the construction of global education it is important to consider a few underlying assumptions and unpack terminologies. Foremost, there is an assumption that the themes of global education, particularly a social

justice orientation, is linked only to a global arena. Indeed, a social justice orientation is relevant on an individual, community, national, regional, and global level. Inequalities are not exclusive to North/South relations but also pervade relations between and within countries, bringing forward new issues of marginalization and dominance among states or groups already marginalized. I argue therefore, that there is a need to altogether re-examine the framing of discourse from the position of 'local' and 'global'. More so because some core concerns, such as those of environmental sustainability, transcend local or national boundaries, and so cannot be framed within these terms.

The second assumption is that the value of learning to live together is important because of the exposure to diverse cultures, traditions, and people *outside* of our local context. This seems to suggest a homogeneity within local settings. In reality, in the context of Pakistan, there are layers of ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity that inform identity. In fact, Banuazizi & Weiner (1986) suggest Pakistan to be one of the three countries in the world in which religion and ethnicity play a most definite role. An understanding of other people, cultures, and ways of being is not isolated to the realm of the 'global', but instead is crucial within local communities as even within national boundaries, "unity without diversity results in cultural repression and hegemony" (Banks, 2017, p. 368).

For both of these assumptions, the very framework of a binary division of local and global itself poses questions. If defined purely as geographical or physical space, where does the local end and the global begin? If local is defining an individual, an experience, a trend or so on, it is important to ascertain if there is a spectrum of 'localness', or if there are clear distinctions for what constitutes local as opposed to global. Indeed, in today's extremely

interconnected globalised world, people, ideas, and trends are difficult to root as either local or global.

Instead, I argue that it is crucial to frame these distinctions in terms of a dominant perspective, the lens adopted by the dominant culture, contrasted against other perspectives that may be rooted in social, religious, and cultural realities distinctive of a certain place. Distinguishing between the two then, entails analysing living practices. Guy (2009) describes the distinction between global and local most plainly using the analogy of a game of chess, where the global would be the queen, capable of great movements across the board while the local, the king, would move one square at a time. He asserts that both the global and the local must be understood as pieces engaging with each other in a common open space. The dominant perspective exerts a kind of power not only by being the one lens from which to view the world but also in exerting a power that makes it possible for that perspective to be the dominant one told. Echoing a Foucauldian perspective – the theoretical basis of this thesis, what is seen as local and as global are social constructions fixed not in the way they are, but instead in way we see them.

Even before theorising the 'global', it is essential to frame the interpretation of the term which may take on different meanings depending on the context (Gaudelli, 2013). In the Pakistani context, global can assume a global competition stance, a neocolonial stance in addition to an ecological challenge. Having worked as a teacher educator across the country, I have discovered that there is a lack of understanding between one area and another. The 'local', in Pakistani context, is limited to the community and not to other provinces or the country. There is thus a strong case for considering how terminologies are being perceived, with not



just 'global' and 'local', but also with consideration to how 'interdependence' and the 'other' are being framed.

For example, interdependence for some countries centres around global politics and denotes survival. The narrative around interdependence is often one of symbiosis as opposed to a struggle for survival. For post-colonial developing contexts, navigating the increasing interlinkages across the globe, while offering possibility also pose significant economic, cultural, and political threats and challenges. Defining terminologies in the context in which they are being applied is imperative when mapping a course of action. While this is explored in greater depth in the chapter on 'Understanding the Context of Pakistan', the paragraph below contrasts the historical emergence of global education, explored earlier, with events taking place at the same time in Pakistan. The aim is to situate the tensions and assumptions in the context within which they are being considered – that of Pakistan.

At the time that global education, and other associated educational traditions, were being developed and explored in North America and Europe, the subcontinent was struggling for independence from British rule that was formally in power for close to a hundred years. Interconnections were dominantly narratives of power where dependence can be described as "subordination, 'being subjected to', is the antipole of power; as being powerless to act on one's own account" (Wilde, 1991, p. 23). The right to self-rule and self-determination without foreign interference was the very essence of the fight for independence. It is important to consider the features of the colonial relationship which were marked by unequal power relations and systemic inequality. Within this context, learning to live together or understanding of the other was not an ideal, but almost counterproductive to the ideology rooting the struggle for independence. Alongside independence from British rule, the

partition from India was rooted in the belief that Indian-Muslims needed a country of their own in fear of the possibility of inequality and marginalization as a minority in a Hindu majority state. Narratives of partition describe the challenges and dangers of having to live with an 'other'.

Subsequently, Pakistan's three wars with India, its role in the Soviet-Afghan war and in the war on terror alongside its role and alliance with superpowers, over the course of its history, may be regarded as attempts at navigating the complexity of global politics and neoliberal economies within a development agenda. Viewed in this way, what is evident is that themes of seemingly constructive ideals are not straightforward, or obvious, and can actually be juxtaposed to local realities.

Globalisation itself is not something simply happening 'to' societies but is instead happening 'with' them; this process is continuously negotiated within contextual spaces. This is why Castells (2010) argues that growth in information technology and globalisation has not only meant new social construction with cultural diffusions as often thought. It has been met with fierce reclaiming of collective identity and 'cultural singularity' because global interconnections often pose challenges to the distinctiveness of cultures and ways of knowing and being, and thus to the collective identity found within communities and nation states. There has also been a paradoxical shift in greater significance for the nation state rather than an eroding of it (Fulcher, 2000). Globalisation is unevenly experienced as "patterns of global stratification mediate access to sites of power" (Tikly, 2001), because of which it is met with resistance and is constantly being negotiated.

Resultantly, it is crucial for global education to be re-encountered from local contexts that account for the social, historical, economic, and political realities of that time and place. In

this thesis, with regard to the contrasting globally competitive and social justice approach to global education, I argue that pragmatism is crucial. There is a place and potential for a careful balancing of the two. Foremost it is crucial to acknowledge that this focus on competitiveness is driven by policy directives adhering to neoliberal ideals that cannot simply be rejected given the complex economic and political power structures within which these reforms are propelled. These ideals need to be approached with scrutiny and caution. Moreover, particularly for developing countries, there is a need to prepare students with the skill set to thrive in an interconnected world so that they are not left behind in a world that is not flat, just, or equal to all. Students in the Global South often do not have the access, exposure or quality of education that allows them to act globally or be globally competitive. A critical combination of the social justice with the globally competitive approach emerging from the Global South is crucial to counter the deepening economic and power divides between countries around the world. Cho & Mosselson (2017) argue for a nuanced approach that moves away from theoretical divisions to practical applications of social justice within increasingly capitalist/neoliberal economic constructs (p. 15).

Pakistan remains committed to developing strong nationalistic values. It does so within a neoliberal world order which it is influenced by economically, politically, and socially. Whether global education is formally adopted as an approach within national education agendas or not, principles and complexities underlying the field are visible within different features of national agendas. Evidence of this can be seen in debates around the medium of language instruction used in schools. The National Education Policy 2009 document states that English language is seen as crucial “for competition in a globalized world order [while] Urdu is our national language that connects people all across Pakistan and is a symbol of national cohesion and integration” (Education, 2009, p. 11). The English language is linked to

upward social mobility, a 'passport to privilege'. The power dynamics, inequality and disadvantage to native speakers extends in parallel with the agenda of creating a competitive workforce. It is both valuable and relevant therefore, for there to be a mindful engagement with the concept of global education, acknowledging the historical journey of nation states and, aims and objectives of national policy within a complex global world.

Ultimately, a more sound approach to understanding global education is to position it as a way to understand the global context of local lives (Standish, 2014), explore the local-global connections of dependency and interdependency (Burnouf, 2004), and examine the local/global dimensions of our assumptions (Andreotti, 2006). The framework for global education holds value and needs to be locally and pragmatically constructed in order to be relevant. Moreover, given that global education is rooted in Euro-American theoretical foundations, it is vital for global education to be constructed in local contexts by locals to circumvent structures of power. From the perspective of the Global South then, global education is crucial as it 'seeks to uncover the processes that hide differences, create inequalities and maintain exploitation' (Pais & Costa, 2017, p. 7), and develop a broader concern for those impacted, while influencing the global normative framework.

A complete absence of a global education agenda within national curriculums has the danger of promoting a one-dimensional, limited, and inward-looking focus that does not allow students to be competitive or conscious actors. While a 'tokenistic' global education that is defined and approached as a narrow concept, focused simply on explaining problems one dimensionally without an acknowledgement of the complexity of the challenges and the asymmetrical nature of power, globalisation, and relationships, poses the danger of reinforcing assumptions and biases. Andreotti's (2006) contrast of soft and critical

frameworks of global citizenship education are valuable for discourse around global education and suggest a way forward in addressing the issues raised by criticism of global education. She argues for a shift beyond simply 'caring' for the world to compassion and justice in understanding of people, perspectives, structures, world views and of the self. Investigating other perspectives for example, requires an acceptance and evaluation of our own perspective which encourages a critical self-examination. As another example, experiences of colonisation and globalisation differ and are imbalanced with some reaping greater benefits than others. An understanding of the complexity of these interactions and of the dynamic nature of these experiences that have affected and continue to transform cultures would help to shape a paradigm for global education that is transformative.

While this may seem like an oxymoron, global education is most ideally positioned to provide an education that meets both needs – participating and seizing opportunities presented by the interconnected realities of today's world, while being committed to solving the world's growing concerns.

In the next part of this chapter, I consider the role of international organizations in shaping the field of global education and in some cases educational policy in Pakistan. Globalisation, and the growing interconnections, saw the growth of international organizations, such as the World Bank or United Nations, and its affiliated establishments: International Monetary Fund (IMF), or United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to name a few. These play a powerful role in influencing and directing policies within nation states and dominating discourses that are key to this discussion because they have had an impact on policy in Pakistan.

## 6.4 International Organizations

Organizations play a strong role in shaping narratives around global education in multiple ways. They contribute to discourse on defining the field, promoting a variety of strands and influence policy narratives and promote the global education agenda in the countries in which they work. This in turn leads to greater research and practical efforts in teaching and learning. Pakistan has been no exception to the influence of these organizations and to international commitments. The role of organizations and dominant discourses in the field is explored in this subsection.

Alongside academic scholars, organizations have given legitimacy to the breadth of the field. For example, the Global Education Network Europe (GENE) nodded to the comprehensiveness of the field by suggesting that “Global education [is to be] understood to encompass Development Education, Human Rights Education, Education for Sustainability, Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention and Intercultural Education; [these] being the global dimensions of Education for Citizenship” (Wegimont & Hartmeyer, 2016). The State of Global Education Report (2017) also considered the most notable development over the years to be the “willingness by actors representing different strands of Global Education to come together, moving away from defined thematic boundaries to explore, innovate and recognize the potential for learning and collaboration” (p. 55).

In addition to drawing attention to these themes, organizations also play a pivotal role in structuring the field and promoting a variety of strands. These influences tend to place an economic impetus on global education working to align curriculum goals with the development of human capital needed for the global economy (Choo, 2017; Jackson, 2016a). For example, UNESCO and its Asian Pacific initiative (APCIEU) have defined global citizenship

with a more skills-based approach as opposed to a values-based approach. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) enhanced the importance of the field by including an evaluation of global competence on its Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA). This has the effect of promoting certain kinds of market epistemologies reinforcing the hegemony of capitalism (Bouhali, 2015).

Organizations also play a role in facilitation and coordination of policy efforts. Within Europe, the Maastricht conference, held in 2002, defined global education as the opening of people's eyes and minds to "the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all" (European Strategy Framework, 2002), and secured commitment in Europe from governments, parliamentarians, local and regional organizations, and civil society bodies, for a strategy for global education.

Organizations that operate on a global scale, such as the United Nations (UN) and its agencies, have played a definitive role in coordination efforts and in influencing policy agendas globally. Alongside this, the UN has been a key architect of how development is understood through the formulation of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and more recently the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (McEwan, 2009). While the UN has had a development agenda since the 1940s, it was the MDGs that brought together all of its agencies: the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP); World Health Organization (WHO); United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to a combined development agenda (S. Kumar, Kumar, & Vivekadish, 2016). The MDGs were comprehensive, widely supported and were followed by the SDGs in 2015. The SDGs are a strong example of the role and influence of these supranational structures in promoting a 'universal' agenda by issuing

a globally agreed upon framework of 'global goals'. The 17 SDGs seek to combat core issues, such as poverty, climate change and peace. They outline action in one area which produce outcomes in another, to signify links across social, economic, and environmental domains and the need for synergy across these domains.

Within SDG 4 that aims to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” by 2030, it is SDG 4.7 that provided the field with affirmation and contributed to its growth. SDG 4.7 aspires to “ensure all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development”.

The SDGs are important for several reasons. Foremost, they have expanded the focus in education to encompass holistic development and bring together multiple areas of focus that tended to operate parallel to each other; secondly because of the commitment to these goals by nation states, they have become the framework for many global initiatives.

However, there are critiques of the SDGs broadly and 4.7 specifically. Thaman (2008) argues that with agreements such as the MDGs, Education for All, or now the SDGs, in the context of global education, it is important to ask questions around: What and whose sustainable development? Whose human rights? Good governance for whom? And, most importantly, what and whose values underpin the (education) conversations that we are involved in? Perspectives to development are largely informed by Northern knowledge of development and means of understanding the world that have dominated and shaped the development agenda. This is itself an act of power. The lack of consideration of alternative systems to



neoliberalism and globalisation only strengthen the argument that there is one specific underlying view (Gärde, 2016), which is guiding discourse. Emphasis is placed on the cultivation of 'Western' values such as those of entrepreneurship, scientific beliefs, investment, and an 'enlightened' individual free of superstition, religion, ethnicity or other 'traditional' practices (Kapoor, 2008). A further criticism of these goals is that culture is valued not for its own sake, but only to the extent that it can be strategically positioned for capitalist growth (Kapoor, 2008). Within SDG goals, an understanding of others and a culture of non-violence are all propositioned to help achieve sustainable development. They are a means to an end, as opposed to an end in themselves, divorced from a reality other than a neoliberal world order. The failure to recognize unequal power relations and distribution of resources suggests issues of development as depoliticized. This leads not only to a lack of accountability but also tends to frame issues of development as simplistic and technical.

Whilst SDGs are indeed problematic in many ways, it is undeniable that the goals have provided an important opportunity for the field of global education specifically, not only in substantiating it but also in positioning it as crucial to the achievement of all other goals (Marron & Naughton, 2019). Moreover, because of the commitment to these objectives, there is an effort within national education policy to reflect these shared goals to some degree.

International organizations not only influence policy agendas but also further these endeavours through their work in different countries. For example, with many international organizations working in South Asia, institutionalized elements of these themes can be seen in several initiatives within education particularly with regard to peace, human rights, gender, and sustainability. These discussions closely coincided with independence from the British

rule in 1947. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was signed, signalling to the global priority of human rights. Afghanistan, India and Pakistan were among the original 40 signatories to the UDHR (Bajaj & Kidwai, 2016). The global flow of ideas resulted in national educational **policies** worldwide being influenced by rights-based discourses over the past several decades. Where there was heavy focus on education *as* a human right and education *with* human rights and dignity, there was also a rise in education for human rights or Human Rights Education (HRE)(Bajaj & Kidwai, 2016).

Pakistan has always showed an active role in committing to most of the global goals and is signatory to several major international conventions and treaties. The 2009 Educational Policy states Pakistan's tokenistic commitment to what are termed as 'emerging trends and concepts', which are all clumped together "as School Health, Prevention Education against HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, Life Skills Based Education, Environmental Education, Population and Development Education, Human Rights Education, School Safety and Disaster and Risk Management, Peace Education and inter-faith harmony, detection and prevention of child abuse, etc shall be infused in the curricula" (p. 43). The country remained at the end in achieving most of its agreed goals, such as education for all or polio eradication (Khushik & Diemer, 2018a) primarily perhaps because these initiatives linked to aid are seen as supply driven and adopted with little eagerness or ownership (Shams, 2015)

In 2006, the Federal Ministry of Education, in collaboration with UNESCO Islamabad, developed a National of Action for Human Rights Education. Building upon this plan of action, the elementary and secondary school curricula were reviewed and revised, in 2006, to incorporate the core objective of providing information about human rights and elements of peace education (Thapa, Dhungana, Mahalingam, & Conilleau, 2010). Additionally, Pakistan

registered a high number of peace education programmes, alongside India and Sri Lanka, under the UN's 'International Decade for Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World 2001–2010' (Adams, & Estrada, 2010). Organizations, such as Save the Children, helped create a working group in Pakistan and was involved in piloting peace education projects in South Asia. Their report, 'Piece by Piece Mainstreaming Peace Education in South Asia' emphasized how UN agencies, INGOs and donors have been involved in promoting peace education in many different ways in Pakistan (Thapa et al., 2010).

As a result, Pakistan's educational policy, exhibits vestiges of related educational traditions. While organizations can play a key role in furthering initiatives, their success and impact are dependent on alignment within national policy agendas. Citing national vulnerability, the dominant discourse tends to focus on economic competitiveness (Choo, 2017) which is true not only in the case of Pakistan but much of Asia; as UNESCO-MGIEP (2017) report finds of the countries surveyed in Asia that "despite scattered references to the desirability of a 'global' outlook, fostering a strong national 'selfhood' takes precedence — as curricula prepare students for an international arena seen as characterised by inveterate competition" (p. xx) This policy borrowing or adoption of initiatives to please, impact success due to the minimal or lack of local-buy in or ownership of these projects (Pasha & Bourn, 2020).

## 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined the influences on the field of global education and the role of international organizations in further developing the field. It highlighted how approaches to globalisation have come to inform global education while posing questions not only of relevance and universality, but also of power and dominance within neoliberal paradigms and singular worldviews. While international organizations contribute greatly to advancing an

outward looking education, they are predominantly theoretically informed by Northern perspectives and thereby undermine alternative viewpoints. This chapter emphasises the gap in the conceptual and theoretical framing of the field. In doing so, it illuminates the importance of this thesis in understanding the ways in which the discursive construction of global education can be informed from a post-colonial context.

I make several conclusions based on the discussions in this chapter: first, there is an urgent need to (re)conceptualize global education from local perspectives to circumvent structures of power and to create educational programmes that have greater relevance to local realities and local worldviews. In doing so, I make a case for the need for a pragmatic approach that helps build a social justice orientation in the recognition that it does so within capitalist/neoliberal economic constructs. A complete disregard of the globally competitive approach in developing contexts would only maintain and reinforce the power inequalities that the social justice approach intends to reduce. Given that students in the Global South often do not have the access, exposure or quality of education that allows them to be globally competitive, they are disadvantaged in a world that is already unequal and closed to most. This approach runs the risk of perpetuating the ideologies that need to be challenged. The social justice approach is not only important, but imperative in order for students to be cognizant of other possibilities to the realities they see around them, an “uncoercive rearrangement of desires” (Spivak, 2004). To recognize the world around them as complex with systemic issues of marginalization, inequality, and injustice and to critically question how we came to “think/be/feel/act the way we do and the implications of our systems of belief in local/global terms in relation to power, social relationships and the distribution of labour and resources” (Andreotti, 2006).

Spivak, rather than a rejection of dominant hegemonic institutions, texts, values, and theoretical practices, advocates for negotiation from within. Her perspective is driven by the acceptance that there is no uncontaminated space “outside” discourse, culture, institutions, or geopolitics which one can claim, and thus she suggests that “opponents have to be fought on their own ground with their own methods being used against them, at least in the first instance” (Moore-Gilbert, 1997, as cited in Andreotti, 2011, p. 45). From this perspective then, the globally competitive stance becomes crucial in order for the social justice strand to be fully recognized. It is crucial to see what one offers the other. In either case, one without the other poses grave challenges. A globally competitive stance without a social justice orientation only reinforces hegemonic hierarchies while a social justice approach without a globally competitive stance leaves little opportunity for impacting normative dominant discourses.

Secondly, reconceptualisations need to account for socio-political realities. Countries have diverse starting points to discourses around global education that are dictated by their national policy agendas. For Pakistan, as an Islamic republic, Islamic values and character building are a key part of policy agendas, alongside national unity within a human capital approach to education (Dean, 2005). It is important to take into account the reality of Pakistan as a post-colonial country grappling with its national identity and operating within a global neoliberal world order.

Thirdly, international organizations play a key role and have done so even in the educational landscape in Pakistan by introducing several related educational traditions, such as Human Rights Education and Peace Education. Indeed, countries are not blank slates for such initiatives. On the contrary, they have their own distinct entry points and socio-historic reality

that challenges the universality of initiatives and approaches. By analysing textbooks, informed conclusions can be made on current narratives of global education within Pakistan by way of identifying the focus and priority which can help with a more complete mapping of the way forward.

## 7.0 Pedagogical approaches to Global Education

International policy frameworks informing the field have been considered in the previous sections, and the limitations of existing interpretations and framing of global education have been considered by situating this discussion in the context of Pakistan. This section explores the pedagogical framework, considering the common emerging themes in western and non-western academic scholarship and makes connections to the context of Pakistan. This discussion helps to inform the themes I have selected in my analysis of textbooks and respond to the first part of my research question: In what ways do Social Studies textbooks for grade 5 discuss themes related to global education? By 'themes' I denote areas that fall under the ambit of global education. Undoubtedly, given the breadth of the field, there are numerous thematic areas that could fall under the umbrella of global education. By looking at scholarship specifically in the field of global education, examining its underlying principle and considering the context of Pakistan, I narrow these to a selection that can capture both the breadth and depth in terms of preparing students for today's realities.

Bourn (2020) argues that there is a need to move beyond understanding global education only as an educational field to viewing it as a pedagogical approach that examines power structures, is counter-hegemonic and one that challenges dominant orthodoxies. Before progressing, it is critical to determine how the term 'pedagogy' is being framed and understood within this thesis. Current literature describes pedagogy as a complex model; one that considers relations between its elements and draws attention to the creation of a kind of learning community. Conventionally, when referring to pedagogy, content and the method are considered as fundamentally interlinked: that is, *what* is being taught (the content) will influence *how* it is being taught, the method (Peterson et al., 2018). There are additional

elements that need to be considered when exploring the notion of pedagogy; those surrounding specifics of context, content, age and stage of the learner, purposes and so on (Watkins & Mortimore, 1999, p. 8). Bourn (2015) argues that pedagogy needs to include “not only subject and curriculum knowledge, teaching skills, and styles of learning, but also reviews and reflections on issues and their relevance within the classroom, including wider social and cultural factors” (p. 194). Accordingly, then, pedagogy is a complex multidimensional practice that connects *what* is being taught and *how* it is being taught with the lived experience of students.

In this research, I engage with what is being taught through the analysis of textbook discourses. Thus, pedagogy in its entirety, that is, both content and method is not examined. As discussed in the chapter around methodology, this is a limitation of this study as classrooms are dynamic spaces and textbook discourses may shape very differently in these interactions. While the analysis of textbooks can provide insight on the content, they can not be extrapolated to pedagogy as a whole. Within the field of social studies on global education, this study provides an examination of *what* priority and focus areas are. These discussions can have implications around *how* themes of global education should be taught in light of circumstantial realities and distinct perspectives but do not seek to make conclusions on current classroom interactions.

Current academic scholarship around the pedagogy of global education is most commonly presented as knowledge, skills and values/attitudes which form the basis of Blooms taxonomy, whose iterations are widely recognized as the most practical means of grouping educational objectives in a variety of contexts (Jimenez, Lerch, & Bromley, 2017, p. 460). A ‘soft’ approach to understanding the knowledge domain would be simply to know about



something. Knowledge needs to be understood as moving beyond simply exposing learners to a collection of facts and data to an exploration, interpretation and understanding of that information.

Interpretations of 'skill' is broad, referring not only to cognitive skills, such as those of critical thinking but also to competence, such as the ability to speak a different language, ability to carry out tasks, or vocational skills that are related to certain forms of employment. Within global education, there are two clear demarcations of 'skills': those that refer to cognitive aspects, such as analysing multiple perspectives or thinking creatively and non-cognitive aspects, such as those of communication, conflict resolution and so on (Bourn, 2018). The absence of cognitive skills would yield a passive approach to knowledge while the absence of non-cognitive skills would thwart the ability to use that knowledge and advance it. Skills must be understood as a combination of these two aspects and key to global education pedagogy. Providing knowledge about the global world society, needs to be matched with skills to analyse the associated contradictions and complexity and to translate this thinking into action.

Values complete the triad. A values perspective, within education, argues for the need to help learners come to understand and develop their moral perspectives and values which will then influence attitudes, dispositions and behaviours (Scott & Oulton, 1998). UNESCO (2005) describes values as being "emotionally charged; they give power to our ideas and understandings, such that they constitute the driving force behind individual and group behaviours" (Quisumbing & de Leo, 2005, p. 15). A skills-based approach can be linked to the globally competent or competitive approach to education, while a values-based approach is better associated with the social justice approach to education.

The section below explores the dominant themes within the domains of knowledge, skills, and values whilst exploring the context of Pakistan to determine themes relevant to the socio-political realities of the country. As most of the literature has emerged from the Global North, much of the academic scholarship in the following subsection is from the Global North. I maintain that the goal is to reencounter global education by reflecting on the inspirations of current perspective and then crafting a global education through self-representation. Particularly, as discussed in the preceding chapter, contexts drive global education in the way that it is adopted, making it imperative to examine global education from the context of Pakistan with an acknowledgement that the heart of global education lies in learning about problems and issues that are cross-cutting, about the interconnectedness of systems, of taking perspective of other views, ideas and realities and working towards the creation of a better world (Tye, 2014). The aim then is not to offer an alternative global education, but to enrich its understanding and make the concept truly global. Lastly, I am cautious of polarizing approaches as being 'Western' or 'local' and instead viewing concepts from a Foucauldian perspective of being constructs of discourses.

## 7.1 Pedagogical Approaches

### 7.1.1 Knowledge

Knowledge is a central component of global education; but it is important to clarify how knowledge is being understood here. It does not mean exposing learners to a collection of facts and data but instead an exploration, interpretation and understanding of that information. Bourn (2015b), citing Gilbert (2005), suggests knowledge be understood not as an object to be mastered, but instead as a resource, something that people do things with, in order to solve real problems.

Under the 'banking' model of education, termed thus by Paulo Freire, knowledge is one directional moving from the teacher to the student. Freire suggests that knowledge should not be viewed as a passive act, but instead learners should be actively engaged in the process of creating new knowledge and applying critical consciousness to their learning (Freire, 1970).

This is fundamental given the link between knowledge and power (Foucault, 2012). The postcolonial lens centres on understanding knowledge, and therefore power, from the perspective of those who lived under colonial rule. From the postcolonial perspective, knowledge needs to be approached from "self-reflexive and self-critical epistemologies that deconstruct universalist assumptions and open a space imagination of alternative ways of being and engaging with the world" (Wang & Hoffman, 2016, p. 6) This approach to knowledge has elements of a skills perspective.

Having clarified the deeper connotation to the subject of 'knowledge', I look at the dominant themes in the pedagogical framework. Both the social justice and the economic approach to education recognizes the reality that the world is deeply interconnected and that actions can have a wider influence than previously imagined. The foundations of global education lie in an understanding of our interdependence; the ways in which the economic, social, political, environmental networks connect and the impact that these have on each other. Although framed in diverse ways under banners of global systems, global outlook, or global understanding, the core idea of interdependence underpins much of the academic scholarship in both approaches (Bourn, 2015a; Coomans, 2018; Jooste & Heleta, 2017; Pike, 2015; Ramos & Schleicher, 2018; Sharma, 2018b).

Following from this: to think about the global is to inherently think about an 'other' and *understand* the other. The notion does not encompass superficial cultural awareness, but

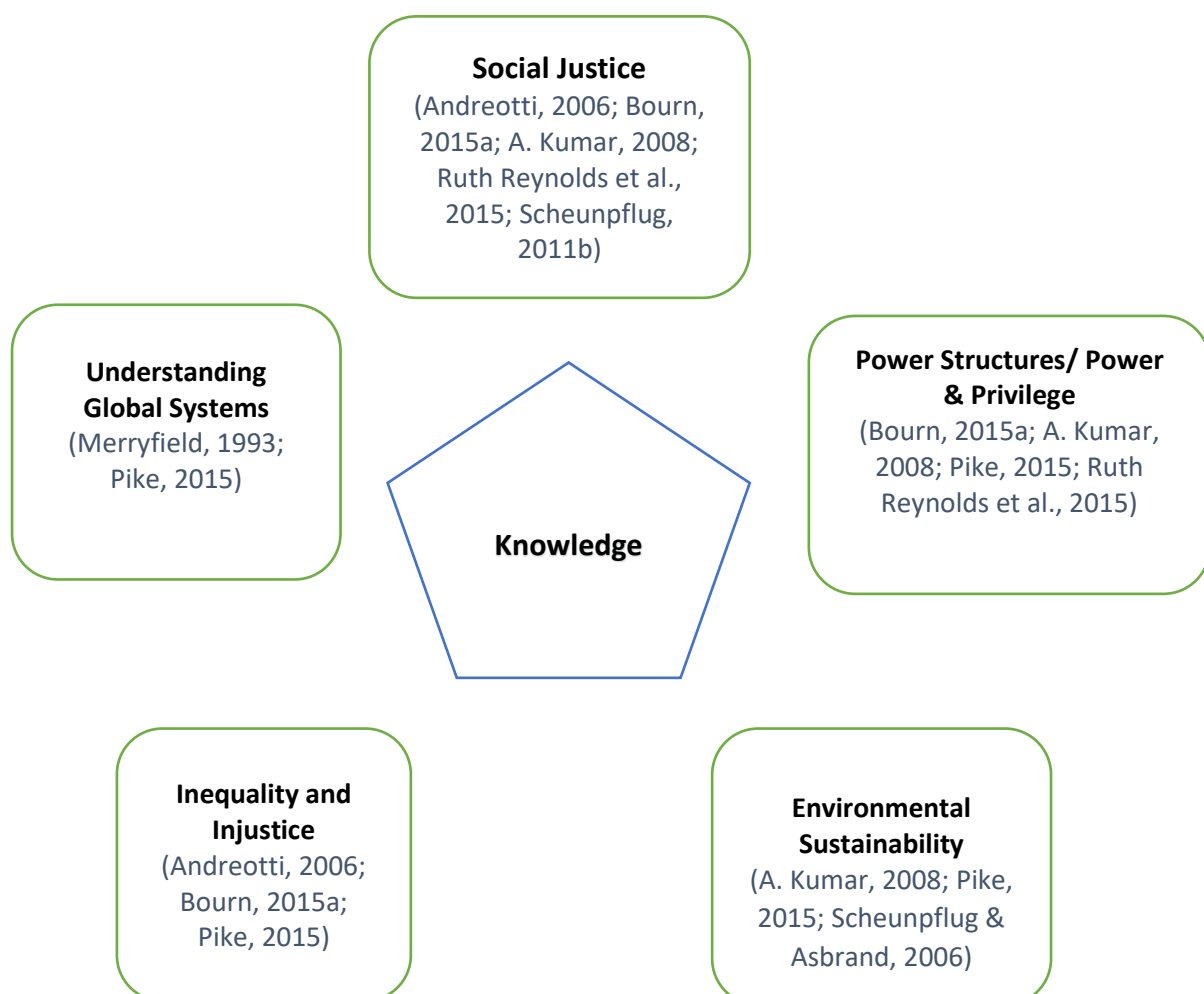
would more explicitly include an appreciation for diversity, an acknowledgement of our commonality, an understanding of multiple identities and the dynamic nature of cultures that are affected and transform as a result of invasion, colonisation or globalisation (WMCGC, 2002; Klien, 2001, as cited in Davies, 2006). This would include an appreciation for the diverse ways of living, including social, economic, judicial, and other structures organically connecting to the concept of interdependence.

From these foundational concepts emerge themes in literature around the pedagogy of global education, which is summarized and presented as a hierarchy in Figure 1. Pedagogy around global education has been recognized as providing a “reaction to the developmental state of world society” working within the premise of overcoming inequality by being orientated towards a model of global justice (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006). Unsurprisingly, the theme of social justice is prevalent in literature around the pedagogy of global education (Andreotti, 2006; Bourn, 2015a; Davies, 2006; Kumar, 2008; Reynolds et al., 2015; Scheunpflug, 2011b). Although there appears no single definition of social justice (Zajda, Majhanovich, & Rust, 2006), there is some consensus about social justice being associated with human rights, fairness, and equity (Bates, 2007). These themes are greatly intertwined with one often stemming from the other. There are three main perspectives to social justice (Gale, 2000): Distributive: fairness around the distribution of basic resources; Retributive: fairness around competition for social goods and materials; Recognitive: recognising differences and commonality amongst cultural groups. This is taken further under a postcolonial lens as cultural justice that goes from tolerance to respect in cultural politics, and a functional respectful co-existence in which interaction goes beyond listening to others to truly “invok[ing] the cultural worlds of the players” (Odora Hoppers, 2008).

There are connections with themes of power and inequality which, Bourn (2015) argues, need to be strengthened. His viewpoints evolve from pedagogy around development education which can contribute to the building of a pedagogical framework for global education because of the strong thematic links they share (Bourn, 2015a; Kumar, 2008). Another eminent theme is that of environmental sustainability, which distinguishes itself from environmental education by having a world justice orientation, and is seen as deeply connected to equity and development (Selby, 2019).

Figure 1: Knowledge Themes

The figure presents the most prevalent themes in scholarship.



There are five core themes that are crucial to examine in the context of Pakistan: Interdependence, Understanding the Other, Power and Privilege, Environmental Sustainability and Social Justice. This is not to say that other themes are not relevant, but that within the socio-political realities of the country, such as accounting for the economic conditions, international relations, and internal power relations along with the cultural and religious landscape, these themes together can serve as a significant starting point for global education in local contexts.

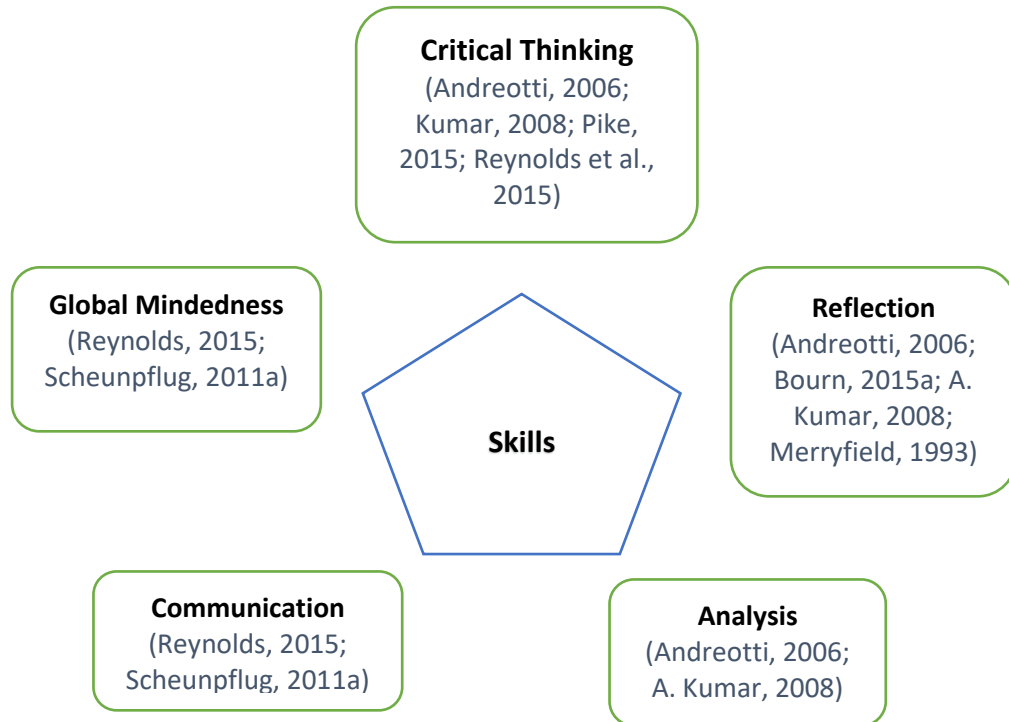
Highlighted in Chapter 3 were the social, political, economic, geographical, and historical realities of the country. Pakistan has played a dominant role in global politics and is heavily influenced by external agendas. Although a multifaceted context in terms of the ethnic, cultural and religious composition, religion has been kept the forefront to assimilate a singular identity, though this has proved ineffectual. Meanwhile, systemic issues of inequality and poverty exist within power structures that exploit and disempower certain provinces, ethnicities and genders. Unsurprisingly, Pakistan's progress on human development indices are the lowest when compared to other countries in South Asia (United Nations Development Programme, 2018). Importantly, global issues are intertwined and multidimensional; environment issues for example, are inseparable from issues of social justice, equity, and development (Selby, 2019). Thus, these themes encapsulate the socio-political realities of the country and are the basis of the analysis that is presented in subsequent chapters.

### 7.1.2 Skills

Global education whilst providing knowledge about the global world society, needs to be matched with skills and values to deal with contradictions and complexity to translate this thinking into action, which is why critical thinking and reflection are dominant in literature

around global education. The figure below presents the hierarchy of themes emerging in literature arounds skills in global education pedagogy.

Figure 2: Skills Hierarchy in Literature



In order to engage and better understand these, it is important to clarify what is meant by skills. A starting point is the ability and capabilities to perform activities. In this thesis, I am not referring to technical or operational skills, such as those required to operate a piece of machinery, but instead as a set of competencies that make sense of information or knowledge, that develops thinking. Providing knowledge about the global world society, needs to be matched with skills to analyse the underlying assumption and contradictions alongside the competence to translate this thinking into action.

'21<sup>st</sup> century skills' has been the term used to denote the skills necessary for knowledge-based societies, in contrast to the skills needed in an earlier industrial era (Bourn, 2018). These, as discussed earlier, frame skills within very neoliberal constructs as skills important for

competition and work in today's societies adding an economic imperative (Mehta et al., 2020), thereby “exclude[ing] or de-emphasis[ing] the ‘political literacy’ and ‘critical empowerment’ that is essential for transforming a culture of violence” (Toh, Shaw, & Padilla, 2017).

I argue, as discussed earlier, the global competition interpretation is important particularly in developing contexts and has been a priority area in global policy agendas, however it should not be the ‘only’ purpose from which to view the acquisition and importance of skills. Neither should it limit the framing of skills to narrow conceptions of career advancement as opposed to being framed as skills needed for broader political and civic engagement.

I emphasize the need to broaden the framing of these terms. For example, given that the foundations of global education are rooted in our increasing interconnections, communication is a vital skill to be able to engage with others no matter who and where they are. Communication tends to be linked to language acquisition and specifically to English, that is identified as a global language and crucial to competitiveness in a globalised world order (Ministry of Education, 2009). However, command over a language relate to the practical aspects. Communication involves additional layers, requiring the “processing, transforming, and formatting information and reflecting about the best way to present an idea to a particular audience” (Ananiadou & Claro, 2009, p. 10). However, even this understanding of communication, beyond the mastery of language, has an implicit message. Take for instance the definition of communication by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as

“the ability to communicate effectively and respectfully with people who are perceived to have different cultural backgrounds. Effective communication requires being able to express oneself clearly, confidently



and without anger, even when expressing a fundamental disagreement. Respectful communication requires understanding the expectations and perspectives of diverse audiences and applying that understanding to meet the audience's needs" (PISA 2018 Global Competence Framework, 2019, p. 174).

This definition is entirely one directional with a speaker pressing forward an idea, thought or argument and being able to do so in the most effective manner possible. Kumar (2008) terms these mainstream approaches "monological" that reduce truth to the representation of a single perspective. His suggestion is to view this skill more broadly as dialogue and communicative action; a "series of dialogical encounters" in which teachers and students share in the "construction, deconstruction and codification of themes, abstractions, events and ideas", thereby becoming mutual co-investigators that would constitute what Freire described as "the beginning of an authentic art of knowing" (p. 44-45). In this approach, communication is removed from economic constructs of a skill you may need in a workplace setting in which you are able to push your point of view to a skill which aids the process of discovery.

Turning to other skills that are a key part of global education literature, Hooks (2010) analyses a range of definitions of the term 'critical thinking' and concludes that at the core, there is consensus that "critical thinking requires discernment.... approaching ideas that aims to understand core, underlying truths, not simply that superficial truth that may be most obviously visible" (p. 9). To do so however, would demand the ability to question one's own assumptions and to look at different viewpoints, essential to recognize power structures, counter hegemony and challenge dominant ideology. Brookefield (2012) identifies three types of assumption: paradigmatic – how we view the world; prescriptive – how we think the world should work and how people should behave; and causal – why things happen or are

the way that they are. Critical thinking, I would argue, is the cornerstone of global education, which would explain why it is a predominant theme in most literature around global education. The dynamic nature of the world, its complex interlinkages, information overload, bias and stereotypes, or dominant neoliberal narratives all require a critical lens and engagement.

Reflection, meanwhile, is the pillar of global education. Definitions, such as those by Massialas, (1998) link critical thinking to reflection by defining it as “the method which one employs in order to subject the issue at hand to critical analysis” (p. 52), justifying terms, such as critical reflection, that combine the two. I however suggest these need to be considered separately not only to give significance to each but also to consider the nuanced difference between the two. Rodgers (2002) simplifies Dewey’s thoughts around reflection to suggest it is “a meaning-making process that moves a learner from one experience into the next with deeper understanding of its relationships with and connections to other experiences and ideas. It is the thread that makes continuity of learning possible, and ensures the progress of the individual and, ultimately, society”, and is systematic, rigorous, disciplined with roots in scientific inquiry (p. 845). While critical thinking digs deep to consider underlying truths, reflection makes meaning of these findings by drawing on experience and creating linkages, while also considering gaps in knowledge and the way in which to fill these. Reflection is indispensable for students to understand their own positions, acknowledge their own worldviews and biases and thereby be more open to understanding that of others (Bourn, 2015a; Kumar, 2008; Merryfield, 1993).

These have been further expanded through other terminologies, such as those offered by Andreotti (2006) who encourages critical literacy that promotes both critical engagement and

reflection through “the analysis and critique of the relationships among perspectives, language, power, social groups and social practices by the learners” (2006, p. 49). She encourages self-reflexivity that goes beyond reflection as a way to “understand the complex constitution of subjectivities, the interdependence of knowledge and power, and of what is sub- or un-conscious in our relationships with the world” (Alasuutari & Andreotti, 2011, p. 80). I see self-reflexivity as a meta-cognitive skill that can be developed after students have enhanced their critical thinking and reflective abilities.

### 7.1.3 Values

Values complete the triad in the pedagogy around global education and I would argue, is what deeper connections need to be made with when talking about global education. Values have been defined as “principles and fundamental convictions which act as general guides to behaviour, the standards by which particular actions are judged to be good or desirable” (Halstead & Taylor, 2000, p. 169). Onyimadu (2017) finds, in his evaluation of literature, four different conceptual definitions that include this definition of values as principles. The others are of values as beliefs; values as motivations, with values being the basis of establishing the hierarchy of human needs. Seeing values as motivations is what is important to an individual or group of people. These are not disparate; in fact, one lends to the other: beliefs or convictions motivate actions and are often subscribed to by a group. Combined, these are a comprehensive way in which to understand values.

Within education, a pedagogical approach divorced from the emotional and social environment of the learner takes a narrow view of learning and of the human experience as taking place in silos with cognitive learning separated from affective or social learning (Lovat, 2010). Immordino-Yang & Damasio (2011) contend that “aspects of cognition that are

recruited most heavily in education, including learning, attention, memory, decision making, motivation, and social functioning, are both profoundly affected by emotion and in fact subsumed within the processes of emotion” (p. 7). Unsurprisingly then, UNESCO describes values as being “emotionally charged; they give power to our ideas and understandings, such that they constitute the driving force behind individual and group behaviours” (Quisumbing & de Leo, 2005, p. 15).

Reynolds et al. (2015) maintain that global education is rooted in a value-base and the authors use a framework that looks at teaching practices about, for and with global education. Teaching ‘about’ global education is to teach concepts and related information, ‘for’ involves the development of skills and attitudes coupled with behavioural changes, while teaching ‘with’ involves an action-oriented methodology. It is the ‘with’ that lead the ‘about’ and the ‘for’. Combined, these present a holistic approach that employ both the cognitive and affective domains of learning, which I argue is central to global education. Sharma (2018b) stresses the need for making greater links with a value-base in non-Western perspectives crucially because of the strong link between values and beliefs and the motivation to take action. For global education to play a role in responding to the complex and dynamic nature of the world today, there needs to be an equal recognition of the importance of knowledge and skills alongside values.

Within educational policy in Pakistan, the aims and objectives underscore the need “to raise individuals committed to democratic and moral values, aware of fundamental human rights, open to new ideas, having a sense of personal responsibility and participation in the productive activities in the society for the common good” (2009, p. 18). The policy declares

that the greatest challenge in today's global world is to secure values without regressing into "unnecessary anachronism and parochial insularity" (p. 19).

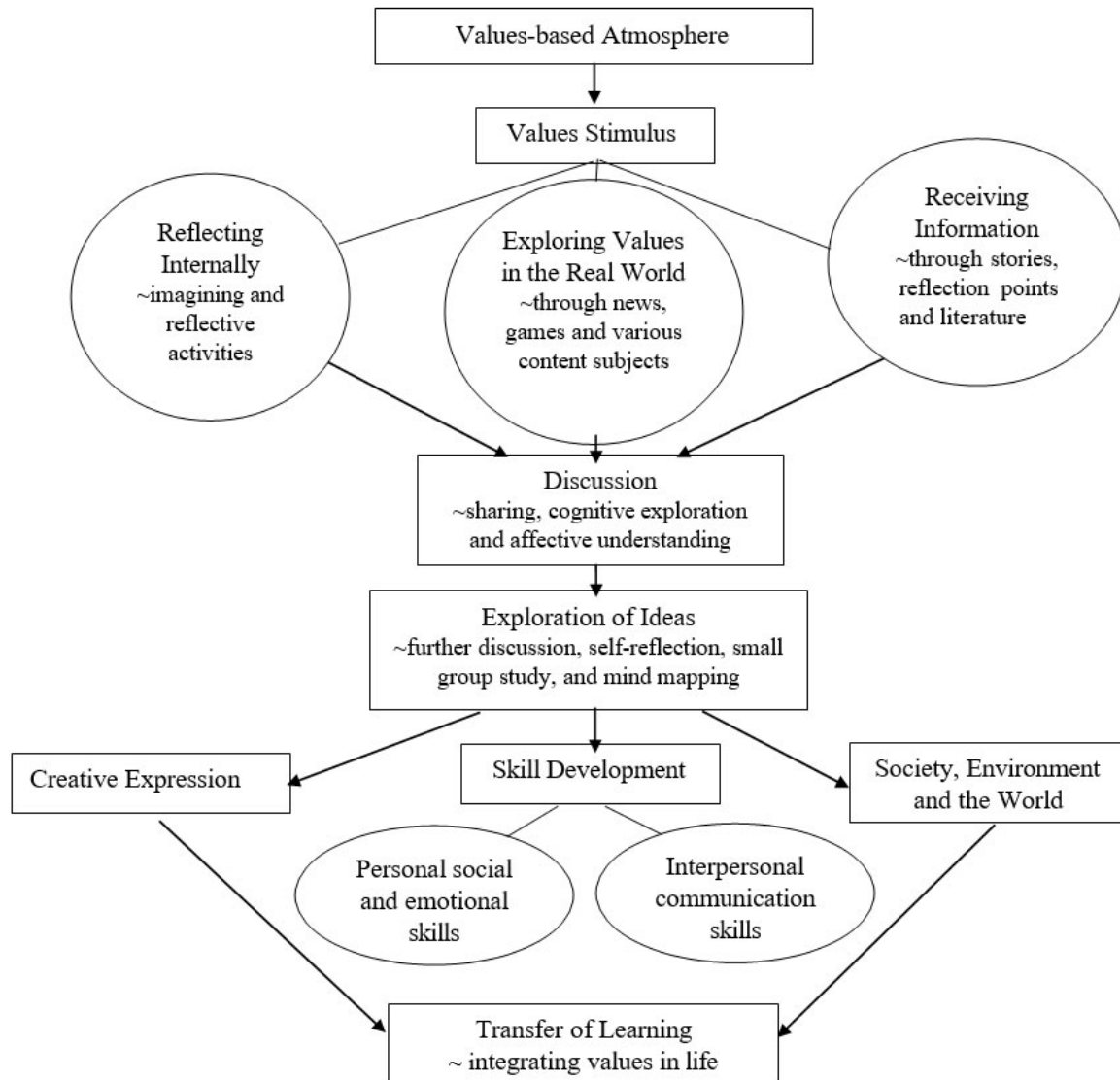
The more salient feature of the more recent Single National Curriculum (SNC) to come into effect in some of the provinces from 2021, puts a greater focus on values within the teaching and learning experience. Focusing as described on the website "on equipping learners with principles and attributes, such as truthfulness, honesty, tolerance, respect, peaceful coexistence, environmental awareness & care, democracy, human rights, sustainable development, global citizenship, personal care and safety" (Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training, 2020). There is a desire for the development of values specifically within the social studies curriculum.

Whilst these objectives are important, a most natural ensuing question is in determining how exactly values can be taught or should be introduced in the classroom. A useful guide is offered by the Living Values Education (LVE), an international initiative active in exploring ways in which to develop values within the educational experience, that present an education model for developing values, which can be seen in Figure 3 below. While there is research around the impact of teachers' own values on classroom practices (see: Barni, Russo, & Danioni, 2018; Brady, 2011); teacher education programmes that prepare teachers to be values educators (Iyer, 2013); specific approaches, like oral questioning to encourage values development (Mahmud, Yunus, Ayub, & Sulaiman, 2020); a values-based pedagogy within faith-based education (see: Lovat, Toomey, & Clement, 2010), I find this model most comprehensive and best suited to this research as it makes connections with the classroom and recognizes the interplay of knowledge and skills with values, as opposed to viewing them in silos. Together, knowledge and skills play a crucial role in the development of values, as

they encourage a critical engagement as opposed to a static imparting of values. While knowledge is used as the prompt to encourage reflection, exploration, and discussion, it is not divorced from skills of reflection. This model proposes a values base outside of the boundaries of faith-based schooling or religious education to a broader inclusion across the educational experience. Finally, this model is useful from the perspective of analysing textbooks. That is, it suggests the role textbooks can play for the development of values in the teaching and learning experience; that of providing important stimulus through stories or more real-world examples in order for a subsequent discussion and exploration by students. Classroom interactions play a pivotal role in the development of values and associated skills of reflection and analysis, while an environment that supports the development of values is fundamental as students need to be experiencing values modelled through action. An environment that does not support a values atmosphere is counter-productive in achieving what it sets out to accomplish. However, both, classroom interactions and the school environment are not being considered in this thesis, which I recognize as a limitation. What I seek to explore is the existing potential for such interaction through the analysis of the textbook. This can provide insight into whether there is space for the development of values through the introduction of stimulus within the textbook, a key learning resource in and outside the classroom.

Figure 3: Developing Values — the Living Values Education Method

This figure presents an education model for developing values.



Literature around values with global education is wide-ranging with the only recurring themes being those of social justice, equity and tolerance (Bourn, 2015b; Pike, 2015; Reynolds et al., 2015). While I contend that there is a need to go beyond tolerance that narrowly frames ways of learning to live with others, to weightier values of open-mindedness and acceptance; but more importantly, values need to be an explicit focus within the pedagogy of global education as opposed to an implicit by-product of cognitive understanding. The following section explores alternative pedagogical approaches all of which make deeper connections with a values focus. I present these here under non-western approaches because mainstream ones

focus on a skills base or on knowledge acquisition and/or because they make link with cultural traditions.

## 7.2 Non-western Approaches

The earlier chapter stressed the need for alternative approaches to global education by highlighting the dominant influences and approaches to the field and the dangers they pose. The engagement with the field of global education must not be from the side lines, nor 'soft' in its approach but instead involve a 'critical' re-imagining of alternative paradigms, perspectives, and possibilities (Sharma, 2018b). This section describes non-western perspectives that have been offered to inform global education.

Namrata Sharma in her study on Value Creating Global Citizenship Education (2018a) offers one such alternative by stressing an emphasis on values, influenced by Asian thinkers, as an alternative to dominant Western thinking that can have relevance to all learners. Soka or 'Value creation' that drives the value-creating pedagogy, can be understood thus: "individual happiness is a state in which one lives "contributively", that is, through creating value for individual benefit as well as the good of society" (Sharma, 2018b, p. 20). Education can nurture this process by finding and creating value within the living environment. She argues for the positivistic use of religious values using the example of soka:

"The powerful use of Makiguchi's concept... or value creation by Ikeda within the realm of Japanese society and politics has provided an example of the positive use of religious values in a public domain. It has shown that personal values can be of benefit not only to the individual but also to the society at large, as long as the use of values is educationally oriented with a focus on the political education of the members who in turn hold the political powers accountable" (2018a, p. 34).



There are existing connections between a focus on values, such as that of compassion, and fields associated with global education, such as development education. The international development organization, Children in Crossfire (CIC), inspired by the Dalai Lama worked in partnership with researchers from Emory University and Life University's Centre for Compassion and Secular Ethics to evolve development education teaching practice towards Cognitive-Based Compassion Training. The aim is to develop "emotional awareness and intelligence, emotion regulation, self-compassion, interdependence, appreciation, empathy, non-discrimination, equanimity (understood as impartiality), and compassion (understood as the wish to relieve others from suffering)" (Murphy, Ozawa-de Silva, & Winskell, 2014, p. 61). They argue for the cruciality of building development education within secular ethics by reasoning that "through the cultivation of compassion, within critical development education practice, individuals are better able to both emotionally and intellectually recognize structures of oppression that they may participate in" (Murphy et al., 2014, p. 58).

Another paradigm is the one offered by scholarship around the African philosophy of Ubuntu. Nussbaum (2003) describes Ubuntu as the expression of "compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony, and humanity in the interests of building and maintaining community"(p. 21). Because Ubuntu emphasizes a humanistic and spiritual way of collective well-being, and because it is an integral part of cultural heritage of African societies, the philosophy, it is argued, can offer a non-Western and indigenous perspective to the very conceptualization of global education by mainstreaming and centring African ontologies for African schools as a way of responding to global injustices (Eten, 2020; Pieniasek, 2020; Swanson, 2015). Most crucially perhaps, the significance of Ubuntu, is in pushing discourse beyond "a neoliberal understanding of education to a human-centred approach that fosters sensibilities such as

compassion, care and empathy around which students' commitment to the good of society can be harnessed" (Eten, 2020, p. 335).

What these examples illustrate is the need for global education to be relevant, to be cognizant of local contexts, constructed by locals to circumvent structures of power, and be relevant and meaningful to the needs of the learners. In this way, learners would not be engaging with a perspective that they do not associate with that has the added danger of operating like a 'civilizing mission' because, in many ways, the cultural values, and norms that are promoted in narrow constructions of global education are products of Western dominance, tilted to the intellectual orientation it has produced (Andreotti, 2011a; Calhoun, 2003; Jooste & Heleta, 2017). Simultaneously, it is important to be cognizant of the risk of appropriation of indigenous knowledge systems as can be seen with the concept of Ubuntu; the use of the term has, upon gaining popularity, been detached from its roots and applied in tokenized and decontextualized ways (Pieniasek, 2020). The prominence of the concept as a result of discourse by Western academic scholars itself speaks of the appropriation that is contradictory to goals and principles of global education. The approach proposed, is one of self-reflection and respectful engagement with traditional cultural values and norms that can advance a case for the relevance of alternative perspectives to the discourse around global education.

Although formal approaches to the field of global education from South Asia remain underdeveloped, this is not to say that themes that underpin global education, the creation of a better world through broader understanding, have not existed in this part of the world. The most prominent evidence is in Rabindranath Tagore's writing and his University in Calcutta. Tagore (1861–1941) was referred to as a multi-faceted genius due to his excellence

in a variety of literary mediums for which he eventually won a Nobel Prize. An educationalist in the subcontinent, Tagore set up a school in 1901, in a small town near Bolpur, in the district of West Bengal, and named it Santiniketan (“abode of peace”). This institution was later advanced to a university which he called Visva-Bharati, literally translated as “where India meets the world”. He constantly referred to the institution as “International University” or a “World University” (Quayum, 2016). It was established with a logo in Sanskrit, *Yatra viswam bhavati eka-nidam*, which means, “Where the world meets as in one nest” (Dutta & Robinson, 1995, p. 220). Tagore’s vision of education can be summarized in his own words in an interview, in 1919, in which he explained: “Education is, in a real sense, the breaking of the shackles of individual narrowness...the highest aim of education should be to help the realization of the unity, but not of uniformity. Uniformity is unnatural. A sound educational system should provide for the development of variety without losing the hold on the basic or spiritual unity” (Tagore, 2019 as cited in Quayum, 2016, p. 3).

Tagore’s ideology had two main elements; the first was on creating unity between people and the second was for this to happen without imposing uniformity. His motivation for unity is said to have come after his extensive travel during the First World War. His understanding of the global political climate led him to plan a wider educational venture for a civilizational meeting of the ‘races’. He regarded unity as a way to establish peace and harmony and believed that conflicts and aggressive nationalism could be diffused by the study of each other’s histories and cultures and the exchange of higher learning (Das Gupta, 2010).

His caution of uniformity lay in his realization of it robbing the individual and by extension, the nation, its uniqueness, inherent talents, and the danger of leading to a hegemonic narrative in society. Living in colonised India, Tagore was critical of the Indian educational

system that he felt replicated the colonial mindset and was both dismissive of, and removed from, the local life and culture. This is not to say that Tagore was wary of the global interconnectedness of the world but rather he cautioned:

“When races come together, as in the present age, it should not be merely the gathering of a crowd; there must be a bond of relation, or they will collide with each other.

Education must enable every child to understand and fulfil this purpose of the age, not defeat it by acquiring the habit of creating divisions and cherishing national prejudices. There are of course natural differences in human races which should be preserved and respected, and the task of our education should be to realise unity in spite of them...The minds of children are usually shut inside prison houses, so that they become incapable of understanding people who have different languages and customs. This causes us to grope after each other in darkness, to hurt each other in ignorance, to suffer from the worst form of blindness” (Tagore, 2002, p. 216).

While Tagore’s work aligns closely with the essence of global education, perhaps most pertinently, he argued for educational practice to be more closely linked with local lived experiences. The significance here is that there is value in making connections between local cultural traditions and the field of global education as a way of harnessing existing beliefs, values and attitudes for the theory and practice of global education. It is unsurprising then that there has been a call for global education to have a grassroots approach that integrates with religious ethics with a positive and constructive outlook in such contexts. It is argued that in contexts like India and Pakistan, where fundamentalism is on the rise, it is crucial to draw on positive religious ethics (Hashmi, 2018).

It is however worth cautioning, that much like the contradictions posed by the binary discourse around what defines the local and global discussed earlier, the binary distinctions of Western and non-Western perspectives pose challenges. It is difficult to cleanly demarcate Western and non-Western perspectives particularly in a post-colonial context. Local

perspectives have been mediated by encounters with colonialism followed by globalisation that has resulted in an intermeshing of ideas, perspectives, and beliefs. Even, prominent thinkers, like Tagore and Gandhi, were exposed to or were products of the Western intellectual thought of the time and therefore cannot be rooted as purely non-Western thinkers. I am equally aware that my own intellectual orientations have been informed by my studies in North America and the UK though I do identify as a Pakistani. In addition, local or non-Western worldviews can, in some cases, be oppressively hegemonic, such as a feudalistic social structure or patriarchal beliefs and practices both of which are dominant in Pakistan. It is important not to romanticize local perspectives and be cautious of communicating perspectives in binaries.

This chapter outlined the key areas in the domains of knowledge, skills, and values emerging from literature around global education. It highlighted the need to reframe some key concepts, such as shifting from the skill of communication to dialogue, while examining the relevance of themes to the context of Pakistan. Further, this chapter explored the pedagogy of global education from a knowledge, skills, and values perspective to stress the need to consider alternative non-western approaches that make greater connection with values within the pedagogical framework. This discussion is valuable to consider gaps in global education frameworks and broaden the discussion to consider existing non-western perspectives. Before presenting the analysis of the textbooks, the next chapter analyses the field of social studies in the country to draw attention to the purpose of the field and the influences on the content.

## 8.0 Examining the Social Studies

This chapter explores the field of social studies, its historical origin, and the way in which it continues to be epistemologically occidentally informed. This discussion is directly connected to the emergence of the field in Pakistan with the aim of highlighting broader global influences that dominate the field. This chapter also explores comments and critiques of social studies in Pakistan with the aim of informing the ways in which national political agendas have influenced the field. The latter part of this chapter analyses the social studies curriculum for Grade 5 around which the textbooks have been developed, detailing the aims and objectives of the field and their links to global education.

The teaching of social studies, in post-colonial states like Pakistan, arose and was influenced by the need for nation-building and modernization (Batra, 2010). In Pakistan, the development of social sciences was a result of American influence on Pakistan and the country's close political proximity to the United States (U.S.) during the Cold War. There was a dependence on the U.S at this time in terms of economic and military aid which extended into educational development. Disciplines, such as public administration (1950s), sociology, social work, applied psychology (1960s), anthropology, area studies, strategic studies (1970s), peace and conflict studies, and women studies (1990s) were established with American assistance (Krishna & Krishna, 2010). Zaidi (2002) stresses the extent of this influence of the U.S by emphasizing how the curriculum of some of these courses were drawn entirely from U.S. texts, with American policies and theories taught and empirical work rooted in Anglo-US academic tradition. He adds that "mainly American, and some other Western political scientist, anthropologists and management advisors were sitting at the heart of academic and administrative Pakistan" (2002, p. 3647). This can be seen as a form of governmentality in

which education is used to, in this case, secure the interests of the USA, its western allies and of global capitalism, more generally (Tikly, 2004).

Before 1958, the curricula contained separate subjects of history, geography, and civics. Thereafter, under the military regime, history as a subject was removed and, in its place, 'Muasharati Uloom' or social studies (for Grades 3–8) was introduced and Pakistan studies for Grades 9–12. Both subjects are an amalgamation of history, economics, civics and social studies (Aziz, 1993, as cited in Naseem, 2006). To encourage national unity and develop civic attitudes, citizenship and character education was proposed. The aim of these two subjects was to prepare knowledgeable and loyal citizens with values of honesty and integrity (Dean, 2008). Education, Foucault would suggest, inculcates, and transmit values considered to be true through discursive narratives.

Following this period, with growing regional discontent, political undertones began to emerge in the social studies, alongside new colleges and universities that were opened coinciding with the nationalization of education. This was a more active part of the history of social studies, in terms of research being conducted in a variety of areas. In the subsequent phase of Zia's regime in the country, the subject of 'Pakistan studies' was introduced at different educational levels and made compulsory in 1985 (Hashmi, 1999). This phase was most significantly marked, however, by the inclusion of Islamic ideology across education; with the social studies taking the brunt of these changes (Lall, 2008). For instance, economics began to take on the term Islamic economics, while research in history focused more on the Islamic dimension of history (Zaidi, 2002).

Educational policies that followed the 1979 policy framework somewhat reduced, but always retained, the focus on Islamic tenants and have remained committed to the vision of building

strong nationalistic values. With the end of the Cold War and the changing relationship with the U.S., the research focus shifted inwards. Alongside this, the large international donor base played a dominant role in determining the research agenda (Zaidi, 2002). As discussed in chapter 3 international aid is often attached to certain conditions that dictate educational policy agendas. National and international educational policy agendas work in tandem to stir focus and priority.

In 1999, General Pervez Musharraf overthrew the then government in a military coup and promised to work towards national integrity, the establishment of 'true democracy', and 'enlightened moderation'. Ironically, Dean, notes, "the White Paper developed under a military dictatorship is by far the most explicit document with respect to citizenship education. Recognising that the best place to develop a commitment to democracy is in schools it calls for schools to become places where democracy is lived so that students develop democratic ideas and beliefs and commit to leading democratic lives" (2008, p. 8).

What is evident from this tracing of the history of social sciences in Pakistan is that it is not divorced from the political ideologies of the time. Foucault used the term 'biopower', within the concept of governmentality, to describe techniques that target an entire population to delineate, monitor, and manipulate. An educational system is a classic example of this with educational policy formations demonstrating the enactment of biopower. The social studies curriculum in Pakistan, is both the product and propagator of the 'Ideology of Pakistan'. Perhaps, the approach to social studies since its conception may seem to be tilted to that of citizenship education, with varying degrees of additions of an Islamic worldview, all for the purpose of national unity that would not only strengthen the nation but also drive it towards economic development. A deeper critical examination suggests that the focus has been on



normalising nationalism based on religion, and a form of governmentality that, as Naseem, (2006) describes “focuses on capitalism, an authoritarian state, supremacy of religiosity and a militarized culture” (p. 464).

The study of society and its elements is not clear of ambiguities, nor linear with mutually exclusive categories of knowledge, nor is it static. The study is marked by overlapping facets and is dynamic the way that society itself is, continuously evolving. While indeed the field has been dominated by religious and nationalistic undertones, there have been other socio-economic and political realities over time that come to shape the field. To highlight how contexts and social structures dictate the focus in social studies education, the UNESCO World Social Science report (“World Social Science Report,” 1999) suggests that in Southern Asia, there has been a shift from concentrating on social cohesion within the field of social sciences to more focus on social conflict, reflecting the needs and problems of the region. Identity has become part of the discourse around the concept of social conflict as opposed to notions of ‘class’ (p. 146). Class, until at least two decades ago, has held a place in the dynamics of South Asia as an explanation of differentiation of life chances and political dynamics. However, owing to formations of global economic forces and politics whereby class divisions are considered dysfunctional to national success, notions of class has lost its previous centrality, producing instead new state-citizen relations. Identity politics now takes centre stage in the region (Herring & Agarwala, 2006), explaining the shift to study identity in social conflict over class.

Although global education is not limited to the realm of a specific subject area, social studies allow for the addition of a global dimension more seamlessly. Much like global education, it is responsive to the socio-political climate of the world. What is being taught within the

course of study evolves with time to reflect the changes in society and of political ideologies. Resultingly, the field is oft-times a political battlefield for presenting and pushing particular narratives, where long term political goals are targeted through the social sciences (Singh, 2011). Pakistan's focus on a singular identity formation through key messaging in the social sciences is a prime example of using the field towards a certain end goal. While there are political undertones of national agendas there is also a broader concern around the field itself as being Eurocentric with "one linear and homogenous approach" adopted to understand social life throughout the world ("World Social Science Report," 1999).

This critique is rooted in the historical emergence as a formal field of study in the Western world and in the academic hegemony that has continued since (Alatas, 2001). I first explore the historical emergence that first originated in Great Britain, during the 1820s, owing to the colonial empires and the need to understand other societies which only later moved to the United States (Saxe, 2004). After the second World War, there was a growth of social studies in terms of theory and methodology; the field emerged as an attempt to use education as a vehicle to promote social welfare (Batra, 2010; Saxe, 1991, as cited in. Smith, Palmer, & Correia, 1995). The social sciences, in much of Asia, Africa and Latin America that were introduced by colonial powers rooted in legitimising socio-economic dominance (Patel, 2019; Singh, 2011; Turner & Perkins, 1976; Whitman, 1981), signals the poignant need to re-evaluate the field from a post-colonial perspective as the field failed to be localized, indigenized in order for it to be relevant in these contexts (Alatas, 2006).

Typically, history, economics, sociology and political science of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century came to be the "social sciences of the civilized world, by the civilized world and about the civilized world" (as cited in Batra, 2010, p. 4). From a postcolonial perspective, there are two distinct

re-examinations necessary, particularly, for the subcontinent. First, that religion was made a more pervasive identity marker than it was in the subcontinent and within that, 'caste' and 'tribe' was made to be totalising and defining social relations which do not mimic lived experience. In actuality, "temple communities, territorial groups, lineage segments, family units, royal retinues, warrior sub-castes, occupational reference groups, agricultural and trading associations, networks of devotional and sectarian religious communities, and priestly cabals" (Patel, 2019, p. 56). The second aspect is the way in which social theory itself implies a lack of distinctiveness between 'society' and the 'nation- state' (Beck, 2000), linking social relations to a piece of land and so by extension inherently political and economic.

A further call to decolonise the social sciences rests in the epistemological 'Eurocentric' focus on principles of science, reason, and rationality (Hashim & Rossidy, 2000; Lindsay, 2020; Patel, 2019; Ragab, 1993; Reiter, 2019; Subedi, 2013; Zaman, 2008). In addition, there is a valid criticism that a Eurocentric lens is inappropriate to analysing problems of other societies (Pradana Boy, 2011). Critics from disciplines within the humanities are recognising the failure to use outdated and narrow world views to understand people, cultures, and the environment. For example, psychological research and practice is critiqued for its singular epistemological underpinnings that are dismissive of traditional or spiritual explanations for experiences (Ker, 2013; Ragab, 1993). Similar concerns exist in other areas within the humanities. The basic premise of all arguments is that human beings differ from each other in many ways and this fact should correspond with modifications to what is being taught along with "the theoretical models and research methods used to study those human beings" (Ragab, 1993).

This leads to the second reason to decolonise the social sciences: the persistent academic imperialism existing in the field (Alatas, 2003). Because the West generates large outputs of social science research in the form of scientific papers, has a global reach and the ability to influence the social sciences of countries due to the consumption of the work that is originating from the West, there is a sustained dominance of the ideas and information from the West. In addition, because institutions in these countries command a great deal of recognition and prestige both at home and abroad (p. 602), they retain a monopoly over discourses in the field (Patel, 2019). In thinking about the relationship between knowledge and power in shaping our understanding of the world, there is a pressing need to challenge the very architecture of the field of social studies.

African scholarship around decolonisation calls for focusing on a transformation of social studies that is centred and developed from local experiences, thought, and environments (Merryfield & Tlou, 1995; Turner & Perkins, 1976). While religious/spiritual scholars point to the complete absence of considering the spiritual or religious dimensions of human beings (Ragab, 1993), Asian thinkers point to the Chinese epistemology that finds as its principle, complementarity; that is thinking of the natural and human world not as binaries, but as complimenting parts of a whole (Reiter, 2019), that is absent from the field.

Kuntowijoyo, a prominent Indonesian Islamic scholar, highlighted the danger of applying Western social science in isolating people from their society or make them alien to Islam. He argued that the social sciences “adopt clear-cut dichotomy of facts and values, having positivistic bias as natural sciences do, as if social sciences are value-free, objective and purely empirical. We are embarrassed to acknowledge the interconnectedness of social sciences

with socio-cultural values, we are scared to be blamed for being not scientific and objective” (Kuntowijoyo, 2004, as cited in Boy, 2011, p. 105).

Critique, like Kuntowijoyo’s, by other Islamic scholars is at the core of the need for the ‘Islamization of Knowledge’. This refers to an Islam-related way of thinking that is focused on the epistemological concern within the Islamic tradition (Dzilo, 2012). Within the social sciences, the Islamization of knowledge focuses on challenging the fundamental distinction found between science and religion in occidental approaches (Keim, 2017). This does not refer to the cosmetic or superficial overt inclusion of Islamic terminologies to the social sciences or supporting statements with the forced inclusion of Quranic verses, but rather a methodological and epistemological re-examination of dominant principles (Al ‘Alwani, 1995). Anees & Davies (1988) suggest that within the Islamic worldview knowledge "can be pursued only within the framework of values" (p. 253), and thus the endeavour should be founded upon the principles of accountability and social responsibility.

It is important to pause here to highlight that the call to decolonise is not to tear down Western epistemology and replace it with an alternative. Instead, the idea is to contribute to the discourse and challenge stances of universalism that have not incorporated alternative perspectives. Crucially, this is not to be understood as a breaking and reinventing of the wheel. Alatas (1995) describes contribution to discourse as “drawing upon home-grown, locally derived explanatory models that can contribute to a universal discourse. This stance does entail a wholesale rejection of Western social science, but it does invite an attitude of vigilance with regard to positivist social science under the guise of claims to universalism” (p. 91). The purpose, as is with this thesis, is to find ways in which to inform the discourse with local perspectives within a values framework.

It is pivotal at this point to pause and ask what these discussions mean for Pakistan? These critiques are important to take into account in light of the fact that the U.S. played a crucial role in establishing the field of social studies in Pakistan, mandating a critical evaluation of the epistemological underpinnings and agendas. Colonial reductionist identity markers and the link between society and geographic landscape has been maintained in current discourse and lacks a reflection of the strong religio-cultural tradition in the Pakistani context. This discussion also brings forward the tension between academic scholarly calls for re-examination of the field and the implicit biopower at play in maintaining and advancing these homogenizing discourses around identity and culture as inextricably linked to national boundaries.

There are also clear overlaps between discussions around the field of social studies and the need to inform it with non-Western perspectives and epistemologies and the discussions around global education and scepticism of its universality. Any study of human beings, their interactions, society, and challenges will naturally need to be informed by diverse traditions and epistemologies to reflect the very diversity of the world in which we live and truly make these concepts 'global' and in doing so, challenge and dismantle hegemonic narratives and structures.

Once again, as highlighted in earlier discussion around global education, and from a Foucauldian perspective, the idea is not to replace one truth with another, but rather to offer a critical examination that considers alternative narratives and ways of being. While it is important to be aware of the politically charged motives within social studies in Pakistan itself, such as those of pushing forward a narrow, singular, exclusionary religious focus (Dean, 2008;

Lall, 2008), and epistemological underpinnings of social studies more broadly that implicitly continue to maintain hegemonic narratives.

A last comment on the social studies: the very inclusion of the field in the curriculum attributes an importance of linking societal issues to the curriculum. The existence of the subject itself implies that the purpose of education is not only to bring awareness but also to actively contribute to social transformation. While it is certainly true that actual practices might diverge largely from these goals, what I am arguing here is that the very inclusion of the subject suggests a belief in the importance of education in examining society, its construction, and its issues.

### 8.1 Understanding the Social Studies

At this stage, I pause to examine what the field of social studies is and what it constitutes. Much like the critique of global education, social studies is subject to the criticism that it is an umbrella term for multiple fields with no agreed upon definition. However, the critique of social studies goes one step further in contending that it is circumscribed by “conflicting conceptual ideas, and strong ideological divergence in both political and educational philosophy” (Nelson, 2001, p. 16). What is agreed upon is that the social studies is an amalgamation of social science (economics, psychology, sociology, political science) and humanities (history and geography) (Baildon & Damico, 2011). Particularly in the United States, that has influenced social studies in Pakistan, the term ‘social studies’ is used to suggest an ‘integrated’ study of social sciences (Batra, 2010).

A consolidated purpose or rationale for the field of study has not been established. There is a spectrum of definitions that range from being narrow to being comprehensive, with political

undertones. The field, it is suggested, is not impartial and is subject to “ideological baggage” (Nelson, 2001) and political implications (Singh, 2011), as discussed above.

Marker & Mehlinger (1992), Nelson (2001), and Vinson & Ross (2001) reviewed the literature around the social studies to create overarching themes of the purpose of the field. A combined summary of the characteristics that have been used to define the field are listed below:

- *Character/moral/values education* (Gerlach, 1977; Kohlberg, 1976)

The emphasis is on imparting the values accepted by the dominant society as a form of socialization that enables students to be active and ethical members of society.

- *Issues-Centred study/ Examining social issues that are not commonly discussed* (Evans, 1992; Hunt & Metcalf, 1955; Shaver, 1992)

Issues-centred approaches propose that social studies is the examination of specific issues that may be social or controversial. While some would advocate the study of only perennial issues, while others emphasize current or personal issues, such as moral dilemmas and values clarification.

- *Citizenship, Civics, Integrated Study of Subject Fields for Civic Competence* (“National Council for the Social Studies,” 1993; National Task Force on Citizenship Education, 1977)

The purpose here is to develop a student’s ability to understand and respond to the needs of his/her society while taking responsibility for it. There are within this however, a spectrum ranging from inculcating social norms and cultural traditions to promoting social action.



- Reflective/Critical Thinking; Decision Making (Engle, 1986; Hunt & Metcalf, 1955)

This approach to social studies tends to emphasize thoughtfulness and a reflective and critical examination of social issues, beliefs and values as part of a larger process of social and personal growth.

- Informed social criticism (Nelson & Ochoa, 1987)

The rationale behind this approach is that by teaching about social issues, social criticism or activism can be encouraged as way to help students adapt to the society as well as contribute to its transformation.

These approaches are, in many ways, interlinked with one complimenting or aiding another, particularly, when they are classified as focusing on either knowledge, skills, or values. The issues-centred study, is for example, rooted in 'what' should be taught and can be categorized under the knowledge domain. The reflective and critical thinking focus can be described as the skills required for this study. The character-building and moral focus encompasses the values domain of education. These are, in many ways, interconnected and clearly the field is an amalgamation of knowledge, skills and values. Indeed, any examination of human societies, their behaviour and relationship cannot be devoid of a values or skills component. I agree with Kuntowijoyo (2004) in his observation of the interconnectedness between the social sciences and socio-cultural values and non-objective and non-scientific nature of the field. When considering what kind of citizen or what values or morals should be focused on, attention and priority will naturally be informed by socio-cultural values and political agendas.

Geography and history form the core of much of the content in social studies in general, which holds true for Pakistan also. The former connects with themes of social justice and questions

of just access, distribution, burdens, benefits, responsibilities and outcomes in the geographies of people's lives, locally and elsewhere in the world (Catling, 2003). However, for some it is ideologically an inconsequential subject and has resultantly been marginalized (Westaway, 2009). A critical issues-centred approach to geography can do much for the subject. An inquiry approach to local and global concerns that considers implications for the present and future would shift the emphasis to an ethically dynamic geography, about people and their social and physical environments, experienced through their own geographies (Gaudelli & Wylie, 2012).

The International Geographic Union (2000) proclaimed that geography education offers the foundations to develop:

- The ability to be sensitive toward and defend human rights
- An ability to understand, accept and appreciate cultural diversity
- An ability to understand, empathize and critique alternative points of view around people and their social conditions
- A willingness to be aware of the impact of their own lifestyle on their local and broader social context
- An appreciation of the urgent need to protect our environment and bring about environmental justice to local communities and regions that have experienced environmental devastation; and
- An ability to act as an informed and active member of their own and global society (Gerber & Williams, 2002, p. 10).

Approaches to global education and the geography curriculum have strong thematic links and value-based foundations in common (Lambert, 2002, as cited in Catling, 2003).

History education has been the ground for teaching national values and shaping the narrative for contemporary patriotism taking on a political dimension. However in the era of globalisation, history education needs to give students a grander narrative to equip them for the life in this century (Whitehouse, 2015). Sexias (2000) framed three ways of understanding history education. The first is 'history as heritage' or memory history in which knowledge is transferred. In a complex, integrated world this form of history education is simplistic and one dimensional. The second is 'disciplinary history' in which meaning is made, inviting students to take an inquiry approach. The third, recommended in this era is the postmodern approach. This approach informed by the postmodern critique of knowledge recognizes that meaning is unstable and inherently subjective. The third, the author acknowledges has made little head way but the second has come to prominence. Connecting this to global education, an approach to history education that explores the interlinks between our past and that includes an ethical dimension is required if the objective of global education is to be achieved. This includes, "the problem of judging actors and actions from the past, dealing with the past crimes and injustices whose legacies...we live with today" (Seixas, 2017, p. 602).

Similarly, economics education needs to be infused with an inclusion of an ethical dimension along with an understanding of our interdependent systems. Social studies textbooks in Pakistan comprises largely of history and geography with inclusion of sociology and economics in varying degrees. Section 8.2 explores the field of social studies in Pakistan.

## 8.2 Pakistan's Curriculum for Social Studies

At present, social studies is taught till Grade 5, after which the subjects of history and geography are introduced which combine to form Pakistan studies at Grade 8. Within social

studies, the following disciplines or themes are included: citizenship, economics, government, history, geography, culture.

The Curriculum for Social Studies (2017) for Grades 4 and 5 outline as the mission: “to engage all students in a rigorous, authentic, students centred learning environment that fosters social understanding and civic efficacy in our multicultural, national and global societies”, with a vision to “enable students [to], understand multiple perspectives, think critically, communicate effectively and collaborate in diverse communities to understand the past, engage in the present and impact the future”(p.2). The vision outlines abilities of communication, collaboration, critical thinking, and perspective taking all for the purpose of engaging with the present and impacting the future. There are evident overlaps in both the vision and mission to the core of global education in terms of preparing students with the necessary skills to engage in a world beyond the local. Indeed, the introduction of the curriculum document states that it is designed to help students “develop the knowledge and skills for the interpretive, reflective and deliberate practices necessary to make sense of the everyday as well as the political and socio-economic realities they face” (Ministry of Federal Education & Professional Training, 2017, p. 1). There is a clear emphasis on preparation for a complex lived experience. Although there is a far greater emphasis on knowledge and skills, there is a passing mention that the curriculum should help enable the valuing of equality, social justice, fairness, diversity and respect for self and opinion of others.

- Develop the competencies needed for participation in a democratic society: considering multiple perspectives, respecting different values and point of views, gathering, and critically analysing information, making informed decisions, and effectively communicating their views.

- Develop an understanding of connections between the past, present, future and the people, events and trends that have shaped the development and evolution of societies, especially our own. A complete understanding of our past and present includes our developing and understanding of history and culture.
- Develop an understanding of relations among humans and the environment with the understanding and awareness about geophysical features and human impact.
- Develop an understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and democratic system of government, including how decisions are made at the individual group, local, provincial, and national level.
- Develop an understanding of how economic systems work and their place in an interconnected global economy and the trade-offs involved in balancing different economic interests.

These goals resonate with many themes within global education; for example, of environmental sustainability, on understanding the complex interlinkages of our past, present, and future and a focus on skills of critical thinking, perspective taking and communication for a democratic end goal. There is also explicit reference to global interdependence though titled to an economic perspective.

The curriculum documents learning outcomes, which are statements of what students should know or be able to do by the end of the academic year and guide instruction. Learning outcomes also provide the framework for assessment. They are crucial in establishing the expectations from students within particular subject areas and at specific levels. In examining the social studies learning outcomes against Blooms cognitive taxonomy that allows an evaluation of terms of the expectation of students, it is reasonable to conclude that some key

outcomes focus on lower order cognition. Under the citizenship theme, for example, some of the student learning outcomes for Grade 4 expect students to be able to “define the terms citizen, global citizen” and also “diversity” as opposed to understanding what these terms mean, what it means to be a global citizen or to live in a diverse society.

However, there is certainly some potential for themes of global education as learning outcomes expect students to “understand the importance of living in harmony with each other by accepting differences (social and cultural)”, and also approaches issues of social conflict from a micro perspective by asking students to “recognize the causes of disagreements at the personal and peers’ level, the household and neighbourhood levels”(Ministry of Federal Education & Professional Training, 2017, p. 12). These outcomes offer a space to explore the nature of conflict, acknowledgment of differences and the need for respect and harmony within diversity. It is poignant however that the stated outcome clearly defines differences to be explored as being social or cultural and not religious or ethnic.

This study analyses Grade 5 textbooks, hence the learning outcomes for this grade mandate a deeper analysis. Learning outcomes for Grade 5 have greater depth allowing opportunity for more discourse. For example:

- Recognize why rules and responsibilities exist and why they may change over time.
- Identify the basic human rights as stated by the United Nations.
- Understand that all individuals have equal rights and not to hurt the feelings of any individual or groups based on differences.
- Understand that everyone has the right to voice.
- Propose ways to create peace and harmony.

The last outcome around proposing 'ways to create peace and harmony' can take both a micro and macro approach. Students could identify an international conflict or a local conflict and deconstruct the problem before proposing solutions. However, skills and values proponents are missing within these outcomes. One learning outcome states that students must "understand the importance of discussion and negotiation as tools for resolving conflicts at home and school". This outcome however does not encourage the development of skills of discussion or negotiation to respond to conflicts, being limited to only understanding the importance of these methods over alternative and perhaps more physically confrontational ways. Similarly, a values orientation is not explicitly outlined.

The curriculum document includes example activities to help teachers plan their lessons. These however do not encourage critical engagement with the concepts. Examples include: Creating a display corner in class by pasting charts etc., with the title, "good citizens" where 'children will paste the rules of being a good citizen in the display corner'; 'Choose a model citizen. Make a card of his/her qualities as a good model. Share and paste in notebook'. The suggested activities for Grade 5 resemble those of Grade 4 in terms of expanding student learning and engagement with the concepts. For example, one suggested activity asks students to make a mind map of the qualities of good citizens on notebooks with a title "Good citizens are responsible" rather than, for instance, explore rights and responsibilities in greater depth, examining how these have changed over time, identifying rights and responsibilities at a local/school level to more broadly at a national level. Similarly the activity against a learning outcome of diversity suggests "celebrate[ing] cultural day (showing all the provinces of Pakistan)" (*Curriculum for Social Studies IV- V, 2017, p. 19-23*).

There is little clarification on the development of associated values intended in the mission and the vision. Simply 'knowing' about something does not translate to the development of values, attitudes, feelings of purpose or encouraging action.

There has been a great deal of research on social studies in Pakistan, which has particularly focused on the construction of a singular national identity, its links to religion and the dangerously fundamentalist tendencies in the narratives adopted. Nayyar & Salim (2003) argue that the curriculum and textbooks emphasize the "Ideology of Pakistan" and Pakistanis as Muslims in order to legitimize the creation of Pakistan. Dean's (2005) findings similarly indicate that the curriculum and textbooks make no distinction between Islam and citizenship suggesting that good Muslims means good citizens; citizenship education thus, was not only exclusionary but also passive. This reductionist identity formation is meant to encourage national unity across the diverse ethnic groups using the Muslim identity as the only identity marker of the Pakistani 'self' (Durrani & Dunne, 2010). This drive for national unity also results in what Saigol (2005) found in her evaluation of the 'other' consistently framed as the enemy, which she suggests is used to highlight the need for oneness within, in order to defend against a persistent lurking threat.

This nexus of education, religion and identity is explored by Lall (2008) who suggests that national identities were constructed around religion within education by state forces and have fundamentalistic undertones. Zaidi (2011a) examines the evolution of Pakistan's social studies curricula over time to emphasize how ideologies have polarizing and radicalizing tendencies. In addition to findings around national identity and religion, textbooks have also been found to reproduce and maintain gender hierarchies (Durrani, 2008).



Dean (2008) explores all of the different elements of a school system, from its teachers, curriculum and textbooks to the schools management and building to demonstrate how the macrocosm of schools as a whole are not conducive to critical, democratic citizenship education. Undeniably, given the nature of social studies, a school environment that contrasts with the essence of the course becomes far more telling and obstructive to the end goal.

These studies provide crucial insight on the existing biopower and illustrative of how an educational system becomes the political means to delineate and manipulate populations. They also help to outline the political battleground of social studies within which this research is framed. This thesis helps to understand the way in which the learning outcomes in the curriculum are interpreted in textbooks.

A gap in existing research in the area is that it does not look at the textbooks from a global education perspective, exploring the way in which students are being prepared to adopt a complex and interdependent world. These studies do pose questions around what the place for global education is within limited exclusionary discourses of identity and 'others' as threats. My response to this is twofold: first, global education is broad in its focus of not only human interdependence but also of the environment and our ways of knowing and being. This research provides opportunity to examine the different facets of discourse around global interlinkages. Also, no other study examines these themes in textbooks across the country from both the public and private publishing houses to examine underlying differences between the two. Because many private schools do not follow the national curriculum, textbooks provide a lens into the focus of education in these schools.

Educational policy is not static. It is reflective of influences and pressures of the time and space in which it is being constructed. The 2009 educational policy, while still retaining a

strong focus on building a strong national identity reflected global discourse with the inclusion of the objective of developing a 'global citizen' (Pasha, 2015). This shift, I argue, is now more evident in the most recent Single National Curriculum (SNC) of 2020, which is meant to be adopted across the country in the private, government and Madrassah (Islamic schools) school systems, making linkages broadly with global education. The very first aim of social studies is listed as: "An understanding of their identity as Pakistanis, with a global outlook".

Additional aims that echo a global education perspective include:

- An understanding of the concept of citizenship (national/ natural, global, and digital), along with their rights and responsibilities towards society.
- An appreciation for the multi-cultural society of Pakistan and the diversity of the world, showing a commitment to social cohesion.
- An understanding of the interdependence of various resources to produce economic stability in the country.
- A sense and awareness of creating a sustainable environment (conservation of resources), and an understanding of interdependence of limited resources in the world and its impact on global sustainability (SDG-4).
- An attitude of positive social interaction among people and leadership qualities for positive social change.

While this curriculum is yet to be adopted and textbooks are still to be developed, the document itself suggests greater connections with global education, which is perhaps indicative not only of global discourses in the area but also political motivations for greater geopolitical stability in the region for greater economic growth and sustainability. However, paradoxically, it is pertinent to mention that most of the curriculum in terms of learning

outcomes at specific grade levels remain exactly the same as the earlier 2017 curriculum. For this it seems the new curriculum is more of a repackaging than a reformation. These aims and objectives of a national identity, with an inclusion of a global dimension, requisite an examination for the tensions and complexities these objectives pose and the way these are reflected in the textbooks.

(Note: It crucial to highlight here that I am not examining the SNC in greater detail because it is yet to be adopted and was introduced in the final year of my research. Further, textbooks developed under the new curriculum have not yet been developed or shared in the market.)

## 9.0 Interdependence

The premise for global education lies in the recognition of our increasing interdependency. That is, the extent to which our world is intricately related, which is a stepping stone to exploring other challenges and opportunities presented by these interlinkages. An understanding of interdependence is essential to learn not only how to navigate this realm, but also to act in a responsible and ethical manner within it.

The research design involved the deductive search of scholarly and practitioner literature to discover key terms and phrases employed in the discourses of the identified themes of global education. One of the key themes is that of interdependence, the premise of Global Education. These were used to code sections of text, which was followed by inductive coding to identify additional topics that fit into the themes of global education. The coded sections informed the content selection and subsequently, common themes across textbooks that appeared from the analysis were collated. This section presents the findings from the study of the theme of interdependence. In this chapter I explore what is meant by the term, followed by an examination of the typologies of interdependence with the aim of forming a better understanding of the theme and hence the analysis. This is followed by findings from the analysis to understand the way in which interdependence is described in the social studies textbooks.

### 9.1 Introduction to Interdependence

Historical patterns of smaller, isolated living communities placed fewer demands on the Earth's system. However, technological advancements, globalisation and a global capitalistic economy has dramatically shifted the earlier paradigm. Today, we are confronted by global pandemics, ecological crisis, food, and water shortages; international terrorism,

displacements, and a refugee crisis alongside an ever-widening gap between rich and poor that is causing greater social and political dissent. Global interconnectedness restricts any one society's ability to solve major problems unilaterally.

This is not to say that the concept of interdependence has only ensued as a result of globalisation. Ideas of relatedness have a long history; the concept is timeworn predominantly in biological/ecological thinking (Smith, 2015). In Buddhist thought, for example, the relationship between the individual and her/his environment is understood through the concept of *esho funi* which essentially means "two but not two," signifying the oneness or interdependence of the individual and environment (Sharma, 2018b, p. 83). Tagore used historical, religious text such as the Ramayana (one of the two major Sanskrit epics of India) to explain the lack of duality between man and nature in the Indian tradition (Quayum, 2016).

Ideas about relatedness have a long history though interdependency has intensified with each passing year. It would be more accurate to say then that interdependence, more broadly across disciplines, has taken more of a centre stage as a result of the greater connections across the globe. The advancements in communicative technologies and transportation accelerated through the 18<sup>th</sup> century to make the world far more connected. These connections were not limited to trade and extended to social changes also. Globalisation has been described as "the threads of an immense spider web formed over millennia, with the number and reach of these threads increasing over time" (National Geographic Society, 2019), given that it was not only people, money or material goods that travelled with great speed but also ideas, cultures and diseases. The working definition used by Andy Green et al., in the DIFD report, best defines globalisation as "the rapid acceleration of cross-border

movements of capital, labour, people, goods, knowledge and ideas...[its] underlying drivers...are economic, political and technological and its manifestations economic, political, social and cultural” (2007, p. 1). This definition is both broad and all encompassing, acknowledging not only the various vehicles of globalisation, but also its effect on a diverse range of aspects. Crucially, globalisation needs to be approached with caution; as Scheunpflug (2011) posits “globalisation does not have a single face, but a plurality of aspects depending upon where and how one lives. While the process may be universal, it shapes national patterns in different ways” (p. 30). The far-reaching threads of globalisation are both; complex, politically charged and yield unequal benefits across the world.

Global education, however, is not about teaching globalisation. A key aim of teaching about interconnectedness is for students to begin to understand the way in which global systems work and the ways in which seemingly unconnected events and decisions can affect their lives (Pike & Selby, 2004). For this, a crucial a starting point is to understand the philosophy of interdependence: What are we, in relation to other people, animals, plants, to our planet? How have individual or shared philosophies impacted other people, life and so on; What role do we play in relation to others? This must be matched with an understanding of how different systems make up a whole both internally (nationally) and externally (world), how these systems, ideologies, events impact each other in various ways and how the consequences are not proportional nor linear.

The section below explores interdependence and the way in which to understand it, in order to problematize its impact and consider unequal power relations, systemic inequality, and links to other issues. For the purpose of this thesis, I have presented here strands within the social sciences that have contributed to the discourse on interdependence.

## 9.2 Typology of Interdependence

Interdependence is more than simply connections between people, events, communities, or nations. An understanding of interdependence requires an exploration of social phenomena that is a holistic, inherently interconnected web of relations that influence each other. Interdependence also includes channels of social influence, or ways in which communities, ideas, events, and nation states influence one another. Relations can be either “directed (or asymmetric)” or “non-directed (or symmetric)” if the connection has a bidirectional nature (Maggetti, Gilardi, & Radaelli, 2013). Alongside this, the authors Maggetti et al. distinguish between dichotomous ties, which simply identify the presence or absence of a connection, and valued ties, which measure its intensity. Every connection can be either symmetric, asymmetric, valued, or dichotomous. Examples of these are given below:

- Symmetric and dichotomous ties: shared language or religion; shared borders
- Symmetric and valued ties: Being a member of OPEC or other organizations in which actors co-participate
- Asymmetric and dichotomous ties: perceived friendship
- Asymmetric and valued ties: export or import flows between two countries; commuting flows between cities or states (p. 7)

While this is valuable in explaining the complexity of relationships, symmetry as a term is itself problematic because it suggests an equal distribution of costs and benefits. Also, value ties are mostly subjective and ascribed from an economic approach as opposed to a social justice orientation within social phenomena.

The concept of complex interdependence within international politics can be attributed to the work of Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in 1973 who analysed how international events were transformed by interdependence. Within this realm, Wilde (1991) defines interdependence as “independent social actors, who wish to preserve their identity, but who are also structurally affected by one another's behaviour (whether they like it or not)” (p. 17). He describes interdependence as being structural, where actors are either involved in each other's affairs, or they are part of the same system in which neither of these are mutually exclusive. Within this structural interdependence, Wilde makes three main distinctions:

- Systemic Interdependence: intertwinement of activities of actors or even the (partial) integration of actors.
- Functionalist Interdependence: intertwinement of human-made superstructure: some form of formal, institutionalized governance with juridical responsibilities that replace or go beyond those of the participating actors. The IMF or NATO are examples of these.
- Integrative Interdependence: the existence of a system, or even an "organic whole", a body: the individual actors depend upon one another because they inevitably and involuntarily belong to the same system.

In literature, these distinctions have also been classified as economic, functionalist and systemic (Renard, 2009), however, the explanations remain the same. Wilde argues that when we speak of the growing interconnectedness of this world, the notion relates to greater systemic and functional interdependence as integrative interdependence has always existed. He suggests that qualifying or evaluative elements can and should be added given the



differences in the degree of impact of interdependence around the world. This can be done by considering:

- The degree of mutual involvement (the measure of existential value of the interdependence);
- The nature of the mutual involvement (confrontational and constructional aspects);  
While confrontational interdependence indicates a negative correlation in which group achievements or success are seen as being obtained if and only if the other individuals with whom they are competitively linked fail to obtain their goals (D. W. Johnson, 1999). In this kind of dependence, there is a power dynamic that is at play. In this scenario, Wilde describes the dependence as “subordination, ‘being subjected to’, is the antipole of power; as being powerless to act on one's own account” (Wilde, 1991, p. 23). While a constructional interdependence is one of mutual advantage in which actors operate for their common well-being.
- The (a)symmetry of the mutual involvement (the distribution of costs and benefits).  
Asymmetric relationships pave the way for states to influence others and therefore involve a power dynamic because the less dependent actors are in a stronger position.

On a societal level, Émile Durkheim’s (1858–1917) perspective as a functionalist is valuable. He argued that society involved the interconnectivity of all of its elements. Building on Koffka’s theory of social interdependence, under the Gestalt school of psychology, Kurt Lewin (1935, 1948) proposed that the essence of a group is the interdependence among members, which results in the group being a dynamic whole so that a change in the state of any member or subgroup changes the state of any other member or subgroup (Johnson, 1999). Solomon Asch, observed that self-interest alone would not allow any society to form or develop. The

repositioning of self-interests to mutual interests is shaped by the recognition that there are positively interdependent goals linked to a common fate that makes space for the inclusion of the interests of others. Social interdependence theory serves as a foundation for a number of other concepts, such as conflict resolution (restoring cooperation among groups), distributive social justice, and values (cooperation encourages values that are important for the whole group while competition develops self-centred values) (Johnson & Johnson, 2005).

Interdependence plays a role in multiple sub-fields within social science including international relations, economics, and public policy and sociology. Global education rests primarily on the acknowledgement of the world's increasing interdependence making it a crucial theme for analysis.

What this discussion highlights is that interdependence does not denote a simplistic relationship, but instead, implies a complex web of interconnectedness that are not linear nor symmetric. Secondly, interdependence occurs differently for different actors and the nature of the relationship for each participating actor may also differ. Thirdly, each challenge has a distinct kind of interdependence at play. Ecological challenges, for example, require pooled input and is an integrative reality of our world, while in the case of Pakistan, the role of the IMF in the economy is one of functional interdependence in which power and dependence are intertwined. These are important to distinguish in order to truly understand the nature of the connection and consequently the implications of this relationship. Within each context in which global education is being introduced, it is important to be able to manipulate these concepts, relating them to lived experience in order for global education to have a transformative impact.

Lastly and most importantly, a consideration of the features of the relationship is crucial to evaluating unequal power relations, systemic inequality, and their links to other issues. For example, the links between neoliberal economic systems and issues of poverty and inequality. Without an exploration of the characteristics of interdependence itself, there is a danger of undertaking a 'soft' approach to understanding interdependency that does not critically evaluate both the problems and the possibilities of these relationships.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge the use of variations of interconnectedness, interlinkages and interrelatedness that have all emerged in global education discourse. Keohane & Nye (2001) distinguish between interconnectedness and interdependence arguing that they are separated by cost effects; in the absence of significant costly effects, there is simply interconnectedness. This however takes a limited and purely economic approach to the concept of relatedness. Bourn (2005) meanwhile argues that using the term interconnections "implies a lack of recognition of the importance of the impact of globalisation in terms of what happens in one part of the world has an impact elsewhere" (p. 28). I use the term interdependence as an overarching term that encompasses the concepts of interrelatedness, interlinkages, and interconnectedness.

Having explored the concept and underlying features of interconnectedness, the next section contains the analysis of the textbooks relating them to the theoretical understanding of the concept and also to the context of Pakistan.

### 9.3 Dimensions of Interdependence

The few textbooks that do define interdependence do so in very simple terms as a dependence on each other. Within each textbook, there are minor variations of the following

that I present here as an example from the book, *We Learn Social Studies*: “Industries need raw materials from mines or farms to make their goods and products. Farmers need tractors and other machinery for farming which is produced by industries. Textile mills need cotton from farmers to make cloth and farmers need cloth to clothe themselves and their families. Nobody can produce everything they need; that is why trade takes place” (Saleha, 2018, p. 76). All of the social studies textbooks speak of trade and aspects of import and export when speaking of interdependence.

The focus on trade is illustrative of larger government policy initiatives in which Pakistan has made consistent efforts to reap the advantages presented through plurilateral and bilateral trade agreements. Pakistan has trade agreements with many Islamic countries, including Afghanistan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Uzbekistan, along with many South Asian countries and of course, most dominantly with China. Benefits of trade can differ from one country to another, based on its national welfare, economic, political, regional and strategic state of affairs (Irshad, Xin, Hui, & Arshad, 2018). Particularly in the case of CPEC, a project with China, Pakistan’s strongest partner, the interdependence is asymmetric with China emerging as the more significant beneficiary (Ahmad, Sohail, & Rizwan, 2018). While this element of asymmetric trade is not explored, there is discussion of how greater exports over imports are the aim of the country, highlighting the way in which this impacts the balance of trade.

Another crucial dimension covered in all government textbooks is that of government loans. The public board textbooks all highlight that because Pakistan is a developing country, there is money that is required for development projects. The textbooks underline that when the required money is not collected through taxes, the government takes loans, such as those

from the Asian Development Bank or from other international financial institutions (Dean, Saeed, & Khan, 2017; Khan, 2015; Saleha, 2018).

“Governments may have financial deficit in budget, which cannot be fulfilled through taxes. In order to provide better facilities to people, government gets loans with heavy interest rates. Government loans are of two types:

- i. External Loans: Pakistan gets these loans from developed countries like USA, China, UK, and Japan etc. Other than these few major international organizations also give conditional loans. These organizations include International Monetary Fund, Asian Development Bank and World Bank etc.
- ii. Internal Loans: In Pakistan there are several banks where people deposit their financial assets. On requirement basis, government gets loans from these banks as well.”  
(Khattak, Ambreen, Noreen, & Nawaz, 2017, p. 114).

This discourse around functionalist interdependence is important because it relates to a significant part of Pakistan’s economic reality; in that by 1980 the country had become the 10<sup>th</sup> largest recipient of the World Bank/IMF loans and continues to be one of its largest debtors (Khushik & Diemer, 2018a).

While all the government textbooks highlight the need to get ‘rid of’ foreign loans, there is no explanation on why foreign loans are problematic, in that they come with certain conditions that globalisation set into motion power dynamics and cause structural inequalities that become deep rooted and further plunge developing countries into greater disadvantage.

Additionally, Pakistan’s geographical location is highlighted with regards to its significance for trade. As one textbook writes: “Our country has very important trades routes not only for a

major part of China, but also for almost all of Central Asian countries. As these areas are far away from the seacoasts, these are highly dependent on Pakistan for international trade. Because of moderate climate, our sea routes and seaports remain active throughout the year” (Khattak et al., 2017, p.6). Indeed, China’s interest in Pakistan and the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is fundamentally linked to the warm water seaport and thus these key facts are important to understand broader implications.

In being cognizant of the strengths of Pakistan’s geographical positioning, this is crucial information for students to recognize not only local production strengths, but also understand the produce and items that are not locally grown or manufactured alongside the reasons for this which links to climatic factors as well as infrastructural challenges.

Alongside interdependence tied to economic considerations, interdependence of national systems is explored in almost all textbooks, and particularly government ones. The economic working of the country is explained in sufficient detail. For example, the role of the government; the function of different parts of the system; the relations between federal and provincial governments; the role of political parties, supreme court, or banks; the purpose and types of taxation are some of the few areas that are covered in extensive detail and explain the way in which they contribute to the whole system and how these parts work together.

However, beyond these, there is limited or an absence of discourse on other types of interdependence. Ecological interdependence does not receive significant attention in most textbooks and, where mentioned, the relationship is asymmetric in that the environment is described as existing for material benefits. In addition, as will be explored in the chapter on environmental sustainability, there is no account of the interrelationships among these

different types of ecological challenges. This is a glaring absence because Pakistan is a classic example of a developing country that is highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change, but has done little to contribute to the problem, in that it contributes a tiny share to the world's carbon emissions. It is ranked 16 of 170 countries in a recent Climate Change Vulnerability Index as Pakistan is located in a region where projected temperature increase is likely to be higher than the global average (UNDP, 2014). A more recent report from the Asian Development Bank notes the impact of climate change on all of the following sectors: agriculture, livestock and forestry, water, energy, transport and urban infrastructure services, coastal areas, and health sectors (Chaudhry, 2017). There is, a strong connection between the environment, development, and poverty. Impacts on the environment have direct implications for development and on poverty and need to be more explicitly studied.

Alongside the limited discourse on ecological interdependence, social interdependence is completely absent from all of the textbooks. The combined effort for a mutual goal is not explored, or the value of peace and harmony to social progress is not considered. Interdependence across groups or provinces are limited to explanations of trade across provinces. Only 1 textbook of the 12, that is an international publication, notes the importance of understanding and appreciating parts of a whole in order to “empower its people to achieve their full potential and progress socially, emotionally and economically” (Altson, 2019, p. 97). Given that Pakistan's educational policy is titled towards the aim of creating national unity, it is almost counter-productive that interdependence across provinces is not explored more deeply. On a societal level, it is crucial for students to understand the way in which a society works, and the collective goals required for cooperation and other associated values. For example, Pakistan is ridden with sectarian violence which has not only economic and political implications, but also weakens national unity (Mahsood, 2017).

My argument here is not to suggest that simply by understanding interdependence, rooted and complex issues, such as sectarian strife, can be addressed; instead, I argue that as social interdependence theory discussed earlier posits, learning to live peacefully together demands that there is an appreciation of a common collective goal, an understanding of the way in which different groups contribute to that goal. Illuminating positively interdependent goals linked to a common fate can make space for the inclusion of the interests of others.

#### 9.4 Exploring Interdependence

Global education must not be understood as confined to only lateral connections between places or countries, but also of the historical constructions of dominance and of the events that have come to impact and shape structures of dominance today. Exploring the relationships between historical events, systems, structures that shape today's reality is an important aspect of exploring the theme of interdependence.

While there are historical discursive narratives and those around political structures, they do not make linkages that explore impacts and connect these to later events or issues. One of the few historical events that is explained with a cause-effect approach is the mutiny of 1857. In all textbooks, this event is explained as directly related to the coating of cartridges with pork and beef fat that needed to be bitten off to prepare for firing, which injured religious sentiments. However, this is not a cross-cutting approach to other historical events. Instead, it is described in a manner that suggests that this event was occurring in isolation. Even the partition of the subcontinent resulting in the creation of Pakistan, in most textbooks, is a singular event with little impact on events and issues that developed later or that sustain today.



One of the most telling absences, in all textbooks, is of the way in which in which the world is interconnected. That is, of the impact of globalisation on our world economically, socially, culturally, and politically, alongside the understanding of local influences on global issues and global influences on local issues. Not one of the 12 textbooks mention the term 'globalisation', nor are any local issues connected to global influences or vice versa. Where facets of globalisation can be seen, it is presented simplistically and in a manner that exemplifies Pakistan's advantage. For example, one private textbook (Saleha, 2018) highlights how, through the introduction of new fields of education, such as information technology and other branches of science, students can "keep pace with advances in the rest of the world" (p. 38) suggesting a unidirectional influence that is considered entirely positively. It also echoes the globally competitive interpretation in suggesting an element of competition in keeping pace with other countries. In another place, within the same textbook, it is mentioned that a sizeable number of Pakistanis are employed in foreign countries, which helps Pakistan earn through remittances further stressing the benefits of international employability to the country (p. 39).

Technological means of connection to others around the world, such as the internet, is presented as "a huge store house of information on all subjects" (Dean, Saeed, & Khan, 2017, p. 111), with no mention of the possibilities it presents with regards to connecting with others. All textbooks have a chapter on 'means of communication', which covers print media, radio, television, and computers, yet all of these are presented with an insular approach focusing only on their advantages and disadvantages within the country. For example, the Punjab government textbook (Shirazi, Sandhu, Hussain, & Rehman Ullah, 2017) highlights how "the media plays an important role in promoting the ideology of Pakistan" (p.46), while most

others comment on the role of the media in the political process. Notably, emphasis lies with the one-way communication stream where others are simply 'told' or relayed information.

## 9.5 Conclusion

In her article, 'The Changing Face of Citizenship Education in Pakistan', Dean (2008) points to the fact that "of the nine objectives [in the curriculum] five are directed towards the development of true practicing Muslims, three to the acquisition of knowledge about Pakistan and the world and one to promoting the values of co-existence and interdependence" (Ministry of Education, 2002 as cited in Dean, 2010, p. 11). How exactly is knowledge about Pakistan and the world and these notions of co-existence and interdependence framing students' understanding of the complexity of their planet? This section explores the conclusions that can be made from the analysis from a global education perspective.

Strong economic considerations of interdependency lay strong foundations for the development of globally competitive students who understand the financial advantage of trade and the importance of Pakistan's geography in providing opportunity for monetary benefits. The approach is 'soft', although there is opportunity to problematize unjust and violent systems and structures (Andreotti, 2006), such as the country's loans from the IMF.

Discourse around interdependence is not presented, in the textbooks analysed, as being complex with both pros and cons; instead, a mostly positive approach is presented. A constructional interdependence approach is offered which denotes "a necessity of cooperation, an image of a symbiosis, a relationship of mutual advantage" in which different actors need one another for their well-being (Wilde, 1991, p. 24). Implications of free-trade agreements or trade liberalization policies on local industries of Pakistan, for example, are left unexamined. All interdependence is implicitly described as symmetrical with success

inextricably linked to the success of every other member of the group. This does little to challenge hegemonic power structures as it does not examine the power dynamics at play. This can only be done as Wilde (1991) suggests, by exploring dependence as a state of powerlessness and the inability to act for one's own purposes.

Confrontational interdependence is never considered in the textbooks, nor the possible negative effects of dependence, in that with the failure of one part in the whole, the relationship suffers. For example, because of the Covid-19 pandemic and the limited imports into the country, there were immense challenges faced by many manufacturing industries, within Pakistan, that were reliant on various raw materials. Similarly, in issues of conflict, an interdependent relationship is often greatly impacted particularly in relations to trade. This can result in instability within the country. This limited positive view of interdependence does not allow a critical evaluation of the relationship, its beneficiaries, its posed threats, and possibilities.

Within the textbooks, from a social justice interpretation, there is an inward-looking, insular view of systems and processes that disassociate local realities from broader global implications. There is little explanation, if at all, of the fact that the needs of the country and those of the world can be connected and are not mutually exclusive. The narrative seems to isolate Pakistan from being a part of a global whole, with no consideration of how actions elsewhere affect the country, or the implications that past events and ideologies have on the present and future. A discussion around integrative interdependence, that acknowledges that nation states depend upon one another because they inevitably and involuntarily belong to the same system, is not considered either.

Lastly, because and as discussed earlier, the globally competitive approach needs a social justice orientation within national agendas to ensure its success, a lack of understanding of complexity of the economic dimensions will not encourage learners from the South to critically engage and dismantle the very structures that maintain dominance and enforced disempowerment. From a global education perspective, the absence of discourse around globalisation beyond trade; of how these systems, ideologies, events impact each other in various ways, does not lay strong foundations for exploring the global context of local lives (Standish, 2014), and the local-global connections of dependency and interdependency (Burnouf, 2004).

## 10.0 Understanding the Other and Framing the Self

In this chapter, discussion and analysis are presented on the way in which the other has been framed in the textbooks. To think about the global is to inherently think about an 'other'. When considering the other, representations of the self also become important. Understanding the way in which the other is presented, is imperative because although Pakistan has a multifaceted context religion has always been an essential part of all aspects of the Pakistani narrative. As discussed in chapter 3 the degree to which Islamic tenancy has been emphasized in the history of the country has varied but has never been entirely absent as successive governments sought to Islamize the curriculum. From the layers of cultural, ethnic, and religious composition stems the need to understand the way in which the 'other' is framed to better inform policy and practice, and possibly play a contributory role in curtailing ethnic, religious, and cultural strife to form a more inclusive society.

This is not to say that research in the area does not exist. To the contrary, there here has been numerous research such as that of Anand (2019), who in her doctoral research finds a persistent use of the strategy of presenting others in a negative light with a positive self-presentation of the self. This positive self-imagery is clocked within nationalistic discourse. She further highlights that diversity in terms of culture or ethnicity within the country is often repressed while differences with others outside of the local is not only remembered but emphasized. Saigol (2005) in her analysis of middle and secondary school civics, history and Pakistan Studies textbooks, and the curricula, found that multiple 'others' are presented in contrast to a singular 'self.' These others are ascribed characteristics that are all negative. Other scholarship in the area similarly echoes the way in which texts propagate a singular Muslim identity through a process of othering (Dean, 2005; Emerson, 2018; Nayyar, 2013).

Lall (2008) analyses the way in which different governments, particularly the Zia regime in Pakistan altered the narrative of the 'other' in textbooks for political purposes. She highlights not only governmentality at play with state-controlled discourses but also the dangerous international consequences of such discourses.

What previous analysis of educational resources around the presentation of the self and the 'other' has brought forward is the fact that discourses around the us and them are far from objective and are used to create a particular 'truth' or reality. Much of this is part of the agenda to create a robust national identity in which the self is Muslim, strong, noble, homogenous, and praiseworthy while others are the opposite. What then is the purpose of the analysis of this theme in this study? Foremost, much of the research in this area analyses texts from a citizenship perspective, examining the relationship between a citizen and the state. Research has examined the way in which discourses construct a narrative of citizenship. This is also the reason why much of textbook analysis has tilted towards the study of Pakistan Studies textbooks in particular. The findings in this chapter seek to build on previous research by examining discourses from the perspective of their impact on global education narratives, examining the relationship of the self to others in the world and the impact this has on preparing learners for their role and place in the world in light of Pakistan's geopolitics within which the field is constructed. Within this these then, narratives around cultural change and globalisation are also considered.

### 10.1 Religious Culture and Homogeneity

“*Culture* has become a ubiquitous synonym for *identity*, an identity marker and differentiator” (Benhabib, 2002, p. 1). Within the Pakistani context, I would contend that this statement

requires an extension: culture is synonymous with religion which is in turn an identity marker. There is an assumption that is evident in all the textbooks analysed that culture is informed solely by religion and therefore, a commonality in religion signifies a commonality in culture. Telling examples of this appear in almost all of the textbooks. For example, Saleha (2018), in a privately published textbook, under the subheading of 'Pakistan is a country of cultural diversity', writes that Pakistan is identified by its Islamic culture but "also enjoys cultural diversity". In a Paramount Social Learning, Riaz (2019) writes that the Kalash people who live in the Northern areas of Pakistan "have their own way of life and culture different from Islam" (p. 67), and seem to be included as 'Pakistanis' reluctantly. Religion as defining culture extends beyond the country to others as well. India for example, is defined by its 'Hindu' culture (p. 66).

These statements do two things. First, they declare Islamic culture as Pakistan's core identification. Second, they seem to suggest that Islamic culture is itself homogenous and without diversity; that religious culture is not distinct, but rather identical across sects, castes or even across countries. It can be assumed that diversity is not seen entirely positively. There is immense value in commonality, uniformity, and an appreciation for being able to overcome diversity and to come together for the country. For example, the following is excerpt from We Learn Social Studies:

### **"National Events**

National events are celebrated enthusiastically all over Pakistan in a uniform way. In spite of the diversity, on 14<sup>th</sup> August, which is Independence Day, and 23<sup>rd</sup> March which is Pakistan day, the whole nation comes together as one. National flags are flown, people sing patriotic songs and special

programmes are held in schools to celebrate these days. A multicultural society provides a chance to share other cultures. It promotes tolerance.”

(Saleha, 2018, p.51)

The focus on uniformity and the emphasis on being able to overcome diversity to commemorate Pakistan’s national holidays suggests diversity to be a challenge that needs to be prevailed over. This is followed by a statement around diversity being important to encourage tolerance.

In the Balochistan government textbook, the authors explain that there isn’t much difference in the culture of Pakistani people, but there is some ‘diversification’ which is ascribed to differences of climate and land features (p. 98). In a textbook from Punjab, it is stated that every society within Pakistan has its own culture, which differentiates it from another though, “this difference is not the symbol of non-confidence rather it is the source of identity” (Shirazi et al., 2017, p.58). Driving this case home, there is absolutely no mention, in any of the twelve textbooks, of the different ethnicities that exist in Pakistan. This is most telling as each province is associated with a certain 'dominant' ethnic group and multiple other ethnicities exist within each province. Banuazizi & Weiner (1986) assert that in no region in the world does religion and ethnicity play as big a role as in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran. The central issues within ethnicity in Pakistan are those of sovereignty, allocation of resources, inter-province migration, and language and culture (Ahmed, 1996, as cited in Bhattacharya, 2015). This lack of acknowledgement of ethnicity, and the clear provincial distinction under the umbrella of one unified religious approach speaks to the desire to forge a national identity based on altered consciousness and shifts in the sense of collective belonging; “Here regional



and ethnic identities must now surrender to national ones in the process of national integration” (Saigol, 2005, p. 1007).

This desire for collective unity, extends not only to building national integration, but also to unite Muslims globally. There is significance attached to the strong relations that Pakistan has with other Muslim countries as opposed to just other countries globally. This is particularly telling given Pakistan’s strong relationship with China. This is not to say that China is not mentioned; to the contrary, and as will be discussed in the next subsection, it is mentioned more often than any other country. Regardless however, most textbooks highlight Pakistan’s strong links with other Muslim majority countries, thereby connecting positive relations to religious affinity. The framing of the ‘other’ is narrow and shallow. Differences outlined across the country are restricted to elements of food, clothing, handicraft, and music/art. All other values and practices are presented as homogenous based on religious affiliation.

This focus on homogeneity can be attributed to the need to calcify the cultural notion of all Pakistani’s thinking of themselves as having membership in a collective “we” that is religiously informed. There have been, several complications in supposing the Muslim identity to be the social cohesive glue. Foremost, sectarian strife is prominent in the country; used for political gain and in the politics of identity for marginalized social groups. The politics and power dynamics of sectarianism was further muddled in the wake of the Afghan Jihad and the Iranian Revolution (Kamran, 2009; Mahsood, 2017). Secondly, a shared religious affinity has not been able to transcend the emotional affinity with local and regional cultural traditions (Jalal, 2014). Banuazizi & Weiner (1986) assert that in no region in the world does religion and ethnicity play as big a role as in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran. Each province is associated with a certain 'dominant' ethnic group. The central issues within ethnicity in Pakistan are

those of sovereignty, allocation of resources, inter-province migration, and language and culture (Ahmed, 1996, as cited in Bhattacharya, 2015).

In addition to presenting a homogeneous religious identity as cultural identity, there is a projection of the 'us' as a positive self that is superior to 'others' in many ways. In some cases, these portrayals are implicit while in others there is a more explicit presentation. For example, the Punjab textbook board speaks of Pakistan as being "recognized as a country blessed with the blessings of nature and skilled people. Different languages are spoken here. Culturally, it is considered one of the best countries of the world" (p.49). It is unclear where this recognition comes from and who the determiners of this are. This nationalism carries further with other cultures being positively described if their values and traditions align with those in the country, such as the Chinese culture in which the joint family system also exists and in which respect for elders is a significant value. While there may be socio-political motivators of developing pride and patriotism for the country, it is important to also consider the probable economic benefit of this narrative. That is, that many textbook publishers encourage a national perspective, because it makes the book more sellable to a larger mass audience.

## 10.2 China, India, and the 'West'

China dominates the 'comparisons of culture' section, being mentioned in 11 of the 12 textbooks. No other country, not even another neighbouring country is mentioned as often. In Paramount's Social Learning, under the subheading of 'Around the World', the only other culture talked about from around the world is the Chinese culture which is written about in the following way:

"The Chinese culture is very different to other countries of the world. As a society, the Chinese learn to be respectful to elders, parents, children, and the environment. The artistic nature of

the Chinese people is evident in their age-old crafts and heritage. Chinese food is very popular all over the world. It is cooked with traditional Chinese spices and is healthy to eat. Chinese ancient herbal medicine is still practiced for curing diseases of all kinds”

The sections ends with the statement: “The Chinese culture is very different to other countries of the world” (Riaz, 2019, p. 69). Textbooks seem to echo the depth and importance of the relationship between the two countries by the way and number of citations of China in the textbooks.

As discussed in Chapter 3, close relations with China is a key agenda of Pakistan’s foreign policy. Learning about China and its people and depicting them as friendly and supportive with many common values and traditions echo this political alliance. There is an interesting paradox here. In 2019, at the UN General Assembly, the Pakistani Prime Minister focused his speech on Islamophobia, and marginalization and other issues faced by Muslims. However, with regards to the Chinese treatment of Muslims and particularly the human rights violations taking place in Xinjiang, Pakistan has not only remained silent on the matter, but also come out in support of China with regards to its policies on Hong Kong, issuing a statement on behalf of 55 countries opposing interference in China’s affairs in relation to Hong Kong (Lederer, 2020). The value of the political alliance to the government seems to override religious affinity, which suggests a selective outrage based on political motives. It also displays the contradiction that is evident in the desire for a one large Muslim community as discussed in the previous subsection.

The mention of China is in sharp contrast to that of India or even Bangladesh, which was formerly a part of Pakistan. Only the Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government textbooks mention India, but these discussions are in sharp contrast. The former highlights

that due to their proximity, religion, history, and environment the two countries have a lot in common while the latter states that there are no similarities between the two countries and the reason for this is the difference in religion. None of the other textbooks acknowledge India; it is only mentioned in some books when speaking about Pakistan's geographical neighbours. The politics of omission might be explained in that it is a way to encourage insularity of thought or perhaps suggests an irrelevance. In examining the relevance of irrelevance, it might be fair to conclude that this strategy attributes little value to the neighbour, to whom it has strong historical connections, and which is today an emerging power in global politics.

The Balochistan textbook (2017) outlines similarities to be those of food choices and social values in terms of having joint family systems and also of having community level judicial systems for conflict resolution. Differences explained are: "Pakistani people are shaped by the teachings of Islam. Pakistani society is based on equality whereas in India caste system is common" (p.103). Saigol (2005) correctly argues that this presentation of all Indians as Hindus with a lived experience within caste ideologies only essentializes the Indian society. Much like how Pakistani society is presented as homogenous, so is the 'other' suppressing voices of dissent or alternative ways of living within a certain construct. By implication, it suggests that Muslims are noble or virtuous because they do not have a caste system and are hence rooted in more equality and justice. Other differences are those of choice of attire and then of language.

While there is an absence in mentioning India, the 'West' is framed with immense complexity. It is presented as being 'civilized' and that Pakistani's are beginning to emulate some of these practices that make them so. For example, in one private textbook, We Learn Social Studies,

the author states: “valuing time is a common trait of Western cultures. Discipline is also a common trait of Western culture” (Saleha, 2018, p. 52). Queuing is the example given on discipline and the section goes on to say, “Pakistanis are also starting to learn this behaviour”. The language here switches from ‘Western countries’ to ‘civilized countries’. As an example: “respecting the rights of other people is observed strictly in civilized countries, obeying the laws of the country and obeying traffic rules are also values that are observed by civilized nations”(p. 52). While the binary is concerning, there is a demonstration of positive aspirational values. The explanation however is simplistic, with an implicit correlation between these values being positive and aspirational simply because they exist in the West without a complexity of what these values bring to individuals and society. The ‘West’ however is simultaneously identified as influencing aspects of Pakistani culture more negatively including their food, clothing, and music choices. Further elaboration and discussion of how the ‘West’ is viewed follows in the subsection on cultural change and globalisation.

At this stage, however, it is important to point to the implicit discourse around values. From the West, these are around a robust law and order situation and of justice. Equality meanwhile is implicitly valued when the caste system is presented as problematic. Though implicit, values are shown as being associated with cultures, religion, and nation states. For example, the West is clubbed together and depicted as having similar values, the Hindu religion is shown as having certain values and the Chinese culture has its own.

Additionally, the discourse around other specific countries, based on their relationship with Pakistan, paints a limited picture of the complex interactions of the country positioned not only in terms of understanding other races, cultures, ethnicities, or religions, but from a

geopolitical perspective of either advantage (China) or threat (India). Saigol (2005) argues that the state creates a sense of threat and enemies within and outside of its borders as a way to develop a strong notion of the 'self' brought together by their common resistance to these perceived threats.

The complete absence of Afghanistan or Bangladesh, with which the country has had or continues to have associations, not only politically but also in terms of the large refugee population in the country is indicative of this polarization of 'the other' as either a friend (value) or foe (threat). Similarly, the complete absence of Africa, and its associated race and traditions, suggests an understanding of others clearly marked by the possible value or threat they pose as opposed to being about 'understanding' the world in which we live.

### 10.3 Cultural Change and Globalisation

In some textbooks, particularly the Punjab textbook board, the description of modernization is confusing; modernization is attributed to two things: the first is differences in geographical and weather conditions of the various regions and the second to means of information and communication that is said to make "the life of a common citizen easy and have improved relations among people and strengthen the culture" (p.52). It is unclear what exactly the first description is alluding to as no further explanations are given. The second refers to technology and the ease that comes with technological shifts.

Notably, the ease that comes with technology is coupled with cultural changes being attributed to technological advancements. The most commonly mentioned is that of the television, which is described as having brought cultures into close contact with each other. These advancements in general and the television, in particular, are mentioned mostly damagingly. For example, the television is presented as an example of how the culture of

spending less time with one another came to be. Additionally, it exposed us to new cultures and as a result some customs were adopted: “Pakistanis now wear Western dresses, and Western music is becoming popular...Western food is also increasingly popular” (Saleha, 2018, p. 52) to explain the rise of a global culture. These advancements are presented as allowing for a one-way flow, where information about the world is coming in but not going out. The ‘West’ seems to dominate global culture.

Moreover, there is an urge to resist change, with the suggestion that if some customs and beliefs are held dear, change can be resisted (Mansoob, 2018; Riaz, 2019). Additionally, following traditions and keeping them alive is presented as positive and cultures are praised for loving their traditions. This endorses Castells (2010) claim that growth in information technology and globalisation has not only meant new social construction with cultural diffusions as often thought. Instead, it has been met with fierce reclaiming of collective identity and ‘cultural singularity’.

What can be seen here is a critical approach towards globalisation. Globalisation has been critiqued for being an uneven phenomenon; a process that, in addition to other things, also harms the cultural integrity of other cultures and is exploitative and damaging to most people (Boli & Lechner, 2000, p. 7). This is a common feeling in Pakistani society particularly with regard to the Indian media and its effect on Pakistani culture. A research study by Kayani et al. (2013) revealed that 62 per cent of the males surveyed and 66 per cent of the females surveyed agreed that online chats and membership of virtual communities caused a decline in their traditional cultural values and were corrupting Pakistani youth through obscenity and negativity (p. 136), while 71 per cent males and 84 per cent females felt the Indian media industry was causing a decline in traditional Pakistani moral values (p. 135). These sentiments

did not however translate in action as actual viewership of Indian content is extremely high. Prior to the 2015 ban, Indian films accounted for more than 60 per cent of film screenings in Pakistani cinemas demonstrating the duplicitous nature of these perceptions (Khan & Jaffrey, 2019). It is for this reason that Indian soaps and films in particular, and other shows from non-Muslim countries are often banned in Pakistan. The exception to this being Turkish television shows that are immensely popular in the country. In 2020, the Prime Minister encouraged Pakistani viewers to watch a Turkish show, *Ertugrul*, that is loosely based on the Ottoman Empire which was followed by a recommendation of a book by a Turkish author based on the Sufi scholar, Rumi. These recommendations were driven by a concern that Islamic values were slowly eroding in Pakistan. This only adds further contradictions to Pakistan's identity crisis; is Pakistan a South Asian Muslim country or is it closer in its Arab roots or does it align more closely with Turkish Muslim culture? There have been questions around the states agenda of giving these suggestions, with some describing this as being a preliminary cultural goal to establishing the country as a prominent player of the Muslim world (Khan, 2020).

#### 10.4 Conclusion

Micheal Karlberg (2008) in his essay, 'Discourse, Identity and Global Citizenship', reasons that:

"human cultures and human consciousness are shaped, in part, by the patterned ways we think and talk together. The premise is simple: the patterned ways that we collectively think and talk—our discourses—influence our perceptions, our motivations, our actions, and even our construction of social institutions. In this sense, discourses are like the productive scaffolding, or matrix, of human culture and consciousness. Discourses help to structure our mental and social realities" (p. 310).

Accordingly, then, the absence of or limited discussions are likely to limit social understanding, perceptions, and worldviews. If an individual is immersed in discourses of a



certain nature (for example, sexist or racist) they are likely to act on the perceptions shaped by such discourses and support or participate in institutions that share similarity with their way of thinking. Karlberg argues that the same is true for “highly nationalistic or xenophobic discourses” (p. 310). An absence of discourse, for example on multiple identities or diversity within religion, can frame a restricted and narrow understanding of others. Learners may begin to view what they know as being ‘normal’ and consider anything remotely different as being ‘the other’.

The selection of countries in the textbooks are guided by the relation these have with Pakistan in one of two ways. The first is in terms of the geopolitical or economic position they hold in the country’s current reality. An obvious example is that of China, which plays a pivotal role in both these aspects. This first aspect trumps the second which is of religious affinity to other Islamic countries. Countries like Afghanistan or Bangladesh are not explored because of the complicated political reality and history which is given greater meaning than connection through religion.

These pose tensions that exist within contexts from a global education perspective. First, a homogenized understanding of cultures and religions not only poses concerns in preparing students for the diversity that defines the global world, but also one that characterizes local realities; both in terms of the singular way of viewing and practicing religion and also of viewing and interacting with minority groups, such as Christians and Hindus, within Pakistan who form a portion of the population. As discussed earlier, global education should be understood not only in terms of global realities but also in terms of local ones, given the challenges of framing the world in these binaries. What is the local? Where does it end and where does the global begin? Instead, the approach needs to acknowledge the diversity of

worldviews and ways of being all around us. Homogenized framings of religion and nationalism discourage acknowledgement and acceptance of an 'other'. The discursive narrative frames the world predominantly within national boundaries and does not engage with the concept of learning to live together or understanding 'the other'. Sardar (2003) argues that nationalism and the creation of an imaginary identity becomes an instrument of power. He cites the case of Pakistan in which imaginary states are sustained by an illusionary national identity which replaces the sense of community (p. 13).

It is important to try and understand why this narrative exists in the first place? This can be explained in two ways: The first is linked to British policies in India, in the era of colonisation, in which there was a heightened religious consciousness that resulted in new socio-economic structures replacing previous forms of identity politics based on tribes, regions, lineages and ethnicities (Panjwani & Khimani, 2017). This had deep-rooted impacts that ultimately led to the formation of Pakistan based on religious affiliation. The persistence of this narrative might be the reason for the homogenous articulation of culture as religious association. However, the geographic and historic interchange of people, ideas, and material culture have had a decisive bearing on Pakistan. The country holds the seat of one of the world's oldest civilizations centred at Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh and Harappa in Punjab. A shared religious affinity has not been able to transcend the emotional affinity with local and regional cultural traditions (Jalal, 2014). The 'us' is rigged with more turmoil as geographical displacement, at the time of partition, fanned claims surrounding the theme of sacrifice for the cause of Pakistan and made this a strong identity marker. Muhajirs (refugees) live a tale of "grief and loss that resulted from being completely uprooted from their natural physical and cultural habitats. The pervasiveness of this emotion has suffused the claims of the Urdu speakers who can point to a much longer history of sacrifice to preserve the cultural and religious identity

of India's Muslims” (Jalal, 1995, p. 83). The claim of sacrifice as the basis of rights has been a powerful source of inspiration for the Muhajirs. According to the notorious leader of this group, Altaf Hussain, the Muhajirs were the only "group without a province, and whose only association is with Pakistan” (p. 83).

The second complication goes further back and is rooted in the Islamic ideology of one Ummah – an Islamic community centred around a religious nucleus. The purpose is the creation of a kind of supra-national community of faith based on unity and equality of Muslims from diverse cultural and geographical settings. The idea of an ‘ummah’ was, at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, meant to serve as a solution for the strong social and political structures of Arabia, particularly the strong tribal identities. The ummah was meant to be the supreme identity superseding all other identities held (al-Ahsan, 1986).

However, this universalization of a dominant Muslim Sunni group experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm dismisses the deep-set sectarian struggles prominent in Islamic history and in the history of the country. In Pakistan, sectarian strife has been used for political gain and in the politics of identity for marginalized social groups. The politics and power dynamics of sectarianism is further muddled in the wake of the Afghan Jihad and the Iranian Revolution (Kamran, 2009; Mahsood, 2017).

The subcontinent has a long and complex cultural and political past, and its history is intricate spanning over several thousand years. Combined, these are met with the complications of a globalised world and Pakistan’s current geopolitical role in the world. Against this backdrop, there is a naivety in the fallacy of the creation of a singular identity, of “forcing people into boxes of singular identity ... to understand human beings not as persons with diverse

identities but predominantly as members of one particular social group or community” (Sen, 2006, as cited in Ross, 2007, p. 287).

Within global education, the notion of understanding ‘the other’ does not only encompass superficial cultural awareness, but would more explicitly include an appreciation for diversity, an acknowledgement of commonality, an understanding of multiple identities and the dynamic nature of cultures that are effected and transform as a result of invasion, colonisation or globalisation (WMCGC, 2002, p. 56; Klien, 2001, as cited in Davies, 2006). This would include an appreciation for the diverse ways of living, including social, economic, judicial, and other structures so as to enable students to navigate in a global world, being respectful of and able to pick up cultural nuances, but also being critically reflective of it. The textbooks by and large, however, create narrow frames of reference for the ‘other’ and the world is presented in binaries: Islamic and non-Islamic cultures, Western and Eastern cultures, Chinese and ‘Other’ cultures, civilized and uncivilized nations. The absence of discourse on ethnicity, sects, and nations and the critical one directional view of globalisation creates an insulated vision rather than an informed one.

## 11.0 Environmental Sustainability

This chapter begins by tracing the history of education pertaining to the environment and how this subject is shaped today which is followed by alternative perspectives around the environment emerging from non-Western perspectives. Combined, these help to explain dominant discourses in the field and their counter narratives. This is followed by a description on what a pedagogy for environmental sustainability entails. These discussions help to better understand findings from the analysis.

Pakistan is the world's fifth most populated country (United Nations, 2019), struggling with numerous environmental challenges, particularly, that of air pollution, deforestation, loss of biodiversity and lack of access to safe drinking water. In the urban parts of Pakistan, air and water pollution are critical challenges and a public health concern with 40 per cent of deaths annually in Pakistan attributed to the consumption of contaminated water (Pakistan Today, 2012). The World Health Organization classifies Pakistan as falling within the group of least developed countries in terms of the water supply and sanitation (2020).

Global issues are intertwined and multidimensional; environment issues for example, are inseparable from issues of social justice, equity, and development (Selby, 2019). In the case of Pakistan too, the environment-development nexus and consequently the environment-poverty nexus is strong: that is, the agriculture sector which contributes significantly to the economy, and provides raw materials to the industrial sector is strongly reliant on the state of the environment, particularly on land and water resources; these are plagued with issues of degradation due to erosion, use of agro-chemicals, water logging and salinity, depletion of forest and water resources (Asian Development Bank, 2002), impacting livelihoods and perpetuating poverty cycles.

Khan, Inamullah, & Shams (2009) argue that environmental degradation is a result of the dynamic inter play of socio-economic, institutional, and technological activities, and that the factors of degradation include economic growth, population growth, urbanization, intensification of agriculture, rising energy use and transportation.

Further, Pakistan is a classic example of a developing country that is highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change but has done little to contribute to the problem; it contributes a small share to the worlds carbon emissions, yet it is ranked 16 of 170 counties in a recent Climate Change Vulnerability Index. Pakistan is located in a region where projected temperature increase is likely to be higher than the global average (UNDP, 2014).

### 11.1 Tracing the Historical Emergence of Environmental Sustainability

In the 1960s, there were growing concerns over the contamination of land, air and water, the growth in world population and the continuing depletion of natural resources as a result of which education about the environment became a necessity. The field at the time however was more apathetic, naturalist and scientific in its focus (Gough, 2016; Tilbury, 1995). In the UK for instance, at a conference in 1965, it was agreed that environmental education “should become an essential part of the education of all citizens, not only because of the importance of their understanding something of their environment but because of its immense educational potential in assisting the emergence of a scientifically literate nation” (Wheeler, 1975, as cited in Gough, 2016, p. 97).

In the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm, Sweden in 1972, a declaration was produced containing 26 principles. Principle 19 specifically calls for “education in environmental matters, for the younger generation as well as adults” (R. Carter & Simmons, 2010). The formalization of the field however is often attributed to the

Declaration and Recommendations from the 1977 Tbilisi UNESCO-UNEP Intergovernmental Conference on Environmental Education (Carter & Simmons, 2010; Gough, 2016). The goals decided here laid the foundation for much of the field and were as follows:

(a) To foster clear awareness of, and concern about, economic, social, political, and ecological interdependence in urban and rural areas;

(b) To provide every person with opportunities to acquire the knowledge, values, attitudes, commitment, and skills needed to protect and improve the environment;

(c) To create new patterns of behaviour of individuals, groups and society as a whole towards the environment (UNESCO-UNEP, 1977, p. 26).

With Agenda 21, a new focus for environmental education was welcomed in the 1992 summit, held in Rio de Janeiro, in which the need to make stronger linkages between the disciplines of sustainable development and environmental education were highlighted. The value of merging the two was in the widening of the discourse and perspectives on global issues. The discourse in environmental education had focused on the concepts of, and relationship between, sustainability and development (Scott & Oulton, 1998). One significant takeaway then of the agenda was to re-orient the focus from environmental education to sustainability (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006; Scott & Oulton, 1998; Tilbury, 1995), that centred around combining environmental concerns with development ones. The second key takeaway was the need for governments to work towards incorporating indigenous environmental management knowledge systems into contemporary socio-economic development programmes (Dominics & Fuchaka, 2016).

The relationship between environmental sustainability and development is a problematic one because it links care and concern of the environment with an economic approach of development. This perspective of education for sustainable development (ESD) looked at environment as “resource for economic development or shared resource for sustainable living” (Sauvé, 2005, as cited in Kopnina, 2012, p. 703). However, the vision of Agenda 21 has broadened from “the role of education in pursuing the kind of development that would respect nature and the natural environment” to encompassing principles of development that include those of social justice, poverty elimination, gender inequality, cultural diversity and others (Gough, 2014; Kopnina, 2012). In this thesis, I use the term ‘environmental sustainability’ and not ‘environment for sustainable development’ nor ‘environmental education’.

As global education was being carved from educational traditions, particularly that of development education, environmental sustainability came to be a vital theme of the field. One of the crucial characteristics of the model of sustainability is to take worldwide justice into consideration (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006), and is the key way in which environmental sustainability distinguishes itself from environmental education (Selby, 2019).

### 11.2 Problematizing the Narrative

Much of the discussion has thus far focused on perspectives and scholarship from Europe and North America. There are however critiques to the approach to environmental sustainability as well as alternative perspectives to understanding our relationship to the environment that are considered in this section.

Literature around environmental ethics poses the question as to the extent to which only loss in human life and welfare should be the basis of political action and moral concern and



whether human 'progress' should also take into account non-human species. Dunlap and Van Liere (1978) and Dunlap and Catton (1979), explained a dominant (Western) worldview which is characterized by a human exceptionalism paradigm in which humans are 'above nature' even though they describe themselves as being a 'part of nature'. The worldview can also be understood as 'anthropocentric' which refers to the belief that nature only has value to the extent in which it serves human ends. If anthropocentrism were to be understood as a spectrum: stronger anthropocentrism maintains that nature is to be used to satisfy human needs and interests without necessarily preserving components of the natural world. Weaker anthropocentrism, while still maintaining that nature is there to serve human interests, considers that parts of nature should be preserved for future human generations (Le Grange, 2012). Education, pertaining to the environment informed by this world view, does not concern itself greatly with responsibility to non-human needs. Kopnina (2012) sums this up: "While human and environmental domains are intimately intertwined as acknowledged by most environmental ethics thinkers, ESD debates tend to emphasize environmental concerns in relation to human welfare. Social and environmental interdependency is often framed within the context of human needs, deconstructing 'nature' or 'wilderness' in terms of 'natural resources' rather than finding a true balance between human and non-human needs" (p. 707).

This particular worldview enshrined within a capitalist approach in particular, can be considered an oxymoron to environmental sustainability. Tagore was a vehement proponent of environmental sustainability and believed that the West was using science as a vehicle of its greed and for profit-hunting and was victimizing nature in its relentless quest for money and material things. Tagore was interested in, as he explained in his essay 'Construction versus Creation', the "immaterial in matter" (Das, 1996, p. 403), and wanted his students to

see that nature had much more to offer than a mere haven for material wealth. He recognized that with the imposition of colonial education in India, Indians had lost their inherent connection with nature which they had always seen as a benevolent force, as part and parcel of the one grand design of God. Tagore used historical religious text such as the Ramayana (one of the two major Sanskrit epics of ancient India) to explain the lack of duality between man and nature in the Indian tradition. He further argued that the West had, unlike its Eastern counterpart, always sought to control, conquer, and dominate nature and created a dyad between the two. Tagore rejected this modern Western view of estrangement from nature, which he saw as the primary reason for the West's endless quest for technological advancement and its ambition to build protective urban centres (Quayum, 2016).

Callicott and Ames's (1989) work on 'Nature in Asian Traditions of Thought: Essays in Environmental Philosophies' compared Chinese, Buddhist, Japanese and Indian worldviews to Western attitudes towards the environment, arguing that Asian traditions adopted a holistic approach that has relevance to understanding humans relationship and place in the environment. For example, the values in the Vedas of *Dehi me dadami te* that is 'you give me and I give you' stresses the need to nurture the environment (Kaushik & Kaushik, 2004), while the South African concept of Ukama is in a sense of relatedness with other natural entities, the entire cosmos and not just other persons (Le Grange, 2012).

Postcolonial writers have a similar view in critique of the dominant modern Western position on the environment, and also that the understanding of the environment has gone through the epistemic injustice of colonialism that has marginalized local ways of knowing and being with the environment (Kapyrka & Dockstator, 2012; Kayira, 2015; Le Grange, 2012). Odora Hoppers (2002) claims, "a major threat to the sustainability of natural resources is the erosion

of people's knowledge, and the basic reason for this erosion is the low value attached to it" (p. 7). There is, however, growing recognition that immense "ecological knowledges are stored in the indigenous communities globally, and that indigenous knowledges, biodiversity, and sustainable development are closely linked" (Breidlid, 2013, p. 38). Once again, the purpose here is not to claim in binaries that the local has a stronger connection with the environment and in that glorify the local and undermine existing acts of violence against nature within the local. Instead, the point here is to illuminate the immense indigenous wisdom in non-Western worldviews that perceive the environment as being more than simply providing economic potential.

### 11.3 Pedagogy of Environmental Sustainability

Regarding the pedagogy of environmental sustainability, Tilbury (1995) suggests combining approaches that build on past practices but lead to an outcomes-oriented futures perspective. She describes more traditional environmental education as being "about" the environment where students gain awareness, knowledge, and understanding of human-environment interactions. This is usually done within the context of a subject area such as a science, social studies, or geography class. An alternative approach is education "in" the environment where experiential learning fosters both awareness and concern for the environment. To these components, Tilbury (1995) suggests the inclusion of education "for" the environment that would promote "a sense of 'responsibility' and 'active' pupil participation in resolving environmental problems" (p. 207). Horsthemke (2009) adds to this arguing that teaching "for" the environment is "anti-speciesist" and therefore crucial as it considers the environment valuable in and of itself.

In an international literature review, Tilbury (2011) identifies several pedagogical practices that underpin education for environmental sustainability: “ask critical reflective questions, clarify values, envision more positive futures, think systematically, respond through applied learning, and explore the dialectic between tradition and innovation” (p. 29).

An enduring premise has been the need for a value-based approach to environmental education. This is stressed in the recognition that knowledge is not enough to impact action. Research does not find any correlation between environmental knowledge and a development of concern and values (Brunold, 2005; Tilbury, 1995). There is a need to focus on developing values as there is on expanding the knowledge base.

In the following sections, I analyse the way in which environmental sustainability is presented in the social science textbooks. Based on emerging threads, sub-themes were constructed as they arose in the analysis phase. These sub-themes are presented and explored under the subheadings below.

#### 11.4 Climate vs. Environment

The focus in all the textbooks is primarily on the climate. The climate is defined as the average course of weather conditions, for a particular location, over a period of many years and every textbook has a chapter dedicated to the climate that explains the climatic regions of the world, the climate of Pakistan and the way in which the climate effects the way we live. The following paragraph in the Sindh textbook (p.39) sums up much of the discourse around climate:

“The climate affects how we live. It affects such things as the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the sports we play, the work we do and the money we earn. Climate also affects where

we live. Most people want to live in places that have a pleasant climate, that is, where it is neither extremely hot nor extremely cold. Therefore, most people in Pakistan live in the Indus plains.”

This narrative exists in every textbook with descriptions of the climate explaining the lifestyle of Pakistanis in relation to food, dress, entertainment and even architecture. In contrast, none of the locally published private textbooks define ‘environment’ or explain what it constitutes. Where the word ‘environment’ is used it is done so in the following context: “By keeping our environment clean, you can help to make Pakistan an even more beautiful place” (Horsburgh, 2017, p. 29). The implicit understanding of an environment is limited to a physical space as opposed to it being composed of an ecosystem. While cleanliness of the environment is linked purely to beauty and with the aim of beautifying the country as opposed to encouraging biodiversity by ensuring the ecosystem has a clean and safe space to thrive.

The textbooks developed by the Sindh and Baluchistan textbook board define the term, but the definition changes in different parts of the book. The Sindh textbook states: “just as our faces have features such as eyes and ears, every place or environment has features” (p. 17). The paragraph goes on to describe the environment in terms of the physical features of Pakistan: the plateaus, deserts, coasts, and mountains. The Balochistan textbook states “as far as the environment is concerned, Pakistan lies in the Sub-Tropical climatic region of northern hemisphere”. At a later stage in the textbook however, the Balochistan textbook defines the environment as “the aggregate of living and non-living things around us” (p. 40); while the Sindh textbook defines it as: “the air, climate, vegetation, landforms and living organisms collectively form what we call the environment” (p. 42).

The descriptions are broad yet implicit in their inclusion of plants or animals. Only one textbook discusses animal and plant species native to this region, when describing the features of Pakistan. This textbook explains that there are over 5000 species of wild plants in Pakistan and the variety of mammals, birds, reptiles, fish and insects and invertebrates. In the other 11 textbooks, there is almost a complete absence in mentioning other living species native to the country. When there is a mention of animals in Pakistan it is in the context of livestock and trade; that bullocks are used for farming where tractors have not become available; of Pakistan being one of the largest milk producers; fishing as one of Pakistan's exports; and the use of sheep for their meat, wool, and skins.

Mention of animals or plant species, when made, carves out a kind of binary; that animals live in the forest and people live elsewhere. Much like the absence of discourse on other races, ethnicities and cultures highlighted in the previous chapter, the complete absence in mentioning species other than humans, creates an insulated worldview that is largely uninformed. Moreover, other systems of co-inhabitation of spaces can begin to seem out of the 'normal'. Perhaps, it is unsurprising then that particularly in urban areas animal cruelty is rampant and that government legislature in the area is outdated. The key recommendations from the World Animal Protection Organization is to update and amend the definition of animal cruelty, and the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act (1890) recommends the protection for all animals in Pakistan (currently the law only covers domestic animals) and to align anti-cruelty measures with current animal welfare science (World Animal Protection, 2014). The textbooks can be perceived to reflect the government's lack of interest in and importance given to the area.

Lastly, there is a lack of a cross-disciplinary approach. Ecology is covered in science textbooks

and not mentioned within social studies, with no linkages across curriculum content. While there is immense opportunity to connect the natural sciences to social sciences, which would enrich understanding of the way in which the environment impacts societies, this is unexplored. Fundamentally then, the textbooks' presentation of the environment is both superficial and partial.

### 11.5 Environment for Survival and Economic Advantage

The emphasis on the impact of climate on everyday life leads into the discourse around climate change in most of the textbooks. Climate change is presented as posing a very real challenge because it threatens human way of life and survival. For example, one private textbook asserts the following: "Bangladesh and the Maldives may go underwater if this [global warming] trend is not stopped" (Saleha, 2018, p. 29). The protection of the environment from deterioration is "essential for our survival".

Most revealingly, in almost all of the textbooks the features of Pakistan, its minerals and resources are mentioned in terms of the economic advantages they provide to the people and the country. Most of the textbooks mentioned how Pakistan is "blessed" (Khan, 2015) with minerals and the very important role they play in our economy (Altson, 2019; Horsburgh, 2017). This use of all available resources and landscapes for economic advantage in some cases, extends to comparing with other countries or regions; that is, by demonstrating that there are economic advantages in the way that other countries have utilized parts of their country. For example, Malaysia and Indonesia have a large coastal belt like Pakistan, however, because they have a better law and order situation their tourism industry is flourishing (Dean et al., 2017); or that Pakistan has deserts as does Saudi Arabia, with the difference being that the latter have discovered oil in their deserts because of which they are rich and prosperous

(Horsburgh, 2017) while people living in the deserts in Pakistan are “illiterate” and live in tents (Khattak et al., 2017, p.23).

Very few textbooks present Pakistan as an agricultural economy. Where there is a mention, it is done in the following terms: “although it is developing rapidly and becoming industrialized, Pakistan is still very much an agricultural country” (Horsburgh, 2017, p. 31). The implicit message defines development in purely economic terms and links agriculture to developing contexts and industry to developed nations, in a kind of binary that ascribes diminished value to agriculture.

Learning ‘about’ the environment is focused predominantly on the economic advantages that the environment can or does bring to a country; elements of the environment that are discussed are framed as ‘natural resources’ that can or should be exploited for economic gain. The attitude and belief projected towards nature is both materialistic and anthropocentric.

### 11.6 Climate Change Action

While almost all of the textbooks mention climate change, three of the privately published textbooks make no suggestions on what can be done to mitigate the challenges posed by the phenomenon. The other five private textbooks offer suggestions for individual action, such as reducing vehicular emissions by using public transport or carpooling, planting more trees, conserving energy, or stressing the importance of reducing, reusing, and recycling. It is only the government published textbooks, particularly those from Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, that explicitly outline actions not only for individuals but also for the government in terms of raising awareness, having stricter laws against deforestation, improving public transport, and investing in clean energy resources. The privately published textbooks do not highlight any action points for the business community or the civil society either, which is a



gap filled by government textbooks that stress the need for better treatment plants for industrial waste, for the reduction of emissions and the use of machinery that is energy efficient.

The most pertinent, in all the textbooks, is the explanation of issues and action points in silos. There is little explanation of the range of environmental issues with almost all focusing strictly on carbon emissions. This narrow framing of issues also means a missed opportunity in terms of exploring the interrelatedness of different types of issues. Problems of air pollution, for example, are not linked to public health issues, to the suffering it causes animals and plants, nor to its impact on ecosystems. Neither is it linked to the contamination of water bodies and soil when the particles eventually fall back to Earth. Instead, a one-dimensional explanation links air pollution to ozone layer depletion.

Essentially, there is a lack of complexity in all the discourse under this theme. The challenge of climate change is presented in a fragmented manner. Similarly, there is a want of analyses of the factors that impact the interventions for conservation or prevention, or those that perpetuate the challenge. Additionally, a plurality of perspectives on climate change or solutions to the phenomena are not presented. There is fundamentally, a narrow, one-dimensional, fact-based approach to the presentation of the theme across all the textbooks, which does not encourage learners to engage in any critical or reflective thinking around the complexity and the far-reaching impact of environmental degradation. The approach to addressing these challenges must be multipronged with government, communities and the business sector all playing a part. Understandably, the government is best placed in developing and implementing legislation, however, public acceptance and support is crucial

to making impactful changes. There is, a need for a broad and substantial public engagement which necessitates that citizens understand environmental issues.

The textbooks, however, reflect a disconnect between the environmental challenges that Pakistan faces, which are the ones that students can relate to, and those which are presented in the textbooks. Only one of the textbooks discuss water sources, irrigation, and contamination in some length despite the incredible challenge the country faces on this front. For example, there are no linkages made between environmental challenges and public health concerns which are prevalent in Pakistan. This kind of relevance approach would make environmental concerns more real to students' lived experience and so have more potential to bring about attitudinal and behavioural changes. Instead, the discourse in these books follow global discourse trends, with little connection to the local environmental challenges or contextualized examples of ecological phenomena. A cross-cultural study of textbooks from Italy and Morocco had a similar finding, in that regardless of cultural differences and diversity in the environmental contexts, topics in environmental education were treated in similar ways as though a universal approach to environmental education existed (Agorram, Caravita, Valente, Luzi, & Margnelli, 2009).

Similarly, understanding the role of the environment in different facets of life will aid in developing greater concern. For example, most Pakistanis (almost 70 per cent) use traditional and alternative medicinal practices, such as *unani*, herbal medicine and homeopathy, finding it effective, safe, and less costly (Zhang, 2001); with Pakistan being among the eight leading exporters of medicinal plants. These traditional practices, closer to student's reality can make the study of the environment less abstract.

There is an absence of indigenous knowledge about the natural environment. Scholarship from South Africa (Horsthemke, 2009; Van Damme & Neluvhalani, 2004), Kenya (Dominics & Fuchaka, 2016), and other African countries have highlighted the value of indigenous knowledge to addressing environmental concerns. While there is literature around indigenous knowledge, in particular for biodiversity and herbal medicine (Ahman & Habib, 2014; Tareen, Bibi, Khan, Ahmad, & Zafar, 2010), and in preparedness for natural disasters (UN/ISDR, 2008), there is a complete absence of discourse around local knowledge in this context. It is important for Pakistani authors to attempt to harness that knowledge to better sustain local communities and progress in areas such as natural resource management, healing and management of diseases and nutrition.

### 11.7 Conclusion

Agorram et al., (2009, p. 27) state that values pertaining to environmental education are influenced by attitudes and beliefs concerning:

- (1) Nature (spiritualism, materialism);
- (2) The relationship between humans and nature or environment (anthropo- or eco-centrism, socio-centrism, utilitarianism, pragmatism, idealism);
- (3) The ecological and environmental dynamics (reductionism, determinism, mechanism and evolutionism);
- (4) The image of science and technology (scientism, dogmatism, relativism, precautionary attitude).

This framework is valuable in understanding discourse in environmental education. The discourse in Pakistani textbooks about the environment is materialistic, anthropocentric,

reductionist and dogmatic. Pakistan's grave environmental crisis demands a major re-examination of the anthropocentric dominant worldview and the purely economic lens to viewing the environment. The approach to education is entirely 'about' the environment, and that too limited to very specific parts that yield potential economic benefit or that pose threats to human survival.

Crucially, there is need to make stronger connections with a value-based approach, while examining issues that are relevant to the learners. UNESCO emphasizes the importance of social-emotional and behavioural learning after finding that most countries focus on cognitive knowledge, but not enough on learning that taps into emotional and behavioural aspects to bring about greater change (2019). A values-based approach must be supported by contextually relevant content. Students' understanding of their surroundings are created from the interaction of scientific knowledge, values and social practices in certain cultural contexts (Agorram et al., 2009). There is a need for greater linkages between students' lived experiences and the scientific 'facts' presented in the texts in order to address challenges and move beyond the economic approach to the environment.

Content needs layers of depth and complexity to move beyond a reductionist approach toward a holistic understanding of the environment. Vitaly, in order to have students critically think about their environment as well as the science around it, a plurality of perspectives, knowledges, and approaches must be presented. A critical lens is important for students to make responsible decisions pertaining to their environment.

## 12.0 Power and Privilege

After the analysis of the themes of interdependence, understanding the other and environmental sustainability, this chapter will analyse the theme of power and privilege within the textbooks. The chapter begins with an exploration of the concepts of power and privilege positioning the concepts within the field.

Privilege can be understood as “an invisible weightless knapsack” (McIntosh, 1989) of “unearned advantage” (Pease, 2010), that benefits members of dominant groups at the expense of members of target groups. Characteristically, privilege is invisible to people who have it, and people in dominant groups often believe that they have earned the privileges that they enjoy or that everyone could have access to these privileges if only they worked to earn them. To the contrary, privileges are unearned and are accorded to people in the dominant group, whether they want those privileges or not, and regardless of their intention. Privilege operates on personal, interpersonal, cultural, and institutional levels. In Pakistan, privilege is granted to people who belong to one or more of these social identity groups: Sunni-Muslim, male, English-speaking, able-bodied, land-owning families. There is hierarchy and intersectionality even within these identities. While privilege, in and of itself, may not determine positive outcomes, it is an asset that will make it more likely that whatever talent, ability, and aspirations will result in something positive (Johnson, 2006).

The issue of privilege is related to power. Power is a far more complex concept though a central one in social and political thought (Menge, 2018). Bertrand Russell, to explain the centrality of power to social sciences, compared it to the position that energy has in the study of physics (2004, p. 4). Power can be understood as having control over forces affecting life to meet individual or group needs, secure resources and bring about desired goals

(Pinderhughes, 2016). This is a social science perspective to power which is concerned with power in relation to social position, and not merely in virtue of individual physiological or psychological properties. Operationally, power can come with influence, authority, or both over non-elites. Social power is different from institutional power which refers to the power that is held by entities like the government, religious organizations, the judiciary and so on. These institutions can direct social behaviour through rewards and punishments. Institutional power is socially approved and accepted as legitimate; that is, the power of an institution exists from the fact that society as a whole agrees that they should have authority over others. Yet, these institutions are shaped by the individuals who hold office and so a small part of society shapes what is seen as legitimate power.

Multiple scholars, such as Max Weber, Michel Foucault, and Paulo Freire, have written about the concept of power. Weber defined it as the ability to exercise one's will over another and argued that power shapes larger dynamics like social groups, professional organizations, and governments. Foucault's notion was to look beyond the singularity of power and consider that it existed all around us; his argument was that sovereign or institutional power was not the *only* power that exerted itself in society. In the modern world, his ideas can be recognized as the power held by corporations, gender violence in the form of patriarchy, and the violence both overt and subtle of racial supremacy. Freire's thoughts linked more directly to education and the way in which power was operationalized within the system. Because this chapter does not deal with power and privilege *within* the educational system broadly, but rather with the concepts of power and privilege and the discourse around these concepts in the textbooks, I specifically adopt Foucault's notion of power to analyse the textbooks who, when speaking of the term, always linked it to resistance, in that where there is power, there is also resistance at play. Thus, power is continuously being negotiated. I consider not only

institutional power but look beyond to consider the ways in which social actors of power are described or absent. Before presenting the analysis however, it is important to consider these within the broader context of Pakistan.

Power structures often occur within multifaceted social structures. Certain ethnic groups and provinces remain economically exploited and socially disempowered. Power structures are complex, deeply embedded and have far reaching implications. In Pakistan, feudalistic structures operate as a variant of class exploitation where peasants are held in collective bondage by the ruling class organized as a state. The 'vestiges' of the system, such as honour killings, patriarchy and caste oppression are very much embedded in the economic base of society (Rahman, 2012). Another power dynamic: the military, sometimes described as 'the state with the state', exerts immense influence on the country (Rizvi, 1991; Siddiq, 2012). The Pakistani military inherited much of its traditions from the British military tradition, which emphasized civilian leaders over military ones and military detachment from active politics. In India, the civilian-military relationship continued with this tradition as the 1950s constitution proved resilient (Rizvi, 1991). Pakistan did not have a similar experience. There are several reasons highlighted for the difference between Pakistan and India's civil-military relationship curve since independence. Foremost, Pakistan was not only strategically and financially weak at partition causing the state and its generals to seek U.S. alliance, while preventing crucial domestic challenges (Jalal, 1995), but also military inheritance at the time of independence was delicate with an ethnically imbalanced army. Weak political institutionalization of the Muslim League party in Pakistan that did not have ethnic and regional support alongside the lack of balancing measures, or what Wilkinson (2015) calls 'coup-proofing', such as a civilian controlled paramilitary hedge, increased the heterogeneity of the most senior officers and created less internal cohesion. The gradual decay of political

institutions and the public dissatisfaction with their performance both caused and aided the military in emerging as an important political actor by the late 1950s (Rizvi, 1991). With each successive coup in Pakistan, the constitution was amended to give greater powers to the military, which has been described as the 'military colonisation of other institutions' in which the military serves as a core personnel for sensitive institutions of the state. The consistent perceived existential threat to the country has helped to maintain and legitimize the sixth largest military force in the world and has, in turn, helped the military assert its pre-eminence in the country's life (Haqqani, 2018, p. 68). Army personnel receive great benefits, such as assignments in Gulf countries, allotment of land, loan facilities, construction at cheaper prices than the market rates and so on (Rizvi, 1991). As a result, the military in Pakistan has emerged as a powerful and privileged institution in the country.

Over the years, the military in Pakistan has increased its direct involvement in money-making activities, from manufacturing companies to television and radio channels and many things in between. An increase in the military's economic activities is directly proportional to its political power due to preferential treatment and access (Siddiqa, 2017). This unfair profit-making position is detrimental for creating a free-market economic environment. Ayesha Siddiqa, in her landmark book, 'Military Inc.', explains the circular nature of the military's political and economic power as increased military involvement in the economy, and its influence over state and society, results in an increased transfer of public resources to the military, which in turn incentivizes the military to continue strengthening its power; "The armed forces encourage policies and policymaking environments that increase their economic returns, and the accumulation of wealth also buys additional power, further contributing to feudal authoritarianism" (2017). While the effects of the military's interference with the democratic process and its money-making endeavours are adverse, the



Pakistan military is a highly efficient and internally cohesive unit. It is perhaps for this reason that “while young Pakistanis may have doubts about the democratic system, may be ignorant or dismissive about their rights and responsibilities as citizens, and may lack confidence in state institutions, but they have complete faith in the functioning of the army.” (Lall & Saeed, 2020, p. 53)

However, Pakistan’s historical military role suggests that while it may be easy to assume political power in the absence of strong civilian political institutions and in a crisis-ridden society, a military government does not guarantee effective solutions to economic, political, and social problems, that are the root causes of the fragility of civilian institutions (Rizvi, 1984). Conversely, it suggests a vicious cycle in which the military expanded its goals and political ambitions, created policies that adversely impacted the political process and protected their corporate and personal interests that did not allow civilian institutions to strengthen.

There is in addition, a power and privilege attached to the English language. At the time of the British rule, dominance was legitimized by “principally teaching three things: the English language, modern law and modern administration” (Rahman, 2012, p. 75). This dominance of the language endured after independence with two distinct streams emerging: English-medium and Urdu-medium schools. There were two kinds of elite schools in India at the time of British rule: Chiefs colleges, for aristocrats, that were meant to encourage loyalty to the crown and assist the British in ruling India (Peabody, 1995), and those for the newly emerging professional classes, called European or English schools, (which included English-teaching schools and armed forces schools) which taught all subjects in English (Rahman, 2005). Both served political and social purposes. After independence, these thrived because the military

and the higher bureaucracy both came from this elite background. Members of these two groups came up with policies that supported English-medium schools (Rahman, 2005, p. 26). Such schools multiplied as the professional middle-class started expanding in the 1960s and that continued to maintain the dominance of the language and to some extent nativized and vernacularized the language. Today, English-medium schools are mostly privately-owned schools that cater to the middle and upper strata of society, while Urdu-medium schools are mainly government-run schools that cater to lower-income groups. Resultantly then, even the terms 'English-medium' or 'Urdu-medium' are packed with economic and socio-cultural connotations (Shamim, 2011).

Other power asymmetries are those related to gender, prominent in the country. Pakistani culture "highly gender-segregated with clearly defined roles along the male/female gender binary and the exclusion of nonbinary gender identities" (Durrani & Halai, 2020, p. 73). Acts of violence against women are still common; for example, honour killings which refer to the act of killing, usually a woman, who is believed to have brought dishonour upon the family or community. The murder is viewed as a way to restore the lost honour. Pakistan has the highest number of documented and estimated honour killings per capita of any country in the world; about one-fifth of the world's honour killings take place in Pakistan and the country comes in third in a ranking of the world's most dangerous countries for women (Bhanbhro, Wassan, Shah, Talpur, & Wassan, 2013).

Unsurprisingly, Pakistan's progress on human development indices are the lowest when compared to other countries in South Asia (United Nations Development Programme, 2018). Other important statistics are those around gender disparity. In the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap report, Pakistan is placed 151 out of 153 countries in a ranking on the

magnitude of gender-based disparities across the world (2019). While there are efforts to raise female enrolment in schools as a way to pave their inclusion into the labour force, this per se, does not guarantee gender empowerment or equality. Indeed, Durrani & Halai (2020) argue that “in postcolonial contexts competing demands between nation-building goals, the harnessing of education for human capital development, international gender equality commitments, and local cultural roles” (p. 73) act together to obscure progress in achieving gender equality goals.

There has been significant research around gender within the textbooks. Shah (2012), for example, in her research on English textbooks at the secondary level found omission or invisibility with regards to gender. Mirza’s (2004) comprehensive study on 194 textbooks from 4 provinces, across Grades 1 to 10 found only 26.5 per cent of women as central characters. Only 15 per cent professional characters were female, in primary level textbooks, which further dropped to 9.8 per cent in secondary level books. Findings collectively indicate that not only are women given limited space within the textbooks, but also their contribution is disregarded (Islam & Asadullah, 2018; Mirza, 2004; Shah, 2012). Moreover, discourses construct an “‘ideal’ woman” who fits the narrative of the “ideal nation” (Durrani & Halai, 2020, p. 72) with some (only 6) attributes exclusively used for females in contrast to 59 for males. Female attributes were passive (e.g., modest, noble, dear, etc.) while those for a male were bold (brave, truthful, etc.) (Mirza, 2004).

Systemic issues of poverty and inequality arise from these structures. Patronage systems of power in rural areas, structure of society and sectarian, ethnic and gender-based conflicts add to social vulnerability. The findings in this chapter contribute to and build on existing literature by examining power and privilege for the way in which these discourses shape learners

understanding of the social structures around them. These discourses contribute to learners interpretation of the world and normalise certain perspectives.

### 12.1 Institutional Power

Discourse around institutional power is evident in all of the textbooks developed under the national curriculum framework; in all the public textbooks and in a few of the privately published books. There is discussion on the operationalization of the government institutions, the purpose and role of the federal government and the need to have a federal government that is described as framing , implements, interprets and reinforces laws. This echoes Foucault’s description of the government as the “conduct of conduct”, that is, to act upon the conduct of others to change or channel that conduct in a certain direction (Foucault, 1982, pp. 220-221).

In the textbooks published under the national curriculum, the federal government is explained as holding power in areas of foreign policy, defence, and finance while provincial governments look at other key areas, such as education, health, law and order and development. This is followed by details of the structure including what the different bodies are, such as the senate, the national assembly, the judiciary, and even political parties which are described as incorporating people’s concerns in their manifesto and then struggling to come into power to address these (Mansoob, 2018; Saleha, 2018). These are detailed explanations that are valuable in developing students’ understanding of governance structures within which they live and the key institutions within this structure. In terms of understanding systems and their purpose this is beneficial information.

The Punjab textbook mentions that needing to penalize those who break the law was what “gave birth to the political institutions in the society” (p. 57). There is a policing agenda associated with institutional power. In the following paragraph the text notes that the “punchaiti system” in which community elders solve local conflicts “saves people” from having to go to courts and police. The language indicates a sense of relief from having to interact with these institutions. This suggests a displeasure with their functioning and assigns greater value to local, community-driven solutions. It displays a disconnect between ‘local’ (the community) and what might be considered ‘national’ (institutions operating across the country) and a resistance towards the power that they exercise.

Another dimension discussed in all the textbooks is the ‘struggle for independence’ which was a struggle against a powerful institution: the British Empire. Power, as Foucault argued, was all around as a kind of web and is the capacity that everyone (other than those physically confined) has to act. In this sense, power is linked to the potential to do something; and is continuously being negotiated as there is constant resistance where there is power. His philosophy stepped away from the binary division of those who possess power and those who do not and are therefore, victims. The struggle for independence was not only being championed politically but was also being steered within society and so everyone, in a way, was exerting a kind of power. Gandhi’s non-violence movement was an influential movement without the use of physical (military or police) force. Similarly, those scholars and thinkers highlighted in the textbooks, such as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Allama Iqbal acted without political power and instead exerted their influence within their domains and contributed to ‘knowledge’ or what is considered true in society. For example, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan insisted on Muslim men getting a Western education and, as the Punjab textbook states, “he thought that British cannot be defeated with power. Therefore, Muslims should establish friendly

relationships with the British to protect their rights in a non-Muslim society” (p. 24), while the private textbook ‘Know Your World’ argues that he focused on the social and educational uplift of Muslims which was immensely valuable to the struggle for independence. These suggestions are valuable, even though implicit, in suggesting the different ways power can be enacted with society and their role towards achieving a larger goal.

However, none of the textbooks mention the contribution of Gandhi and his non-violent movement. This can perhaps be explained by the historic bias that exists in social studies textbooks. The History Project has extensively researched the juxtaposition of Pakistani and Indian textbooks and has argued that misinformation, omission of facts or the presentation of opinions as facts exist in both sides of the narrative around partition (The History Project, 2016). The movement is a powerful teaching lesson on resistance, the alternative non-violent methods for conflict resolution, alongside the possibilities and power of collective locally rooted action, that are left unexplored.

Lastly, private textbooks that are not developed under the national curriculum make no mention of institutional power. Perhaps a suitable conclusion is that this reflects the view of the private sector as operating in parallel to the government sector as opposed to within it. In addition, it signifies a preference of one form of power (economic power) over another (institutional power). This might be because there seems to be a narrow frame of human capital as workers for an economy with a view of the economy as simply a machine to be kept churning at a technical level, without any consideration of the social context not only within which it operates but also that it impacts and is impacted by. This is perhaps indicative of a neoliberal governmentality, in which neoliberal policies and rationalities guide the production of responsible and free citizens. The absence of discourses on institutional governance

perhaps implies that greater importance and relevance is given to developing citizens who utilize their own entrepreneurial and self-governing capabilities.

This absence is concerning because it does not encourage discourse around the role and purpose of these institutions, which is important for students to understand where decision making takes place and the impact of these on their lives. Moreover, an understanding is important to hold these institutions accountable for fulfilling their roles. Discourse on governance can help prepare children for active participation in the political process in the future.

## 12.2 The Military

Drawing from Foucault, Atkinson, Held, & Jeffares (2011) suggest that narratives attempt to project a particular version of reality and do so by organizing it in a certain manner, masking ambiguities within that and limiting the perception of such contradictions. Thus, what is absent is as important as what is present in discourse. One such glaring absence is in mentioning the military and the role of the army who are at the pinnacle of political power in Pakistan (Cohen, 2004; Kapur, 2006).

While some textbooks, particularly government textbooks, trace the political history of Pakistan and refer to the multiple military coups over the country's 73-year history, none explain the implications and the reason for the toppling of the government. Instead, these incidences are referred to simply as changing governments, with Punjab and Balochistan government textbooks explaining that a government that is formed as the result of elections is called Civil or Democratic government and the government formed by the army is called Martial Law. The absence of stating the institution entirely while making references to military coups is paradoxical. Similarly, paradoxical is the explanation of the democratic process and

the role of each institution within the democratic process, alongside a description of the different military governments that collectively spanned around 33 years of Pakistan's 73-year history.

Alcántara-Plá & Ruiz-Sánchez (2018) suggest that silenced discourse can either be understood as being irrelevant, in which case the argument around relevance needs to be made. Where there is relevance but silence, one might assume there is an intention in the silencing of a topic which can be interpreted as concealment (p. 27). I argue that this absence of the military, in the textbooks, suggests an exercise in power itself; as this powerful entity is unavailable for discussion and/or criticism. Its ambiguity in relation to the democratic process in the country are concealed.

The failure to explain military coups perhaps has multiple reasons: foremost, it is perhaps challenging to explain a military coup in the same textbook in which democracy is lauded. The second possibility is that given the immense power of the institution and its control of narratives surrounding its legitimacy, the absence is perhaps the least controversial course. The failure to acknowledge or engage with structural and systemic flaws, suggests a kind of social unacceptability attached to this approach. What this silence does do is give a certain kind of normalcy or legitimacy as opposed to a dent in the democratic process. The absence of the military in all of the textbooks is an act of power itself, giving clues about how power structures are being maintained.

### 12.3 Language

Before the analysis on language, it is important to highlight that none of the private textbook publishers have developed and published a textbook in the Urdu language for social studies. Public textbook boards issue books in both the English and the Urdu language and schools are



free to choose which they would like to use within the classroom. The lack of textbooks in Urdu in the private domain speak volumes to the power associated with the English language. It is unsurprising that the economically viable option is to develop and publish textbooks in the English language. In language policies a common thread is that of English as a medium for modernization, being the language of science and technology and Urdu as crucial for Pakistani nationalism since it provided unity in the existing diversity (Rahman, 2019).

Turning to the findings in the textbooks: all of the government textbooks refer to the national language of the country as being Urdu and English. English is described as a global language crucial for economic success, and Urdu being termed essential for national unity. One government textbook states: “While each group of people is different, they also share many things in common. For example, all Pakistanis speak Urdu” (Dean et al., 2017, p. 41), while the Balochistan textbook emphasises that “languages are basic source of national cohesion and integration” (p. 100).

Some of the textbooks refer to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, an educator and Islamic reformer at the time of the British rule, who urged Muslims to learn English and science alongside their Islamic studies because he knew “that was the only way to progress” (Saleha, 2018, p. 33). This thought permeates much of the desire to learn the language and speaks to the ideology that associates fluency in the language with greater upward social mobility, modernisation and development. English is used in all domains of power. Those sites where there is an exchange, use or exhibition of power (Rehman, 2010, p. 10). These include the government, bureaucracy, military, judiciary, commerce, media, education, and research - at the highest level. Consequently, being able to speak the language has been termed a ‘passport to privilege’, and thus the desire to speak English is high. In addition to this, Jalal (2014) argues

that, since economic development is linked to the expansion of information technology, there is a propensity to make the comprehension and use of the English language as widespread as possible.

The Punjab textbook echoing the narrative around language for cohesion and for the economy states that: “language is an important part of culture. People in every society use to convey their feelings, emotions, and religious bonds. With the help of language, we learn educational and technical skills. Language is the identity of a nation. For this reason, every nation respects its language and takes appropriate measures to promote it” (p. 53). In another part of the same book, however, it is stressed: “the language of Punjab is Punjabi but Urdu is also spoken” (p. 49). This statement is reflective of the cultures entrenched within Pakistan, the lack of homogeneity and the politics of language. Urdu, although the national language, is spoken by roughly 8 per cent of the population only.

At the time of independence, a powerful section of the bureaucracy, those migrating from India spoke Urdu. Because of this elite group, there was an element of cultural hegemony. However, the choice of Urdu as a national language was a strong way to link the ethnically diverse population. The most significant consequence of choosing Urdu as the national language was the loss of East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, that was driven by a consolidation of Bengali identity with the Bengali language. Below the surface, this identity politics was the result of the Bengali intelligentsia being deprived of their just share in power at the centre and even within their own region, with the most powerful and lucrative jobs controlled by the West Pakistani bureaucracy and the military (Alavi, 1989). Paradoxically, the Sindh government textbook cite one of the causes for the 1857 War of Independence to be that the British “replaced Persian with English as the official language” (Dean et al., 2017, p. 53).

Interestingly, the politics of language is not explored nor mentioned in most of the privately published textbooks. Only one, *Know Your World*, highlights as the factor for the War of Independence to be that fact that all the teaching in good schools was in English which students couldn't understand and it is was becoming the new language of the government which was upsetting government servants (Mansoob, 2018, p. 38). This domain is largely relegated to the realm of public textbooks concerned with the cohesiveness of national identity.

Given that Pakistan is linguistically diverse with other 72 reported languages (Ahmed, 2017), lived experience delineated to the two languages of English and Urdu, one for the global and one for the local, runs the risk of marginalising other languages and instigating linguistic diversity loss. Languages are powerful mediums because they are associated with a social reality and constructs that run the risk of being lost under 'linguistic hegemony'.

Urdu-medium schools are associated with a poverty trap with a broader disadvantage in terms of language policy as neither Urdu nor English is the mother tongue of a large part of the population, which has a determinantal impact on learning outcomes. At the same time, the choice of using the English language has a stronghold in the globally competitive interpretation of preparing students to compete in a global economy for which the English language is a golden ticket. This is juxtaposed to the desire for national cohesion within the government agenda. This can almost be understood as a tussle between the local (Urdu) and the global (English) or the matching of local desires within global agendas. There is then a complex nexus involving the achievement of learning outcomes, which is best accomplished by teaching in students' mother tongue especially in the early years. Alongside this is the desire for national cohesion through language that is met with the aspiration of creating a

globally competitive labour force. Acknowledging the implicit privilege attached to the English language, that is subtly reinforced through the textbook's medium of choice, the preference then seems to be clear.

#### 12.4 Gender

In almost all the privately published textbooks there is reference to women in different aspects of society. For example, a number highlight the contribution to the struggle for independence; one textbook highlights women in sports (Crompton, Crawford, & Thomas, 2018); another focuses on the first woman to go to space, recording her achievement; others mention particular Pakistani women, such as Samina Baig who climbed Everest (Dean et al., 2017), Shaista Ikramullah who served as Pakistan's first foreign secretary (Saleha, 2018) or Benazir Bhutto who was Pakistan's first female prime minister to be elected more than once (Horsburgh, 2017). The government textbooks of Punjab, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa make explicit mention of how women are 'respected' in Pakistani society and that this is one of the core values of the country.

While this could be interpreted as valuable because Pakistani society is considered a male-dominated society. One in which men hold power in all important institutions of society from which women, or any other gender are deprived of having access. Women are poorly represented in economic and political spheres. Only one private textbook features the struggle for women in society when speaking of the Kashf Foundation (a not-for-profit organization) that was set up in 1996. The reason for the start-up was in the recognition that "it was harder for women to borrow money than men" (Mackay & Moorcroft, 2018, p.63).

However, the way in which these achievements are highlighted in a special subsection has other problematic implications. A subsection of female achievements suggests these

successes to be rare and out of the ordinary and have the effect of instituting a male privilege. The role and contribution of other genders is not normalised, that is discourses suggest these to be unnatural, rare, and uncertain occurrences. Dominant discourses in the form of texts, examples, images all tilted towards one specific gender not only disregard other genders and maintain a gender hierarchy but also, from a Foucauldian perspective, portray a certain accepted reality or 'truth'. Textbook discourses not only need to be expanded in terms of more equal representation, but also be more inclusive and sensitive of the way in which male privilege is established.

Social norms continue to influence gender roles through socialization processes both at school and at home (Islam & Asadullah, 2018). The book *Social Studies Matters* on a chapter on 'Means of Communication' describes how "some [phones] were made to appeal to girls and women, like the pink one you can see here. It was called the Princess phone"(Crompton et al., 2018, p. 46). Another textbook states that handicrafts are mostly done by women from home. Gender roles are orthodox in the role and responsibilities that are mentioned and given emphasis. This supports earlier findings by Durrani (2008) who suggests that three elements of representation stand out in the construction of the 'ideal' Pakistani woman: dress codes, the gendering of work and gendered public and domestic spaces (p. 605).

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa textbook in its explanation of values, employs women as the most commonly used example and subject. For example, of simplicity of women being a value of the Pakistani society, while the Balochistan textbook says that "Women cover their head with Dupatta" (p.99), which is a 6-meter-long piece of cloth used to cover oneself. The same book has a matching exercise in which the word 'women' is to be matched with the word 'dupatta'(p. 109). The implication is that the ideal female is an asset to the Pakistani society

which is in turn linked to an Islamic society. Values of modesty and subservience are emphasised and implicitly linked to social norms and the Islamic way of life. The ideal female is socialized with the burden of honouring accepted social values and norms. This is of consequence because strong, toxic, patriarchal norms give legitimacy to acts of violence against women (Patel & Gadit, 2008) and these discourses not only act as a form of socialization but contribute to internalize patriarchy where such attitudes and behaviours are enacted by women themselves. While previous research (Durrani, 2008; Naseem, 2006) have similar findings around the way in which gendered identities are constructed and the power imbalances these maintain, I argue that women outside of the local who are seen to not abide by these acceptable ideals would be further 'othered' and marginalised. Interactions with other genders outside of the local that do not adhere to the dichotomous views can add an additional impediment in terms of distrust and disrespect.

Of consequence is recognizing global education's influence not only in terms of North-South relations or South-South relations, but rather through issues of marginalization that pervade within societies, especially given the desire for unity that has been constructed by ignoring not only all religious, ethnic, linguistic and regional, but also gender differences (Durrani & Dunne, 2010). In this case, the marginalization of genders and structures of patriarchy that disempower and privilege the male gender are in need of examination.

### 12.5 Colonial powers

Mentioned in all textbooks are the colonial powers that existed in the country prior to independence in 1947. The British are described as "slowly gaining more and more power in the subcontinent" (Horsburgh, 2017, p. 74). How this happened however is less clear. While most give no explanation, some private textbooks simply state that "they gradually became

involved in politics and put into place different policies in order to gain control of more and more Indian territory” (Mansoob, 2018, p. 37). Another private textbook explains the takeover of power as taking place through battles with different princely kingdoms and “conspiracies to strengthen their role” (Saleha, 2018, p. 31).

Interestingly, in private textbooks and particularly those written by non-local authors, colonisation is presented simplistically and lacks complexity. For example, in one textbook written by an English writer, colonisation by the British Empire is mentioned as “influence” while Russian’s “interest in [Afghanistan]” is described as “invasion” (Horsburgh, 2017, p. 63). The author goes on to say that before the Russian invasion, Afghanistan was a progressive country and well-known for the goods it made and sold. The colonisation of the subcontinent is described as a concern for all “the trade that would suffer because of all the fighting that was going on” (p. 74) because of which there was a move from trade to politics. Another example from a non-local author that emphasises trade is as follows: “The subcontinent was a busy place for trade in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, it was the busiest in the world. Then the British East India Companies began to use its army to take over parts of the land and to rule them”(Mackay & Moorcroft, 2018, p. 70). The explanation offers a straightforward narrative to an otherwise complex process of power acquisition.

The lived realities of contextual surroundings do not appear in the textbooks. For instance, much of the development of roads and railways that exist even today are attributed to the British era. Additionally, in every major city of Pakistan there are prominent remnants of British architecture. The British rule has also been defined by the plundering of local resources, and with thwarting rural infrastructure and mini enterprises. These policies resulted in widespread unemployment and poverty while creating a wealthy class of ‘jagirdars’

loyal to the British (MacPherson & Maddison, 1972; Masood, 2019). It is non-local authors that highlight what the British brought to the subcontinent, attributing them with the introduction of “language, architecture, ideas and building roads and large buildings” (Horsburgh, 2017, p. 74; Mackay & Moorcroft, 2018). In another (Riaz, 2019) this history is skipped entirely and instead the author states “today in Pakistan, food, clothing, furniture, paintings, arch and tile work some of the legacy handed down from the Mughals” (p. 67).

Locals are described as being dissatisfied with the British because “they felt the British had no right to run their country”(Horsburgh, 2017, p. 74) and they were “neither happy nor free” (Crompton et al., 2018, p. 57), as opposed to explaining the lack of autonomy, inequality, and the privilege of one group over another. There is a limited or complete absence of disregard for the impact, both positive and negative, of those two hundred years on existing realities.

What is also unclear is what this power meant. The almost 200-year British rule of the subcontinent is entirely absent in all the textbooks. What took place in those 200 years as the British were in power is not mentioned. Reference to events within these years are isolated and explained as disparate to the larger whole. More broadly, this silence limits consideration of cause and effect. This is true not only of the colonial empire, but also of successive governments and the policies they bring. For example, the impact of Zia Ul Haque’s almost 10-year martial law rule in the country continues to influence some aspects in the present day. For example, he introduced the law on blasphemy, he gave power to religious organizations and the shift to a conservative society has, till now, been difficult to shake off. To set aside the cause-and-effect discourse does not do justice to illuminating the significance of power itself: Why is it important to understand? How do they impact aspects of our lived



experience? How do they sway or at times manipulate? and what are the short- and long-term consequences of these acts?

Ultimately then, the null curriculum is useful to consider here. Harris (1989) referred to the null curriculum as a paradox: it exists because it does not exist (as cited in Kim-Cragg, 2019, p. 244). There is a learning based on the absence of certain content, such as events, people, or history. The purposeful neglect of history is convenient for the deliberate erasure of memory. The lack of critical engagement with colonial history is perhaps best explained by the postcolonial author Leela Gandhi who argues that “postcolonial amnesia” often exists in newly-formed nation states which she argues appears in several forms guided by cultural and political motives. The insistence on absence is most indicative of the urge for “historical self-invention or the need to make a new start—to erase painful memories of colonial subordination” (Gandhi, 1998, p. 4). I would extend this to argue that to speak about the colonisation process might be regarded as displaying weakness; of a time when one’s ancestors were oppressed, humiliated and powerless. Instead, tales of bravery are focused upon, such as the battles and movements of resistance in the struggle for independence although these too are selective and superficial.

## 12.6 Conclusion

Earlier chapters revealed a failure to engage with the challenges posed by globalisation and climate change which might have suggested a lack of a future’s perspective, in which case perhaps an important direction for the country is to make greater linkages with a ‘futures education’, in which students reflect on probable and preferable futures. However, the failure to engage with a 200-year history of colonisation and an extremely powerful institution, that has shaped much of Pakistan’s history and continues to play a strong role in everyday politics,

economics, and social discourse, is perhaps indicative of the state's complex relationship with power and resistance. A fair conclusion is that there is an absence of engagement with the power of power itself; with an understanding of the influence of those in power, the impact powerful institutions have on society, the power that individuals hold and how that power has historically been enacted and acts of resistance to power.

While the details specifically on powerful institutions allows students to frame their understanding of governance within the country and the way in which these operate, this only scratches the surface of the reality around power in Pakistan. Undeniably, in Pakistan, to possess political power is to hold power in society. At the pinnacle of political power are those in top-level military ranks. This is followed by civilian bureaucrats with large landowning families of the Punjab and Sindh constituting the third group with power, mostly embedded within feudalistic structures. While political power and economic power are intertwined, major economic power is held by the industrialist class. Considerable power is also held by religious Sunni groups in the country. These major social powers and the privileges accorded to them are not deconstructed or, in most cases, even touched upon.

The absence of institutional power, within private textbooks that are not developed under the national curriculum pose even broader concerns. This lack of understanding could lend itself to a disengagement with structures of governance, discourage participation in political causes or develop ill-informed voters. This general disengagement with structures of power only not discourage deliberation on the entrenched nature of issues, such as inequality and poverty, but also do not allow a reflection and recognition of the structures of privilege, for example those afforded by the English language, within economic structures that would enable them to contribute positively to the economy in the future. Moreover, they frame

society in isolation from the governance within it is set, ascribing an unimportance or irrelevance to political engagement within neoliberal constructs.

The lack of discourse/discussion in social studies textbooks, on the colonial powers, however, can be seen as more purposeful in achieving an end goal; that is, erasing memories of past injustices. In doing so however, even powerful resistance movements, such as Gandhi's non-violence movement remain entirely unexplored; leaving no examples of active and engaged citizenship. Andreotti (2006) suggests that a critical global education is unsettling; it brings forth internal conflicts and feelings of helplessness, as the complexity of our histories of violence come forward. However, this is the very engagement necessary to identify and dismantle hegemonic power structures.

Turning to the silence of discourse on the army, Foucault's notions of power and knowledge are valuable. He argued that discourses are used to legitimize and reinforce present socio-cultural status quo power relations; thus, Foucault was interested equally in what was *not* being said, as what was being said. This silence discourages criticism and in this way, legitimizes the power held by the army.

## 13.0 Social Justice

As discussed earlier, the two interpretations of global education are the economic and the social justice approach. The economic dimension focuses on helping students understand the global economy and be globally competitive in order to be active and productive parts of a global world, while the social justice approach is pivoted towards social justice aims within a complex interdependent world. Combined, the pedagogy of global education is a blend of knowledge, skills, and values, with principles of social justice and skills to be globally competent within a range of interrelated teaching practices. A marriage of the two interpretations is the model I propose for the Pakistani context in which the aim is a holistic understanding of the complex, multidimensional issues at play and the development of globally competent and socially responsible individuals.

Social justice in this paradigm can be understood as both a process and a goal. Bell (2016) argues that the process involves democracy and dialogue and opportunities to critically examine institutional, cultural and individual oppression, while goals include empowerment, equal distribution of resources, and social responsibility. Although there appears no single definition of social justice (J. Zajda et al., 2006), there is some consensus about social justice being associated with human rights, fairness, and equity (Bates, 2007). These themes are greatly intertwined with one often stemming from the other. There are a number of perspectives or 'forms' of social justice. Distributive justice refers to fairness around the distribution of basic resources. Procedural justice is fairness around the way in which allocation decisions are made (Vermunt & Steensma, 2016). These, however, tend to focus on the economic approach sphere of social justice ignoring the cultural politics of social institutions, which led to a third form, recognitive justice (Gale, 2000), where differences and

commonality amongst cultural groups are recognized and considered. This is taken further under a postcolonial lens as cultural justice that goes from tolerance to respect in cultural politics and a functional, respectful co-existence in which interaction goes beyond listening to others which truly “invokes the cultural worlds of the players” (Odora Hoppers, 2008).

Briick (2006) suggests that justice can be discussed in two ways: “(1) as an agreement or result of negotiation and better insight that is worked out between partners in social processes, and/or (2) as a reflection of the cosmic order, the divine will, or any pre-established harmony that is not negotiable by human beings” (p. 61). The theories discussed in the earlier paragraph pertain to the first approach. The second aligns closely, naturally, with the Islamic perspective on justice. The Arabic word *adl* comes from the root verb ‘*a-d-l*’, which means to be equal, just, straight, and temperate. In its most common usage, it refers to “even, to determine with evenness, to attribute value”. In essence, the term implies an adjustment in order to make something even or to make it whole (Askari & Mirakhori, 2020). The inference is that to be just is to make things whole or return them to a state of balance, as injustice had tilted the scales of balance, which also resonates with Hebrew-Christian notions of justice (Briick, 2006). These theological perspectives of justice help to inform and make greater connections with local worldviews. The themes of analysis within this chapter have not shifted as issues of equality, poverty, rights, marginalization within these perspectives are the same, the difference comes in the way these are symbolized based on worldviews. The purpose of this discussion is to recognize that the foundational epistemological questions, drawn from Weigmont (2020), will have diverse responses based on cultural and religious contexts. Specifically, the questions are based around what we understand and believe about the world, the environment, and humans place in it and, how do we understand right and wrong?

Within the classroom, education for social justice can be understood as teaching *about* social justice and the teaching *for* social justice. This chapter focuses on the concept itself and thus, teaching ‘about’ social justice. The aim of this chapter is to understand the way in which the concept of justice is considered, if at all. A crucial starting point to the end goal of social justice is an understanding of what social justice is and why it is important. The analysis in this chapter considers the discourse around themes, such as those of equality, human rights, and poverty. The issue of power and privilege has been addressed in the preceding chapter though these concepts are greatly intertwined.

### 13.1 Equality and Equity

When a group focuses on equality, everyone has the same rights, opportunities, and resources. Equity enhances the concept of equality as equity refers to the adjustment to fit individual circumstances; the World Health Organization (WHO) defines social equity as “the absence of avoidable or remediable differences among groups of people”.

There is only one social studies textbook used in Pakistan, which is published internationally: *Interdependence in Communities* that defines equality. The definition shared is “the state of being equal, especially in status, rights, or opportunities”(Altson, 2019, p.114). This is not to say that other textbooks make no mention of equality, rather that there is no explanation of what equality means or looks like in practice. The issue of equality is stated in several different ways in the other textbooks. Riaz, (2019) mentions that Muslims wanted equality with the Hindus in the government once the British left but the Hindus were unwilling to share power; another states that “Pakistani society is based on equality, whereas in India caste system is common” (Khattak et al., 2017, p. 103). Most commonly, a recognition is emphasized of the fact that if partition did not take place, Hindus and Muslims would not be on equal footing

given that Hindus were a majority and would be the dominant group in all legislative bodies. Because of which, in the textbook *Interdependence in Communities*, (2019), authors write that “had to leave their homes and assets, jobs and business, families, and relatives to cross the newly formed borders and start a new life with the hope of following their ideologies and living with dignity and equality” (p. 89). The very possibility of living as a minority group and the challenges and threats of such a position is a valuable discussion point for discourse around dominance, rights, discrimination, and exclusion amongst other things. This should subsequently extend into thinking about the rights of minorities in Pakistan.

The same book makes a more ominous suggestion in the ‘push factors’ for migration, stating that “after the declaration of independence and the demarcation of India and Pakistan boundary, minority groups thought that if they continued living in India and Pakistan, they would face racism. There was a harsh attitude towards the minority groups. There was a possibility of cruelty or torture including possible death” (Altson, 2019, p. 89). Although Jinnah pushed for safeguarding minority rights, there is little mention of whether his vision has been implemented or minorities current place and state. Arguably, minorities in Pakistan which make up about 4 per cent of the population, as per the 2017 census, are facing all the challenges this paragraph mentions: violence, discrimination, and exclusion. Exclusion from access to education, sanitation, and health care; discrimination in occupational access and violence in the form of forced conversions, accusations of blasphemy, target killing and attacks on places of worship (Fuchs & Fuchs, 2020). Most textbooks explain what a minority group is and what a majority group means. Statements on Muslims as a minority in pre-partition India and concerns of equality are paradoxical given that all through the Mughal Empire, a Muslim minority ruled over a Hindu majority. Muslim dominance seems to take precedence over the subject of equality.

With regard to issues of equality at the time of the British rule, explanations are largely absent. Only one textbook (Paramount Social Learning) declares that the relationship between a colonial power and the people colonised is an unequal one. Though here, what that inequality looks like is not detailed. The Sindh textbook is the only textbook which touches on distributive and procedural justice when explaining reasons for the 1857 war of Independence to be that “the soldiers in the army (all British) received a large salary but the soldiers (all Indians) were given very low salaries” (p. 55), in addition to the lack of respect toward cultural norms and traditions and laws pertaining to property benefiting the British. These are the most detailed explanations of discriminatory practices, at the time of colonial rule, that are present in any textbook and help to frame the challenges of living under colonial rule.

In all the textbooks, there is emphasis on equality in governance. For example, that East Pakistan and West Pakistan both had equal representation in the National Assembly. Most textbooks underlined that all 4 provinces have equal representation in the Senate and the way in which governance structure ensures equality which is fundamental to democracy. This is essential information to understand representation and to address social and economic disadvantage. Fair representation ensures a more equitable distribution of resources, less dissent resulting in more national unity.

The separation of East Pakistan, to become what is now Bangladesh is explained in the Balochistan textbook (p. 60) as:

### **“Separation of East Pakistan**

The people of East Pakistan were trapped by the conspiracy of Pakistan’s enemies. Enemies propagated that West Pakistan is exploiting the public rights of East Pakistan. As a result,



public gradually got annoyed from West Pakistan. After election of 1971, differences on transfer of power between Bhutto and Mujeeb-Ur-Rehman added fuel to fire. Dialogues were arranged for their reconciliation, but efforts remained fruitless. This situation was exploited by India and her military interference in East Pakistan created Bangladesh”

In summary, the narrative in the textbooks around equality seems to sketch the fact that Muslims right of equality in pre-partition India was under threat after the British left, however Muslim’s lack of equal treatment of each other (in the case of East and West Pakistan) or others (minorities) is attributed to false propaganda or entirely absent. In essence, there is selective interpretation of inequality; with a blind eye to the juxtaposition of being oppressed to being the oppressor. Moving past the binary division of those who possess power and those who do not, power and oppression needs to be understood as broad and complex in which one can be both the oppressor towards one group and oppressed by another. A critical need is to recognize the varying in degrees of oppression occurring all around and at different times.

Only one private textbook in all the books analysed mentions gender equality. The reference comes in mention of Shahista Ikramullah who was an “activist for the fundamental rights of women”. The second reference occurs in the same book which states some of the rights in the 1973 constitution and lists the following: “All citizens are equal before the law and no discrimination will be permitted on the basis of the gender” (Saleha, 2018, p. 52). There is no other mention of gender equality in any other textbooks. Given that Pakistan has one of the highest gender disparities, measured not only in terms of economic participation, but also educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment subindexes (World Economic Forum, 2019), the absent discourse around equality in gender perpetuates the

deeply inherent gender discrimination, and is telling of the lack of recognition of gender-based violence and systemic inequalities.

Discourse around equality is centred on religious equality, that is limited to injustices towards Muslims, or political equality, with an absence of consideration around gender, other religious minorities, age, or disability. As discussed in Chapter 10, 'Understanding the Other and Framing the Self', Pakistan's policy and textbook discourse focuses on national unity under the banner of a single identity - that of being a Muslim. As the textbook analysis showed, culture was synonymous with religion, while ethnic and regional identities were side-stepped for singular Muslim identity formation. This concentration can perhaps explain the significance and singular discourse around equality centred around the sole identity of being a Muslim.

Religious equality supersedes all other considerations, which is detrimental to greater social equity as the implication is that *within* a Muslim dominated country, issues of equality do not exist. The lack of acknowledgment results in the complete disregard of issues of equality. An absence of consideration on intersectionality, a framework for understanding how different aspects of a person's social and political identities (which include gender, caste, race, sexuality, religion, disability, and physical appearance), could contribute to the creation of different models of discrimination and privilege, which are detrimental to addressing issues of equality.

## 13.2 Poverty

With regard to poverty, in the analysis of textbooks, there is no singular narrative, nor a common theme. Suffice it to say that poverty is mentioned in almost all textbooks superficially, with only one private textbook, World Watch, defining the term; though this is

described simply as 'being poor' (Mackay & Moorcroft, 2018, p. 125) without any further clarification of what it means to be poor. Even a most basic definition as a lack of financial resources to fulfil basic needs is absent in all textbooks. It is perhaps assumed that poverty is a widely understood term, though an understanding of what constitutes poverty and how it is measured is valuable in considering the state of poverty itself.

Two textbooks speak of demographic poverty in different parts of Pakistan based on climatic factors. The Balochistan textbook, when speaking of mountainous regions, notes that "due to limited job opportunities, poverty is a common phenomenon of these areas" (p. 23); when speaking of arid lands, the book states that the "majority of people are illiterate and are living below the poverty line" (p. 26). Another textbook, whilst describing the northern region of Gilgit-Baltistan, states that there "are also projects to support agriculture and to reduce poverty by making the local people self-sufficient" (Horsburgh, 2017, p. 20). One textbook describes the challenge of rural to urban migration as not always being ideal: "Some people leave their farms and villages hoping for a better life but end up living in much poorer conditions. They end up living in slums with no proper houses and no clean water or electricity" (Mackay & Moorcroft, 2018, p. 36).

In all of the textbooks there is an absence of discussion around the way in which increasing floods and droughts in Pakistan have severely impacted agriculture and have a strong negative bearing on the livelihoods of farmers, on which they have little control. This is particularly evident given Pakistan is an agriculturally dominant country and one that is immensely susceptible to the impacts of climate change (UNDP, 2014).

There are however implicit connections between poverty and poor health, low literacy levels, rural occupations, rural and urban migration, amongst other things. The strongest of these

associations is perhaps between literacy and poverty; Horsburgh, (2017) states that by spreading literacy, the spread of diseases and poverty can be controlled with the Baluchistan book suggesting that “generous people may help poor parents for acquisition of education of their children” (p. 82) and yet another highlighting that 25 million children in Pakistan are out of school because of extreme poverty (Riaz, 2019).

Some inferred references of systemic challenges to poverty and the poverty trap exist in discursive narratives. When speaking of the arrival of Muslims in Sindh in 700 AD, one textbook declares that the majority of people who were low caste Hindu and Buddhists were not allowed to do any business so that they would remain poor (Crompton et al., 2018). A different textbook (Mackay & Moorcroft, 2018) affirms that many children who come from poor families do not go school at all. Instead they help their parents to earn money. The same textbook states: “Most banks, however, do not lend money to poorer people. This is because they are worried that the loan will not be paid back” (p. 62) On a national level, one textbook suggests that because Pakistan is a developing country, labour is cheap (Saleha, 2018). These examples, though few and far between, describe structural issues that contribute to poverty. Policies limiting business or access to loans are instances that highlight the ways in which policies contribute to deeply entrenched cycles of poverty. The need to contribute to the household is one of the barriers to accessing education, which in turn enhances the poverty trap. The Sindh textbooks highlights the role of the State Bank of Pakistan in “helping the government in making investments, in development planning and poverty reduction programmes which results in economic growth and development” (Dean et al., 2017, p. 98)

Some textbooks tend to focus on poverty of countries and the dependency that poor countries have on wealthy nations, in positive terms: “Poor countries, whose population are

underfed and undernourished, need the food supplies and healthcare facilities which can be provided by rich countries” (Saleha, 2018, p. 77).

What is evident in the analysis is there is no singular narrative and no one common theme on poverty across the textbooks. In general, there is an acknowledgement of the state of poverty without any key discussions, explanations, or analysis. While one textbook may speak of poverty in different parts of Pakistan based on climatic factors, another mentions it as Pakistan’s challenge (Horsburgh, 2017) or the use of taxation to combat the issue of poverty, while others highlight individuals, such as Mother Teresa, Nelson Mandela, or Abdul Sattar Edhi who worked with the poor and destitute. The discourse in each textbook is neither comprehensive nor in depth. Other than the Balochistan textbook that makes direct references to poverty, none of the other government textbooks make references to poverty, even implicitly.

### 13.3 Rights

Rights are perhaps the most detailed theme across all textbooks. This could be attributed to the number of international agreements Pakistan has entered that demand this addition. The National Curriculum Framework, under which these textbooks were developed, highlights that “Pakistan, being a part of the larger world community, has signed a number of conventions, frameworks, and development goals which require it to align its education system to the learning needs commonly agreed by the comity of nations” (Government of Pakistan, 2017, p. 18). The document goes on to mention the different agreements; most pertinent to this discussion is the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), signed in 1990, that bound the teaching of respect for human rights amongst other things and the resolution of the Sustainable Development Goals, in 2015. According to the National Curriculum

Framework, the Sustainable Development Goal 4 “requires member states, to inculcate concepts of sustainable development, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity in the school curricula” (2017, p. 18). There is inconsistency in the enactment of agreements as multiple issues in this list, such as those of gender equality, non-violence, or sustainable development, are largely or wholly absent from discourse in the textbooks which is tilted towards human rights.

A document of rights referred to in all, but three, textbooks is Jinnah’s 14 points. Presented in 1928, this was a constitutional reform plan that was developed to safeguard the rights of Muslims in a self-governing independent state. This document is suggested in all textbooks to be a crucial part of the process in the struggle for independence. While it is mentioned in all textbooks, none explain what the demands presented were or why Muslims rights needed to be safeguarded. The focus then, is less on the document and more on the role that Jinnah played in the independence process and on the perceived threats to the rights of Muslims.

There is a crucial distinction between rights and human rights which is important to understand in order to better recognize the focus of the discourse. While human rights are rights one acquires by just being alive, the rights of a citizen are those obtained by being a part of a country. In the textbooks, rights of citizens are more largely covered than human rights. Human rights are specifically evident only in public textbooks (except that of Punjab) and two textbooks, Paramount Social Learning and New Oxford Social Studies from the private sector. These, valuably outline what human rights are, and describe documents of human rights, such as the Magna Carta, and individuals and institutions that advocate for the protection of human rights.

In government textbooks, however, the dominant discourse is around citizen rights. These discourses are contained in the chapters around governance, with details of the purpose of the constitution in giving these rights, and different government bodies in upholding them. This information is presented in detail, and I would argue, valuable, in helping students understand the rights within the state and what expectations they can hold of the state. Most textbooks follow this information with an outline of the responsibilities of a citizen toward the state, where the most commonly mentioned responsibility is being loyal to the country, obeying the laws and paying taxes.

Nash (2009) suggests that citizen rights and human rights are greatly intertwined, with shared roots in liberal individualism, but it is globalisation that has lent itself to the development of human rights. Noting the effects of globalisation, other scholars argue that due to the immense migration trends, it is crucial that human rights take a more centre stage over citizenship rights as it is unfair for some to be treated as inferior based on national origin (Benhabib, 2007; Kanstroom, 2018). Because the goal of global education is to develop individuals who understand the need and state of the world they live in, I would argue that focusing on human rights is more crucial to achieve aims, than focusing on more inward national citizenship rights. This would also be more in line with the concept of *adl* in which rights are God-given and applicable to all without consideration of boundaries.

#### 13.4 Justice

In most textbooks, justice is limited to being mentioned as the goal of the judiciary when describing the structure of governance in the country. Only one provincial textbook declares the Islamic value and cultural heritage of the country to be that of justice. Only Riaz (2019) explains what justice might look like, particularly retributive justice, when describing the rule

of Sher Shah Suri: “Sher Shah made sure that his subjects got fair treatment under his justice system. No man could escape punishment because of his rank or wealth” (p. 61).

There is only one additional reference to justice in a private textbook by Saleha (2018) that states that Jinnah was disappointed by the final shape that partition took, as the country was much smaller than the one that he had suggested or dreamed of. The author states that justice was not done in dividing the subcontinent. Once again, how this was unjust is unclear and what justice would look like in this situation is absent.

While these terms may seem obvious, it is important to begin from the basics by helping students to understand, even simplistically, that when justice is working everyone feels like they are being treated fairly and rules and laws help people figure out what is 'just' or fair. These grounding concepts can be developed by adding layers of complexity and encouraging application to real world problems. The World Justice Project (WJP) Survey, conducted by Gallup Pakistan, ranked Pakistan 118 among 128 countries that were surveyed in the world in terms of justice (2020). Given Pakistan's immense struggle with corruption, that pervades every institution being both widespread and systemic (Chene, 2008), teaching 'about' justice would be an important first step in understanding the complexity and way in which corruption weakens people's belief in the justice system. Additionally, one cause of non-compliance is ill-information which can be tackled through education and through explicit discourse on what justice is and what it means.

### **13.5 Conclusion**

Themes of social justice are referenced, although implicitly, in different ways in all the textbooks, while the rights of a citizen are more detailed. Evidently, issues are framed within



religious and nationalistic confines to equality for Muslims or rights of Pakistani's denoting a kind of hierarchal preference towards these identities in the issues of social justice.

Due to international commitments to education about human rights, these discourses exist in public textbooks. While they perhaps may not help achieve the aim outlined in the curriculum of "enabling the valuing of equality, social justice, fairness, diversity and respect" (Ministry of Federal Education & Professional Training, 2017, p. 1), there are elements visible that can be built upon. While there are references to systemic roots of poverty, these need to be further unpacked, to encourage students to understand the problem more deeply, but also to combat the commonly held assumption that poverty is simply the result of a lack of education or a lack of hard work. This would also help to better explain the susceptibility of vulnerable groups to poverty or gender-based poverty.

From the analysis of textbooks, what is evident is a facts-based approach towards history, geography and economics that is representative of a social studies agenda within neoliberal constructs. There is indeed a greater need for a broader issue-centred approach to social studies that needs to be adopted. Presenting issues as facts, such as unemployment leads to poverty, does not encourage engagement with why there needs to be action taken for poverty reduction, equality, justice, or any other social issues. Tackling issues of social justice that are not supported by a values-base results in a superficial approach to addressing such challenges. Presenting issues as fact, rather than with a values-based approach, does not encourage a feeling of commitment.

Finally, a note on the absence, in private textbooks, on discourses around human rights. This perhaps most tellingly signals to the human capital approach to education within the private sector in which issues of society are not explored. The absence perhaps suggests a neoliberal

governmentality in which neoliberal rationalities of freedom, in the expression of self-interest and subjectivity, are threatened by rights-based framework that restrict the expression of freedom (Odysseos, 2010). This approach attributes little value to a social justice agenda within neoliberal constructs, a premise that needs re-examination.

The interconnectedness of the world has meant that issues, such as those of environmental pollution, population growth, refugees, poverty, conflicts, inflation, have affected people in other parts of the world (Abdullahi, 2010). Even the desire for economic growth needs to acknowledge the situations and structures that perpetuate cycles of poverty and the multifaceted challenges to global competitiveness and therefore economic growth. Ultimately, there is a need to explore why social justice is an important consideration, not only within textbook discourses but as a policy focus. Adopting a religio-ontological view of social justice can further help to broaden discourses from the confines of neoliberal agendas by connecting it to underlying beliefs that have far greater appeal.

## 14.0 Skills and Values

Global education whilst providing knowledge about the global world society, needs to be matched with skills and values to deal with contradictions and complexity to translate this thinking into action. There is a need to focus not only on the development of understanding, but also on associated skills and values. The National Curriculum of Pakistan for Grade 4 to Grade 6, echoes a similar notion, suggesting that the teaching of social studies, focus on knowledge, skills, and values in order to prepare young people for their role in society. The research design thus, included the analysis of skills and values which are presented in this chapter. This chapter differs from earlier thematic analysis chapters in terms of its focus.

The analysis of pedagogical exercises, at the end of each chapter within textbooks, in the form of suggested exercises and activities provide an understanding of what students are being directed to do and what is deemed most important for students to know from the text. Importantly, the analysis of textbooks cannot make evaluations on whether students are engaged in a skill, for example, 'critical thinking'. Instead, the goal is to understand whether there are opportunities to engage *in* critical thinking.

Values can emerge implicitly (for example, though the inclusion of a section on values), as well as explicitly in the way in which people, events or situations are discussed. The implications of these findings are subsequently discussed in each subsection.

### 14.1 Skills

Providing knowledge about the global world society, needs to be matched with skills to analyse the underlying assumption and contradictions alongside the competence to translate

this thinking into action. Skills then, refer to a set of competencies that help to make sense of information or knowledge, that develops thinking.

As outlined in Chapter 4 'Research Methodology and Design', the analysis was conducted by evaluating each question and activity against Blooms cognitive taxonomy, that allowed for an assessment of tasks in terms of the types of student learning being encouraged. Blooms' list described ways of knowing that came to be visualized as a hierarchical list from lower cognitive challenge to higher as: Knowledge, Understanding, Application, Analysis, Creation and Evaluation. However, these are not hierarchical in ascribing one greater preference over another. Nor should it suggest that learning is linear. Instead, they should be understood as the holistic way in which to understand 'ways of knowing'. All aspects of learning are important; one needs to recall basic facts to explore, understand and evaluate them and these are integrated processes (Berger, 2018).

Most textbooks outlined exercises that encouraged a recall of facts, such as fill in the blank questions that required students to locate the same sentence from the chapter to fill in the missing word. The tasks seem to suggest that areas of history, geography, and economics are largely fact-based and objective. Although projects are usually always associated with higher order thinking and inquiry skills, in terms of encouraging learners to think through a problem, research aspects of it go through a series of steps to arrive at a conclusion or solution. However, this was not the case in the textbooks which mostly required students to draw and or paste things in a booklet or chart providing little opportunity for students to explore the question or problem. Most books (Altson, 2019; Mackay & Moorcroft, 2018; Riaz, 2019), and one in particular, had numerous tasks - one in almost every chapter, termed as 'projects' that asked for the creation of a poster. While posters certainly assist in developing skills of

communication as students plan, organize, and then present to their classmates, the topics around poster creation did not require complex thinking skills. For example, “Make a poster about the fishing procedure in Pakistan. Collect and paste pictures to show fishing” (Crompton et al., 2018, p. 26). A similar approach is taken towards debates. The Balochistan textbook, in particular, encourages a debate at the end of every chapter providing debate topics that are not complex, have an obvious or known outcome and are neither challenging nor controversial; for example: ‘Environmental protection and benefits of forests’ or ‘responsibilities of elected members of parliament’. Debates are usually complex tasks, requiring critical thinking, thinking about a problem from multiple angles and reflecting on arguments posed by the other team to form strong rebuttals and counter arguments. However, here both debates and poster creation are used to ensure that the information is better understood thereby suggesting that it is fact-based, leaving no room for diverse opinions or perspectives.

Similarly, other exercises and tasks were narrow in their approach, with expectations for students to list similarities and differences, or discuss a country’s cultural or symbolic traditions, such as the food they eat, the clothes they wear and the festivals they celebrate. For the subject of history, the short answer questions perpetuate the belief that history is nothing more than a series of facts to be memorized. For example, questions around historical explorations were presented as fact: “Why were European merchants so eager to trade with Asia?”, “Why did Europeans look for a sea route to Asia?” (Riaz, 2019, p. 20) These findings are not surprising nor undiscovered as many previous studies have outlined the lack of complexity in engaging with these concepts in textbooks (see Awan, Perveen, & Abiodullah, 2018; Dean, 2005; 2008; Kizilbash, 1986; Naseer, Muhammad, & Masood, 2020).

The focus here, is not on the lack of critical thinking alone but the way in which this has an impact on learning for a global world. Specifically, I argue that the lack of critical thinking in exploring interlinkages has a profound effect in reproducing a symmetrical and positive view of interdependence beyond the materialistic considerations; one in which power imbalances are not considered and neither are the confrontational elements of interdependence. With the lack of critical thinking, students are unable to understand their position in relation to other people, places, animals, environments, or things, and nor recognize their impact. A failure to understand impact is linked to the absence of cause-and-effect considerations with regards to ideas, events, or phenomena. The lack of reflection not only further limits the learning process and the creation of connecting with personal experience, but also curbs the challenge to students' own assumptions, biases, and ways of knowing.

The Sindh textbook stands out in terms of its potential in diversity of cognitive tasks and more specifically in encouraging complexity of thought around interlinkages and cause and effect. For example, with regard to interdependence, one activity encourages students to choose a product and trace its journey from production all the way till it reaches them – the consumer. Another activity asks students to identify “how technology has altered what we do, how we behave and our relationships with others” (p. 92), and think about, other changes they predict technology might bring, thereby suggesting the continuous evolvement of culture and technology as opposed to a static reality.

In this textbook, cause and effect are better encouraged. For instance, some questions following the history chapter on ‘Struggle for Independence’ asks what might have happened if the British did not come to India; if the All-India Muslim league was not formed; if the British did not fight in World War II (Dean et al., 2017, p. 63). This type of activity encourages a

reflection on the way in which certain events impact others, which in turn have shaped history as we understand it. A later activity asks students to think of individuals, ideas, events, and decisions that had an impact on the present day and to distinguish between each one. Another activity, around the government and constitution, asks students to think of a few rights they find extremely important and what would happen if citizens did not get this right. From the perspective of skills required in a globally competitive workplace, there is certainly opportunity for communication, particularly around articulating ideas and presenting them to a larger group. Written communication is also encouraged in terms of framing responses to questions or providing opportunity to articulate a thought in writing. Given that analysed textbooks are all in the English language, with the exception of one, there is an implicit preparation for linguistic mastery in a global language with reading, writing, and speaking expertise.

Other conclusions from this analysis are around the approach towards addressing challenges. Almost all textbooks focus on one specific method of advocacy; raising awareness. Awareness raising in turn was always associated to the creation of a poster, as opposed to the use of other mediums, such as videos or social media posts for example. This approach is restrictive in terms of encouraging students to think about and appropriately select a medium, decide what exactly they are advocating for and determine the audience. The task does not encourage independent choices nor have real-world impact, and thus does not offer any real learning for students on advocating for a cause. Perhaps the assumption is that by making a poster and doing the required research for it, students would be better committed to the cause themselves. However, there is little evidence of a correlation between knowledge and a development of concern (Brunold, 2005; Tilbury, 1995). This perhaps speaks to a de-political

or disengaged approach to engaging with social issues. More broadly, it also implicitly signifies a view of learning in which knowledge is a predetermined set of facts, as opposed to a collective effort of discovery, and thereby discourages a critical engagement with that knowledge.

## 14.2 Values

Values are a crucial aspect of a pedagogical framework committed to the holistic education of a child and to prepare them to be productive and responsible members of society. Values refer to beliefs or principles that motivate actions and are often subscribed to by a group. They are vital because these held beliefs or principles shape how we understand our world and are the driving force behind individual and group behaviours (Quisumbing & de Leo, 2005, p. 15). Consequently, knowledge, skills, and values should not be considered in silos; instead, these should be understood as operating in a consistent loop mechanism. Values play a crucial role in encouraging skill development and greater knowledge attainment. If for example, an individual is committed to social justice, they will be more critically conscious and reflective of their choices and decisions and thereby seek out the information that helps them to make positive decisions to this end.

Textbooks can provide important stimulus, through stories or more real-world examples, for subsequent discussions and exploration by students. Knowledge and skills play a crucial role in the development of values, as knowledge is used as the prompt to encourage reflection, exploration, and discussion and it is not divorced from the skills of reflection.

Once again, the Sindh textbook provided the most stimulus for encouraging reflection and the development of values and promoting the importance of them. A chapter is dedicated to



values and how they are shaped by family, school, friends, religion, society, and the media. This is followed by scenarios that serve as a stimulus encouraging students to think through the incident described and determine statements that are disrespectful. The practical activities that follow encourage students to think of their own values and consider ways in which values are visible; that is ways in which caring for the environment can be made visible by action and what those actions might look like. A last exercise in this chapter encourages reflection, asking how the world would be different if people did not hold values and how these differences would be visible in our day-to-day lives.

A separate chapter on 'Important People and Events', within the same textbook, promotes the exploration of values through real world figures with activities asking students to find out about Mother Teresa and Benazir Bhutto, in order to determine the qualities they were known for. Despite the mixed reactions that Malala Yousufzai tends to evoke in the country, students are encouraged to think about why she received the Nobel Peace Prize. While Mother Teresa is acknowledged world over for her compassion for the poor and marginalized, Benazir Bhutto was the first and only female Prime Minister of Pakistan, admired for holding a powerful position that is commonly associated as being a man's role. Malala, meanwhile, is known for her courage, bravery, and perseverance in the pursuit of education. This approach encourages examination of virtues manifested in persons and hence as embodied values (Schroeder, Chatfield, Singh, Chennells, & Herissone-Kelly, 2019, p. 17). This also has the added advantage of cutting across gender discrimination and traditional/ stereotypical roles of women in Pakistani society, discussed earlier in subsection 12.4, implicitly indicating that women can succeed in many roles.

The Balochistan textbook also has a section on values within the chapter on culture. This section frames religion as having the most dominant effect on values in a society and outlines that because students are living in an Islamic country, tolerance, respect, obedience of parents and hospitality are important basic values. However, the section presents contradictions when asking students to prepare a list of values for their geographical area, thereby suggesting, that values are more area specific than broad as suggested by the focus on Islamic values. Not only is this the only activity around values, but there is an absence of stimulus presented that would encourage discussion, critical thinking, or reflection.

The Punjab textbook has a similar section dedicated to values in Pakistani society in which three main ones are listed: Marriage, the birth of a child and death rites. While these are events given plenty of importance in society, it is unclear how value is being defined and interpreted here. An emphasis on marriage and childbirth as positive social values only perpetuates a culture in which women are pressured to get married and bear children, leaving little room for acceptability of alternative life choices. Though the significance of values is articulated with the statement that all of life revolves around values. Sympathy, generosity, honesty, nobility, patience, piousness, truth and respect of laws and regulations are all mentioned as being 'Islamic' values. This binary raises concerning questions around the assumption of what non-Islamic values would be.

There are references to 'respect' that appear as a value in three distinct ways. The first is mostly through religious connotation. For example, respecting the Quran, the Prophets, prayer times, saints, and the founders of the country, all of whom have been designated a high religious status in the book. The second way that value has been framed is in terms of needing to respect the law and for the government to have a constitutional obligation to

respect the honour and dignity of its citizens. The third use of the term is in relation to tradition or culture, that is for example, the turban being a symbol of respect or the need to respect language and take measures to promote it. A telling absence was references to respecting the environment, women, minorities, disability groups or any other non-dominant cultural, religious, or ethnic group.

The articulation of values in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa textbook is perhaps the most detailed with a focus on the development of values as not “biological but a result of social development” (p. 118); the role of values in shaping culture which in turn “become traditions, customs, habits, ways and methods of doing things”; the evolving nature of cultural values; and the impact of values on behaviours. The textbook suggests that an outsider is best able to evaluate the values of a particular society. One paragraph states: “When you enter into a strange environment, then you can compare your value system with theirs...for example, you see that there is a lack of simplicity in the lives of the women” (p.120).

Furthermore, in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa textbook, before the subsection on values there is an explanation around factors that influence culture, education, and religion. Most interestingly, religion too is described as open to interpretation in multiple ways based on “the environment, the state of mosques and madarsaas, the value system, the character of the knowledgeable/ wise/ elderly/ teachers and of those who preach”. (p.112)

Government textbooks are however the only ones in which values are explicitly discussed in a chapter or subsection. Of the eight privately published textbooks, only one makes references to values with the inclusion of a box at the end of each chapter that ‘tells’ what our values are, as opposed to discussing or exploring them. The interpretation seems to be of

things that might be valued, such as trade or exploration, in comparison to values as fundamental beliefs or ethics that guide action. An example is given below:

“Values – I am a citizen

- Exploration requires courage, invention, and technology
- Trade combines the interests of all countries for a friendly and cooperative relationship.
- Being honest in the pursuit of business interests" (Riaz, 2019, p. 21)

In all other privately published textbooks, there is a complete absence of mentioning values or any associated activities that encourage reflection in that direction. Because most of the stories in the textbooks focus on historical events, the implicit messaging centres around valuing one's identity as Pakistani, associated tradition and culture and nationalistic values.

While one might argue that it is possible that the absence of an explicit mentioning of values signals to a lack of know-how on how to present these explicitly, as opposed to a lack of will in inculcating values, a look at the inclusion of values in government textbooks indicates that a lack of proficiency in an explicit values approach is not entirely the challenge. What is perhaps evident from the absence of an explicit values focus, within privately published textbooks, is that they are operating within neoliberal parameters focused on knowledge transference or human capital development, as opposed to a more holistic approach to education that focuses on rounded student development. For the private sector, perhaps, there is a struggle to determine what values are important to inculcate in a student. The government is clear in its approach with a focus on what are termed as 'Islamic' values (even though these are rather generic and more broadly applicable, such as values of 'honesty'),

and nationalistic values which focus on respecting the Pakistani culture, tradition, and identity.

I do not mean to suggest an absence of values entirely, or that values can only be moral ones, rather, values can also be motivations that guide behaviour and can be the basis of establishing the hierarchy of human needs (Onyimadu, 2017; Schroeder et al., 2019). Within discourse, values are also implicit in what is given focus and presented as important. The focus on trade, livelihood and the economic advantages of Pakistan's geography, mineral resources, and natural environment, all implicitly value the economic dimension of our lives. Patriotic values are other implicit existing values, in all textbooks, that present the country's culture and traditions as admirable ascribing a positive connotation and thereby an implicit value to nationalism.

In considering implicit values, it is pertinent to emphasize that in the private sector values of social justice are absent even though, as the analysis on the theme of social justice revealed, human rights was the most widely embraced topic in government textbooks. Issues of social justice were presented as fact as opposed to value-laden. The language is commanding; for example, under the section on human rights, the Balochistan textbook states: "Teacher should tell the students to obey law and adopt good behaviours" (p.80). Tackling issues of social justice that are not supported by a values-base results in a superficial approach to addressing such challenges, thereby signalling almost a tokenistic adoption to the directives of international organizations. Collectively, it is fair to conclude that there is little opportunity to encourage an explicit values orientation to social justice with private textbooks focusing on economic structures and government ones on nationalism.

## 15.0 Findings

In this chapter I compile the findings from the analysis of textbooks to respond to the two main research questions: the first that sought to understand the ways in which Social Studies textbooks for grade 5 discuss themes related to global education and the second that examines what skills and values related to global education are evident in the social studies textbooks for grade 5. This is followed by a broader discussion of what these findings indicate collectively. The second half of this chapter is dedicated to the implications of these for a pedagogical approach to global education in the context of Pakistan.

There are four key findings from the analysis of textbooks. The first is the inherent neoliberal focus of discourses. The theme of interdependence is presented as constructional and limited purely to trade while the environment is narrowly defined and framed to be 'about' the environment and limited to very specific aspects of the environment that yield potential economic benefit or that pose threats to human survival. There is value placed on the economic dimension of our lives; implicitly there is an emphasis on trade, livelihood and the advantages of Pakistan's geography, mineral resources, and natural environment for the economic benefits they present. Further, the presentation of other people or countries is limited to those who present a geopolitical or economic advantage to the country. Cooperation and friendships between countries are positioned around an 'economic need' from the other.

The second key finding is of the way in which discourses in government textbooks and privately published textbooks have fundamentally differed and how this may be understood. Foremost, private textbooks exclude discourse around institutional power. They do not examine the role of the government and governance bodies. This extends to a silence in

examining the role of the government in addressing environmental challenges. Not just the government, but also the role of the business community and civil society in action for climate change is not discussed. Moreover, there is an absence of discourse on human rights. The influences of international organizations within educational policy in Pakistan in terms of encouraging greater education around rights-based discourses, seem to be restricted to the public education realm. Lastly, private textbooks remain completely silent on the explicit inclusion of values. This is indicative of a neoliberal governmentality in which neoliberal policies and rationalities guide the production of responsible and free citizens who employ their own entrepreneurial and self-governing capabilities. This tellingly neoliberal education agenda suggests a disconnect from the systems within which the economic sphere works, implying a parallel arrangement with broader governance structures as opposed to operating within them. The absence in privately published textbooks suggest an irrelevance to governing bodies and policies.

One of the issues Derrida highlighted in his theory was the way in which binaries instilled a way of seeing the world and ourselves in relationship to a privileged or de-privileged Other, where one is privileged, against which a binary opposite is pegged as lower on the hierarchy of being (Jorgenson, 2014). The third finding is around the way in which binaries and hierarchies exist in discourses that privilege certain issues, identities, and perspectives over others. Issues are framed within religious and nationalistic confines to equality for Muslims or rights of Pakistani's denoting a kind of hierarchal preference towards these identities in the issues of social justice. With regards to values, government published textbooks has an explicit focus on what are termed as 'Islamic' values (even though these are rather generic and more broadly applicable, such as values of 'honesty'), and nationalistic values which focus on respecting the Pakistani culture, tradition, and identity. The list of binary perspectives

includes that towards Islam versus the rest; other species versus humans; developed countries as civilized and developing countries as uncivilized; developed nations as industrial and developing countries as agricultural.

Finally, a key finding from the analysis of social studies textbooks is that global education discourses and indeed more broadly around society, social issues and the world adopt a fact-based approach that is simplistic and disconnected from temporal or spatial realities. Essentially, narratives around the way in which past, present and future are linked is absent; that is, the way in which events, phenomena and ideologies impact the present and the future. As discussed in chapter 8, the very inclusion of the field in the curriculum implies a belief in the importance of education in examining society, its construction, and its issues. However, this does not translate in practice as the study of society is not presented in a manner that acknowledges its dynamic and intricately multifarious nature and hence does not encourage examination of its construction or issues.

The examination of complex interlinkages is narrow and limited. For example, the way in which interdependence is a foundational concept in understanding the way in which our realities are connected to and shaped by others is relegated to a discussion of trade that did not explore the different dimensions of interdependence. The concept is not presented as complex with both advantages and disadvantages. Instead, implicitly, a constructional interdependence approach is offered in which relationships are of mutual advantage and symmetrical with success inextricably linked to the success of every other member of the group. The disadvantages of (inter)dependence, and the way in which power presents itself in these relationships is unexplored. A discussion around integrative interdependence, that acknowledges that nation states depend upon one another because they inevitably and



involuntarily belong to the same system, is not considered either. This lack of examination of complex connections is visible across themes. Findings from the analysis of power similarly suggest that examination of the way in which power impacts society and its functioning is absent as is a critical scrutiny of the way in which, globalisation or colonisation have and are continuing to shape our present and future. On environmental sustainability, discourses skirts around the interrelatedness of different types of issues, narrowly framing them as linked strictly on carbon emissions and its impact on the ozone layer as opposed to a broad-based exploration of impacts to public health or the ecosystem, a reality in the context of Pakistan. This approach resultantly impacts the skills learners are expected to show in terms of encouraging little critical thought. Thus, while social studies as a field of study exists, in practice it is narrow in its conception and indicative of the focus on normalising nationalism based on religion, and a form of governmentality that is focused on capitalism and regiopoly (Naseem, 2006, p. 464) as opposed to being committed to truly fostering “social understanding and civic efficacy in our multicultural, national and global societies”, with a vision to “enable students [to], understand multiple perspectives, think critically, communicate effectively and collaborate in diverse communities to understand the past, engage in the present and impact the future” (Ministry of Federal Education & Professional Training, 2017, p. 2)

### 15.1 Implications

In this section I consider what implications these findings have for the pedagogy of global education. As discussed earlier, pedagogy is broad and includes both the content and method. This study, through the analysis of textbooks, only considers content. These findings have implications not only for content but also for the way in which this content is negotiated in

the classroom. For global education to be transformative, the environment in which teaching, and learning takes place plays a vital role. Thus, in this section I suggest implications for the pedagogy of global education more broadly.

Foremost it is important to emphasize that themes within global education and those analysed in this thesis must not be seen hierarchically or as being linear. Indeed, global education mirrors the real world in that themes and issues are greatly intertwined and impact each other. Broadening the discourse on themes of global education would have an organic domino effect on other areas, given the deep interlinkages of these. For example, the absence of recognition of 'the other' and a focus on a singular Muslim identity has evident implications on discourse around rights. The absence of acknowledgement of other identities is detrimental to recognising existing injustices and to efforts for greater equality, respect, and rights.

Secondly, discourses around global education must bring foundational features of global education more explicitly to the forefront. Interdependence is at the foundation of global education and the very reason for the existence of the field; this seemingly basic premise must be brought to the forefront and explicitly taught, taking into consideration all the dimensions of interdependence. Learners can only be committed to the learning of global issues and understand the gravity and far-reaching implication of global challenges if they are aware of the intricate interconnectedness of their world; that is, the way in which lives and ways of being are impacted and influenced by the global web in which they are entangled. For this, a crucial starting point is to help learners to examine the philosophy of interdependence: What are we in relation to other people, animals, plants, to our planet? How have individual or shared philosophies impacted other people, life and so on; What role

do we play in relation to others? This must be matched with an understanding of how different systems make up a whole, both internally (nationally) and externally (world), how these systems, ideologies and events impact each other in various ways and how the consequences are not proportional, nor are they linear.

Similarly, an explicit engagement with what might be considered obvious concepts is essential. For instance, defining what poverty is, what justice means, exploring the power of power itself. That is, the influence of those in power, the impact powerful institutions have on society, the power that individuals hold and how that power has historically been enacted and acts of resistance to power. For global education, it is important for an engagement with these through examination of the phenomena of colonisation and globalisation framed within the experience of Pakistan. A complexity in discourse is important in scrutinising global problems that are complicated and multi-layered. In addition, a pedagogy for global education must begin by divorcing from a fact-based, absolute, and definite. In the textbooks, the list of issues presented as definite include that of development linked to economics; power linked to institutions; an anthropocentric view of the environment; interdependence as advantageous and economic; globalisation as technological advances that lead to cultural changes; issues of social justice as fact as opposed to a complex and dynamic interplay of multiple causes. The fact-based approach in which knowledge is a predetermined set of facts impacts the activities within the textbooks in terms of the skills a student is expected to demonstrate. Such a presentation does not acknowledge that society and, thus, the very study of it is ever-evolving, subjective and dynamically informed.

Both the definite, binary and exclusive nature of discourse is collectively best explained through this one example in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook: “People hailing from warm

environments/climates are physically tough. There is a toughness in their habits whereas those hailing from colder climates are gentle and soft-hearted. This toughness or gentleness can be seen in their music, poetry, literature, fine arts, and handicrafts. In this way, those living in the mountains are more hardworking than those who live in the fields” (Khatoon & Murad, 2018, p. 118)

A pedagogy for global education and social studies more broadly, needs to be widened from the confines of economics or politics. Similarly, examining interdependence must move beyond a symmetrical relationship and beyond geography and economics. When learning to live with each other is structured around economic advantage, as opposed to a more cosmopolitan approach, it places a reductionist value on other people, cultures and places based on the economic advantage they offer alongside a reductionist notion of identity.

While neoliberal policy agendas contribute to these narratives, there is also a need to re-examine notions of ‘survival’ that linked to ‘national identity’. In 1965, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the then prime minister of Pakistan, said in an interview that “we will eat grass, even go hungry, but we will get [a nuclear bomb] of our own” (Khan, 2012). Pakistan has had a pre-occupation with geopolitical survival and the creation of perceived threats for the purpose of building national unity (Saigol, 2005). This constructed nationalist identity is fuelled by “turning religion, tradition, and nationalism into ideologies which promote inversions of reality and fabricate conflict” (Sardar, 2003, p. 13). This adopted route of developing a strong national identity for ‘survival’ is paradoxically counter-productive to the very goal of survival in today’s world. While indeed these are divorced from social justice perspectives, even within neoliberal parameters of creating a globally competitive work force for the ‘ultimate destination’ of ‘Pakistan among the ten largest economies of the world by 2047’ (Government

of Pakistan, 2015a), this approach does not encourage collaboration or community even within economic constructs. There are thus, inherent contradictions of the country's interest in global political affairs and the desire to be competitive in a global economy as an issue of state survival against perceived threats from the outside world.

With regards to skills, there is a need to encourage critical thought and reflection through questions such as: What power do individuals hold to impact and influence causes? Who makes decisions and who is left out? What does an alternative future look like? What is my place in the world? Posing questions that require fact-based information suggests a singular truth with little room for dialogue and the discovery of how we know what we know or examining what other perspectives exist. Activities like debates, while enriching, need a stimulus that truly encourages conversation and allows the diversity of viewpoints to be included as opposed to only providing an opportunity to communicate a thought decided as true. With the lack of critical thinking, students are unable to understand their position in relation to other people, places, animals, environments, or things, and nor recognize their impact. The lack of reflection not only further limits the learning process and the creation of connecting with personal experience, but also curbs the challenge to students' own assumptions, biases, and ways of knowing.

Exploring global education in a learning community committed to an environment of dialogue (Bourn, 2015b; A. Kumar, 2008; Pike, 2015; Scheunpflug, 2011a), is distinct from viewing dialogue as a skill within a pedagogical framework. Framing it as a distinct skill denotes an explicit importance of developing skills of communication, along with listening respectfully, and being open to new ideas or differing perspectives. An environment of dialogue, meanwhile, implies an environment committed to the creative processes of learning; one in

which knowledge/understanding is not deemed to be set of facts, but something that is collectively explored and created. An environment in which all knowledge is fact will not help to develop skills of dialogue because there would simply be one way of knowing. Such an environment would be restrictive of any alternative viewpoints and counter-productive in dismantling mainstream notions. A pedagogical framework for global education must be framed within an environment of dialogue.

Finally, a pedagogical approach for postcolonial developing countries, must break away from an uncritical and often irrelevant adoption of practices, ideas, and knowledge that are often reductionist and dogmatic. These are most evident in approaches towards the environment. By breaking away from anthropocentric, neoliberal worldviews and moving toward greater links with Asian perspectives and for example, non-secular views of the delicate balance of the universe and the importance of preserving that balance, means that greater connections can be made with local ways of knowing and being. This essentially requires stronger links with a values perspective, as opposed to only a transference of facts, for example, about the environment and its degradation. Necessary is not only the inclusion of values across both the private and public sector but also in making greater connections to a values-based pedagogy.

I pause here to clarify that by suggesting a pedagogical approach to global education for the context of Pakistan, I do not seek to find missing gaps *within* a dominant pedagogy of global education. Instead, the aim is to re-encounter global education by reflecting on the inspirations of current perspectives, and then crafting a global education pedagogy through self-representation that becomes more directly relevant to the reality of learners within the context in which it is being introduced. I suggest, this is possible only if closer linkages were

made to regional religio-cultural values and perspectives. This is perhaps the direction it seems government textbooks wish to take in their inclusion of what are termed 'Islamic values'. However, these are broad, overarching and do not make clear linkages with religio-cultural values.

From a Foucauldian perspective, religion itself must be understood as a discourse, a way in which people think and act upon their world that is mediated by their culture and traditions (Nye, 2018). Talal Asad, in his book, 'Genealogies of Religion' (1993) argues that the concept of religion has emerged from historical power relationships, particularly European colonialism. Tomoko Masuzawa's work 'The Invention of World Religions' (2005) similarly demonstrates how the framing of differences as 'world religions' can be traced to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century European colonialism. Both argue that religion in this way has an ahistorical conceptualization and does not acknowledge the complexities of the traditions and cultures that become condensed within it, rejecting the lived experience of particular traditions. Furthermore, the colonial understanding of religion is rooted in clearly defined boundaries that disregards the permeation of religious experience in every aspect of life (Lobo, 2020).

Around the same time that the field of global education was finding its roots, secularization was at its peak in the West. Secularization came to be characterized as the privatization of religion and a process of disenchantment (Berger, 1967; Wilson, 1966, as cited in Fordahl, 2017). However, the South Asian context is crucially different from those in which the doctrine of secularism originated, where religion was kept outside socio-cultural institutions (Lobo, 2020). In South Asia, recognising the role that such knowledge plays in the organization and world view of the community should be embraced and included into educational practices. I argue that religio-cultural ontologies that centre on conceptions of compassion and justice,

as well as epistemologies that relate to the community-centred orientation in Pakistani culture, can be drawn upon to localize global education.

The concept of *rahma* (compassion and mercy) and *adl* (justice) are among the central concepts in Islamic theology. The concept of compassion is an ancient one that can be found in some form or another in nearly all religious, spiritual and philosophical traditions of humanity (du Plooy, 2014). Karen Armstrong, who has worked hard to demythologize exclusivist religions, finds compassion to be one significant thread that runs through all human spiritual/religious traditions. Indeed, most Abrahamic religions characterize God with compassion, and it is also the cornerstone of most other religions, like Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism.

The etymology of “compassion” is Latin and means “co-suffering”. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines compassion as sympathetic consciousness of others' distress together with a desire to alleviate it. Compassion, as a feeling of solidarity with the needy, with someone else's suffering, must obviously be linked with the idea of dignity and equality of human beings. Ruiz & Mínguez (2001) argue that dignity is crucial in the recognition that the “individual who suffers is just a human being who has been deprived of rightful dignity, not a figure in a faceless community, nor merely a symbol of humankind, but rather a specific human being who suffers, feels, lives and waits, here and now” (p. 163).

The term *rahma* does not directly translate to compassion, however. It can be better appreciated collectively as mercy and compassion. The word in Arabic relates to the term ‘womb’ and should be understood – not simply as “mercy” but something deeper – an emotion closely tied with motherhood (Chittick, 2010; Majid, 2012; Nasr, 2004). The term can be better grasped as an analogy of the kind of love a mother has for her children to the mercy



that God has for his creation. A popular saying of the Prophet in Islamic tradition is that God divided mercy into one hundred parts and kept ninety-nine parts for himself and one part was given to mankind; this alludes to the tremendous mercy God has for his creation and signifies the immense potential for forgiveness given how compassionate God is. *Rahma*, guides the Islamic perspective on the creation of the world with the understanding that God's compassion embraces all things and so the world would not exist if there were to be no *rahma* (Nasr, 2004). The importance of the concept is also stressed in the recognition that after His oneness, no other quality is used to describe God more than *rahma* (Leaman, 2005; Majid, 2012). God as 'compassionate' is present in the paradigmatic '*basma*' that introduces each chapter of the Quran (except Sura 9). The Prophet through his message has repeatedly stressed patience, balance and compassion as great Islamic virtues (Ahmed, 1992).

The concept of *rahma*, as a function in Islamic life, is said to encompass not only God's relation to an individual but also human beings relation to each other and the relation of humanity to the rest of creation (Nasr, 2004). Beyond the Quran, the word has a much wider significance being used in everyday speech among Muslims around the world, not to mention in ritual settings (Leaman, 2005). In relations between human beings, there is a stress on showing acts of compassion, charity, and mercy towards the poor and oppressed. In fact, there is an emphasis on being strict with oneself, but compassionate and generous with others, including the environment. In religio-cultural practice, there is an emphasis on '*sadqa*' or charity (considered an act of compassion) before any major life event or to avert disaster. In faith healing, both in Hindu and Muslim tradition, the giving of charity as part of the healing process is evident (Qidwai, Tabassum, Hanif, & Khan, 2010).

The theology of compassion has intellectual Islamic lineage both within and outside of Pakistan. Eminent Islamic scholars like Ibn Arabi and Saadi have argued for the centrality of compassion in Muslim thought and action arguing that the “All-Merciful created man so that man might participate to the fullest possible measure in mercy, compassion, love, blessing, benefit, and everything good and beautiful” (Chittick, 2010) . The work of Muslim reformist thinkers, such as the Pakistani Islamic scholar Fazlur Rahman and the Sudanese Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na’im have strong affinities to the notion.

The empathic aspect of ‘compassion’ must connect with another central concept that plays a pivotal role in Muslim theology: justice (*adl*). The theme of justice permeates Islamic life and the divine law, the ultimate aim of which is the establishment of justice (Nasr, 2004). The concept of *adl* is dominant, corresponding closely to that of ‘compassion’ and is identified as a central religio-ethical concept and a prominent theme in the Quran (S. Hashmi, 2002). A substantive content of the text of the Quran itself is focused on social justice and descriptions of God as compassionate and just (Bassiouni, 2014; Rahemtulla, 2017).

The concept of *adl* extends from vertical divine justice of God with his subjects into a horizontal one between human kind relating to concepts of socio-political and economic justice and a religious demand for solidarity with those marginalized in society (Nasr, 2004; Svensson, 2013). Within the horizontal realm, *adl* is a fundamental principle of social life in Islam, and refers to equitable use and distribution of resources (distributive justice); and the promotion of all human relationships based on rights and justice (social justice) (Askari & Mirakhori, 2020; Sardar, 2003).

*Adl* links closely with the idea of balance: that God created all things in proportion and harmony and this balance applies to the world in all matters and manners. To realize and give

each thing its due is to live in justice. In everyday practice, some apparent examples are economic in nature with the compulsory payment of 'zakat' or tax on one's wealth to discourage the amassing of wealth as well as ensure more distributive justice, or the emphasis against interest. More implicitly, this balance is stressed through moderation in lifestyle, in the spending or hoarding of money and in other such aspects of daily life. Arrogance, egotism, luxury, extravagance, and miserliness are all looked down upon as they are considered to unsettle the balance.

To establish that balance and work for *adl* is considered acts of worship, which are given greater value over pious acts of devotion. The Islamic conception of justice, with some nuanced differences by many Islamic scholars can be understood thus:

- 1) Justice occupies the highest position.
- 2) There is an organic relationship between justice and rights, where the latter is an abstract concept that is actualized through justice.
- 3) Justice is the standard of evaluation and judgement.
- 4) Islam prescribes rules governing all spheres of life, including economic, social, political, and judicial and juridical spheres to which justice pertains.
- 5) Freedom of thought and freedom of choice are essential elements of Islam's conception of justice. They are rights that justice must ensure are not transgressed or violated (Askari & Mirakhori, 2020).

While the concept is broad and impossible to contain within the scope of this thesis, I organize some of the crucial grounding assumptions around the concept of *adl* which are important to consider when engaging with the concept. Foremost, given that the horizontal divine justice is an extension of the vertical, recognising then that humans have been created equal in the

eyes of God is fundamental to issues of equality. Resultantly, there is a direct relationship between rights and justice and that the rights of a person are God-given and not state-given. The role of the state is to work to administer justice and so no discrepancies are assumed to exist between the rights of the individual and the state power (Bassiouni, 2014). Justice is not however solely the responsibility of the state. Individuals and the state are expected to ascribe to the same set of values. For individuals, justice is connected to both an inward quality of the soul (being just to oneself), and an outward quality of virtue (being just with everything and everyone around) (Mohamed, 2020). Hence, Mohamed (2020) argues that there is a need to strengthen justice as a virtue of political institutions and justice as a virtue of character. The Islamic perspective of justice is that individuals have the responsibility to act to improve the human condition and strive against social evils and tyranny, which is also their purpose of existence. So, the power to act justly lies with each individual and is not restricted to those in positions of power or political institutions. *Adl*, then, is also a value.

It is important to emphasize that pervasive cultural traditions, such as that of female circumcision and interpretations of sharia law, do exist within the country and stand juxtaposed to the rights provided within the modern human rights system. Justice then must evolve with the times and is connected to *ilm* (wisdom), one of the more frequently occurring words in the Quran. Seeking knowledge that would lead to wisdom (*ilm*) is a religious obligation and should permeate individual and social behaviour. Resultantly, in the Islamic purview, one who holds *ilm* takes precedence over rankings and hierarchy and would act justly. Sardar (2003) argues that to think about the nature of knowledge is to indirectly reflect on the principles according to which society is organized. He argues the centrality of *ilm* can be appreciated by understanding the connection between knowledge and society: “epistemology and societal structures feed on each other: when we manipulate images of

society, when we develop and erect social, economic, political, scientific and technological structures, we are taking a cue from our conception of knowledge” (2003, p. 41). The connection between wisdom and justice is strong, for without an understanding of the nature of our world, social structures, and balance, we will not recognize the injustice around. *Adl*, thus, is both a goal and a guiding principle. Applying one’s knowledge is crucial in examining pervasive traditions, even within religious practice, to determine their social and historical construction. It must be emphasized that the purpose is not to exoticize the local, traditional or the religious and determine them as absolute and unwavering, but rather to investigate the power structures that exist within these.

It is crucial here to clarify how I situate this discussion around *rahma* and *adl*. This argument does not seek to suggest that that global injustice and inequality persists simply because of a lack of compassion and other positive values. Neither does it suggest that global justice depends on addressing that lack of such values. Such a perspective would ignore the deep-seated nature of injustice and inequality. Indeed, for broader global social justice the extent of the deep-rooted structures that fuel inequality need to be understood alongside an acknowledgment of broader political and economic structures, which have evolved from colonial exploitation, and continue today through globalisation.

What the age of enlightenment bought to the West was a focus on reason and individuality as the control of institutionalized religion loosened. Religion was relegated to the private realm and “traditions of practical, lived reason withered and ceded ground to accounts of (objective) reason and (subjective) emotion as polar opposites” (Leonard & Willis, 2008). Resultantly, Western philosophical tradition has been shaped by “pedagogies of reason”,

which is a pedagogy rooted in the rational argumentation that was privileged over emotionality, religion or myth (Dirkx, 2008; Kahane, 2014; Lupton, 1998).

South Asia's experience has differed crucially from that of the West in which this separation of reason and emotion, science and religion, and public knowledge and private tradition is not as pronounced. Instead, lived experience is more deeply rooted in communal bond as opposed to a focus on individuality. In such a context, I argue that Kahane's "pedagogies of sentiment", in which acting ethically is guided not by abstract principles but by a sense of connection is most suited to this context and to making connections with the plight of the worlds least well off (2014, p. 121). Sociologists, anthropologists and educationalists alike have argued that in building knowledge and connection with others, reason is a narrow frame that needs to be enriched with the whole range of individuals lived experience (Kahane, 2014; Leonard & Willis, 2008; Lupton, 1998; Ruiz & Vallejos, 1999). This is not to say that one should take precedence over the other. Indeed, a pedagogy of sentiment alone is insufficient in addressing these issues and may propel an uncritical understanding of the complexity of issues. However, combined, these provide a crucial framework from which to approach global education.

Research around a pedagogical approach for global education, as conducted by Namrata Sharma (2018b, 2020), and approaches that integrate compassion ethics into development education, such as those done by organizations like Children in Crossfire (CIC) (Murphy et al., 2014), make similar calls for the field of global education to be informed more directly with a values-approach. While discourse is around values, the link here is in the understanding that values influence human behaviour or are the precursor to the expression of sentiment (Onyimadu, 2017). A values-base focus would be rounded within a pedagogy of sentiment.

In conclusion, it is important to clarify here that my reference to Islam as an important component of the framework for the construction of global education within Muslim communities does not mean to suggest that it is the only reference point, nor that Islam is understood and practiced in the same way in all contexts. Nevertheless, I would argue that this framework is important enough for many Muslims; understanding global education as an ideology consistent with Islamic principles will uphold motivation to adopt the concept. Furthermore, from a Foucauldian point of view, truth is not objective and hence it is crucial here to also acknowledge that religious interpretations will always exist that may justify other values and attitudes, such as those of intolerance and violence. I am cognizant that the values I have put forward are not definitive, objective, or absolute.

Pakistan's education policy framed within a neoliberal world order focuses on developing a knowledge economy in order to compete in the contemporary world (Khushik & Diemer, 2018a). However, my theoretical positioning, evident in the framing of *rahma* and *adl* as core philosophies, is tilted to the social justice interpretation. This is not to say that the globally competitive approach does not hold value, but rather that creation of market-based citizens must be balanced with a social justice orientation. Pakistan's multifaceted social construction and its geopolitical position demands a sound balance of the approaches to deal with the future problems people will face because of human activity. Burrige, Buchanan, & Chodkiewicz (2014) reason that "while it is valid and reasonable to ask what learners will know and be able to do at the end of a course of study, a more noble question to ask is: what kind of person do we want a learner be as a result of their studies" (2014, p. 34).

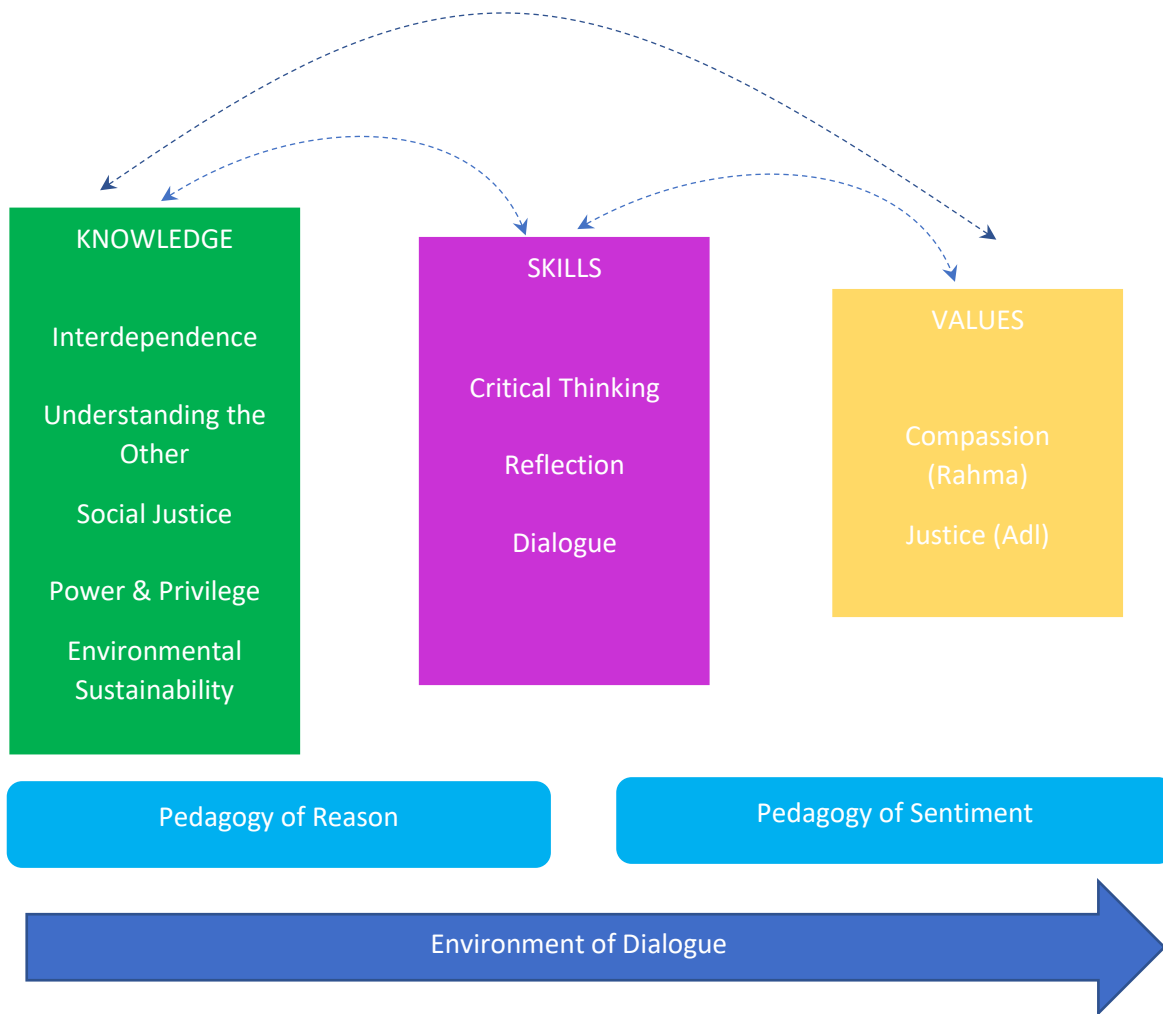
What I argue for is a robust and holistic pedagogical model where values, skills, and knowledge need collective focus. Skills are crucial to going beyond surface level knowledge

acquisition, as well as to encouraging the development of values which knowledge alone cannot secure. A pedagogy of sentiment needs to be matched with the pedagogy of reason. This is particularly crucial in post-colonial developing contexts, like Pakistan, where there is oft-times an uncritical adoption of knowledge as a result of the loss of connection with indigenous ways of knowing and being.

Figure 4 below summarizes this discussion. The core of global education is rooted in the themes of interdependence that needs explicit examination. Themes of social justice, understanding the other, power structures and environmental sustainability, are all intermeshed and need to be examined critically, through dialogue and reflection that are guided by values of *rahma* (compassion) and *adl* (justice). A pedagogy of reason needs to be matched with a pedagogy of sentiment that drives action and epistemological understanding of the delicate nature of balance in the world that needs to be restored. These must be framed with an environment of dialogue that is committed to the creative processes of learning; one that recognizes that knowledge/understanding needs to be collectively explored and created as opposed to fixed set of facts.



Figure 4: PASHA Framework for a Pedagogy for Global Education



## 16.0 Conclusion

In this final concluding chapter, I synthesize the main discussions in this study and summarize key findings in response to my two main research questions of this study: In what ways do Social Studies textbooks for grade 5 discuss themes related to global education and what skills and values related to global education are evident in the social studies textbooks for grade 5? In the last two subsections, I examine what contribution this thesis makes more broadly to academic scholarship and outline areas of limitations alongside possibilities for further research.

This thesis analysed textbooks, regarding them as discourses or ‘ways of knowing.’ The analysis of these books allowed an understanding of structures and epistemes (the knowledge system of a particular time) that allow or restrict certain thoughts and objects of our knowledge to emerge (Foucault, 1972). Employing a post-structuralist and postcolonial theoretical framework, critical discourse analysis was used to examine the way in which language constructs social reality and have implications in terms of [dis]privileging one way of knowing or being over another (Gee, 2011). Apple saw texts as “participate[ing] in creating what a society [or parts of a society] has recognized as legitimate and truthful” (p. 20). They are more than a set of facts; indeed through their content they construct of reality (Apple, 1990, p. 19) becoming the battleground of political, economic, and cultural beliefs. Analyses of textbooks allowed for an understanding of the focus and priority of the discourses and constructions of ‘truth’.

While the analysed themes relate strongly to the realities of the country in that discourse around interdependence, ‘the other’, power and privilege, environmental sustainability and social justice are crucial given, the geopolitical context and the layers of cultural, ethnic, and

religious composition. Power structures occur within multifaceted social structures and are complex, deeply embedded and have far reaching implications. While environmental challenges contribute to development issues, public health, and long-term sustainability. It must be acknowledged, however that these themes themselves within global education find their roots and focus from literature and scholarship in the Global North. Global education is still theoretically predominantly rooted in western intellectual tradition. Nation states, meanwhile, have their own priorities, alongside external policies agendas that guide and influence, fields such as global education.

Findings demonstrated that discourses were fundamentally neoliberal in their focus. Presentation of other people, countries, trade, or the environment are all associated with the geopolitical or economic advantage they present to the country. Secondly, private textbooks ascribe an irrelevance to political engagement within neoliberal constructs with the absence of discussion around institutional power. Further, hierarchies prevail in issues of social justice which are framed within religious and nationalistic confines. Equality for Muslims, rights of Pakistani's, superiority of Pakistani culture all denote a kind of hierarchal preference or privilege over others. Finally, discourses about the world around us are fact-based, reductionist and limited with cultures and religions presented as homogenous, and society as static.

The study reveals the need for far more explicit focus on key concepts of global education such as that of interdependence, power, poverty or social justice. These abstract concepts are important in understanding our everyday thoughts and serve as building blocks. There is a need to deconstruct concepts such as power, poverty, or identity to better explain, for example, the power of power itself. This I would argue is essential for the goals of global

education, in that these very concepts provide the basis to understanding issues of social justice for which a strong grounding is important. In addition, findings suggest binary, fact-based, definitive discourses that present social issues in silos. Such an approach leaves little space for inquiry and examination of complex social issues, the development of critical thinking skills and limits the potential for reflection.

Further, findings emphasized the lack of clarity in approach towards values within education. Increasingly there is a stress on making deeper connections with values within global education for two main reasons. First, for learning to account for the entire human experience, in which both cognitive and affective or social learning are accounted for. Secondly, values are the driving force behind actions and therefore need to be considered within a pedagogical approach for GE, especially in non-secular contexts.

Government textbooks were the only ones in which values were explicitly discussed in a chapter or subsection. While implicitly the focus in both government and private textbooks was on the economic aspects with a strong focus on nationalistic values. This links more broadly to the finding that discourses in general were bound to neoliberal political-economic confines, while privately published textbooks digressed in suggesting a neoliberal governmentality. For instance, the environment is presented in terms of the material benefit it offers human beings; other races, cultures, ethnicities, or religions are presented from a geopolitical perspective in terms of the advantage or positive relationship they have with Pakistan.

This thesis makes two important conclusions based on the findings. The first is that aid agencies and policy borrowing push a neoliberal agenda that both impacts and influences the narrative of global education in the context of Pakistan. Although Pakistan has been

independent of colonial rule for over seventy-five years, it has been unsuccessful in designing an educational response geared towards preparing learners for the complex world they are to adopt. This is largely due to the fact that Pakistan educational policies have been committed to competitiveness driven reforms to abide by the neoliberal agendas of these loans. The cycle is a vicious one, where despite the immense potential of global education, particularly a social justice approach it is the globally competitive stance guided by neoliberal discourses that tends to dominate the narrative. While international commitments, particularly the SDGs, have an influence on global discourses, national policy agendas and provide a framework for many initiatives under the umbrella of global education the success of these are limited with the lack of ownership and contradictory policy agendas. Target 4.7, in particular, is relevant as it calls on countries to ensure that all learners are provided with the knowledge and skills to focus on human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development. However, these goals require a critical examination not only of the normative framework but also of the way in which these can be achieved in different contexts given the political and economic structures within which these narratives are embedded. Further complexity is added due to the fact that narratives of a more just world are contrasted with nationalistic discourses that reduce the 'other' and build up the self. Global education thus finds itself wedged between ideals and geo-political, social and economic realities that thwart the full realization of the field.

Alongside policies and agendas at the macro level that influence the scope of the field, there are also challenges in the pedagogy and practice of global education in non-western contexts. For effective and impactful implementation, it is imperative to consider values guided by religio-cultural orientations within the geopolitical reality in which global education is being

imagined. Revisiting some of the foundational questions suggested by Weigmont (2020) around dimensions of global education: what is believed about the world, about becoming, and about how we understand right and wrong, are guided by religious worldviews: that God created the world in a delicate balance not only between man and nature, but also between man to other men. To establish that balance and work for *adl* is considered an act of worship of greater value than other acts of devotion. Detached approaches that do not holistically examine the epistemology of different perspectives fail to be relevant and appropriate for different audiences. Broadening of perspectives that inform global education helps in recognising non-Western cultures and their cosmopolitan traditions within their postcolonial realities, thereby challenging the implicit notions of humanistic values, ideologies, and norms, such as those of compassion that only exist in the occidental tradition and philosophy (Jooste & Heleta, 2017).

### 16.1 Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis makes an important contribution to the understanding of discourses around global education in the context of Pakistan. It highlights the way in which discourses adopt a neoliberal focus; presenting other people, countries, the environment in terms of the economic advantage they pose to the country. Implicitly discourses tend to place an emphasis on trade, livelihood and the economic advantages of Pakistan's geography, mineral resources, and natural environment, all implicitly valuing the economic dimension of our lives. This is true of both privately published and government issued textbooks.

Although this neoliberal focus is true in both public and private textbooks, this study also highlights the way in which this approach is heightened in privately published textbooks that do not examine the role of the government and governance bodies. This extends to a silence

in examining the role of the government in addressing environmental challenges and on human rights. Textbooks from this sector are also silent on the explicit inclusion of values. This is perhaps indicative of a neoliberal governmentality in which neoliberal policies and rationalities guide the production of responsible and free citizens who employ their own entrepreneurial and self-governing capabilities. This tellingly neoliberal education agenda suggests a disconnect from the systems within which the economic sphere works, implying a parallel arrangement with broader governance structures as opposed to operating within them.

The study of society and hence discourses around global education are shaped in narrow, binary, and fact-based approaches that does encourage an acknowledgement of the way in which society is dynamic and subjective. This has impacts on the way in which students are able to understand their position in relation to other people, places, animals, environments, or things, and recognize their impact. It also limits the learning process in urging students to challenge their own assumptions, biases, and ways of knowing which collectively do not encourage a transformative global education. Thus, this study makes important contribution in stressing the need to examine the very nature of fields of study that embed themes of global education. Insular approaches that do not consider layers of social functioning, its influences and impact, in turn create restrictive discourses around global issues.

This study contributes to the existing knowledge on global education at both a theoretical and practical level. On a theoretical level it examines the mono-locational and mono-epistemically informed construction of global education and the contribution of the aid industry and international organizations to pr certain a particular normative framework. On a practical level, it contributes an understanding of how textbook discourses at the primary level are

shaping learners understanding of the world. Highlighting the way in which these discourses are guided by neoliberal ideologies steeped in nationalistic discourses.

## 16.2 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

As with any piece of knowledge, there are several limitations to the study and further possibilities that might be useful to address in future research. Investigations into these types of questions would provide valuable insights for dialogue between mainstream and alternative approaches, as well as outline programmatic approaches to global education in the classroom.

I do not intend to generalize my findings to speak for all countries in the Global South. My findings are to be interpreted in the context of Pakistan as it is Pakistani textbooks that were scrutinized. Further, I do not intend to extend my findings to a comment on pedagogical practice as a whole. This study did not examine classroom practices and interactions that are an essential part of the learning process. By examining how both teachers and students mediate the teaching and learning process, where the textbook is used and how classroom discourses shape understanding of the themes can help inform the ways in which teachers and learners interpret themes of global education, and what this can reveal about the bio-power exerted through textbooks. Other areas include those that consider school systems: academic practices, extracurricular programs, and organizational practices to investigate the extent to which they foster a global education mission of preparing students for a complex and interdependent reality. Because pedagogy is broad, encompassing not only what is taught, and how it is taught, but also the environment in which it is being mediated, can help to frame a broader pedagogical understanding of global education in the context of Pakistan.



Examining how primary social studies teachers' understanding of global issues impact their teaching practices can help to inform how these teachers construct the global education content that they teach. More broadly, there needs to be a greater understanding of values development and methods of values education within the curriculum from the context of Pakistan.

In conclusion, this study illuminates through the analysis of the discursive narrative of the textbooks, insight into the way in which discourses are shaping students' understanding of the world and the power relations enacted in this construction. This thesis adds to the body of work around the theoretical underpinnings and conceptualizations of global education examining assumptions from a post-colonial developing country context. Through this research I was conscious of the ways in which we are led to think about who we are, who others are and what our priorities ought to be. An understanding of this can help to resist neoliberal governmentality and re-evaluate the way in which we relate to the world and its inhabitants. This thesis contributes to scholarship and future direction by providing alternative pedagogical approaches linking to religio-cultural ontologies. I believe for global education to enable change, there is a need to acknowledge global economic and political structures within which these narratives are framed alongside a recognition that national policy contexts are influenced by global discourses which work simultaneously with nation states own socio-political and historical realities. These impact the focus and priority of discourses. Finally, there is a need for the theoretical framework of global education to account for the diversity of human experience and ontology. Importantly this thesis underscores the need for more research around global education from different contexts to contribute to the field.

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## Appendix

### A. Data Set

Code	Title	Authors	Publisher	Published For	Based on the National Curriculum of Pakistan	Year	Price
001	Social Studies for Class 5	Dr. Ahmad Saeed Khattak, Dr. Romana Ambreen, Zakra Noreen	Kalat Stationers, Quetta	Balochistan Textbook Board, Quetta	Yes	2017-2018	PKR 64
002	Social Studies 5	Asma Khatoon, Saniya Murad	Leading Books Publisher	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board	Yes	2018-2019	PKR 77
003	Social Studies 5	Dr. Safdar Ali Shirazi, Dr. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, Muhammad Hummain, Rahman Ullah	Haq Nawaz Publishers	Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board	Yes	2017-2018	PKR 37
004	Social Studies for Class V	Dr. Bernadetter Dean, Dr. Ahmed Saeed, Shabnam Khan	Academic Offset Press	Sindh Textbook Board	Yes	2016	PKR 88
005	Social Studies Matters (5)	Teresa Crompton, Doreen Crawford, Susan Thomas	Peak Publishing Limited		No	2018	PKR 385
006	Paramount Social Learning	Ismat Riaz	Paramount Books Pvt. Ltd		Yes	2016	PKR 295

007	Social Studies for Juniors Book 5. Pakistan Edition	Dr. Mahreen Khan	Fidem Education Network		No	2015	PKR 270
008	World Watch: Social Studies for Primary Schools	Frances McKay & Christine Moorcroft	Oxford University Press		No	2013	PKR 775
009	We Learn Social Studies	Syeda Saleha	Oxford University Press		Yes	2016	PKR 160
010	Know your World: Social Studies for Pakistan	Farhat Mansoob	Oxford University Press		Yes	2009	PKR 295
011	New Oxford Social Studies for Pakistan	Nicholas Horsburgh	Oxford University Press		No	2010	PKR 380
012	Social Studies Interdependence in Communities		Alston distributed by Paramount		No	2019	

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C: Images of Textbooks

