God in the Classroom: Exploring the Role of Religion in Five Case Study Schools in Lahore

Laraib Niaz

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'I, Laraib Niaz, 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.'

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Abstract

Formed through a violent rupture on religious grounds in 1947, Pakistan remains an ethnically and religiously diverse country. Yet due to massive processes of Islamisation, over the years, religion is now immersed in the politics, economy and educational discourse in the country. Previous research has focused on how state-sponsored textbooks and curriculum play an instrumental role in purporting the dominant religious narrative of the state and constructing an image of the 'self' and the 'other' on predominantly religious lines. Yet, there is limited research on the role of religion in the classrooms, on teachers' voices and on the involvement of religion in the daily atmosphere of the schools. This study attempts to fill this gap by aiming to investigate and explore the role of religion in everyday schooling in Pakistan.

The research employs five qualitative case studies consisting of a sample of one low-cost private school, one elite private school, one public school, one church administered school and one army-administered school in Lahore, Pakistan. Data was collected through the ethnographic methods of classroom observations, semi-structured interviews and observations of the visual and social environment of the schools. The study draws theoretical implications from the data by adapting Johnson's Cultural Web (1992) as a conceptual framework to present and discuss the findings.

The elements of Johnson's Cultural Web showed how religion was instrumentalised through the organisational structures, teachers' power structures, rituals, symbols and the various stories, narratives and notions that contributed to the cultural paradigm of the schools, which focused on the construction of the 'self' and the 'other' and in the moral and character education of the students. In this sense, several elements of everyday schooling were being used to create the image of the good Muslim/Pakistani. Yet, the elements of the web also showed how religion was an embedded and intrinsic part of everyday schooling that could also be considered equivalent to a reflection of the broader societal culture of Pakistan.

Impact Statement

The impact of any research concerning education can be discerned through the changes it can potentially bring to classroom practices and discourses, teachers' pedagogy and students experience of learning. Often important social constructs such as religion explicitly and implicitly influence classroom discourses, which research on textbooks, curriculum and policies fail to recognise. This study focused on a country with substantial religious infrastructure- Pakistan, to understand the role religion played in the classrooms. This required me to immerse myself in the environment of five different classrooms and interviewing teachers. The research showed how elements of everyday schooling were used to create notions of the good Pakistani and how religion was used in the classroom (irrespective of the textbook content) to foster pride for the nation, construct the image of the 'self' and 'others' along religious lines and for the moral education of students.

This research is filling an important gap in available literature. Within Pakistan, considerable attention has been given to the role of religion in textbooks and policies, but there is a lack of research on what is happening in the classrooms. Future scholarship on religion and education within Pakistan and in other religious contexts can focus on classrooms and teachers and students' interactions. This original study can contribute to future research by providing a methodological blueprint for conducting research within classrooms to observe abstract, yet sensitive, phenomena like religion. It also underscores the need to explore teachers' voices to understand their subjectivities and motivations for invoking religion in the classroom. Furthermore, future scholarship can focus on students' identities and how students are influenced by classroom discourses around religion.

This study has an overarching impact beyond academia as well, particularly in the field of inclusive education. Firstly, it can be used to inform further policymaking within Pakistan. Currently, the role of religion in schools is a highly debated topic within the country with the focus solely on the textbooks and curriculum. This research showed how classroom discourses heavily involved religion and, in some cases, were also fostering biases towards religious 'others' which was irrespective

of textbook content. This has implications for future education policies, particularly those concerning effective teacher training, both pre-service and in-service in order to foster inclusive classrooms.

Finally, the impact of this research can be brought about through the dissemination of outputs. I am working on policy recommendations for the government (as an independent consultant hired by the Working Group on Inclusive Education in Pakistan) on the next education policy, and I intend on incorporating findings from this study to highlight the need for teacher training and a need to focus on classroom discourses. I am also working as a consultant with the World Bank Pakistan, where I am proposing a project focusing on teacher views around inclusion (particularly religious inclusion). The dissemination of outputs will also include publications from this study which can be used to inform future scholarship on exploring religion in classrooms.

Glossary of transliterated words

(Incorporated in this document)

Husn I ikhlaq: حسن إ اخلاق
ʿilm: علم
Adhan: اذان
Yaum-i Difāʿ : يومِ دفاع
Khwatīn: خواتین
nafsīāāt: نفسیات
Dīn: دین
Dunyā: دنیا
Duaʿ: دعا
Kalmah: كلمہ
Shahīd: شہید
Īsāīʿ: عیسائی
yahudī: یہودی

mūmin: مومن

Munāfiq: منافق
ʿizat: عزت
Sharam: شرم
Pardah: پرده
ḥayā: حیا
Dūpatah: دوپٹہ
Hijāb: حجاب
shalwar qamīẓ: شلوار قمیض
Hadhrat: حضرت
Hijrah: حجره
ākhrat: آخرت
Ashraf ul Makhlūq: اشرف المخلوق
Kāfir: كافر
Namāz: نماز
āzmāish: آزْمائِش
Nūr: نور

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Before starting my PhD, I had heard about how lonely and insular it could get, and I braced myself for a strenuous and perhaps solitary journey. Yet, what I experienced made me recognise, appreciate and reflect on the importance of support and companionship. As this journey comes to an end, I want to acknowledge all those beautiful people who came into my life and those who were already there- who contributed to the four most wonderful years of my life.

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Chapter 1   Introduction

Child, be fearful of God
Only follow the path prescribed by Allah
We are the noblest of creations
If you don't become a good Muslim, then you will rot in the fire of hell
That person is not a good Muslim

The articulations presented above are just some of the perceptions, thoughts and notions that I have encountered during my fieldwork for this study. They hardly sound unfamiliar or peculiar though; I remember listening to similar proclamations from perhaps the time I gained consciousness. Growing up in a society where religion holds a reverential and predominating position, I have often sensed and subsequently objected towards its use as a weapon against many in the society; a society of what I like to call 'executioners and adjudicators'. I view religion as a beautiful construct that has fostered courage and patience in me. Yet, as a Pakistani woman, I have often felt marginalised and in some ways oppressed since religion is so easily used to police and subjugate women in society. From an early age, I have sought to question the gender binaries using religion that are rampant in my country and to understand why religion is politicised and employed to instil fear in the hearts of followers.

In a post-colonial developing country with considerable income inequality, I have been in the privileged position of obtaining private school education and having supportive parents with a moderate outlook towards religion. My interest in the role of religion in schools developed after my academic journey propelled me towards studying at a prestigious university in London. Here I interacted with followers of different faiths; some practicing, some not, but all keeping their beliefs in their personal domain. I also encountered Islamophobia and ignorant questions concerning my country and my religion, especially with respect to the numerous terrorist attacks that the country was facing at that time (2014). I subsequently became interested in conducting research on extremism and religion and its association with education. This was also the time when moral policing using religion, particularly against women, exacerbated through the availability of online platforms. I, myself have been subjected to threats online by the supposed

flagbearers of religion. I eventually became interested in understanding the role of religion in education – particularly in the kind of worldview it was fostering for young people within the country. Schools can play an important part in introducing students to critical concepts that can help them think more deeply about their beliefs and practices as they move towards adulthood.

Here, I would like to identify, in greater detail, my own religious beliefs since it is important for a qualitative researcher to underline their own positionality (also see chapter 4.8). Religion is an indispensable part of my life, I conform to Islamic principles, but I have always been intrigued by religious practices and rituals of all the religions in the world. In a very fundamental way, 'religious' activities are not separated from my everyday mundane life. For me, religion is not performative, my intention has never been to aestheticize my experience, rather religion for me is a way of being. Yet, I do not define this way of being as the 'religion is a way of life' discourse that is frequently regurgitated. By a way of being- I mean for it to be an intrinsic, embedded yet deeply personal aspect of my life that defines my being and my identity. The following of religious rituals and practices for me has never been about anyone but God. I sometimes pray five times a day, I fast in the month of Ramadan[1] yet I would not call myself a 'blind follower'- my prayers, fasts and recitations are not meant for anyone but God, but I also question religion when I can and do not operationalise it in my interactions with others. Therefore, the highly political role of religion in my country and its education system has always perturbed me.

1.1   Rationale of the Study

Different education systems around the world have different placements of religion in them, depending on the larger sociological structure they are a part of (Thomas, 2006). This ranges from the institution of multi-faith religious education in England to a removal of religion from public schooling in France to religious education being emphasised at all levels of education in Saudi Arabia. In Pakistan, successive

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[1] Ramadan or Ramzan is the ninth month in the Islamic calendar, in which Muslims around the world observe fasting.

governments have employed religion as a tool to gain legitimacy to the extent that it has pervaded education in the country (White, 2012). Formed through a violent rupture, Pakistan has witnessed consistent politicisation of religion, with it being ensconced in the politics of the state, resulting in the projection of a national identity that relies heavily on religion (Afzal, 2015). Not surprisingly, research on the educational process in Pakistan (Lall & Vickers, 2008; Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Nayyar, 2013; Rahman, 2011b; Rosser, 2004; Saigol, 2003) has unearthed a lack of separation between religion and education.

The existing research mostly focuses on textbooks and curriculum (Lall, 2008a; Rahman, 2011a; Rosser, 2004; Saigol, 1995) with public schools and madrassas being particularly highlighted for involvement of religion in their textbooks (Winthrop & Graff, 2010; USCIRF, 2016). Yet, the school has also been identified as a site of contestation and resistance to official discourse (Apple, 1995b). Apple (2004) stresses the overarching impact of teachers' worldviews and pedagogical choices as well as the day-to-day socialisation and learning that occurs due to school practices and in tandem with the narratives in the curriculum and textbooks, on the classroom discourses.

In order to understand the role of religion in classroom discourses, qualitative studies of classrooms can be valuable. Over the years, the link between education, religion and the state has received considerable attention from qualitative researchers, particularly ethnographers from around the world (Geertz, 1966; Stambach, 2004; Starrett, 1998). Recent ethnographic works range from looking at the student identity formation in orthodox and non-orthodox Jewish schools (Krakowski, 2017; Sztokman, 2009) and in Catholic Schools (Irvine & Foster, 1996; Peshkin, 1986) to ethnographic observations in Muslim schools in non-Muslim majority countries (Rizvi, 2008; Sai, 2017), and ethnographic studies conducted around the world on religious education and the teaching of inter-religious tolerance (Miedema, 2006; Parker, 2018).

In Pakistan, however, there is a dearth of in-depth qualitative work in schools that examines religion, with the majority of ethnographic work conducted only in madrassas (Abid, 2010; Bano, 2012a; Malik, 2014) but these works also do not

focus on the role religion plays in the pedagogical process in classrooms. Most research has focused on notions of citizenship, images of the self and the other or gender biases in the texts (Lall, 2008b; Saigol, 2005; USCIRF, 2016). None, however, has focused just on religion and the enactment of curriculum in the classrooms.

My study attempts to look at the relationship between education and religion in Pakistan in the classrooms, rather than in the curriculum, though the two are not unrelated. I aim to examine if and how religion is invoked in the classrooms and in the wider school settings. I also aim to focus on teachers' pedagogical choices and motivations for bringing religious notions in the classroom. In the context of my study, the aim is not to provide conclusive evidence with regards to the relationship between religion and education in Pakistan, but rather to explore the association between the two in classrooms. Before proceeding to outline the research approach, I will first attempt to delineate the intricacies surrounding the definition of the phenomenon of religion.

1.2   Defining Religion

"To define religion is, then, far less important than to possess the ability to recognise it when we come across it".
 (Sharpe, 1997: 46-48)

Defining the term 'religion' is a formidable task- the term is not just highly complex, and multidimensional but also ubiquitous in its use (Batson, Schoenrade, Ventis, & Batson, 1993; Hood, Hill, & Spilka, 2009; Nemec, 2020). Despite its elusiveness, various scholars have attempted to provide a working definition. This ranges from theological definitions that focus on the transcendental and intangible aspects of the religious to those that look at an omnipresent divine being (Durkheim, 1912; Whitehead, 1926). Social psychological definitions range from a focus on individual practices to scientific methods that analyse individual believers' daily practices that help in defining religion (Hood, Hill & Spilka, 2003). There exists ontological vagueness, however, for even the most readily accepted definitions fail to narrow the meaning of "religion" in a way that is unique, observable and real.

Perhaps one of the most well-known and debated definition was propounded by Clifford Geertz (1966: 90) who focuses on religion as an anthropological term and explains how it is *"(1) a system of symbols (2) which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men [sic] (3) by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic"*.

Although this definition has also been subjected to much criticism and debate (see for instance Lincoln, 2010; Asad, 1983), it does allow for the involvement of such aspects as symbols which are more abstract elements of religious practices. Yet the moods and motivations outlined by Geertz are difficult to observe and understand. Lincoln (2010: 1) criticises this definition by pointing out the existence of *"things one intuitively wants to call 'religion'— Catholicism and Islam, for instance— that are oriented less toward 'belief' and the status of the individual believer, and more to embodied practice, discipline, and community"* and hence the link of religion with the wider culture it is practiced in. As Orsi (1985: xix) argues, it is important to understand how religion is a modality of "cultural work" where individuals engage with *"institutions and persons, texts and rituals, practice and theology, things and ideas"* resulting in *"making and unmaking worlds"*.

Asad (1983) has particularly voiced his dissatisfaction with anthropological approaches that focus on Islam as being essentialising in nature. He has therefore consistently articulated how religion is *"neither [as] a distinctive social structure nor a heterogeneous collection of beliefs, artifacts, customs, and morals,"* but a tradition. Asad further articulated how research on religion- here mentioning Foucault, Hobbes and Marxist schools of thought has often overlooked the way religious discourse focuses on practices that are in most cases not religious at all- or at least not in the way religious text might predict them to be. He argues how instead religion should be seen as *"the interplay between . . . everyday practices and discourses and the religious texts they invoke, the histories of which they are a part, and the political enterprises of which they partake (p.14)"*. Religion- or rather religious practice- in this sense constitutes a complex interaction between daily practice and tradition and cannot be seen in isolation to the context it is a part of.

Being a part of a deeply religious society where religion has left an indelible mark and a reverential and omniscient status in the society, I see Islam as a societal tradition. Additionally, by understanding religion as a tradition, I can refer to not just Islam, but also Christianity, Buddhism, Judaism, Taoism, and so forth. However, since Asad does not provide a workable definition of religion, I will add to the notion of religion as a discursive tradition the definition propounded by Ronald D. Anderson (2004) who defines religion by imagining how people belonging to any religious group would define their own religion: (a) key beliefs people of their faith ascribe to (e.g., Christians would likely mention God and Jesus), (b) actions and interactions that are informed by their religions, and (c) a description of their morals and ethics, as informed by their religions. In this way religion can be identified in the school settings and can also be understood as a tradition that has *"a social and historical fact, which has legal, domestic and political, and economic dimensions"* (Asad, 2008: 28). Here I would go back to Durkheim's interpretation of religion as a social phenomenon with a social function and rooted in communities that are identifiable. Durkheim's position on religion directed the attention of scholars to studying well-defined communities in the ethnographic sense (Durkheim, 1912). While this theoretical model has been critiqued with the growing awareness around concepts such as lived religion and everyday religion that is not particular to an established or fixed community, it has provided enduring methodological considerations to the field.

Lastly, I would want to add that research in religion cannot be neutral; it is exceedingly value laden. Religion, rather than remaining a static construct, evolves with time and around people who create, interpret and reinterpret its meanings and symbols. As Flood (1999: 20) points out *"All systems of knowledge are specific to certain epistemic traditions and embodied within particular cultural narratives, and therefore ethical neutrality should be recognised as impossible and undesirable"*. Instead of the scholar assuming a distanced position from the researched, knowledge is generated as a manifestation of the interaction between the two. Smith (1990) on the other hand asserts how even though there exists considerable research on religion there exists no data for religion. Instead, *"religion is solely the creation of the scholar's study. It is created for the scholar's analytic purposes by*

his imaginative acts of comparisons and generalization. Religion has no independent existence apart from the academy (p.xi)". I therefore express that I am situated in the narrative of analysis as much as the schools examined in terms of what is seen as religion (Flood 1999:167). I, thus proceed with a clear understanding and reflexivity of my situatedness in the research and my ability to identify 'religion'.

1.3   Research Approach

"But to speak of "the religious perspective" is, by implication, to speak of one perspective among others. A perspective is a mode of seeing, in that extended sense of "see" in which it means "discern," "apprehend," "understand," or "grasp." It is a particular way of looking at life, a particular manner of construing the world…" (Geertz,1966: 90).

Religion is a highly complex and a strongly social phenomena that requires a research method that has its roots in naturalistic observation (Martin, 1976). Exploring the role of religion in classroom thus requires an immersive and qualitative methodology, particularly considering the multidimensional nature of educational settings. This research is qualitative in nature and employs the research methodology of qualitative case studies with ethnographic methods. I initially considered my research to be post-positivist in nature since post-positivism allows the researcher to accept and work with the basic messiness of research and the subjectivities of the researcher. Feedback from my PhD defence helped in understanding how my research moves a step further from post-positivism and fits within the interpretivist paradigm (detailed in 4.1.1). Post-positivists recognise the implausibility of total objectivity; however, they still perceive post-positivists perceive objectivity as a goal and strive to be as neutral as possible (Polit & Beck, 2012). In my research, I do not aim for objectivity or neutrality as I am cognisant of the fact that the most important tool in immersive qualitative research like my study is the researcher itself- and I have thus strived to outline my positionality and its impact on the research throughout this work.

Qualitative case studies provide one immersive method which would allow the researcher to focus on the process instead of the outcome (Merriam, 1998). Additionally, qualitative case studies are being employed considering the diversity in the educational system in Pakistan. Schooling in the country is influenced by a

range of factors- particularly the socioeconomic divide. Pakistan contains two distinct educational systems running side-by-side: private and public. The private system involved low-cost private schools, elite private schools, church-administered schools, madrassas (Islamic religious schools) and NGO schools while the public sector comprises of public schools and army-administered schools. The public school system accounts for 74 percent of total enrolled students in rural areas and 59 percent in urban areas (GOP, 2020). The system however has been marred with a range of issues such as lack of sufficient budget, proper policy implementation, teacher absenteeism, the phenomena of ghost schools, lack of trained teachers, inefficient testing system and political interference (Ahmad, Rehman, Ali, Khan & Khan, 2014).

One manifestation of the socio-economic divide has been the mushrooming of private institutions, which are further divided into low cost and elite private schools (Andrabi, Das, & Khwaja, 2008; Malik, Raza, Rose, & Singal, 2020; Zaidi & Malik, 2020). Elite private schools in Pakistan predominantly employ the Cambridge University Press Textbooks and Cambridge International Examinations System[2] and have often been highlighted for charging exorbitant fees and catering to the elites of the country (See for detail Andrabi, Das & Khwaja, 2008; Afzal, 2015). Existing research has consistently highlighted differences in the standard of education imparted in these different schools and in their associated learning outcomes (Amjad & MacLeod, 2014).

Prior research in schools in Pakistan that have highlighted some role of religion in schooling have largely focused on private and public schools or madrassas. Lall (2012) in her research on students' views on citizenship, selected from a range of NGO, private, government schools and madrassas. Another study of interest was Anand's (2019) research on understanding how India-Pakistan relations are taught who developed a typology according to the socio-economic status of schools and divided them into low, middle and elite SES schools while Bano (2012b) has only focused on madrassas. Yet, none of these researchers have specifically focused

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[2] Some Private schools use the Aga Khan Examination Board, which is Pakistan's first private autonomous examination body for secondary and higher secondary schools.

on the role of religion in non-religious schools and hence I developed a separate typology for my research (detail given in Chapter 4).

This research employs a sample of five non-religious schools, one public, one elite private, one low-cost private, one church-administered and one army-administered school using the ethnographic methods of classroom observations, semi-structured interviews and observations of the physical and social environment of the schools (sampling details in Chapter 3). Ethnographic methods are particularly useful for research that is exploratory in nature and which does not require the verification of pre-existing hypothesis (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999a). It is important to note that this research has not been designed as a comparative study; rather, the objective is to provide a reflection of the diverse schooling system while providing a parallel demonstration of the role of religion in each of the five schools selected.

1.5   *Research Questions*

Within the context of Pakistan, my research aims to study, investigate and explore the role of religion in education at the classroom level using five qualitative case studies with ethnographic methods as the research methodology and Lahore as the research site.

My main research question is:

> What is the role of religion in classrooms in public, private, army- and church-administered schools in Lahore?

In the interest of clarity, I have divided the research question into sub-questions and sub-sub-questions as follows:

1) How does religion come up in discussions within classrooms?

2) For what purposes do teachers draw on religious notions in classrooms?

> In particular linking to:

      a.   National identity

      b.   Ethnic identity

      c.   Gender identity

      d.   Moral and Character Education

      e.   Other

3) How is religion involved in the physical and social environment of the classrooms, for example in school and classroom rituals?

Sub-question 2 has been formulated after an in-depth review of existing literature on textbooks that has that shown religion, or rather the politicisation of it, being used to articulate notions that foster the views of successive governments, particularly with respect to the construction of the national identity of students and differentiation between the self and the 'other'. This review has also shown how articulations in textbooks are gendered in nature and how the policies have focused on the moral and character education of the students- which has thus informed the research question. The next section details the use of the main conceptual framework of this thesis- the cultural web.

1.4 The Cultural Web

Background: the implications from the study were drawn using the theoretically diverse and inclusive conceptual framework of Cultural Web proposed by Johnson et al. (2011). Johnson (1988) initially introduced this concept while discussing strategic change as manifested in a menswear clothes shop in the 1970s and 1980s (Losekoot et al., 2008). The web has been subsequently utilised as an important framework for discussing organisational culture (Freemantle, 2013; Mossop et al., 2013), and for commendations for improvement within organisations (Freemantle, 2013; Heracleous & Langham, 1996). Yet, the web does not just analyse the elements of the web but also examines how these are linked with and influenced by the cultural paradigm, which are defined as the underlying assumptions within the organisation (Kemp & Dwyer, 2001). These assumptions are often unquestioned, complex, and buried within the practices at work within an organisation, and while they are usually implicitly understood by most members of an organisation, they are difficult to articulate (Johnson and Scholes, 1999). The

paradigm is "hedged about and protected by" a web of cultural 'elements', which represent the "wider cultural context in which [the paradigm] is embedded" (Johnson, 1992: 20). The cultural web then helps in identifying and explaining how these elements develop, sustain, and protect the paradigm. These elements are Power Structures, Organisational Structures, Control Systems, Stories, Rituals and Routines, and Symbols. It is the range of ideas encompassed by these elements that makes the Cultural Web unique.

The cultural web as a model observes the interaction between the emic (within one culture/organisation) and the etic (across cultures/ organisations) and hence the intertwining of cultures and has been utilised as an important framework for discussing organisational culture (Freemantle, 2013; Mossop, Dennick, Hammond, & Robbé, 2013). Initially used in the field of management, Johnson's web has subsequently been employed to understand the culture of different kinds of institutions such as UK National health Service (Johnson and Scholes, 1999), Regent Hotel (Kemp and Dwyer, 2001) etc. Though the cultural web has been designed as a strategy tool to understand organisational change, the specificity of its elements and the fact that it allows interconnections from within and outside organisations to be organised and presented has resulted in it increasingly being used as a research framework to understand the predominant paradigms within an organisation. The web is also often used as a research framework for studies employing in-depth ethnographic methods. Kemp and Dwyer, in particular conduct in-depth qualitative research using observations and interviews at the Regency Hotel to ultimately summarise and present them using the web. Recently, Riverson (2021) used the cultural web in an education context looking at further education colleges in the UK.

Rationale: I have adapted the cultural web to understand the role of religion in classrooms and how different elements within a school influence the role of religion in them. It is important to note that the cultural web was not used as part of the data collection process, rather the use of the cultural web ensued due to the varying cross-cutting themes in the data that could be explained effectively using the elements of the web. The data from my fieldwork was varied in nature and highlighted various elements- teachers and students' perspectives, school

structures, school rituals and the wider society that intertwined and contributed together to role of religion in classroom discourses. In this sense, even though my main research element/focal point was the classroom, I needed a framework to synthesise and present the multiple elements (both within and outside schools) that contributed to the classroom discourses. The web allowed for the amalgamation and presentation of complex religious phenomenon while also allowing me to explore and understand the culture of multiple schools at the same time (Losekoot, Leishman, & Alexander, 2008; Mcdonald & Foster, 2013).

The power and impact of this model lies in the fact that on one hand it clearly and simply organises and presents data (from cultural elements) while on the other hand it allows for the complex integration of various aspects of culture (both within and outside organisations). Another reason for selecting the web was its ability to amalgamate and present complex cultural phenomenon and to allow the researcher to appreciate the culture of multiple organisations (which in this case concerns schools) at the same time (Losekoot et al., 2008; Mcdonald & Foster, 2013). In addition to understanding the cultural paradigm of the schools, I use the elements from the web also as a reflection of and to relate to the larger societal culture of Pakistan.

Use: For adapting the cultural web to my research, I took inspiration from Cunningham's (1996) ethnography of an urban black, separatist seventh-day Adventist school to understand issues of segregation/ integration within the school. Here the cultural paradigm focused on notions around separatism and the thesis did not focus on organisational change rather it used the web to explore and present the participants perceptions of the relationships between curriculum, quality of education and four major cultures- Seventh-Day Adventism, Afrocentrism, Eurocentrism, West Indian. Like my work, Cunningham also drew inspiration from Peshkin's (1986) ethnographic study of a Fundamentalist Christian School. Cunningham adapts the web to speak to his data and findings and only uses three of its elements. It made me realise that when using the web as a research framework, the elements can be adapted (increased or decreased) in a way that best fits the data. Hendry and Hope (1994), for instance add an additional

element of incentives when using the web to show why organisational change is so difficult to achieve.

My three data chapters (5, 6 and 7) helped identify thematic findings from the data. These findings related to how religion was used to construct notions around the nation, to construct an image of 'self' and the 'other' and in the moral and character education of the students. The cultural web helped to synthesise and consolidate these findings by highlighting not just the explicit but also embedded elements of everyday schooling that contributed to the development of the good Muslim/Pakistani. Through examination of its elements, I was able to identify and refer to structures not just from within the school but also from outside the school to show how the role of religion in the wider societal culture was seeping into the schools and then into the individual classrooms (diagrammatically shown below).

Figure 1:
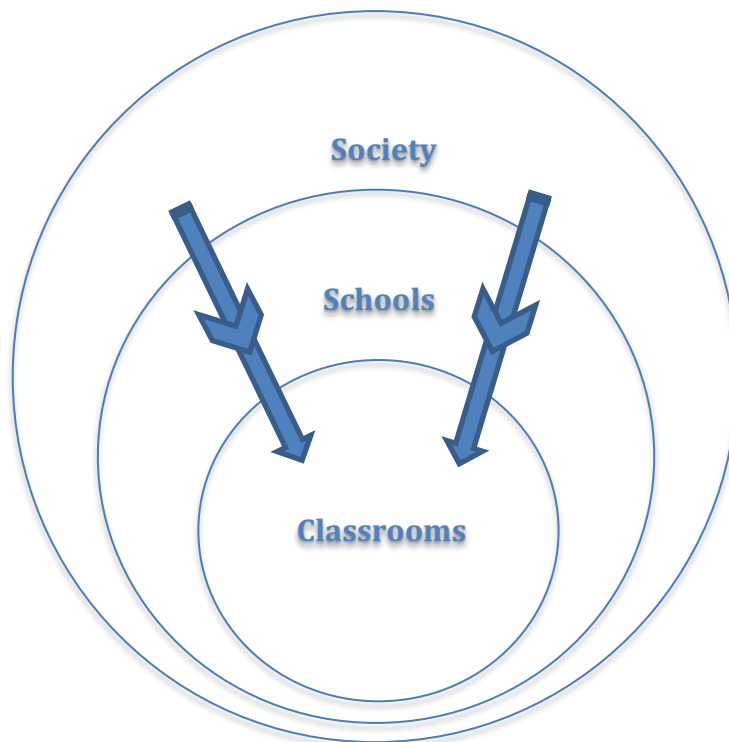
I have adapted the cultural web according to the requirements of my data and therefore employed five instead of six elements. The sixth element of control systems is more applicable for studies that look at reward systems and strategies

for improvement within organisations (Johnson et al., 2011) and hence was not suitable for my data. Given below is the cultural web framework used for this study.

Figure 2:
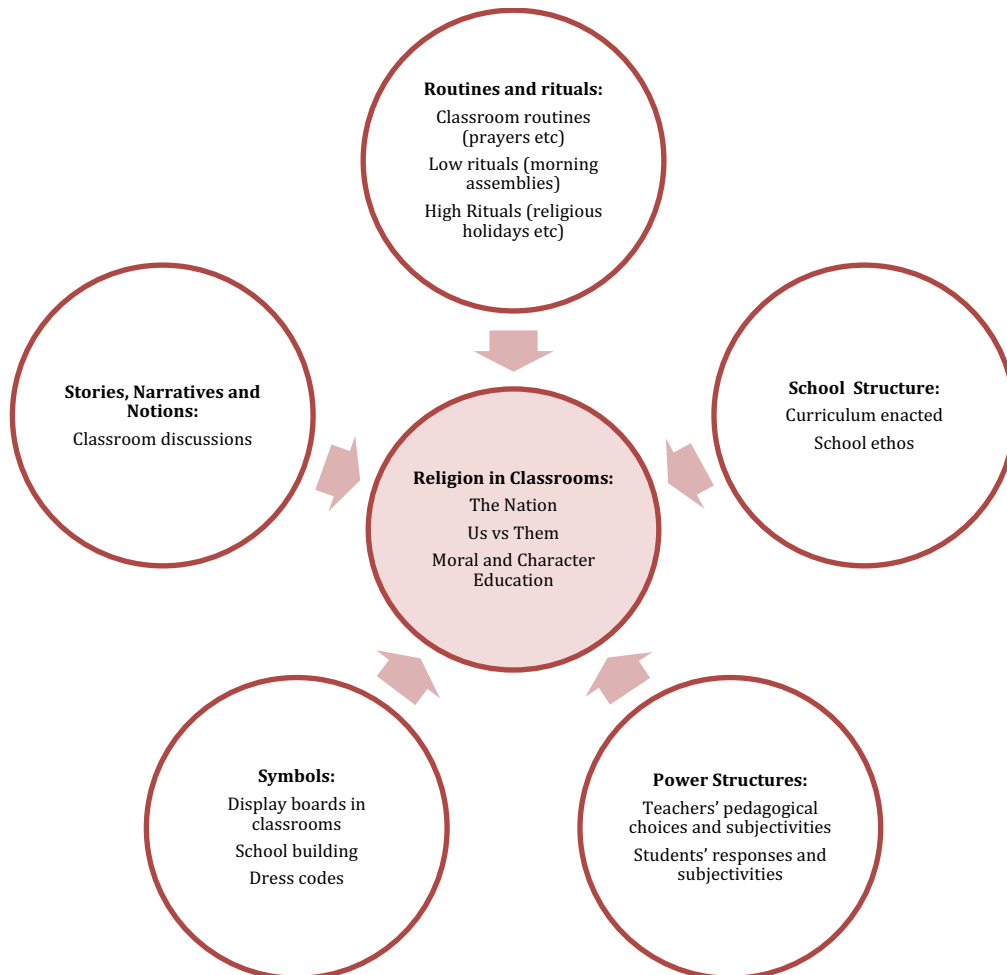
Having explained the rationale and usage of the cultural web, I will now introduce each of the five elements that I use and the rationale for using them.

School Structures

For Johnson et al. (2011) the element of organisational structures encompasses *"the roles, responsibilities and reporting relationships in organisations"* while Kemp and Dwyer (2001) define it as the *"the degree of centralisation, formalisation, complexity, configuration and flexibility of the organisation."* In this sense, the organisational structure would, in some ways, reflect and influence important relationships within the organisation and signal what is important for it. Diamond,

Randolph, and Spillane (2004) stress that while teachers and students do come with their own biases, it is also the school structure and by extension, its ethos that sets the tone for classroom discussions, interactions and pedagogy and the power of teachers. Yet, by doing so, this assertion essentialises the impact of structure on agency and power, particularly by not considering how structure and agency inter-relate. As Foucault has famously stated- *"Power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere' so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure"* (Foucault, 1998: 63). In the Foucauldian sense, power, agency, and structure co-relate; the structure of a country's presidency or premiership, for instance, will also get shaped by the agency of its premier. I am therefore adapting the element of organisational structures from the cultural web to speak of school structures but being simultaneously cognisant of the fact that *"power exists through discourse and knowledge as part and parcel to the functioning of institutions, individuals, and society as a whole"* (Foucault, 1980: 63). School structures therefore interact in complex ways with various other structures and factors within the schools such as their institutional culture, which then ultimately influence classroom discourses.

Since I use schools belonging to five different categories in my research, I employ the element of school structures to encompass the different categories/ethos as well as the curriculum in use in each category and its possible contribution to the cultural paradigm. The element of school structures particularly allowed for the interaction between the emic (within one school) and etic (across schools) in my discussion of the findings. By analysing the individual school categories and the ensuing classroom discourses I was able to examine how the individual school structure was impacting the way religion was involved in the classroom discourses. At the same time, focusing on curriculum being used helped identify the extent to which curriculum was impacting the role of religion in the discourses. For this purpose, using the one case study of EPS (which employ the Cambridge International Examination curriculum) helped in drawing nuances from the findings.

Stories, Narratives and Notions

For Johnson et al. (2011) stories are oral narratives that are related by members of an organisation to each other and to outsiders, spontaneously, and in settings that

are informal- resultantly contributing extensively to its paradigm. These stories help in giving insight to an informal mode of socialisation in a school and the manifestation of the implicit beliefs held within its boundaries. For Martin (2002), stories are understood by a large proportion of the members from within the organisation and relate to members of the organisation themselves. Yet Johnson (2011) states how the subjects of these stories do not necessarily need to be members of the organisation, they can be important events or people that heavily influence the thinking of and indicate what is important for the organisation.

Stories formed an integral component of everyday schooling in all the sample schools. By stories I refer to small stories that *"tend to be short, fleeting in nature, and interactionally contingent"* (Ives & Juzwik, 2015: 77) being therefore less refined and articulate than what is expected of traditional storytelling. To this I add narratives employed in the classrooms and elsewhere in the schools that include the teacher's personal anecdotes and those of other individuals (Downs, Javidi, & Nussbaum, 1988), since all stories are narratives but not all narratives are stories. Finally, I also add the terms 'notions' (beliefs and conceptions vocalized) to encompass *"the multiplicity, fragmentation, context-specificity, and performativity"* (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 257) of the multitude of verbal exchanges that I encountered.

The elements of stories also allowed for the interaction between the emic and etic. By analysing the stories, narratives, and notions, I was able to contrast the data from each of the five schools, explore similarities and differences and draw connections to the wider society. The connections with the wider society could be drawn since many of the stories, narratives, and notions that I encountered in the field were reflective of the wider narratives prevalent in the Pakistani society (that I have as a Pakistani citizen personally encountered as well) and were evidence of how the role of religion in the society was seeping into the schools and then in the classrooms (see figure 1).

Teachers and Students Subjectivities and Power Structures

I use the cultural web's element of power structures to focus on the role of teachers in the classrooms while also considering the role of students and the power afforded to them in the school. Power structures *"are distributions of power to groups of people in an organisation"* (Johnson et al., 2013: 157). Johnson et al. (2011) focus on how the most powerful members within an organisation are those that are likely to be the closest to the paradigm. Yet they also consider employee empowerment as a construct under power structures (Kemp & Dwyer, 2001). Although, the inherent power structures from the school can have some influence on the amount of agency that teachers have and how much they can deviate from the curriculum, the individual teacher power structures, and subjectivities play an important role here. By describing power as an entity that exists everywhere, Foucault opens the door for discourse around teachers and students power structures as well as those of the schools' in impacting classroom discourses (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2017). By teachers and students' subjectivities, I refer to their positionalities and viewpoints that were reflected through their discourses in the classrooms.

Throughout my data chapters (5, 6 and 7) I discuss teachers' cognisance of their agency in the classroom and relate my findings to those of Halai and Durrani (2018) who show that teachers are often cognisant of their ability to be agents of change in the classrooms. While using the element of power structures, I do not focus on the actual power that the teachers might have within the schools (since my research did not focus on asking teachers, head teachers and school heads about the distribution of roles and power within the organisation). Rather I see 'power structures' as teachers' actualisation and understanding of their power in the classrooms. Chapter 8 in detail explicates the different teacher positionalities that were found in the classrooms with some teachers deviating from textbook content and some restricting themselves to it. I use the element of power structures to show how some teachers were aware of their power/position as agents of change in the classroom while others knew that using religion in the classroom discourses would help in instilling discipline, for instance, in the students. In both these cases, teachers' positionalities reflected their discourses and their cognisance of their power in the classrooms helped them deviate from the textbook content. Similarly for students, their contributions in the classroom

discourses would to some extent be reflective of their understanding of their power within the classroom setting (which might be allowing them to be vocal).

High Rituals, Low Rituals and Routines

Johnson et al. (2011: 177), explain how the cultural web element of rituals considers "*particular activities or special events that emphasise, highlight or reinforce what is important in the culture*" and routines can represent a "*taken-for grantedness*" about how things should happen and can guide how people respond to issues.

I employ Kapferer's (1981) conception of high and low rituals and add to it a category of routines to encompass the everyday rituals and routines I observed in the sample schools. Examples of high rituals include ceremonies, events, inter-school competitions and special holidays- all of these have a special status and are not conducted daily (Kapferer 1981: 273). What Kapferer refers to as low rituals encompass the daily routines analysed in the study-such as morning assemblies and classroom actions of raising hands to answer a question. There is some contention over whether these can be regarded as rituals or can be merely considered ritualistic. Mclaren calls these habitual actions "*paler, less authentic, more 'wraith like' forms of ritualization*" (1986: 40). In comparison Gehrke (1979) acknowledges that routines may not be characterised as rituals and may only be seen as rituals if they have a symbolic meaning "*beyond the experience itself*". I have therefore delineated between high rituals, low rituals (rituals performed everyday but with slight variations) and everyday routines (those being constant and unchanging) encountered during the research to analyse the role of religion in the schools. Here my concern is with observing rituals and the possible meanings sent, rather than received- understanding how students receive the messages is beyond the scope of the study.

Much like stories, narratives and notions, the element of rituals and routines also allowed me to examine aspects from within the schools and draw connections with aspects outside the school (the society). Many of the rituals and routines examined in the schools were reflective of the wider societal culture in Pakistan such as the

classroom breaks during the call for prayers or events celebrating Iqbal day (see chapter 5 and 7 for detail). These rituals and routines were also important in understanding the implicit and embedded involvement of religion in the classrooms. While teachers' subjectivities and stories, narratives and notions propounded in the classrooms helped explore the explicit (verbal) involvement of religion in schools, the rituals and routines were more implicit and contributed to the embedded and everyday religion in the classrooms.

Symbols- the Visual Hidden Curriculum

In the context of the cultural web, Janićijević, Janićijević, & Nebojša, (2011: 73) define symbols as *"everything that can be seen, heard, or touched in an organizational context"*. Examples of symbols for Johnson and Scholes (2002) include logos, offices, the type of language and terminology used. It is important to note that many other elements within the organisation and identified in themselves may be symbolic in their own way (Johnson, 2011)- hence the implication is not that only elements from within symbols are symbolic.

For Johnson (2011), symbols signify the hierarchy and the types of signals that make behaviour valuable within an organisation. For this research however, I define symbols as the visual but hidden curriculum of the school. Prosser (2007: 14) uses the term '*visible but hidden*' to speak about the visual culture of schools and explains how this hidden curriculum is "*all the more powerful because it is visible but unseen*". In this sense symbols such as soft boards and school architecture in the classrooms would denote a particular type of hidden curriculum- one that is *hidden but visible,* consisting of daily items that act as implicit learning devices but often overlooked. This is unlike the explicit curriculum and is entrenched in the everyday visual and lived experiences of the students.

Three types of visual but hidden curriculum existed within the schools that acted as symbols denoting religion. The first type concerned the visual atmosphere of the schools- particularly the display boards in the classrooms and school walls. The second type of visual but hidden curriculum concerned the construction of the school buildings and the third type concerned the dress codes mandated by the school authorities.

Much like rituals and routines, the element of symbols also helped synthesise and analyse the embedded and implicit role of religion in the classrooms. These symbols, while implicitly being part of everyday schooling were also reflective of the wider societal culture (such as painting of the word Allah in Arabic). These symbols contributed towards answering sub research question 3 concerning the involvement of religion in the physical and social environment of the classrooms. Together, rituals and routines and symbols helped highlight how religion was not just a tool used in classroom *through* which teaching, and learning was taking place but was also an implicit and everyday presence in the classrooms *with* which teaching, and learning was taking place.

Having outlined the research approach and the conceptual framework, I will now outline the main findings and contribution of the study.

1.6   Main Finding and Contribution to Knowledge

Finding: The cultural web helped in highlighting how religion was *used as a tool* through the organisational structures, teachers' power structures, high and low rituals, symbols and the various stories, narratives and notions that contributed to the cultural paradigm of the schools, focusing on the construction of the 'self' and the 'other' and in the moral and character education of the students in the five case study schools in Lahore. The elements of the web also showed how religion was an embedded and intrinsic part of everyday schooling that could also be considered equivalent to an expression of ordinary life. In this sense, the findings from my study show how religion is both used as a tool *through* which teaching and learning was taking place in the classroom settings while also being an embedded presence in the school *with* which teaching and learning was taking place in the schools. These classroom discourses were also heavily impacted by teachers' positionalities, school structures, and the wider societal context the schools are a part of. This also makes it difficult to understand and delineate the boundaries and differences between the wider societal culture and what can be construed as purely 'religious'. For this reason, rather than religion, this study showed how- what I call "socio-cultural- religion" was involved in everyday schooling.

Contribution: the main contribution of my thesis is that it shows that religion is an intrinsic part of classrooms in Pakistan, irrespective of the textbook content. Hence, even if you remove religion from textbook content, religion would still be present in the classroom discourses owing to the position religion holds in the wider Pakistani society. The role that religion plays in the classrooms, in this sense, is reflective of the wider role of religion in social interactions in Pakistan with classrooms serving as a microcosm of the society. This role in the classroom has two different aspects to it- the subliminal aspect where religion is an embedded part of everyday classroom life (which is reflective of wider societal culture in Pakistan) and the explicit role where religion is used as a tool to create the good Muslim/ Pakistani in the classroom (also reflective of the wider societal culture in Pakistan). Both these aspects of religion are present in the classrooms, without accompanying textbook content hence changing textbooks would not change the role of religion in the classrooms.

The importance of my contribution is that it engages with the discussion around the Single National Curriculum (SNC) (detail in chapter 2), on the role of religion in education in Pakistan. As I have noted, prior research has largely focused on the role of religion in education through research on textbooks, curriculum, and educational policies. Very little research has focused on the role of religion in the classrooms and in the wider school settings. This study highlights the important role that classroom discourses, school structures and teachers and students' positionalities play. It also highlights how subsequent research need to move beyond curriculum and textbooks and focus on classroom discourses to understand the role of religion in classrooms.

By highlighting the role of religion in education in Pakistan, this study also contributes to the international literature on religion and education. It takes inspiration from a number of in-depth qualitative studies conducted in ultra-orthodox Jewish settings (Krakowski, 2008) and Catholic Schools (Peshkin, 1986; Lesko, 1998; Schweber, 2006; Dilger, 2017) and adapts them for an Islamic country. The findings from my study speak to and to some extent validate the findings from the international literature on religion and education mentioned

above. Peshkin (1986), for instance, provides insights from the Catholic school to show how religion (Christianity) was embedded both systematically and implicitly in the school he visited. The implicit involvement of religion was similar to the way religion was involved in everyday rituals and symbols in my research. Schweber (2006), on the other hand, highlighted how teachers' subjectivities and school structures were influencing the role of religion in classroom discourses. Again in my research as well both school structures and teacher subjectivities together contributed towards the involvement of religion in classroom discourses. In this sense, there are some similar aspects of the role of religion in education that can be witnessed in different religious settings- predominantly Catholic settings in the case of Peshkin and Schweber and a predominantly Islamic context in my research.

Prior research (Lesko, 1998; Addai-Munumkun, 2015; Dilger, 2017) also examines students' and teachers' identities, but none look particularly at the role of religion and how not just teachers, but the entire classroom and school environment influence the classroom discourses around religion. This research advances the available international literature to show how 'classrooms' are an important and coherent element of education that are influenced by a variety of elements-society, school, teachers and students and how it is important to examine all these elements to understand religion in classroom discourses and its resulting impact on students. In this sense, the contribution of this research is interdisciplinary (to the fields of sociology of education and sociology of religion) as it not just highlights teachers' subjectivities and resulting impact on classroom discourses but also how the schools' structures and the religious narratives of the wider society seep into the schools and classrooms. Considering the conflation between religion and culture that I found in this research (emblematic of the wider societal culture of Pakistan), my research also advances the literature on religion and schooling by emphasising the oft ignored relationship between religion and culture and highlighting how there are some aspects of religion in education that will be similar in different religious settings and some that will differ owing to larger cultural and societal factors.

1.7   *Limitation of the Research- Gender and Class*

This thesis focuses primarily on the construct of 'religion' and its role in the classroom spaces. Even though teachers form a significant aspect of this research- it does not conduct an analysis of how key sociological aspects of the teachers i.e gender and class influence their pedagogy. The reasons and associated limitations are given below:

Gender:

I did not focus on gender as an important factor influencing teachers' classroom discourses since teachers wanted data to be completely anonymised and for their gender to be not known. A few teachers were also wary of speaking about how their gender influences their conceptualisation of religion. I could therefore not conduct an in-depth analysis on how teachers' gender might potentially influence their teaching. Having said this, I do include a section on how the religious self and other is constructed along gendered lines in the classroom, where the self is male and the 'other' is female and how these gender boundaries are constructed in different ways in the five schools (see section 6.3).

As mentioned before, religion has a particular gendered connotation in Pakistan where as a Muslim woman I have myself witnessed gender binaries being constructed using religion. As such this can have a potential impact on how teachers view religion and how important they think religion might be to invoke in the classrooms. I mention in section that I encountered three types of teacher positionalities in my research- teachers who conform to the textbook content, teachers who deviate and focus excessively on invoking religion and teachers who deviate from the textbooks to foster critical thinking in students. It would be interesting to note how these positionalities are influenced by the gender of the research and I plan to examine the role of gender more in-depth in my post-doctoral work.

Class:

In this research, I do incorporate elements of class by going to schools belonging to different categories (low cost private, elite private, public etc). I acknowledge the

diversity in the schooling system of Pakistan (which is significantly influenced by the wider socio-economic and class structures prevalent in the society) but I do not focus on class as one of the elements influencing teachers classroom discourses. I believe an in-depth analysis of how class influences teachers' positionalities would require a bigger sample of not just schools but also the number of teachers included in each school. For instance, even though I have used five categories of schools, in order to understand the diversity between the schooling systems (driven by class and school cultures amongst other factors) I would need a bigger sample of schools from each category. I did not employ a bigger sample of schools, nor did I conduct an in-depth analysis of teachers' backgrounds since the main focal point of this research is *classrooms.*

I also acknowledge that no thesis can be truly comprehensive and as such it is a limitation of my thesis that I do not conduct a comparable analysis of how class (of both teachers and students) impacted the classroom discussions in each of my schools. I, however, aim to develop a deeper understanding of the role both class and gender play in teachers' subjectivities and classroom discourses as well as students' subjectivities and classroom participations in my future post-doctoral work.

1.8   Organisation of the Chapters

In the proceeding chapters, I explore the role of religion in classrooms in the five case study schools in Lahore. In Chapter 2, I provide a detailed background of the educational and religious infrastructure of Pakistan- here I particularly accentuate its historical past and its multiple educational policies to provide a nuanced understanding of its current educational system. Chapter 3 reviews the existing literature on religion and education in Pakistan that mostly focuses on textbooks and has underscored the role of religion in them, the nexus between religion and national identity and the construction of 'self' and the 'other'. In reviewing the literature, I also identify gaps pertaining to the discourse around the involvement of religion in education for moral education in Pakistan. In chapter 4, I focus on the methodology adopted for this study- detailing the profile of the schools, the research approach, the research instruments, ethics, data analysis techniques, positionality and reflexivity as well as the impact of COVID19 on the work.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are the product of my time in the field- these data chapters identify the major themes that were identified through the data. These include an association between religion and notions around the nation, the use of religion to construct an image of the self and the other, and the use of religion to foster the moral and character education of the students. The discussion chapter amalgamates the various strands of analysis carried out in the three data chapters to draw theoretical implications from the data using Johnson's Cultural Web (1992) as a conceptual framework to present and discuss the findings. In the conclusion I provide a summary of the research conducted and answer the research questions outlined above. I finally conclude by tracing the limitations of the research and suggesting areas for further research.

Chapter 2   Setting the Context: The Background to Religion and Education in Pakistan

"The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed (may peace be upon him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it".

(Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 1948)[3]

This excerpt from Jinnah's impassioned speech articulating the reason for Pakistan's being displays the ambiguous nature of the country's identity with respect to religion. Pakistan was created through the mobilisation of followers of Islam over the shared symbolism of religion (Ali, 2011; Cohen, 2004). However, the Pakistan eventually formed was vastly different from the country Jinnah had envisioned, since the subcontinent's political geography made it impracticable for many Muslim constituents to be integrated in the Muslim majority country (Jalal, 1985; Lieven, 2011; Shaikh, 2018). Particularly Jinnah's demand for the two largest Muslim majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal (which also housed a large non-Muslim population) to be consolidated into the Muslim territory of Pakistan remained unfulfilled (Jalal, 1985; Talbot & Singh, 2009). Hence there existed as many Muslims outside the boundaries of Pakistan as inside it. Since its inception, Pakistan has been left struggling with an identity that shares, at best, an ambiguous relationship with religion (Cohen, 2004; Talbot, 2019).

Even though religion played a substantial part in the formation of the country, Pakistan remains an ethnically and religiously diverse country. Around 97 percent of Pakistan's population is comprised of Muslims but there remains substantial sectarian diversity. According to the population census 2020-, it is estimated that 77 percent of the population in Pakistan is Sunni and 20 percent is Shia[4] (Fuchs, 2020). Additionally, 3 percent of the population consists of minority religious

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[3] Broadcast to the people of Australia (19 February 1948)- quoted in (T. Rahman, 2016).
[4] Sunni and Shia are two major denominations of Islam whose historical schism can be attributed to the dispute over caliphate following the Prophet Muhammad's death in 632 AD, with both denominations supporting the caliphate of different followers of the Prophet. The Sunni Muslims support the caliphate of the close friend and confidante of the Holy Prophet's, Hazrat Abu Bakr. Around 80 percent of the Muslims in the world belong to this denomination. On the other hand, Shia Muslims believe that the Prophet's cousin and son-in law Hazrat Ali Ibn e Abu Talib was the rightful candidate for the first caliphate. Moreover, the broad umbrella categories of Shia and Sunnis do not give a clear picture of the actual sectarian landscape of Pakistan, which encompasses a host of sects and sub-sects within Shia and Sunni Islam (See for details Ghumman, 2013).

communities of Christians, Parsis (Zoroastrians), Sikhs, Buddhists, Hindus, and Ahmedis[5] (Mehfooz, 2021). According to the official census, Christians comprise 2 percent – estimated to be around 4 million people – of the total population in the country[6]. (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017).

Since Pakistan is a nation-state whose identity derives from religion, nearly all its policies and measures, especially those pertaining to education, have become ostensible symbols that take religious forms (Ali, 2011). Tracing the historical developments of the country and its various facets would perhaps take an entire thesis. I am therefore going to restrict myself to a detailed and constructive attempt at tracing the political role of religion in the society and providing an overview of the complex and multifaceted education system- through the varied educational policies initiated over the different phases of governance identified below.

2.1   *Jinnah and the Initial Years Following Formation of Pakistan (1947-1957)*

Religion and Politics

Pakistan's contested relationship with religion can be traced back to the country's inception- specifically to the somewhat antithetical comments made by its founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah (See for detail Rahman, 2016). Jinnah was generally considered a westernized, liberal, educated, upper class Indian. A believer in constitutionalism and democratic governance- Jinnah focused on idea of the two-nation theory to stress the need for a separate homeland for Muslims (Ahmed, 1997). Constructed in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries by figures such as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan[7], Allama Mohammad Iqbal[8] and Pakistan's founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah, it posits Hindus and Muslims as two completely opposite

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[5] Ahmadiyya is an Islamic religious movement that originated from the teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908). Ahmedis consider Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to be the promised Mahdi (or guided one) (Qasmi, 2014).

[6] Among these, reportedly 80 percent are inhabitants in Punjab, 15 percent in Sindh and the rest in the remaining provinces in the country- Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochistan and FATA.

[7] Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was an Islamic scholar, educationist, pragmatist and reformer in nineteenth century British India. He is known for establishing the Aligarh Muslim University - one of the foremost educational institutions in India(Saikia & Rahman, 2019).

[8] Sir Muhammad Iqbal KCSI was an Islamic poet, writer, philosopher, and politician, whose poetry is considered one of the greatest in the twentieth century subcontinent (Qasmi & Robb, 2017).

entities, which would inevitably struggle for power (Lieven, 2011). As a mechanism for religious nationalism- this theory postulated how religion could serve as the axis around which politico-geographical boundaries could be weaved (Munir, 1980; Shaikh, 2018). At its simplest, Jinnah's stance for an independent country relied on the assumption that the Muslims of India, due to their distinct status as a separate religious entity, deserved to be a separate political entity (Kadir & Jawad, 2020; Whaites, 1998; Shaikh, 2018). This stance fashioned a tradition that viewed Muslims of the subcontinent as a nation defined by a common language (Urdu) and customs inspired by religion rather than religion itself (Islam) (See for detail Lieven, 2011).

Though the two-nation theory was widely regarded as the propelling movement for the partition, many Muslims were divided over the issue and were struggling with the notion of religious nationalism (Whaites, 1998; Shaikh, 2018). Particularly for some members of the Ulema (clergy)[9], the idea of a separate Pakistani state was a complete anathema to the notion of the Muslim Ummah (Arabic word meaning community)- which Talbot (2005) highlights as one of the legacies of colonial rule in the subcontinent. Over time the Muslim leaders as well as members of the ulema were convinced that Muslims under a unified India would be subject to marginalisation and subordination under a Hindu rule (Qasmi & Robb, 2017).

Debates surrounding the role of religion in Pakistan's formation have been multifarious (See Alavi, 1986; Talbot, 2005; Jalal, 1985; Shaikh, 2018). Hamza Alavi in his neo-Marxist argument claimed how the movement for Pakistan was precipitated by economic rather than religious factors by the Muslim salary-dependent class in pre-partition India (described as the salariat)- who used religion as an ideological tool to justify the need for a separate Pakistani state (Alavi, 1986, 1988). Other scholars have highlighted the pivotal role played by Islamic nationalism in forging the power of the ruling elites in the creation of the country. Yet, what remains uncontested is the uncertainty regarding the meaning of Islam in the country since its inception (Metcalf, 2004).

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[9]Muslim scholars who are known to have specialist knowledge on Islamic theology (See for detail Ispahani, 2015)

Pakistan and India were formed in 1947, following the departure of the British colonising regime known as the British Raj from the Indian subcontinent (Jalal, 1985). The ensuing creation of India and Pakistan resulted in the largest migration of individuals in recorded history. The struggle for the independent states claimed at least a million lives and uprooting more than 10 million from their homes (Talbot, 2007). Upon inception, the nascent state of Pakistan was left with grievous geographical, economic, and regional issues and two geographical territories- East (currently Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (current Pakistan), which did not share borders (Raghavan, 2013).

Soon after its creation, Jinnah called Pakistan a Muslim (a follower) rather than an Islamic (a religion) state and was quoted as saying:

"The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fairplay to everybody…
In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state — to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims — Hindus, Christians, and Parsis — but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizen and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan" (see for detail Rahman, 2016)[10].

In this speech Jinnah emphasised Islamic and democratic ideals, equality while propounding the notion that Pakistan was not a theocracy. Yet, the overarching focus on Islam and its idealism highlighted the conflation between religion and nationalism for the state. Jinnah neither resolved the uncertainty regarding the place of religion in the country before its inception, nor did he attempt to resolve it after its independence (Munir, 1980; Kadir & Jawad, 2020; Jalal, 1985). Following Jinnah's death, ambiguity and a lack of consensus over the constitutional role of Islam remained- with Jinnah's successors acknowledging Islam as a fundamental

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[10] Broadcast talk on Pakistan to the people of the United States of America, Karachi, 1948 February.

component of Pakistan's identity but failing to identify the public role of religion in the country (Shaikh, 2018).

Six months after Jinnah's death, Liaquat Ali Khan (the first Prime Minister of Pakistan) submitted the Objectives Resolution in the assembly which was passed unanimously by the Muslim members and boycotted by the Hindu members (Munir, 1980). This Objectives Resolution stated how sovereignty lies with Allah in contrast to Jinnah's assertion concerning sovereignty lying with the people of Pakistan. This resolution also described all non-Muslims as minorities again in contention with Jinnah's position on refusing to categorise minorities based on religion. The resolution enhanced the powers of the ulema especially the Ahrar[11] who were initially against the concept of Pakistan. The Ahrar initially targeted Ahmadis by putting considerable pressure on the government, from 1953 onwards, to declare Ahmadis as non-Muslims (See Munir, 1980; Qasmi & Robb, 2017). Additionally, the constitution of 1956 officially defined Pakistan as the Islamic republic of Pakistan and articulated how the head of state could only be a Muslim. The ideological uncertainty over the role of religion in the state further translated into ambiguity with regards to religion's role in education.

Religion and The Education System

After its creation, the education system of Pakistan comprised mostly private and local schools run by district councils, Christian missionary schools (both Protestant and Catholic) and madrassas (Islamic religious schools) (Jimenez & Tan, 1987). Private schools existed before the partition, confined to large cities and serving the elite population (Jimenez & Tan, 1987) whereas by 1940 there were seventy village schools under the Rural Education Committee of the mission, about a third of the students and over ninety-five percent of the teachers in which were Christian (Christy, 1984). During the colonial period, the madrassas were marginalized due to the introduction of a western education system. As an answer to this epistemological issue, madrassa education overtime became more puritanical in nature (Bano, 2008).

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[11] Nationalist Muslim political party, comprising of Islamic clerics, formed in the Indian subcontinent in 1929.

During the years 1947-1957, two educational policies were implemented. The first policy was set at the All-Pakistan Education Conference in 1947 where Jinnah focused on the imperative need for a well-functioning public education system for the nascent state. Jinnah's message further stated (GOP, 1947: 5): *"The provision for instruction in the fundamentals of religion in schools is, therefore, a paramount necessity for without such knowledge we cannot hope to build character or lay the foundations for an adequate philosophy of life"*. The state thus underlined the need for religious education for the construction of the good Pakistani citizen.

In his inaugural address to the first Pakistan Educational Conference Ministry of the Interior (1947) the education minister of Pakistan, Fazlur Rahman, emphasised the coalescence between Islam and social democratic ideals explaining how the democratic ideals inherent in the religion would provide a foundation for the formulation of educational policies. He also described Pakistan's vision as a *"conception of Islam as a humanitarian philosophy of life, divorced from any racial or geographical bias, giving due regard to the claims of minorities living within Pakistan"* (p. 40). Islamic education was therefore promulgated from the very start- as a mechanism to bolster the bearings of the nascent state. The Pakistan Educational Conference [1947] therefore recommended the adoption of Islamic ideology and highlighted the role of education as an instrument through which the ideological transformation of the country's citizenry could take place (Chughtai, 2015). The first educational conference also delineated the role of the newly established public school system in providing free education to citizens of the country. This is also known as the Universal Primary Education (UPE) (Arif & Saqib, 2003). However, no date was set for accomplishing this goal.

A second education policy was promulgated in 1951 (GOP, 1951: 4), which similarly emphasised the notions of Islamic socialism and social democracy and specified Islam as the ideology of the state stating how *"education cannot exist in a vacuum and that it must be an instrument of the kind of ideological transformation which Pakistan stands for"* (GOP, 1951: 360). Both the educational policies of 1947 and 1951 promulgated the need to institute and promote Islamic democratic ideals in the education system while also emphasising a categorical distancing from any

notions that viewed Pakistan as a theocracy (Chughtai, 2015). Yet, during this time even the constitution of 1956 decreed Quranic education as compulsory and hence one can recognise the very beginning of the exceedingly important role of religion in the education system of the country.

2.2   Secular Ayub Khan and the first Military Government (1958-1969)

Religion and Politics

The constitution of 1956 remained in effect for 2 years. In 1958, following scuffles in the assembly in East Pakistan, the then governor General Iskandar Mirza intervened, instituted martial law and declared general Ayub Khan as the Martial Law Administrator (Munir, 1980; Cohen, 2005). Three weeks later Khan deposed Iskandar Mirza and took hold of the country and became the second President of Pakistan.

Initially Khan professed a relatively secularist tradition and disposition and served to suppress Islamist political activism (Long, 2015; Shaikh, 2018). One of his foremost initiatives was to remove the word Islamic next to the state in the 1962 Constitution (calling it just the Republic of Pakistan) and he sought to deliberately steer the country from Islamic nationalism to a more development-oriented stance (Jalal, 1995; Shaikh, 2018). State politics in this era shifted focus on, '*where Pakistan was headed'* rather than '*why it was formed'* (Nasr, 2004:178). He attempted to reformulate Islam in a way to bifurcate the religious establishment. Khan developed a council of Islamic Ideology consisting of theologians and lawmakers in addition of an Islamic Research Institute (Long, 2015). Further, the General also included within the constitution of 1962 a clause stating that the laws of the state should not be discordant with the shari'a (Islamic law). Khan, with all his secular dispositions also focused on, what he perceived as the right version of Islam under his tutelage (Shaikh, 2018). In doing so, he attempted to steer away from the puritanical version propounded by the Ulema. Yet, it was during the constitution of 1962 that the ideology of the country was explicitly linked to Islam (Munir, 1980).

Even with the existence of Islamic dictates in the constitution, Khan began receiving backlash from the Ulema; he was thus forced to reinstate the word Islamic next to the state in the constitution (Shaikh, 2018). Additionally, during this time, India chose to align with the Soviet Union in the Cold War; Khan then proactively started discounting Atheism and by forging a link with Communism- began using religion as a tool to appeal to the United States as an ally (Cohen, 2005; Lieven, 2011). Khan, strategically, used the religious ideals when they worked to his advantage and resisted them when it came to sharing power with the religious elite in the society (See for detail Munir, 1980). For instance, in the elections of 1964, Khan was a candidate for Presidency opposite Fatima Jinnah (sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah) and he used the Ulema to promulgate a fatwa (Islamic ordinance) that a woman could not be the head of state in an Islamic Republic (Talbot, 2005). While publicly advocating secular views, Ayub Khan was therefore one of the first but not the last to use loyalty towards Islam to proactively exert power over the country.

Religion and The Education System

During Ayub Khan's regime, the public school system became the primary channel for the provision of education. Khan also emulated Jinnah in his concerns for education and highlighted how education needed to be given the topmost priority. Khan's government increased the investment in education from 0.8 percent to 1.5 percent of GNP (Talbot, 2005). Private schools especially increased during this era mostly in big urban centres such as Lahore and Karachi and catering to the need of the elites- inequality during Khan's era had mushroomed with wealth famously known as being in the hands of 20 families (Mufti, Shafqat, & Siddiqui, 2020). This was the time when divergence in the private school sector occurred with substantial differences in the quality and cost of education provided in schools for the elites and those catering to the middle classes (Mufti, Shafqat & Siddiqui, 2020).

In terms of his educational policies, Khan insisted on making religious knowledge coterminous with secular knowledge and emphasising unity in defining a national identity. One of the most important documents of interest during this period was

The Commission on National Education Report (GOP, 1959) which was an education policy released soon after Khan's military rule was established (1958). This Report highlighted the need to make the study of the Holy Quran compulsory and for students to have knowledge of the Prophet Muhammad and his life, and of the history of the Islamic world. However, this instruction was limited specifically to the subject of Islamiyat. This policy highlighted the need for national integration but without any specific focus on religion. For instance, at one point the policy recommends that *"Religious education should do nothing which would impair social and political unity in the country"* (GOP, 1959: 209). The policy also strictly outlined the need to exclude materials that could potentially emphasise sectarian differences in the society. Yet, even in this document there remained a certain degree of ambiguity regarding the role of Islam in promoting national unity. Lall and Saeed (2019: 95) quote the following excerpt from the Commission report to highlight the focus on Islam:

"National unity and religious values have to be translated into deeds in a manner that all our citizens can accept them and join in the common effort. Islam teaches honesty in thought, in deed and in purpose. It lays emphasis on social justice and active participation in the removal of distress and poverty... These are tasks which can unite all of us, and it is through identification of all our problems and all our citizens that we shall find real unity" (Ministry of Education 1992: 2, quoting from the Commission on National Education 1959).

Despite this emphasis on Islam, this report was met with criticism from the Ulema as well as some student bodies. The Commission on Student Problems and Welfare Report (GOP, 1966), was subsequently developed in response to student complaints with respect to educational policies that were deemed not Islamic enough for them. Some of the recommendations in this document included the demand to entirely cancel the promulgations of the Education Commission (1959) and to devise and implement a new education policy that would only be based on the concept of Islamic ideology. However, these demands were then offset by a further statement issued by the Education Commission stating how any more inclusion of Islamic content in education would diminish the purpose of the education system. Though these demands were rejected during Khan's era, they

were incorporated soon after his rule ended. Additionally, the fact that there was protest against the 1962 policy signals the rise of Islamic politics in education (Talbot, 2005).

2.3   Bhutto and the Veil of Islamic Socialism (1971-1977)

Religion and Politics

Owing to growing dissatisfaction against his regime- Ayub Khan eventually receded power to General Yahya Khan in 1969. Subsequently, a Legal Framework Order was instituted and general elections were called in 1970- resulting in a landslide victory for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman[12]'s Awami Muslim League in East Pakistan. This polarisation between East and West Pakistan resulted in a bloody civil war the following year (Jalal, 1995). During Yahya Khan's short two-year regime thereafter, the One Unit[13] created in 1954 was disintegrated into four provinces instead of one (Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, North-Western Frontier Province) and what is now known as Bangladesh (previously East Pakistan) was formed (Munir, 1980). This significant event dealt a major blow to the idea of Islam as a unifying factor for geographical, ethnic and cultural differences (Sanghro & Chandio, 2019).

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was handed over the presidency of a ruptured Pakistan in 1971, following which he propounded his version of Islamic socialism (Sanghro & Chandio, 2019). After contesting elections in 1973, Bhutto was sworn in as Prime Minister of Pakistan and he immediately set on enshrining Islam within the Constitutional framework by declaring Pakistan as an Islamic country and Islam to be the state religion- a further divergence from the initial stipulation by Jinnah who referred to Pakistan as a state for South Asia's Muslims rather than an Islamic, theocratic state (Shaikh, 2018). Yet, the ambiguity of the definition of who is Muslim can be discerned from the fact that it took 26 years for the definition to be stipulated in the constitution. The constitution states:

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[12] Mujibur Rahman was the first President and Prime minister of Bangladesh known as the "Founder of the nation" in Bangladesh- due to his unprecedented role in the country's formation.
[13] The one-unit scheme was declared on November 1954 and instituted by the acting Governor General of Pakistan Iskandar Mirza in 1955, which ordered all of West Pakistan to be unified under the 'One Unit Scheme'.

"'Muslim' refers to a person who believes in the unity and oneness of Almighty God, in the absolute and unspeakable purpose of the prophecy of Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him), the last of the prophets, and does not believe in, or recognize as a religious prophet or reformer, anyone who has claimed or claims to be a prophet, in any sense of the word or description, after Muhammad (Peace be upon him)" (1973 Constitution, article 260–3).

Succumbing to pressures from the Ulema, an increasingly beleaguered Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto convened a special meeting of the National Assembly to discuss the status of Ahmedis and declared them as non-Muslims through a constitutional amendment in 1974 (Jalal, 1995; Shaikh, 2018). This turned out to be an enormous misstep since it further strengthened the conviction of Islamic fundamentalists in the country to foster Islamization. It was also an extraordinary watershed movement in Pakistan's history since it gave a political institution (National assembly), the power to intervene in matters of 'faith'- further highlighting the separation between the state and religion. Bhutto further initiated the nuclear power programme of the country calling it an "Islamic bomb", declared Friday as a national holiday and established the National Islamic Academy in order to pander to the religious elite (Talbani, 1996).

Religion and the Education System

Bhutto initiated a number of revisions in the education sector (Jalal, 1995)- the foremost of which concerned the constitution of 1973. The Article 31 of the 1973 Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan explicitly positioned Islam as the focal point for the society and for its education system:

"State shall endeavour, as respect the Muslims of Pakistan, to make the teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiyat compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language and to secure correct and exact printing and publishing of the Holy Quran and to promote unity and observance of Islamic moral standards"[14].

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[14] http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1549886415_632.pdf

With the 70s and Bhutto's government also came new promises and much talk about the shift in education policies and priorities. However, this turned out to be empty rhetoric since the new government, instead of fulfilling the promise of initiating vocational education, increase in teacher training and enabling greater access to education instead- went about nationalising the private school system since Bhutto felt that these schools perpetuated elitism (Jalal, 1995; Saigol, 1995). This drastic change also reversed the progress made by the private educational institutions and furthered Bhutto's concept of Islamic socialism (Saigol, 1995). Before the period of nationalization, the post-primary share of private sector was as large as 70% (Ferguson et al., 2010)- nationalisation therefore resulted in a significant blow to the workings of the private sector. Interestingly, it was during Bhutto's era, rather than the previous military rule, when the first army-administered school was established in the year 1975. In 1972, when all the schools which were receiving government aid were nationalized- only a few unrecognized schools continued under the auspices of the Presbyterian and Catholic Educational Boards (Christy, 1984).

Only one educational policy was devised during Bhutto's era, in 1972. The Education Policy 1972-1980 (GOP, 1972) advocated for the launch of tv and radio channels, specifically for the purpose of education. This involved the airing of recitation of the Holy Quran, which was encouraged to foster national cohesion within the Muslims in the country (GOP, 1972: 20). The overarching focus on cohesion for Muslims served to alienate all non-Muslims. GOP (1972) also extended Islamic content to subjects other than Islamiyat, particularly the subject of Pakistan Studies resulting in Pakistani identity and citizenship being increasingly framed within Islamic context (Lall & Saeed, 2019).

Further, Bhutto initiated several measures which resulted in madrassas receiving the same status as that of public schools in the pursuit of increasing the employability of madrassa graduates. Despite the various measures that Bhutto implemented to gain the support of the religious elites, even going to the extent of forming an organisation of Islamic countries, the religious elites were suspicious of the Islamic socialism proposed by Bhutto (Sanghro & Chandio, 2019). Certain aspects of Bhutto's lifestyle such as his fondness for alcohol provided reasons to

question his loyalty to Islam. The struggle between Bhutto and Islamists also took shape in schools with both sides trying to attract students to their cause resulting in an increase in the political mobilisation of the students. However, Bhutto's power was short lived and in 1977 after a propaganda against him for rigged elections, he was overthrown by the military dictatorship of General Zia-ul Haq (Munir, 1980; Talbot, 2005).

2.4   Zia ul Haq and the Islamisation Process (1979-1988)

Religion and Politics

While religion had been used as a tool for political gain since the inception of Pakistan, perhaps the most prominent manifestation of this could be the Islamization process initiated by General Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980's (Jalal, 1995). When the popular Bhutto regime was overthrown, and Bhutto was later hung by General Zia-ul Haq in 1977, the domestic opposition to the military regime escalated- in part due to Bhutto's extreme popularity with the masses (Munir, 1980; Shaikh, 2018). Zia then sought to consolidate and validate his authority through Islamisation (with a predominant focus on Sunni Islam) and by pandering to the religious elites (Fair, 2004). In his first presidential address, Zia reiterated the need to institute Islamic laws for the cultivation of an Islamic society, which would enable citizens to lead their lives according to Islamic principles (Fair, 2004; Qasmi, 2014).

Zia proved to be particularly detrimental to the Women's movement in Pakistan as he employed Islamic rhetoric to curb their freedom. The most pertinent example of this was the unjust and repressive Zina law[15] that criminalised all forms of *qazf* (false accusations of fornication), theft, consumption of alcohol and importantly *zina* (fornication). The zina law extended to instances of rapes where the burden of proof was not met, resulting in many sexually abused women being convicted in court. He used the state-run television channel (PTV) to promulgate both his religious and political messages, accompanied by directives to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to instruct female newscasters to cover their heads

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[15] Promulgated in 1979 under the Hudood Ordinance (those offenses for which the Quran prescribed fixed punishments—into the criminal law) under the Pakistan Penal Code. After significant criticism and backlash- the laws were revised 27 years later in 2006.

with Dūpatah (headscarf) and also furthered his notion of *"chaadar and chardiwari (literal translation: the veil and the four walls)"* (Sheikh & Ahmed, 2020: 349). Furthermore, extremely harsh blasphemy laws were introduced that were specific to Islam and the Muslim beliefs. For instance, in 1980, Section 298-B and 298-C made it a criminal offence for Ahmedis to call themselves Muslims while his ordinance 20, implemented in 1984, constitutionalised discrimination against Ahmedis (by legislating their evidence in court to not be treated at par with the evidence of a 'Muslim') (Qasmi, 2015; Shaikh, 2018).

Zia increased the power of the military and brought religious parties to the forefront at the centre of Pakistani politics and continued with Bhutto's efforts to make Pakistan a nuclear power (Fair, 2004). In the year 1979, with the onset of the Iranian revolution as the Soviet incursion in Afghanistan propelled Pakistan at the centre of global politics (Cohen, 2004). The political landscape of the country was permanently altered with Pakistan witnessing a sudden mushrooming of militant madrasas, which can be attributed to global politics of the Cold War, in what was a deliberate attempt to counter the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by the USA (Cohen, 2004). The Afghan civil war also acted as a catalyst in the consolidation of the power of Sunni extremist groups within Pakistan and the subsequent creation of the Taliban in Afghanistan (Jalal, 2008; Mortenson & Relin, 2007; Lieven, 2011). Zia justified the involvement of Pakistan in the Afghan war on the pretext of a fight for the cause of Islam- doing so he endorsed and furthered the recruitment of Pakistanis to protect the religious faith; effectively laying the ground for the cultivation of future terrorist organisations. This was also the time when the country witnessed an influx of Saudi funding to promote a particular Wahhabi interpretation of Islam (Jalal, 2008; Lieven, 2011).

The Iranian revolution together with the Afghan jihad in 1980s triggered an escalation in the Shia Sunni schism (Fair, 2015). The empowerment of Islamist groups, both Wahhabi and Deobandi, resulted in the rise of religious extremism within Pakistan as well as in neighbouring Afghanistan. What followed were attacks on mosques, on minorities particularly the Hazara community and the mushrooming of sectarian outfits leading to violent religious conflicts within the society (Syed, Pio, Kamran, & Zaidi, 2016). In December 1981, Zia stated

"Pakistan is like Israel, which is an ideological state. Take out the Judaism from Israel and it will fall like a house of cards. Take Islam out of Pakistan and make it a secular state; it would collapse" (Burki, 1986: 78). This helped Zia in not only assuaging the Islamists at home but also gaining international recognition during a period when Pakistan was playing a pivotal role in the Afghan–Soviet War (Azeem, 2020). The process of Islamisation also seeped into the education system of the country.

Religion and the Education System

When the Zia government stepped in, it initiated policy revisions to the educational changes made during the Bhutto era. One of these policies concerned de-nationalisation, which was extended to schools as well (Saigol, 1995). Private schools gradually returned to their original owners (Andrabi et al., 2008). However, this time, the private sector was not only confined to cater to the elite, but also to take advantage of the massive pool of low and middle-income strata. Hence, there was a shift in the status quo and the growth in low cost private schools began across all the provinces, rural and urban settings (Sultan Barakat et al., 2012, as cited in Bizenjo, 2020). Zia also continued Bhutto's Islamization of education, though on a much broader scale than his predecessor. The focus on madrassas[16] increased, particularly as the ideal training grounds for the Muslim fighters recruited for the Soviet-Afghan War (Fair, 2004).

During Zia's regime, only one educational policy was developed and implemented. The National Education Policy and Implementation Programme (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 1979) specifically focused on revising the curriculum and standards of madrassas and furthering Islamic content in education. Zia also endeavoured to align the public school system with that of madrassas in order to justify the increasing focus on the religious schools. One manifestation of the focus on Islam was the compulsory teaching of Arabic in schools in order for the students to understand the teachings of the Holy Quran.

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[16] It is imperative to note that much has been written about their rich history, often in glorifying terms, and of scholarly traditions, progression in sciences, literature and medicine, which is far from the rejectionist assumption that links madrassas to extremism today (Makdisi, 1974).

Lall (2009: 29) outlines how The National Education Policy and Implementation Programme (GOP 1979) proceeded to *"Islamise the youth by giving textbooks of all subjects (including the sciences and mathematics) a religious orientation".* This is also the first educational policy to specifically align the teaching of History with Islam by including Islamic content in it.

The nexus between religion and education in the policy can be discerned through the "National Aims of Education and their Realization" section in (GOP, 1979: 1) which emphasises how the education system's duty is to *"create awareness in every student that he, as a member of Pakistani nation is also a part of the universal Muslim Ummah and that it is expected of him to make a contribution towards the welfare of fellow Muslims inhabiting the globe on the one hand and to help spread the message of Islam throughout the world on the other".* Here, Zia furthered the conflation between Islam and the state by including the notion of brotherhood towards the Muslim Ummah as a pertinent aspect of education in the country- which automatically discriminates against all non-Muslims.

The 1979 policy also mandated for an increased inclusion of the Ulema in the construction and supervision of the Islamic Studies curricula. It further denoted how religious leaders were going to be invited to educational institutions to deliver lectures on Islam. Finally, the policy also proposed the development of mohalla (neighbourhood) schools for the purpose of girls' education. Since Zia's vision of Islamisation included advising women to observe Pardah- the policy specifically included a stipulation for a small stipend *"[p]urdah observing respectable ladies"* (p. 13), where "purdah-observing" refers to the women who would cover themselves from head to toe and observe distance from men. Though the 1979 plan mostly brought changes to the curriculum, there were some positive changes albeit minor in terms the provision of mixed primary schools and the introduction of literacy programs [GOP, 1979].

The most significant changes, however, concerned the national curriculum of public schools, which underwent significant changes in order to incorporate Zia's concept of Islamization while promoting a homogenized and monolithic interpretation of Muslims (White, 2012). This involved the involvement of religion in

non-religious subjects, the use of religion to foster a predominantly Islamic national identity of students and to construct the image of 'self' and the 'other' along religious lines (discussed in detail in chapter 3).

2.5 The Alternating Democratic Govts of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif (1988-1999)

Religion and Politics

After the mysterious passing away of General Zia ul Haq in a plane crash after his 11-year rule - Pakistan witnessed the alternating democratic governments of Benazir Bhutto (daughter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto) and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif[17] in a period known as the 'age of democracy' where no leader was able to complete a full term (Fair, 2004; Lieven, 2011). During this period, the coalition of Islamic parties that had supported Zia during his regime still retained their power; the war in neighbouring Afghanistan also required Pakistan to stay consistent with its Islamic ideology (Jalal, 2008).

As such this democratic interlude was accompanied by a constant struggle between the military, democratic parties and the Islamists (Fair, 2004). Initially the military allied with the pro Islamist parties[18] and the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) led by Nawaz Sharif (who had been pro-Zia before) resulting in the establishment of an alliance called The Islami jumhoori Ittihad (Islamic Democratic Alliance, IJT), which contested the 1988 elections against Benazir Bhutto (Durrani, 2013). After Bhutto's regime ended unceremoniously due to disputes with the military, the IJT came into power led by Nawaz Sharif as the Premier of the country. After this coalition became unsuccessful and the PPP government came back into power, the IJT coalition ended with Nawaz Sharif now turning against the military and forming the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) (H. K. Ullah, 2014).

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[17] Sharif is a Pakistani businessman and politician who served three non-consecutive and incomplete terms as Prime minister of the country. He was removed from office in 2017 by the Supreme Court of Pakistan due to revelations related to Panama Papers case. He has been disqualified from holding office and sentenced to seven years in accountability prison (Dawn, 2019).

[18] These Islamist parties included Jama'at-i Islami and the two ulama parties, Jami'at-i Ulama-i Islam (Society of Ulama of Islam, juI) and Jami'at-i Ulama-i Pakistan (Society of Ulama of Pakistan, juP) (See Nasr, 2004).

The Islamist parties and military still retained a close contact with them maintaining training camps and recruitment drives for Jihadist activities in Afghanistan (Fair, 2004). Yet the 1998 elections resulted in the smallest representation of Islamists in the Parliament with Sharif winning the popular vote. Sharif, who was generally considered a devout Muslim, used his image to openly present PML N as an "Islamic democratic party"- that was committed to the cause of development in Pakistan with simultaneous Islamisation (Lieven, 2011; Malik, 2014). Both Sharif and Bhutto were more interested in securing their power than instituting new policies in the country. Both did little to change the Islamisation process initiated by Zia, and also heavily relied on the two-nation theory as the backbone of the country and Islam as its ideology (Shaikh, 2018). Importantly tensions with neighbouring India increased during this period and Sharif's government conducted nuclear tests (1998) in retaliation of India's tests on their missiles (Syed, 1998).

Religion and the Education System

No educational policies were implemented during Bhutto's regimes, yet Sharif instituted two, one under each government. Much like his predecessor, Sharif used Islam to gain legitimacy and his 1992 policy further emphasised the role of Islam in education. In one section centred around Religious and Moral Education, the education policy of 1992 (GOP, 1992: 13) explains how:

> *"… in the 1979 Education Policy an educational framework was introduced for inculcating Islamic values in students for improving the quality of Islamic education in Deeni Madaris and for creating Pakistani nationhood……The Education Policy proposes to pursue these initiatives with increased avidity; yet it considers these initiatives insufficient for a fuller intellectual and moral development of youth in the face of increasing challenges from free competitive societies built on the edifice of a worldview presented by science and technology [emphasis added]".*

This policy thus deemed the previous policy as insufficiently involving religion in the educational framework while also denouncing worldviews built on science and

technology. The policy then further stated how in addition to Islamic content, the curriculum would also use Islam to impart moral education.

The second educational policy released under Sharif's second government National Education Policy 1998-2010 (GOP, 1998:9) emphasised an increase in Islamic content in the public-school curriculum with it coming even closer to the madrassa curriculum. The framework provided under the section of Islamic Education stated how, *"Pakistan has a unique position on the map of the world…The only justification for our existence is our total commitment to Islam as our sole identity".* These policies thus heavily underscored the Islamic identity of Pakistan and delineated the pre-eminent role of religion for the education system. The focus on history particularly as a conduit for furthering religious content was again visible in this policy with the postulation for the revision of all curricula and textbooks to any material not conforming to Islamic values and teachings, and to include materials focusing on the teachings of Quran, Islamic history, moral values, heroes in not just Islamiyat but almost all other subjects (GOP, 1998: 13).

The 1998 educational policy also resulted in an upsurge in the private educational institutions- almost in a way that relieved government of its constitutional duty of providing education to the citizens. Private schools accounted for about half of the total primary enrolment in urban areas, but were also present in rural areas (Arif, & Saqib, 2003). This can also be linked to the business background of Sharif with his government viewing education as an investment opportunity rather than a necessity for consumption (Aijaz, 2001). The public accounts committee however stated how the quality of these institutions was dismal and it was *"producing a hapless battery of unemployed persons"* (Public Accounts Committee, 2000). Again, the disparity between the private schools mounted with elite private schools following the curriculum of Cambridge University Press and charging exorbitant fees and low-cost private schools following the government instituted curricula and textbooks. Madrassas, on the other hand, still remained the training grounds for militant recruitment (Fair, 2004).

This democratic interlude was followed by a phase with massive changes to both the educational and political spheres of Pakistan.

2.6   Musharraf's De-Islamisation and the Subsequent Democratic Governments (1999-2018)

Religion and Politics

By 1999, the military under General Pervez Musharraf had initiated a campaign against Sharif, turning to extremist forces and encouraging the radicalisation of Islamist discourse to undermine Sharif's constituency. This involved destabilisation of the constituency to the extent that a centre right party like PML N no longer remained a viable option and the military stepped in (Jalal, 2014). This also involved the use of extremist forces in Kashmir, most notably in Kargil in 1999, when a militant incursion in Indian-held Kashmir exacerbated violence between the two states, greatly weakening Sharif's government (Fair, 2004).

Following a coup in 1999, Sharif's second government was ousted, and General Pervez Musharraf was instated as the President and chief Martial Law Administrator. After assuming office in 1999, Musharraf went about a series of reforms focusing on de-Islamisation of the country with a particular focus on the educational content (Nasr, 2004). A secular General, Musharraf was also known for his drinking and his affinity towards gambling- his initial speeches contained references to "doubling down" and "tripling down" (drawn from blackjack) (Jalal, 2014). In this sense, he could not have been more different than the General who ruled before him- Zia-ul-Haq. Foreseeably, Islam became less prominent in the public sphere, the observance of Islamic rituals did not decline yet the enforcement of Islamic practices allayed (Zia, 2009). Yet, it was during this time that the society became more divided than ever into competing factions of progressive upper-classes and Islamists. For the first time in Pakistan's history, the Islamist parties won substantial seats in the national assembly following the elections[19] (Zia, 2009).

During this period, Pakistan was again at the centre of global politics through its role in the second war of the United States in Afghanistan- the war on terror. This time the military government advocated for a more tolerant Islam which started

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[19] This was also achieved through the atrophying of the largest political parties, PPP and PML N since their respective leaders Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were sent into exile (See Nasr, 2004).

with revisions in educational policies that would reduce religious content in them (Lall, 2009). Musharraf called this shift to de-radicalisation and the use of Islam for a more tolerant and global outlook 'enlightened moderation' (Musharraf, 2004).

The latter half of Musharraf's reign showed how the idea of a secular military state proved unfavourable with Musharraf subsequently turning to Islamist forces to handle the discordant relations between civilians and the military (Nasr, 2004). Following Benazir Bhutto's assassination in 2008 and the ensuing chaos in the country; Musharraf's regime ended with the victorious Lawyers Movement in Pakistan that advocated for an independent judiciary. Subsequently, the democratic government of PPP (the first democratic government to complete its full five-year term) was elected followed by another incomplete term by Nawaz Sharif. During the time of the PPP government, the governor of Punjab Salman Taseer was assassinated by his guard- Mumtaz Qadri over Taseer's support for Asia Bibi- a woman accused of alleged blasphemy (a charge Bibi vehemently denies) (Basit, 2020).

Hailed as a hero, Qadri was subsequently hanged during the Sharif government in 2016, a surprise to many who believed Sharif would not dare unleash the anger and backlash of the Islamists. Yet Sharif did exactly that and also banned the preaching by another Islamist group, the Tabilighi Jamaat- known for its proselytising speeches in educational institutions (Basit, 2020). It was also during Sharif's regime that the military and the government aligned to curb the Islamist militant groups with an agenda against Pakistan through the Zarb-e-Azb movement (BBC News, 2016). Thus, this era marked the move towards a more tolerant Pakistan with a curb on the politicisation of religion.

Religion and the Education System

A number of important policies were implemented during this time with the National Education Policy Draft (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education [GOP], 2007a) being the most prominent. The Education Sector Reforms (ESR) 2001-2004 built upon the 1998 education policy and introduced further measures to decentralise the education system as part of a strategy to ensure good governance

in the education sector (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 2002a). These measures resulted in the hollowing out of the government in the education system and, hence, public educational institutions suffered from the consequences of these austerity measures (Aijaz, 2001; Tahir, 2009).

Musharraf's emphasis on engendering a more secular, global outlook resulted in the call for major revisions to textbooks in 2006/2007. These revisions were heavily supported by USAID who had been financing education reforms within the country- one of which was the Education Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA) that emphasised democratic education (Lall, 2009). Madrassas were regulated during this time and their processes were streamlined under the madrassa regulation board (Bano, 2012). The army-administered schools also flourished during this period with the institution of the centralised body Army Public School and Colleges System Secretariat in 2005.[20]

The government further aimed to establish private schools in rural areas through a public-private partnership (Pakistan, 2001, as cited in Arif & Saqib, 2003) and this is when NGO schools and those partnered with the government increased. Finally, within the 34 districts of Punjab, FBS (2001) reported Lahore as having the largest number of private schools (3491 schools), representing approximately 15% of all private schools in Punjab (24,325 schools).

The vision of a more global Pakistan was also visible in the education policy published in 2007 with terms such as Muslim Ummah and Muslim brotherhood replaced with "universal brotherhood" in the policy document. At various places in the document the word Muslim was replaced with citizen in perhaps an attempt to differentiate between religious and national identities. In stark comparison to the previous policies this policy prioritised *"the elements like Ethics, Globalization, Universal brotherhood, Moderation, Citizenship, Minorities, Poverty, Economic Prosperity could combine to lead to a vision that is in consonance with an enlightened Islamic Republic of Pakistan"* (GOP, 2006a, Attachment III: 1). This

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[20] *https://www.apsacssectt.edu.pk*

was also the first time that morality was emphasised but without any mentions of Islam. However International Crisis Group (2014) has indicated how even Musharraf had to change his policies to appease the religious elites of the country.

The National Education Policy ([GOP], 2009) was the only policy created throughout the tenure of the democratic governments (2008-2018). However, in 2010, following the 18th amendment to the constitution (2010), education became a provincial rather than federal responsibility. The national curriculum was therefore decentralised to provincial governments and the federal system was dissolved. Each province was therefore responsible for its own textbooks- and each province comes with its own customs, dominant regional language (Punjabi, Balochi, Pashto, Sindhi) and provincial governments in power, which would have an impact on the textbooks in use.

This policy (GOP, 2009:24) also was responsible for constructing and implementing the subject of "ethics/ moral education" for non-Muslim students (previously non-Muslim students had no choice but to pursue Islamiyat/Islamic studies). In all the previous policies, there was a lack of provisions for the religious minorities who had been suffering from the effects of extensive Islamisation and from the focus on madrassas. Much like the previous policy, there was a removal of political Islam and morality was not discussed in conjunction with Islam. It did include a chapter titled *"Islamic Education: Duty of the Society and the State",* but the policy overall emphasised the need to promulgate a more tolerant and global outlook of the country through its education.

2.7   The Populist Government of Imran Khan (2018- Present)

Religion and Politics

After Sharif was ousted on charges of corruption owing to his involvement in Panama leaks, former cricketer Imran Khan[21] received the popular vote in 2018

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[21] Khan is the current 22nd Prime Minister of Pakistan and the chairman of the political party Pakistan Tehreek-I-Insaf. He was an international cricket player before entering politics. Common perception within Pakistan concern Khan's links with the military as a primary reason for his election into office(Michael Kugelman, 2020).

and came to power with his political party Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). A populist leader, Imran Khan had sought to engender the image of a *'Naya Pakistan (new Pakistan)'*, which would lack corruption and be similar to the *Riyasat-e-Medina* (State of Medina), based on the model of governance adopted by Prophet Muhammad during his years of migration to Medina. Khan has been previously criticised for his support for the banned Islamist terrorist outfit Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)[22] in a stance that was heavily criticised by the liberal progressives of the country (Afzal, 2018).

Khan, since the onset of his rule, has set a somewhat confusing precedent regarding the role of religion in politics. At one point when the Islamist party Tehreek-e-Labaik Pakistan (TLP)[23] started protesting against the denouncement of charges and subsequent release of Asia Bibi from Jail, Khan stood his ground and openly criticised TLP for taking actions inimical to the process of peace in Pakistan (Afzal, 2018). Yet, within two days he signed a deal with the protestors and gave in to their demand of not letting Bibi travel abroad (revoked later). In another bold step, he appointed a Pakistani Ahmedi Professor, based in Princeton - Atif Mian as a member of his economic advisory council. Following a smear campaign orchestrated by members of TLP, Khan pre-emptively asked Mian to resign - again caving into the Islamists demands (Afzal, 2018). Khan has progressively shown pro-army and conservative Islamist views in his tenure (particularly in 2021 with consistent controversial comments around modesty of women in Islam for instance)- to the extent that his words seem analogous to those of Zia Ul Haq despite Khan being a popular democratically elected Prime Minister. It is perhaps indicative of the current state of the society where pandering to conservative Islamists seems to be a tool to garner popular vote.

Religion and the Education System

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[22] Khan articulated how the terrorist attacks by TTP were a result of the drone attacks conducted by US in the northern areas of Pakistan.

[23] TLP is a political group that derives its power from ensuring the complete implementation of Pakistan's draconian blasphemy law (which requires a sentence of death for charges of blasphemy). The party first came to prominence following its members support for Mumtaz Qadri- the man who assassinated former governor of Punjab, Salman Taseer in 2011 (Basit, 2020).

One of the foremost policies implemented and spoken about by Khan concerned the proposition of a single national curriculum, which technically goes against the spirit of the 18th amendment, which would unite all public, private and religious schools. A particular focus was on ending inequality and fostering equality between the 'elite' private schools, public schools and madrassahs (Nayyar, 2020). Nayyar (2020) writes how *"a grievous yet inevitable consequence of this effective re-centralisation of the curriculum is immediately apparent in the social studies curriculum."* This has manifested in the curriculum becoming more nationalistic in nature as compared to the more decentralised approach of the previous curriculum.

National Education Policy (2020) effectively outlines the need for Islamiyat and Nazara (with every school requiring a madrassa certified cleric to be compulsory from primary schooling right up to higher educational institutions in all general and professional institutions. As per the curriculum declared for Islamiyat, the course seems heavier in its teaching of religion as compared to previous curricula. Ethics (Moral Education) in lieu of Islamiyat (Compulsory) is introduced for minorities as their constitutional right, but sadly with little preparation in teacher education, recruitment, pedagogy, and assessment system and market recognition. According to the Federal Ministry for Education in Pakistan, the SNC would serve to overhaul the education system, but its key considerations would be in the light of the teachings of Quran and Sunnah. The curriculum would also give emphasis to the constitution of Pakistan and the national visions of the founders of Pakistan, Jinnah and Iqbal. The curriculum also makes compulsory for students from class 1 to 5 to receive knowledge on Dīn *(faith)*. However, the benchmarks seem roughly the same as the curriculum of 2006. Yet this curriculum also included a subject for comparative religions which has not been included in the curriculum thus far. The exact impact of the SNC and its involvement of religion remains to be seen since it has not been implemented yet (or atleast by the time this thesis was written).

The next chapter reviews the existing literature on the involvement of religion in textbooks in Pakistan; this does not include any research on the new textbooks published under SNC since they had not been implemented by the time this study was conducted.

Chapter 3   Literature Review: Research on Religion and Education in Pakistan

One of the most perennial academic and political debates around education in the world have concerned the place of religion in schools; including but not limited to teaching of religions in secular schools, the status of faith schools, the construction of students and teachers' religious identities and whether religions should be studied in classrooms (Davis & Miroshnikova, 2017; Gardner, Lawton, & Cairns, 2005; Hunter-Henin, 2012). Schools have been described and can be seen as microcosms of the society, having a disposition towards exhibiting or even replicating social relationships (Pohan, 2012). They are thus an ideal space for the examination of societal norms, in this case religion, particularly in a society with substantial religious infrastructure like Pakistan. Yet, there has been little research on the overarching role of religion in classrooms- not just in Pakistan but also in other secular and religious contexts.

The previous chapter traced the political role of religion in the Pakistani society with a particular focus on its inclusion in successive education policies of the country under different governmental regimes. This chapter examines the scholarly research on the involvement of religion in Pakistan, which mostly pertains to textbooks and curriculum with very limited work on teachers voices and schools in Pakistan. This chapter additionally reviews literature from beyond Pakistan on the involvement of religion in classrooms.

3.1   Religion in Textbooks

"… texts are not simply "delivery systems" of "facts." They are the simultaneous results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests" (Apple, 1992: 4)*.*

Textbooks operate not just as one of the foremost instruments of educational input but also, in some ways, as anchors of political and social norms in different societies (Apple, 1979). School textbooks epitomise formal expressions of the ideals, beliefs and values of certain predominant segments of society- the ruling elites (Apple, 1979; Bourdieu, 1974; Lukes, 1988). In this sense, curriculum and textbooks serve to manifest the socially constructed truths that form a dominant

ideology (McLaren, 1995). Textbooks can help in legitimising the rule of the political elites, which is the dominance of one cultural ideology over another (Apple, 1995a; McLaren, 1995); however, the actual legitimation depends on various other factors such as the way these textbooks are enacted in classrooms and on students' and teachers' power structures (Foucault, 1980).

As school textbooks are influenced by the cultural, social and religious institutions they are created in, research on them has focused on cultural and political ideals of the societies in which they are produced (Pinar & Reynolds, 2015). In Pakistan, the predominant pedagogical style has often been highlighted for placing a strong emphasis on learning by listening to, memorisation of and regurgitation from textbooks, which has resulted in much scholarly research on textbooks, especially with respect to involvement of religion in them (Hoodbhoy, 2020).

All public schools in Pakistan follow the guidelines of the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education; each province on the other hand has its own textbook board, which supervises the implementation of the curriculum. These textbooks are also predominantly used in low-cost private schools, church-administered and army-administered schools (which use a mix of textbooks published by the APSACS Secretariat and public-school textbooks- see chapter 4 for detail) in the respective provinces (See for detail, Andrabi, Das, Khwaja, & Zajonc, 2006).

In Pakistan, textbooks have specifically been identified for including material that incites bigotry, intolerance and gender biases (see for instance, Dean, 2005; Durrani, 2008; Rahman, 2012; Saigol, 2014). Consequently, content analysis has been used as a predominant approach to analyse public school textbooks (see for instance, Saigol, 1995; Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Saigol, 2003; Rosser, 2004; Lall, 2008; Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Rahman, 2011; Lall, 2012; Nayyar, 2013; Naseem, 2014; Afzal, 2015). The research on textbooks has repeatedly revealed the excessive involvement of Islam in education in the country (Lall, 2008a; Naseem, 2014; Rahman, 2012a).

A manifestation of this focus on Islam can be seen in the way religion has been used to perpetuate the ideologies of successive governments in Pakistan through

the medium of school textbooks. A look at the existing literature based on content analysis of Pakistani textbooks reveals several underlying ways in which religion is narrated in textbooks.

3.1.1 Religion and National Identity

Miller (1995) refers to national identity as the way a political community defines itself in terms of what it stands for and how it differs from other communities. Anderson (1991) elaborated that this community is *imagined* because even the members of the smallest 'communities' may never meet or even hear of their fellow members, yet in their minds the powerful notion of their communion helps build their identity. The socialisation of the community members as "citizens" or "nationals" (Smith, 1991) is reinforced through education (Gellner, 1983; Miller, 1995; Smith, 1991) often by depending on shared symbolism (Banks, 1997).

Religion can be an effective way of emphasising shared symbolism, particularly in religiously homogenous societies as it provides the impressions, symbols and myths that juxtapose to become the foundation of a nation (Hobsbawm, 1992). Religion shares something in common with nationalism in that it defies death by promising continuity. The idea here is that the individual may die but the religion and the nation will keep on thriving (Anderson, 1991), which can be used to foster national identity. The influence of religion on national consciousness may be exacerbated if the nation itself were borne out of a religious conflict or conceived on religious grounds (Hastings, 1997). As the cultural critic Kobena Mercer observes *"identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty"* (Mercer, 1990:43)*.*

Research on content analysis of Pakistani school textbooks has depicted how the Islamic identity of the country is generally emphasized in the textbooks and curriculum to construct national identities of students (Afzal, 2015; Ali, 2011; Dean, 2005; Aziz, 1992; Lall, 2008c; Rahman, 2011a; Rosser, 2004; Saigol, 1995). This construction makes use of historical revisionism focused on presenting Islam and Muslim leaders as sacrosanct to construct an *imagined community* grounded in Islam (See Saigol, 1995). However, the construction of national identities is a

constant, reiterative process and Pakistan too has witnessed a historical evolution in it, especially in the public educational discourse over the years (see for detail Lall, 2009).

While research on the earliest textbooks is scarce, Yvette Rosser (2004) and Rubina Saigol (1995) have conducted some analysis of textbooks published in the pre-1971 era (Saigol 1995; Lall 2009). Saigol (1995), for one, using textual analysis to interpret the latent messages not explicated openly in the texts, analysed the earliest available school textbook from the year 1953 and noted how it highlighted freedom of religious thought and practice. In their articulation of historical events, the earlier years textbooks were objective in nature. For instance, one book mentioned the first Muslim invader of the Subcontinent, Muhammad Bin Qasim, by stating:

 "*He laid the foundation of a Muslim kingdom in India, but the very first brick of this foundation was not straight, that is why the structure constructed on this foundation was aslant and fragile...* [24]".

Saigol (1995) notes how the Muslim leaders of that period were not subjected to hero-worship and were subjected to objective critique. Islam was therefore not presented as an ideology for the country, which can be seen as a product of the post-partition era education policies that limited the role of religion in curriculum and textbooks. Saigol (1995) noted how textbooks[25] during Ayub's era emphasised less the two-nation theory. This is in marked contrast to the later more inward looking and defensive national narrative found in textbooks starting with the separation of East Pakistan (Talbani, 1996). The state and religion began synthesising in education which can be discerned from the following excerpt from a textbook published in 1971:

"*Pakistan has been created by an ideology, and this ideology is provided by our religion, Islam. And this is all that Islamic ideology means. That is, in Pakistan its politics, society and economics, in fact the entire system of living, would be under the dictates of Allah, and in every matter, guidance would be sought from the Quran*"[26].

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[24]Syed Abdul Qadir, Muhammad Shujauddin, Tareekh-e-Pakistan-o-Hind, Volume I, Third Edition (Lahore, February 1956), quoted in Saigol (1995).

[25]Social Studies (History and Civics) for Class III. (1963). Pakistan Textbook Corporation Limited.

[26] Social Studies for Secondary Classes, West Pakistan Textbook Board (Lahore 1971) pp. 141, 151, quoted in Salim and Khan (2004).

Saigol (1995) emphasises how religion started being presented as an ideology governing the country than a belief system. On the other hand, defensive nationalism was perhaps used to prevent the stronghold of ethnic identities that previously had resulted in a severe blow to Jinnah's two-nation theory, as Islam had failed to cross ethno-linguistic boundaries.

Jalal (1995) mentions how after major changes in textbooks were initiated, during the Zia era, quoting one 1988 textbook:

'Pakistan came to be established for the first time when the Arabs under Mohammad bin Qasim occupied Sindh and Multan'; and how by the thirteenth century *'Pakistan had spread to include the whole of Northern India and Bengal'* and then under the Khiljis *'Pakistan moved further south-ward to include a greater part of Central India and the Deccan"*[27].

Jalal (1995) shows how the presentation of Pakistan as an ideology in the above text would give the impression that Pakistan has existed not for mere decades but centuries. The boundaries with other Muslim countries were also blurred to form an *imagined community* of good Muslims or as Shorish (1988) calls them, "Homo Islamicus".

Jalal (1995) also identified extensive historical revisionism prevalent in the textbooks during the Zia era. For instance, the Muslim clerics of the 19th century became unsung heroes of the narrative of Muslim sacrifice and tragedies. Many Ulema such as Maulana Maududi and Maulana Mahmud Hasan were listed in the post Zia era textbooks as founders of the eponymous "Ideology of Pakistan" (Aziz, 1992; Jalal, 1995). What the textbooks failed to impart was that rather than being in favour of partition, these Ulema were in fact against the whole idea of an independent state for Muslims (Aziz, 1992; see also chapter 2 for detail). One may recall Apple's statement, which highlights that the narratives to be included in education will only be the ones serving the purpose of national identity construction (Apple, 1991). The narratives that were included during Zia's era are not just biased- they are simply inaccurate.

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[27] M. D. Zafar, *A Text Book of Pakistan Studies* (Lahore, 1988), 4-8, 21, quoted in Jalal (1995).

During General Pervez Musharraf's military government, the ground, breaking study by Nayyar and Salim (2003) was released, which demonstrated how textbooks emphasised the need for every Pakistani, irrespective of religion, to be proud of the Islamic faith and live by its principles where patriotism was considered synonymous to devotion to Islam and the Muslim brotherhood. The nexus between religion and education had developed to the extent that Islamic notions were included in not only subjects such as Social Studies, but also English, Urdu and even Science (Naseem, 2006; Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Saigol, 2005).

Following extensive research, further amendments to curriculum and textbooks took place in 2006, textbooks continued to highlight the nexus between state and religion in the country (Rahman, 2012; Saigol, 2014; Naseem, 2014; Lall & Saeed, 2019). The textbooks published in 2010, for one, emphasise how Muslims are different from all other people in the world. For instance, the following passages can be found in a textbook for secondary schools:

"Muslims believe that people of the world are divided into two major communities or millats on the basis of faith. Followers of Islamic creed are a separate and distinct nation from the rest of the mankind"[28].

These articulations completely disregard the contentious history of Pakistan's formation and use Islam to forge a national identity by, for instance stating, "*Pakistan is an ideological state. It is based on a specific philosophy of life. Its basis is the religion of Islam . . . This is the basis that caused the movement of Pakistan. The ideology of Pakistan means ideology of Islam. No doubt, the Islamic ideology is the foundation of the ideology of Pakistan (p.3)"*[29].

Rahman (2012) contends that the Muslim children reading these textbooks believe that national identity is akin to religious identity. This could be entirely possible, as the texts fail to distinguish between religious and national identity, however the exact impact of the texts on students depends on how the text is taught to them.

With further revisions in textbooks, there still remain ideological issues that are highlighted by researchers. This is highlighted as a particularly pertinent point of

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[28] Pakistan Studies Textbook published by the Punjab Textbook Board (2010; p.3), quoted in Emerson (2017)
[29] Punjab Textbook Board, (2009; p.3), quoted in Saigol (2014)

concern in Center for Social Justice (CSJ) (2020) study which is perhaps the first research report to particularly analyse the role of religion in education, owing to the debate around the single national curriculum. Previous research has identified nationalistic, patriotic and gendered constructions in text as well as the construction of the other - yet no research has specifically looked at the inclusion of religious content in textbooks and curriculum. In her contributions to the CSJ report, Tahira Abdullah reviews textbooks published by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board and provides the following example of religious content from a Grade 10 Pakistan Studies Textbook:

A section titled Ideological Protection states: "As the ideology of Pakistan is rooted in Islam, promotion of unity within the Muslim world has a central place in Pakistan's foreign policy".

This excerpt from the textbook and other texts are provided by Abdullah to show that religious content is still ubiquitous in the textbooks. Yet, Abdullah only provides the materials and pushes for their removal without any exposition around why their inclusion in the texts is problematic.

It is undeniable that the two-nation theory as articulated in textbooks continues to have a powerful hold on Pakistanis, in forming their national identity, because of its strong emotional base and the lack of other versions of reality. However, researchers focusing on conflict and education (Davies, 2009; Smith, 2013) as well as critical educationalists like Apple (Apple, 1991) argue that the classroom environment, and how curriculum is translated into pedagogy and learning, is often more consequential for national identity building of students as compared to textbooks and curriculum.

Despite the volume of research conducted on the ideological content related to religion in textbooks and curriculum in Pakistan, there is still a lack of research, on the other hand, on how religion is used for national identity formation in the classrooms. What some researchers (Rahman, 2011b; USCIRF, 2016) did uncover was how nationalism in Pakistan has also been promoted by creating antagonistic identity of the "other" (USCIRF, 2011).

3.1.2 Religion and the Religious 'Other'

"*Identity is always constituted in relation to difference because a thing can only be known in relation to what it is not*"[30] (Rumelili, 2004: 29).

National identity, like any other form of identity, is a bipartite construct- wherein it is both inward-looking in seeking homogeneity within a group, yet simultaneously outward-looking in presupposing differences with 'out-groups' or the 'others' (Kedourie, 1992; Smith, 1991). The creation of any form of identity is a dialectic process, inordinately influenced by historical, social contexts and shaped by the interchange between an individual's view of himself/herself and the view of how he/she would be perceived and categorized by other people (Hall, 1990). The construction of identity thereafter entails the recognition and acknowledgement of the self and all the 'others' who are different from the self. Often the articulations of the 'others' involve some degree of prejudice, for it is difficult to cement national bonds without constructing enemies (Özkirimli, 2005; Woodward, 1997).

Education is often entrusted with the responsibility of constructing these 'others'. In Pakistan, considering the vexed relationship between state and religion, the 'other' has been constructed on mostly religious terms; it not just includes the Indian nation beyond the borders, but also the religious others that are different from the Muslim self (See for details, Lall, 2009; USCIRF, 2011; Rahman, 2012). Research on public school textbooks in Pakistan has identified the creation of 'otherness' pertaining to other religions (See for instance, Nayyar & Salim, 2004, USCIRF, 2011; Rahman, 2012; USCIRF, 2016). This bias against minorities and the creation of 'others' has not been restricted to just Social Studies textbooks but in almost all taught subjects. While examining research on textbooks in Pakistan, one can witness how Hindus predominantly are the ones seen as the 'other'.

3.1.2.1 The Hindu 'Other'

Many scholars have shown how Indians and Hindus are treated as one entity with the terms being used interchangeably, and animosity between the two nations and the events leading to partition being consistently emphasised in textbooks to build the narrative of the enemy 'other' (Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Rahman, 2004; Saigol,

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[30] Rumelili, B. (2004) 'Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference: Understanding the EU's Mode of Differentiation', Review of International Studies, 30, pp. 27-47 (at 29).

2005; Afzal, 2015).

It would however be incorrect to assume that the hate against Hindus arose due to independence, as pre-1971 textbooks involved more tolerant descriptions of Hindus. Research on the Ayub Khan period showed how this reflected in the textbooks as they contained narratives, not just on earlier civilisations of Mohenjo Daro and Harrappa, for instance, but also the Hindu mythologies of Ramayana and Mahabharat (Tripathi, 2016), Saigol (1995) also notes how references to Hindu God Ram and founder of Buddhism Gautama Buddha follow mentions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Jesus Christ and Abraham in the Social Studies textbook published by Punjab Textbook Board in 1963. Rama and Buddha, in this textbook are described as kind and gentle supporters of peace. Saigol (2014) proposes that negative anti-Hindu or anti-India messages in the educational discourse of the 1950s and 1960s were relatively absent.

On the contrary, Aziz (2002)'s in-depth study on the making of history in Pakistan revealed that the creation of 'otherness' was explicated in the text even in a Social Studies textbook from 1968, which mentioned the communal riots of 1947, as only perpetuated by Hindus against "unarmed Muslims", where Muslims did not even fight back[31]. In this case too historical revisionism was at play with another textbook from the Ayub era stating:

"*Muhammad Ali Jinnah felt that the Hindus wanted to make Muslims their slaves and since he hated slavery, he left the congress*"[32].

Indeed, Muhammad Ali Jinnah left the congress, but at no point did he state that it was due to the fear of slavery. Such distortions of history are used to strengthening the case against the 'other'. In terms of the research conducted on the textbooks, it is surprising to witness different authors analysing the textbooks of the same era found different results with regards to it with Aziz (2002) finding discriminatory materials in the same Social Studies textbooks published during the Ayub era and Saigol (1995) postulating the opposite.

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[31] Mu'ashrati Ulum, West Pakistan Textbook Board, Lahore, 1st. ed, March, 1968, pp, 110, quoted in Aziz (2002)
[32] A beginner history of Indo-Pakistan, Imperial Book Depot, Lahore, 1964, pp. 104, quoted in Aziz (2002).

Post the creation of Bangladesh, the nationalist discourse started taking a far more inward-looking stance that was built on differentiating between the Muslim 'Self' and the 'Other'. Now, from having to deal with the challenge of protecting the almost 14 per cent citizens of the country comprising of non-Muslims previously, the Pakistani state just had to deal with 3 per cent and so they could afford their stance on minorities to be hardened (Ispahani, 2017). As a consequence, Social Studies textbooks permeated with rhetoric that disparaged all non-Muslims in general, but Hindus in particular (Saigol 2005).

For example, Naseem (2014) cited the 1975 Social Studies and History textbooks for describing how Hindus attacked in the *'darkness of the night'*, while describing the war of 1965, analysing that subtle but definite hints of cheating, trickery and deceit started being associated with the Indian army and more generally with the Hindus. One can recall how the historian Hobsbawm underlines the need for creating enemies for political means. He writes:

"*Within certain groups, it may even be a piece of political wisdom to see to it that there be some enemies in order for the unity of the members to be as effective and for the group to remain conscious of this unity as its vital interest" (*Hobsbawm, 1990:167-68).

The articulation of the 'Hindus' as eternal enemies of 'Muslims' grew even fiercer during the Islamisation processes under General Zia-ul- Haq. For one, in a Social Studies textbook[33] from the Zia era, the mention of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) is followed by discussion of the *Khulfa-e-Rashideen*[34]- with the mentions of Hindu Gods and Buddha excluded from the textbooks. Saigol (1995) explicated how Rama, Buddha, Jesus and all others quietly exit the pages of history as unwanted or irrelevant 'others'. Additionally, Saigol (1995) noted how the Class V 1987 chapter on history uses the entire space to construct opposing images of Hindus and Muslims. Each time Hindus are mentioned in said texts as being defeated, it is blamed on their own character and weaknesses. For example, one text repeatedly quotes that:

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[33] Social Studies Textbook for Class V, 1988, p.5, quoted in Saigol (1995).
[34] The earliest leaders after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, (see for detail Spuler, 2013).

"the Hindus did not like Muslim entry into India", "for a thousand years the Hindus did not desist from harming the Muslims each time they got a chance", "the Muslims kept trying to live with them in peace and harmony but the Hindus just wouldn't listen to them"[35].

Such depictions of Hindus continued in the textbooks of post Zia era as well. The idea of the complete otherness of Hindus and Muslims receives the most vehement articulation in a Civics textbook for Intermediate Classes by Mazhar-ul-Haq who writes:

"The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor intermingle together, and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations, which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their views on life and of life are different"[36].

Saigol (1995) emphasises how the articulation of nationalist ideology on the basis of primarily the Muslim self and the Hindu other results in the ignorance of all heterogeneity of the self in terms of linguistic, sectarian, ethnic and gender boundaries. This homogenous articulation becomes both totalising, by ignoring differences within the Muslim community, and divisive, because it separates the Muslim self from the religious others. This makes it even more pertinent to understand how this representation of the 'self' and the 'other' is enacted in classrooms.

The following quotes from textbooks from the Urdu textbooks published by the Punjab Textbook Board (2002: 12) further exhibit the treatment of Hindus in textbooks:

'*Hindus and Sikhs killed Muslims whenever they were in a minority. They burnt their houses and forced them to migrate to Pakistan*' (p.46) and *"When the English consolidated their rule, the Hindus openly sided with them – because both hated the Muslims – Hindus are ready to change for their advantage – they made a plan to enslave the Muslims permanently"[37].*

Rahman (2012) contends how the Hindu-Muslim opposition and the conflict between the two states are thus normalized. He further elaborates how this is one of the reasons why many members of the Pakistani population do not become

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[35] Social Studies Textbook for Class V, 1988, p.5, quoted in Saigol (1995).
[36] Mazhar-ul-Haq, Civics of Pakistan, sixth ed., Bookland, Lahore, 2000, p. 19, quoted in Saigol (2005).
[37] Quoted in Rahman (2002).

completely aware of colonial vestiges that affect their everyday life even to this day and instead direct their attention mostly towards the Hindu-Muslim opposition. Yet textbooks are not the only medium perpetuating the normalisation of this discourse; classroom discourses and popular media referring to the India/Pakistan binary also serve to normalise the construction of the Hindu 'other'.

Even after revisions to textbooks in 2006, research showed that the negative portrayal of Hindus still remained (Behuria & Shehzad, 2013; Channa, Gilhooly, Channa, & Manan, 2017; Nayyar, 2013; Rahman, 2011a). However, a study by USCIRF (2016) recognised that there were certain passages in the textbooks that provided examples of tolerant Muslim leaders and the need for harmony between Muslims and Non-Muslims. For instance, they quote this passage from the Grade 5, Social Studies textbook by the Punjab Textbook Board (2011: 88):

"*Muhammad Bin Qasim respected the Hindu Pandits and they had full freedom to worship in their own ways. Much of the Muslim Governments' works were handed over to the Hindus, who carried them out nicely*".

The report however does make a point to note that such mentions do come under the general chapters on Islamic superiority; hence they are not entirely neutral. CSJ (2020) acknowledges the inclusion of texts on Hindu mythology and festivals and a marked improvement in the textbook content as compared to the previous years. Yet, it does highlight the presence of discriminatory materials against minorities, especially Hindus, even after the textbook revisions. Anjum James Paul in CSJ (2020), for instance provides the following examples:

"*As Muslims dominated the eastern province, the position of Hindus got weakened there. This happiness of Muslims was short-lived as the Hindus got together for the cancellation of the division of Bengal. However, the Muslims had learned an important lesson that they could neither trust Hindus nor British*"[38].

"*Quaid-i-Azam proved himself as the real architect of Pakistan. He re-organized Muslim League, fought against the clever manoeuvring of Hindus and dealt with the British in a tit-for-tat manner*"[39].

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[38] History, Grade 8, Unit 2, Page: 43, Lines 2-4, Page 50, Lines 11-12

[39] History, Grade 8, Page 85, Lines 12-14

At several places in the report, Nayyar (2020) also highlights the need to expunge materials from the textbook such as the ones containing ideological hate against the Hindus. Yet he does not provide any specific examples of these texts and instead intimates how *"the narration of historical events, especially relating to the days of the independence movement, is quite often laced with hatred against Hindus as a group. It is surprising that there seems to be no concern at all for how the millions of fellow Hindu citizens of Pakistan take this vilification in textbooks (p.46)".* The classroom discourses and the voices of minority students are missing in these reports and hence it is difficult to understand how these texts are read in the classrooms, and in particular received by students belonging to minority religious communities.

Nevertheless, the research does depict how Hindus are the primary subjects of the 'us vs. them' narrative in textbooks that stems from the two-nation theory. Hindus are both an internal and external 'other' since the texts portray not just the Hindus living beyond the border as their sworn enemies, but automatically also the Hindus residing within Pakistan by failing to differentiate between them. Hence, textbooks create demarcations with the 'other' within the country as well, with textbook content also highlighting discriminatory materials against Christians.

3.1.2.2 The Christian 'Other'

Even though the Hindu 'other' is the foremost enemy in the Pakistani narrative, the English or the 'Christian' other is significant as well due to Pakistan's history of colonial rule by the British. Similar to the interchangeable use of the Hindu/Indian, the terms English, British and Christians are also used interchangeably in the Pakistani textbooks (Saigol, 2005).

With regards to Christians, a look at textbook analysis reveals that surprisingly they do not contain many references to them specifically, especially in the pre-1971 era where the mentions of Christians were almost negligible (Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Saigol, 2005; USCIRF, 2011). However, in Bhutto's era, a description of pre-Islamic society, with mentions of Christians appears in a Social Studies text produced in 1975:

"Before the advent of Islam Arabia was in a pitiable condition. Idol worship and ignorance stalked the land. Wars and feuds destroyed every natural virtue of the Arabs. As people, the Arabs possessed many natural virtues. They were large-hearted, hospitable and true to their word… The Arabs took to drinking wine under Syrian influence. Most of the wine merchants were Christians..Christianity had become allied with powerful rulers...its followers fell prey to many evils...but this corrupt form of Christianity could do little good to the Arabs...All wine shops in Arabia were owned by Christians"[40].

This long quotation has an interesting implication with regards to Christians, in terms of the discourse of virtue and vice, whereby the Christians were the wine sellers and the primary corrupting influence. Even in the later eras, there are few references to Christians, or perhaps research does not cover the material in the textbooks regarding minorities other than Hindus.

One other way in which the Christian other is mentioned in textbooks is by emphasising the need to protect Pakistan from enemies, with many references to historical conflicts and wars with Britishers, and the history of the violent rule of the Christians (Naseem, 2014; Saigol, 2014). In order to contrast with the Self, the Christian rulers are portrayed as tyrannical. For instance, textbooks were quoted as saying:

"*They [Christians] wanted to avenge themselves on Muslims – the Christians took to their traditional tactics of conspiring against the ruler"[41].*

"History has no parallel to the extremely kind treatment of the Christians by the Muslims. Still the Christian kingdoms of Europe were constantly trying to gain control of Jerusalem. This was the cause of the Crusades"[42].

Saigol (2014) contends how a fear of annihilation is instilled in students, making them feel incredibly resentful towards these outsiders that threaten their country's existence. Saigol further emphasises how the motivations behind conquests and wars are all bound together under the heading of Islam to justify them, they can effectively legitimize violence. Yet this fear of annihilation will also depend on the way these texts are read in the classrooms and the day-to-day socialisations of the students in the schools. In recent years, Christians in Pakistan have been subject

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[40] Social Studies Textbook for Class VI, 1975, pp. 51-53, quoted in Saigol (1995).

[41] Social Studies Textbooks Class 8, Punjab Textbook Board, p.27, quoted in Rahman (2012)

[42] Social Studies Textbook for Class VII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, January 2002, quoted in Saigol (2005).

to racial hate amounting to blasphemy allegations and attacks on churches (Walbridge, 2012). However, scholarly research on anti-Christian sentiments perpetuated in textbooks and classrooms is scarce, and hence its influence on Christian minorities is not known.

CSJ (2020) has highlighted the existence of discriminatory materials against Christians in the current iterations of the textbooks as well. Anjum James Paul, for instance in his review of textbooks published by the federal Directorate of Education provides the following examples:

"Muslims thought that education promoting Christianity might corrupt their beliefs. It was therefore important for Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to launch a modern education system combined well with the values of Islam and English language"[43].

However, Paul does illustrate an increase in 'positive content' pertaining to minorities with "*the role of minorities in Pakistan is acknowledged in the fields of law, science, health, defence and sports, and contribution made by individuals is mentioned (p.146).* Riaz Sheikh in CSJ (2020) has also highlighted the increase in positive content for minorities in Sindh Textbook Board published textbook materials such as inclusion of prophets, sacred books and places of worship, festivals as well as entire chapters on conflict resolution and tolerance, diversity in culture and society, and the full address of Jinnah 1947 that also speaks to minorities with a chapter title our heroes and heroines that also included Dr Ruth Pfau. However, Riaz writes how *"Although, Dr. Ruth Pfau's services have been mentioned very briefly in just one sentence, however there is a need to dedicate one chapter on the German national who devoted her whole life serving people to fight leprosy of Pakistan, be included in an early class syllabus."* Even though the representations of Christian in textbooks have improved over the years, as Riaz (2020) rightly points, these representations are brief and minor and need to be accentuated in texts. Additionally, it is also not known how classroom discourse constructs the Christian 'other'- in fact whether or not religious demarcations come up in classrooms.

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[43] History, Grade 8, Unit 2: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Aligarh Movement, Page 28, Lines 6 -9

Nevertheless, one can observe how religion can also be used as a tool to create demarcations based on membership in the religious in-group, which makes all others the part of the out-group (Altemeyer, 2003; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; Jackson & Esses, 2016; Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). What is imperative to note here is that the use of the term 'other' is not just restricted to the other beyond the border but also to the other within the country by way of religious demarcations (Lall, 2008).

3.1.2.3   The Internal 'Other'

The concept of 'otherness' is not only visible in the case of non-Muslims but also within Muslims due to the existence of diversity among Muslims. Any focus on religion will bring its definition into debate with the definition of Islam being highly contested. Muslims, in this regard employ religious texts[44] as benchmarks to evaluate their everyday lives and to live their lives according to Islamic principles. Different sects would have different interpretations and different manuals for interpreting these texts (Gilsenan, 1982). Subsequently, the Islamic group deciding 'what is Islam' would first need to be selected, who could then perhaps disregard or even delegitimise any definitions by other Muslim groups.

Since its creation, the country has witnessed the promotion of exclusionary political discourses and practices that seek to impose ever-narrower definitions of the Muslim and to establish the pre-eminence of a particular type of sectarian Islam- Sunni- as emblematic of the Pakistani (Ispahani, 2015). The debate over the definition of Islam, especially in relation to education has largely centred on Shia and Sunni Islam (Gilsenan 1982). In Pakistan, the Sunni perspective of religion is perpetuated in the society, further leading to the creation of 'others' with regards to other Islamic sects such as Shia and Zikri (Reetz, 2011).

In terms of textbooks, the excessive focus on a particular kind of Sunni Islam emerged during Zia ul Haq's military regime and has only exacerbated since then (Saigol 1995, Jalal 1995). Dean (2005) highlights how the textbooks deliberately

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[44] These texts mainly consist of the Quran and Prophet's traditions (Hadith) as well as jurisprudential ruling, exegetical commentaries etc.

ignore the fact that there may be non-Muslims or Muslims from other denominations in the schools. A manifestation of this can also be found in the way conflicts between Shias and Sunnis heightened when Shia Muslims residing in the northern parts of Pakistan over the explicit favouring of Sunni Islam in textbooks by displaying the correct way of praying, for instance as that of the Sunni style of praying (Ali, 2011; see chapter 2 for detail). The textbook controversy was exacerbated by allegations by many in the Shia community that textbooks were blatantly disregarding the Shia interpretation of Islam and promoting the Sunni vision. Similarly, it was argued that the lives of Caliphs and Prophet's companions were the subject of widespread discussions whereas there were no similar discussions on the Shia Imams. Such descriptions were viewed as promoting cultural hegemony of Sunnis, creating a worldview *for* students that could potentially pave way for religious intolerance within Islam.

Even after textbook amendments in 2006, the emphasis on Sunni Islam remains. For instance, USCIRF's (2016) review of Urdu language textbooks published for students up to Grade 10 by the Punjab Textbook Board revealed that 96 chapters out of a total of 362 displayed a strong Sunni Islamic orientation. Much of the critique of the textbooks and curriculum has focused on the way exclusionary language in use helps advocate Sunni Muslims over other Pakistanis (see Dean, 2005, Ahmed, 2004, Nayyar & Salim, 2002). As such, these representations can be seen as constituting forms of 'politically organized subjection' (Abrams, 1988) and 'moral regulation'(Corrigan & Sayer, 1985) through which the social identities of subjects are homogenized for the making of state and citizen in Pakistan.

Though in order to examine the views of students and teachers regarding minorities, it is essential to not just analyse textbook content but also gage the way pedagogy influences these perceptions. There are a limited number of studies that attempt to examine the perceptions of students regarding minorities (See for example, Dean, 2005; USCIRF, 2011; USCIRF, 2016). Rahman (2005) conducted a survey in 2003 to judge the attitudes of teachers and students of religious, public and private schools with regards to minorities residing in Pakistan and found that

all participants were least tolerant of the Ahmadi[45] community, even though they pose no danger to the national cohesion. One can recall how Hannah Arendt pointed out that repressive and totalitarian state policies created objective enemies or 'others' that cause no real harm or damage (Arendt, 1951). Furthermore, in Pakistan, religion is used not just to extend the concept of 'otherness' to those belonging to other religions but extends this concept to gender as well.

3.1.3 Religion and the Gendered 'Other'

Learning about national heroes and icons can often foster the development of a national identity (Banks, 1997). However, if a differentiation occurs in terms of the depiction of males and females, it can build a skewed identity. In Pakistan, masculine, patriotic and militaristic articulations are normalized not just overtly through text but also through sub-textual references in the text. As education is often constructed with a predominant male subject in mind, females may be othered as a consequence. The examination of textbooks for gendered messages can then become an effective exercise in determining how this othering takes place (Paechter, 2006). Gendered analysis using post structuralism has predominantly been used to evaluate underlining gendered messages in texts (Wooldridge, 2015).

Academic research has previously focused on the education of women in Pakistan and their representation in textbooks (Hussain & Malik, 1996; Khurshid, Gillani, & Hashmi, 2010; Saigol, 2003; Zeenatunissa, 1989; Zeenatunissa & M.S, 1989). Research has particularly highlighted how textbooks promoted 'patriarchal domination' and served to operate as an instrument for 'male gaze' using a monolithic interpretation of Islam (H. Ullah & Skelton, 2013).

There is a lack of research on the pre-1971 era textbooks with regards to hidden gendered messages. Even during the Bhutto era, the research is scarce, with Saigol (1995) analysing the Class VI Social Studies text of 1975 to reveal that the discourse on citizenship was entirely masculinist in nature, with references only to

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[45]Ahmadiyya is an Islamic religious movement that originated from the teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908). Ahmedis consider Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to be the promised Mahdi (or guided one).

men fighting wars. More research on treatment of women in textbooks is available, beginning from the Zia era, perhaps because one important element of his Islamisation process was to relegate women to a subordinate status (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

In one of the first studies on sexual discrimination in textbooks, Zeenatunnisa (1988) showed how in all textbooks examined, only 16.8 per cent of the human characters were females and only 16 per cent of the biographies were of women. The females mentioned were only shown in the domestic sphere. During the same era, Anwar (1982) came up with a similar conclusion while examining 105 textbooks for various subjects and grades published by the Punjab Textbook Board. He also noted that while, 78 per cent of the textbooks had been written by males, females had written only 6 per cent. What was also apparent in these studies was the use of Islam to determine the place of women in the society.

These earlier studies paved way for future research post Zia ul Haq's regime and a greater look at the involvement of religion for gender discourse in textbooks. For instance, the below-given quote taken from a Civics textbook by the Punjab Textbook Board attempts to define women's rights by emphasizing the superiority of males in Islam:

"In Pakistani society, the male is superior. The male is the head of the household and descent goes down in his name . . . Islam has determined woman's status. A Pakistani woman, unlike Western women, is neither free of parental control nor suffocated like women in traditional Hindu society. She is looked upon as the Queen of the Home. Heaven lies about her feet and this is an important concept"[46].

In Musharraf's era, research on gender-biased illustrations increased substantially. Perhaps, one of the most in-depth study was conducted by Naseem (2006). Using a post structuralist point of view, he argued how the textbooks were creating the ideals of gendered citizenship through totalisation, normalisation and classification using Islam. This paves way for effective gender demarcation, particularly because the Islamic female icons are predominantly seen as supporting figures of mothers and wives in the textbooks. For example, Naseem (2006) shows how mentions of influential Muslim women such as Khadija (first wife of the Prophet) who was a

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[46] Punjab Textbook board (1998:68), quoted in Saigol (2003).

successful businesswoman and Fatima Jinnah (Muhammad Ali Jinnah's sister) who was a dentist were devoid of any reference to their professional roles and achievements. They are merely presented as appendages to their male counterparts. Naseem (2006) stresses how such categorizations are normalised by way of hierarchization and how conformity to cultural, social and sexual norms can often be achieved by way of such representations. Yet conformity to the cultural, sexual, norms through education additionally depends on a range of other factors such as the pedagogical stances of teachers and the ensuing classroom discourses.

Research has additionally shown how similar categorizations are present not just in textbooks for Social Studies, but rather most other subjects. Content analyses of English textbooks published by Punjab Textbook Board, found that women were not included in the illustrations and were devoid of any mentions as well (Mattu & Hussain, 2003). Also failing to receive acknowledgement in History textbooks were influential women of the subcontinent such as Razia Sultana, the first female ruler of the Delhi Sultanate, the Mughal princess Jahanara Begum known for commissioning architectural wonders and Chand Sultana who was an Indian Muslim regent and warrior (Mukhoty, 2017). The observation of gendered role models in textbooks and other educational media can possibly influence students' perceptions of self-esteem (Jones, 1997), and hence it is important to consider what, if any, role models are discussed in the classroom discourses in addition to the ones outlined in the textbooks.

Furthermore, female representations in textbooks also primarily consisted of women in traditional feminine roles in the household or in workspaces that are considered traditionally feminine like teaching in schools and working as nurses in hospitals. Men, on the other hand received references in the school texts as working in jobs that carried much authority and power such as judges, lawyers, business owners and army personnel (Mattu & Hussain 2003; Ullah 2007). The inclusion of such gender-biased illustrations may well serve to influence the career choices of children (Treichler & Frank, 1989). Mattu & Hussain (2003) conclude how the absence of non-traditional images may be a reason behind admiration of traditional gender roles by students. However, many other important factors

combine to perpetuate traditional career choices for women in patriarchal societies like Pakistan, where religious prescriptions and cultural and social norms work to restrict women to domestic chores (Rahman & Roomi, 2012).

Such female illustrations were not just prevalent in the case of household chores and work roles but also co-curricular activities. Mattu & Hussain (2003) noted that only males were illustrated as indulging in sport exercises in textbooks, with only one instance with a woman being seen as playing sports, but she was portrayed as 'other' through the use of a Christian name. This indicates how the only woman pursuing sports activities was a non-Muslim woman. Such illustrations imply that sports activities are not the norm for Muslim women. Religion in this sense, is cleverly used to set boundaries. Questionable are the stereotypes in books of men working outside the homes and women doing household chores only (Shah, 1985). An interesting analogy comes in the form of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.), who never regarded any household or other task beneath his dignity. Another underlining sentiment in textbooks was how the patriarchal structure of families is depicted as the Islamic norm, and matriarchal structure is associated with immorality and attributed to other religions (Saigol, 2014).

In light of the curricular reforms of 2006, and educational policy of 2010, changes in the way females were portrayed in textbooks were expected. However, scholarly research has shown how all of the graphic representations of women in the Social Studies and Urdu textbooks consisted of them wearing *shalwar qamīẓ* and covering their heads (Rahman, 2008; Durrani, 2012). Graphic representations of women in texts can demarcate geographical and social gender boundaries through both dress and space. Such visual representations in textbooks, as well as accompanying classroom discourses can be seen as a means for perpetuating gender inequalities in the society (Delphy, 1993; Poulou, 1997).

There were very few instances found in textbooks where women were seen as performing non-traditional roles. In the content analysis of textbooks of Urdu, Social Studies and English published by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board, only two instances in which women were witnessed as performing non-traditional roles were found. One was in which a woman was a pilot and the other in which

she was a banker (Ullah & Skelton, 2013). However, in the case of the woman who was a banker, she was introduced as a mother, which became her primary identity. But this phenomenon is quite common in all textbooks where all women are referred to as mother of, sister of, wife of a male companion. For example, research has shown how families were introduced in textbooks using only the male head's name (See for detail, Mattu & Hussain, 2003; Ullah & Skelton, 2013). The concern being voiced here is that this marginalised and essentialist representation of females means that "real" women's lives, women's wishes, their capabilities and interests are not being given space or acknowledged in any way in the school teaching materials.

Ullah and Haque (2016) conducted content analysis of 24 textbooks[47] for gender-biased texts and illustrations concluding that textbooks foster gender-appropriate behaviours and condition students to accept gender bias. However, the way Ullah and Haque conduct feminist analysis of texts is also questionable. Content analysis is tricky itself, as it requires often-biased interpretations of texts. At one point, for instance the reading scheme for Class VIII is analysed by Ullah & Haque (2016), where a girl asks her father regarding permission for going to a trip to a big city and the father answers that if she gets above 80 per cent marks in her tests, he would take her to Lahore. This is cited as an example of patriarchy and gender bias when there was no similar text on male students to compare with.

Tahira Abdullah, in her contribution to CSJ (2020), provided the following example from a Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board book on Pakistan Studies where a section states: *"Pakistani society has the following values: (1) Belief in Islam. (6) Simplicity of women. (7) Respect of parents, teachers and religious scholars. (12) Respect of the Holy Quran and Arabic language."* Abdullah goes further to elaborate how "*this is a highly biased and patriarchal language, which excludes religious minorities; objectifies women; omits the beauty of pluralism and diversity in our society and cultural values" (p.81-82).* The objectification of women- or rather the categorisation of women as simple and its link to the Pakistani society does further the patriarchal constructions of gender binaries. It will be interesting however to see how such articulations (predominantly created through the use of

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[47] Urdu, Social Studies and English, Class 1 to 8, Punjab Textbook Board, 2010.

language) that accord certain characteristics to women that serves to 'other' them are constructed in the classrooms.

Although many researchers have attempted to identify such content as verbal and pictorial representations of gender in textbooks and evaluated the language used in texts, there has not been much research on the gender of authors and reviewers. Also missing has been research on terminology related to humanity used in the textbooks, for example whether references to mankind were used or the terminology was more neutral and words such as human race were used. Moreover, with greater formation of gender theory, there has been recognition of the fact that representations in textbooks are not the only factor behind gender identity construction and hence changing the wording of texts was not the only feasible solution (Davies, 1989). Research has shown how the most frequent forms of gender bias perpetuate from teaching methods and unintentional acts of teachers, in addition to textbooks (Raftery & Valiulis, 2013).

Noteworthy is the limited amount of literature on how the inclusion of religion in textbooks impacts gender identity-formation and how pedagogy reinforces it. Feminist scholars often view the 'hidden curriculum', which social theorists have defined as the unarticulated and unacknowledged norms, values and beliefs that students are taught in schools that may influence their learning behaviours and outcomes (Bowles & Gintis, 2002; Margolis, 2001; Meighan, Barton, & Walker, 1986), as a vehicle for enforcing patriarchy. The classroom environment therefore can serve to either reinforce or reject gender biases in education and should be an important construct of gender identity-formation.

Deconstructing these findings, one can argue that these traditional "gender roles" are presented as simply an extension of women's caring, nurturing and mothering placed in the public domain (of teaching and nursing). These findings are also in keeping with those found in international studies. For example, teaching has traditionally been seen as a suitable job for women as it resonates with the stereotyped view of women being the ones who are responsible for young children (Newman 1994; Oyler, Jennings, & Lozada 2001). In some ways these findings also link to the moral and character education of students by providing examples of

role models and appropriate behaviour patterns to follow.

3.1.4   Religion and Morality

The role played by religion in inspiring morality has been a topic of interest for philosophers and scholars since the Socratic period. Socrates (10a), in Euthyphro, has been famously recorded as asking: "*is the pious loved by the gods because it is pious or whether it is pious because it is loved by the gods".* Much research since has been devoted to answering this question with many favouring the former and many others adhering to the latter. Dostoyevsky, for instance, has emphasised how discussion of morality is incomplete without God famously stating: *"If God does not exist, everything is permitted"* (Dostoyevsky, Lowe, & Meyer, 1988)*.*

What has also captured academic interest is the place of religion in teaching moral values to students. This is unsurprising considering how the morals promoted in most religions are philanthropical, which encourage individuals to contribute towards the betterment of the self as well as the society (Michelson, 1999). The provision of explicit moral and ethical guidelines by religion is considered easy for individuals to follow which the proponents of teaching morality through religion have deemed as necessary for successful regulation of thoughts, behaviour, and emotions (Carver & Scheier, 2000). Yet, this is in contention with universalist and dominant Western view that moral reasoning, whether in moral philosophy or in education, should be based on individual rationality. The Kantian view on morality particularly focuses on human reasoning and autonomy leaving limited scope for a heteronomous divine entity (Michelson, 1989).

Indeed, the possible association between moral and character education with religion is an interesting debate, particularly considering how varied the approaches of secular and religious societies are. In secular societies, with a clear separation between state and religion, moral education is devoid of religious mentions and focuses on the development of individual rationality. On the other hand, in religious societies (particularly most Muslim nations), religion plays a predominant role in the regulation of moral conduct and in the effectuation of moral education (Asad, 1983).

It was therefore surprising to witness the lack of research on religion, and moral and character education in textbooks, especially given the prominence of the linkage between religion and morality in the educational policies of Pakistan, outlined in the previous chapter. Research on the earliest textbooks is especially scarce with Saigol (1995: 430) mentioning how "*In Ayub's time, moral and spiritual values were emphasized to produce docility and subservience, but there was not any explicit appeal to religion as a source of these values*." There are no accompanying quotes to illustrate this finding. When discussing the curriculum in the Bhutto era, Saigol (1995) describes how "*social studies and moral and religious education were aimed at accommodating the workers to the system in a way which would enable them to perceive the work process as natural, normal and just (p.398)*." This perhaps complemented the upsurge in migrant worker movement during Bhutto's regime who took jobs in the Middle East and Saudi Arabia.

Saigol (1995) also illustrates an emphasis in the textbooks and curriculum during Zia's era as using moral education for fostering '*national consciousness, character and patriotism*'. Saigol further describes how the love for nation, and morality are interlinked and are combined to inform the duties of the citizen. Yet, she does not provide any specific quotes from the textbooks to highlight the conflation of moral values with religion.

One way in which previous research mentions moral education is when highlighting citizenship education through the textbooks. Saigol (2014: 188), for instance, has outlined how "*moral values such as honesty are thus attributed to religion, and citizenship education becomes the vehicle for disseminating religious values along with moral norms – one implication being that non-Muslim citizens are defective in moral terms*". Here the nexus between religion and morality in textbooks is visible yet Saigol (2014) only observed the textbooks from the lens of citizenship education and hence the exact inclusion of texts related to moral values is not known.

In his contributions to the CSJ 2020 report Paul (2020) outlines how the Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board "*is clear on its objectives of promoting an Islamic ideology even through English textbooks with most beginning with the saying 'In*

the Name of Allah, the most Gracious and Merciful' that appears either in the beginning of the Table of Contents or in the first chapter. Furthermore, the English textbooks for Grades 5, 8 and 10 begin with a chapter on the 'Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.)'. Riaz (2020) further delineates how the involvement of the Prophet in the text is used to provide students with a role model to follow. The mentions of an influential religious figure are used to engender moral and civic values in students through the platform of spiritual modelling. Based on social learning theory, spiritual modelling refers to the use of role models, particularly members of a particular community for the spiritual and moral development of individuals (Oman, 2013).

Riaz (2020) in his research on textbooks published by the Sindh Textbook Board elaborate how they begin with a '*Hamd'* (words praising God) followed by a '*Naat'* (religious poetry) or a chapter describing the life of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) or includes them in the section on poems. One can see how the provision of specific religious role models can serve a form of tacit modelling of virtues that can complete the explicit moral guidance that is provided through religious teachings.

Riaz (2020) further provides the following examples:

"Our Prophet Muhammad taught us to love and care for the animals".[48]
"As Muslims, we must try to practice good manners and habits all the time in all places"[49].

Riaz (2020) does not further elaborate on these texts, instead just provides them as an example of religious content in non-religious subjects. However, one can see how the Prophet served as a moral exemplar to further both moral and civic values.

Nayyar (2020), in his research on textbooks published by the Punjab Textbook Board highlights how students were asked to write about the qualities of a true

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[48] English, Grade 1, Unit 3: A pet Rose, Page 15, Lines 14 -16

[49] English, Grade 2, Unit 8: Good Manners, Page 42, Lines 16-18

mūmin after being given a description of one in a Grade 8 Urdu textbook. A mūmin is an Arabic word for believer and one can see how the emphasis on a mūmin helps to create the distinction of a 'Good Muslim' and foster moral values in students by providing them with an ideal set of qualities to emulate.

What is also interesting is how some quotes revolved around fostering morality through the consequences of human actions. Riaz (2020) provides the following from the textbooks:

"The Prophet (S.A.W.) said, Allah does not look at your figures, nor at your dress, but He looks at your hearts and your deeds." (Sahih Muslim)[50].

"Whenever a strong wind blew, anxiety appeared on the face of the Prophet (S.A.W.) (fearing that wind might be a sign of Allah's wrath". (Sahih Al -Bukhari)"[51].

"The Prophet (S.A.W.) said, "Whoever says 'Subhan-Allah, Wal-hamdu-lillah, wala ilaha, wa Allahu Akbar', a palm tree will be planted for him in Jannah." (Sunan Ibn Majah)"[52].

"The Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) came upon an emaciated camel and said "Fear Allah (SWT) regarding these dumb animals." (Abu Dawood)"[53].

These quotes show how enmeshed religion and morality is in these texts and how the emphasis on the consequences of human actions- which in this case incorporates the construct of heaven- is used to foster moral values. Additionally, there is an emphasis on the negative consequences of human actions- manifested in fear of Allah's wrath. Incidentally, all of these quotes are from science textbooks which shows the extent to which religion is involved in non-religious subjects. However, the extent to which these values are discussed in the schools depend on the classroom discourses. Considering the focus on moral education in the educational policies, it will be highly interesting to understand how it is engendered in the classrooms.

3.2   Other Research on Religion and Education in Pakistan

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[50] Science, Grade 2, Unit 3: Inside our body, Page 10

[51] Science, Grade 2, Page 20: Wind, Page 99

[52] Science, Grade 2, Unit 6: Plants around us, Page 24

[53] Science, Grade 2, Unit 8: Animal are different from one another, Page 40

The review of textbooks is essential for Pakistan where there is an emphasis on rote learning as a teaching tool. Given the way teachers employ textbooks as an all-important tool for learning, it is important to review textbooks in order to understand the classroom practices. Research on textbooks in Pakistan has showed how religion, or rather the politicisation of it, has not only historically informed schooling in the country, but also helped in propagating nationalistic views of the government in terms of constructing national identity of students, treatment of minorities both within and outside Islam and gender biases in the society.

Qualitative content analysis does provide an effective way of mapping the inherent ideology observed in textbooks (Kalmus, 2004) as well as the meaning of exchanges between people that include texts, symbols and other forms of messages (Krippendorff, 2004; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). However, such studies are methodologically limited, as they do not explore the defining role played by the actual school sites in socialization of students and a major drawback is the lack of room for multiple interpretations (Mills, 1995). Qualitative approaches that are descriptive in nature such as content and thematic analysis are used best when researchers do not require a high level of interpretation.

Apple (2004) stresses how it is not just the narrative in the curriculum and textbooks, but also teachers' worldviews and pedagogical style and the day-to-day learning that occurs due to school practice that influences the socialisation of students. The school has also been identified as a site of contestation and resistance to official discourse (Apple, 1995). Hence, any assumptions regarding how textbooks are taught in classrooms should be made with careful consideration. As Apple (1993) points out, students bring with them their own ethnic, class, religious and gender backgrounds that may inform their learning of prescribed texts. Similarly, teachers bring with them their own sociological and pedagogical backgrounds, which in turn may vary (Jones et al., 1997; Anand, 2019), leading to differences in the way they teach from similar texts. There is a need to identify whether the teachers conform to the views depicted in the textbooks or do they reject and try to challenge them. As such, the way textbooks are employed in classrooms may be as important as the textbooks themselves

(Weis, 1985). Therefore, it becomes important to observe classroom and school discourses.

Apart from qualitative content analysis of textbooks, in recent years, a substantial rise in the use of in-depth qualitative techniques like interviews and focus groups has been witnessed in Pakistan (Durrani, 2008; Ullah & Skelton, Lall, 2012; Emerson, 2017). In many studies, pedagogy has been analysed through interviews with teachers and students to judge their preferences and beliefs regarding such issues as their sense of belonging to the state or the treatment of minorities (see for instance, Nayyar and Salim, 2003; Rahman, 2005; Durrani, 2008; Lall, 2012). However, interview questions, especially those pertaining to minorities often require a lot of sensitivity and may result in subjects showing reluctance in answering the questions. Ideally, extended observations in classrooms are hence required to deeply investigate the pedagogical processes.

A range of other studies have focused on students' perspectives around citizenship education, with elements of religion being also examined. Lall and Saeed (2019), on the other hand, are the first to focus on youth perspectives with respect to 'citizenship, political participation, the state and terrorism' and highlight how *"the young people's voices show that education has not been successful in transferring the concept of citizenship from its primordial ethno-nationalist basis to an understanding of rights, responsibilities and political participation (p.112)."* Kadiwal & Durrani (2018), for instance, explore young students' negotiations with their citizenship identities at the intersection of their religious, class and ethnic identities in Pakistan. Focusing on a low-income setting Kadiwal & Durrani (2018), demonstrated the existence of religio-centric tendencies amongst predominantly male students who believed in the superiority of their worldview and in the notion of the good "Muslim" citizen. For instance, they quote the views of one student- "*Pakistan is based on the 'Two-Nation Theory', meaning these (Hindus and Christians) are different from us. . . We cannot live together. Our religion is far better than other religions (p.80)*" to explicate the creation of the self and other along religious lines from the students' perspectives. Though this study did not involve an in-depth investigation of classroom discourses, it is interesting to note how male students were particularly demonstrating a religiocentric view of the

citizen and the role religion was implicitly playing in informing students' conceptions around nationhood and citizenship.

Dunne et al., (2010) also explicated students views on citizenship and showed how religious and national discourses permeated students views with nation and religion being hardly separate for most students. They also highlighted how religious notions of martyrdom and protection of the Muslim Ummah were prevalent in the youth especially with respect to protection of the state from Western influences. Similar narratives around collective victimhood and the need for protection from the external non-Muslim' others' as prevalent in the perspectives of the youth was also found in another study focusing on students (N. Durrani & Crossouard, 2020). These qualitative studies centred around students provide an effective insight into the youth's negotiation around citizenship and the predominant role of religion in their citizenship identities. Yet, these studies do not explicitly analyse students views around religion- separate from their views around the nation.

Some studies have focused on students views around peacebuilding, religious tolerance and cohesion. Nazar, Österman, & Björkqvist (2019) explored the differences between students from three different types of schools (Urdu Medium, English Medium, and Madrassas) on gender parity, religious differences and tolerance. Students from English medium schools scored the highest in all three categories whereas students from public schools and madrassas showed bellicose attitudes towards religious differences, and also towards India in general. This study also showed a high correlation between religious tolerance and gender parity and a lack of both for public school and madrassa students. Yet the findings from these studies are questionable, since a range of factors such as socio-economic class impact the data.

Alternatively, a range of literature exists around teachers voices and perceptions. Halai & Durrani (2018) in one of the few studies focusing on teachers' voices highlighted their role in peacebuilding and social cohesion in Pakistan. Teachers' perspectives on the major drivers of conflict in the society were examined and here again, the implicit role of religion in the society and schooling was underlined.

Teachers, for instance, showed cognisance of the conflicts in society in the name of religion and their roles as agents of change in the classrooms.

Ashraf (2019) also conducted interviews with teachers in schools to identify how the content and purpose of religious education influenced notions around religious diversity, conflict and intolerance in the Pakistani society. Similarly Lasi, Jiwan, Batool, Dhanani, & Shrestha (2017) interviewed teachers and showed their commitment towards the importance of religious education in schools, with Sunni Islam as being deemed acceptable and preferred. The middle school (public and private) teachers in their sample also emphasised how they viewed religion as a way of life. What was also prevalent was coalescence between the notions of nationhood and religion, with religion being defined exclusively as Islam. Some teachers also emphasised the need for religious plurality and interfaith harmony. Hence a range of teacher perspectives were uncovered in the study, yet the actualisation of these views in the classrooms remains unexamined.

One of the only studies that highlighted to some extent teachers' views around the role of religion in classrooms was USCIRF's (2016: 66) study which underlined how for the public-school teachers interviewed in their research *"The most common religious activities taking place in classrooms are the recitation of the Quran, discussion of the lives of Prophets, recitation of hamd (poems in the praise of Allah) and naat (poems in the praise of Prophet), and telling moral stories which are often religious."* Religion was therefore an important component of moral education, yet this report does not further elaborate on this point or probe the teachers further.

On the other hand, some studies have focused on the role of instructional learning in the schools, and the strategies implemented for school improvement. Dean's (2005) study for one, involved two to three days spent by researchers in each participating school to observe school ethos, co-curricular activities and pedagogical practices to understand practices of citizenship education the teachers indulged in but it lacked an analysis of the critical social structures that form the very context of the schooling or an in-depth investigation of the classroom environment.

One of the very few studies conducted on the sociological context of schools was by Saigol (2014), who while analysing school ethos showed how the daily rituals of schools included hoisting the national flag, singing the national anthem, expressing allegiance to the nation and the Islamic brotherhood. The strict enforcement of rules in the schools signified a hidden curriculum used to normalise nationalism and patriotism. However, Saigol (2014) only spent 4 days in these schools which accounts for too limited a research time to understand the sociological and pedagogical processes within the schools. Additionally, this study focused on citizenship with the role of religion being implicit in nature and only analysed in relation to its impact on citizenship ideals.

One of the only in-depth qualitative study analysing schools and classrooms was Emerson's (2018) case study on girls citizenship education. She used in-depth classroom observations and qualitative interviews with teachers to explore the nexus between girls' citizenship education and identity-based violence. Here a gendered and religious notion of citizenship, pertaining to girls, was identified as contributing to violence against women. Emerson particularly highlighted how citizenship education focused on teaching girls about how their duty towards the state was confined to their domestic sphere (as mothers and wives). Unequal and gendered citizenship, using religion, was evident in responses from both teachers and students. Schools were found to reward gendered behaviour from both students and teachers, with Emerson also highlighting how the school was reproducing other societal inequalities pertaining to ethnicity, religion and class. Though not entirely focused on religion, this study nonetheless, was one of the very few highlighting internal school mechanisms, classroom discourses, and teachers and students' viewpoints that combined to further gendered divisions.

3.3   *Research on Religion in Schools*

Though considerable academic research has explored the involvement of religion in textbooks and curriculum in Pakistan with some also focusing on teachers and students' worldviews and identities (mostly pertaining to citizenship rather than religion), there remains limited research on the actual role of religion in schools and classrooms. As mentioned before, research around the role of religion in

schools in both secular and religious contexts around the world remains scarce. Yet, some interesting scholarly work does highlight how everyday classroom and school narratives help exploring the place of religion in education and its role in the everyday classroom discourses.

A major source of inspiration is the groundbreaking work by Alan Peshkin (1986), who evocatively wrote about the workings of a fundamentalist Christian school using traditional ethnographic techniques such as observations, surveys and interviews. A Jew himself, Peshkin managed to immerse himself in the inner world of a Christian school in a way that provided a fascinating and coherent narrative delicately balancing subjectivity and objectivity. Peshkin discusses how each school day began with a meeting of teachers reading the Bible with the teaching of Christian doctrine systematically integrated in all aspects of schooling. Peshkin further discusses how students were asked to bring the Bible every day to school and within the classroom walls gifted students were firmly encouraged to opt for *"fundamentalist"* educational institutions for further studies, in comparison to the Godless Ivy Leagues. From the dress codes to everyday discussions around religious morality, Peshkin managed to provide insights from within the school boundaries that would not have been examined through the school textbooks and policies. As Peshkin noted, through his time as non-participant observer, he also overheard students discussing episodes of Saturday Night Live and gossiping about their love lives, concluding how beneath the religious contours also lay an ordinary school.

Another significant study is Nancy Lesko's (1998) work *Symbolizing Society: Stories, Rites and Structures in a Catholic High School,* which is an in-depth ethnographic work that looks at students' identity construction as a manifestation of their daily interactions and the school structure. Lesko maintains a position where she views social behaviour as encoded in myths and rituals. Though not explicitly focused on the role of religion within the school, Lesko nevertheless focuses on how myths and rites (centred around religion) worked on providing rights and responsibilities to group membership, particularly in terms of peer relations amongst students. Both works focus on private schools with a religious mission rather than missionary schools. While Peshkin analyses both teachers and

students' subjectivities, Lesko focuses on how students navigate their identities and conform or resist the school ideologies. Yet both these studies focused heavily on students' and teachers' identities rather than exploring the classroom discourses in themselves.

A particularly illuminating study in this regard is Dilger's (2017) ethnographic study on the moral formation of Christian and Muslim schools in Dar es Salaam, which focused not only on the use of religion for *explicit* occasions for ethical learning but also the teaching of values through religion that happened *implicitly* in these schools, through classroom interactions between students and teachers. The study was highly useful in highlighting the embodiment of religious values in Muslim and Christian schools involving an effective orientation that was used to serve as a guiding tool and way of life for students. Dilger also effectively highlighted how the moral as well as ethical identity formation of students was tied to the ideological and institutional frameworks of the school he visited. This included for instance the use of disciplinary and group practices (such as prayers and asking for protection from evil spirits). What was also interesting was the link of the individual schools' institutional and ideological practices with that of the larger socio-cultural milieu of Tanzania. The use of ethnographic methods made it possible to explore how the notions around different schools' ethical orientations were influencing the moral development of students.

In one of the only studies conducted in an ultra-orthodox Jewish setting Krakowski (2008) analysed three all boys elementary schools in a large midwestern city in the United States (name not disclosed). Focusing on the development of worldviews, through this study Krakowski showed how worldviews emerged from the activities that individuals engage in and the beliefs they engage in. In this sense, the ultra-orthodox Jewish schools served to inculcate ultra-Orthodox worldviews-predominantly focusing on living *the good life,* defined as the correct and proper way to live, which in turn had an impact on students' identities and their ideas concerning the fulfilment of a good life.

There have been a few other studies focusing on the identity development of students in religious schools (predominantly in Catholic settings). Foster and

Irvine's (1996) work also focused on the lives of students residing in Catholic schools and how the Catholic ideology plays out in their identity formation. Through participant observation and semi structured interviews, this work also provided a voice to the teachers and students to understand the role of the Catholic ideology in their identity building. What the study highlighted was the importance of curriculum and its intersection with "mission-oriented" teachers; parents and families and administrators and staff supporting each other "in ways that are mutually agreed upon and negotiated" (p. 176). The coalescence between the curriculum, orientation of teachers and the larger society the students where a part of identity development was made possible through extended observations in classrooms, which were u useful deeply investigating pedagogical processes with respect to religion.

Few studies have also compared the contexts of religious schools with those of non-religious schools. George (2005), for instance, focuses on identity development of young female students from a sample of one private, catholic, and all-girl high school in New York using participant and non-participant observation and in-depth interviews. George highlighted the importance of the socio-cultural milieu of the schools and teachers' identities as important constructs for the identity development of young female students. Like Dilger's (2017) study this research also showed differences in the identity development of students in different contexts (ideological and ethical orientations of the schools they were a part of). Religion played an important role in this setting with students from the Catholic school embodying values of spirtuality and community.The study highlighted the power of school culture in sending messages (in this case concenring, education, religion, privilege and female identity) to its students.

Similarly, Addai-Mununkum (2015), using a qualitative case study research design that employed interviews and observations, examined the representation of religions in private and public multi-religious secular classrooms in Ghana. Munumkun (2015) described how *"school ideology, teachers' religious identities, and students' experiences in the socio-cultural milieu converge to create environments that foster misrepresentations of "non-normative" religions".* The use of observations to explore classroom discourses provided an effective mechanism

to trace not only school ideologies, but also students and teachers' religious identities- providing effective recommendations for teacher education, curriculum development and pedagogical practices.

Additionally, a number of studies have documented how teachers' beliefs and attitudes have a significant influence on how religion is taught in the classrooms (Burke & Segall, 2011; Meehan, 2020). For instance, Schweber (2006) showed how teachers beliefs played an instrumental role in the classroom discourses around religion in a Catholic school (Schweber, 2006; Schweber & Irwin, 2003). Schweber's findings illuminated how teachers' socialisations and pedagogical choices impacted what aspects of textbooks were accentuated in the classrooms and the essence of classroom dialogues- with teachers who identified as religious subsequently bringing more religious discussions to the classrooms.

For instance, one participant in Schweber's study pointed towards *"inculcation of faith"* as a reason for the use of a particular book choice as a part of the classroom discourse (Schweber, 2006: 397). While teaching about Jewish history, in particular the Holocaust, the teacher used a book that spoke about the persecution faced by American Christians. The teacher explained how "*I teach The Hiding Place [because] I believe it's a story which not only has historical significance but teaches us many lessons about the persecution of others and about persecution that we, as Christians, may someday face. To be truthful, I fully expect as a Christian, whether in my lifetime or my children's lifetimes...that there will be, that we will have to deal with some type of persecution*" (Schweber & Irwin, 2003: 1700). Here, the teacher chose to focus on an aspect of Christian persecution instead of the lesson plan that focused on the twentieth century Nazi Holocaust. The teacher did not examine how the Holocaust occurred, but instead focused on how present-day Christians might deal with persecution. The way a teacher thus constructs the classroom has a profound influence on the dialogues and questions and answers undertaken (Mehan, lintz, Okamoto, & Wills, 1995). Additionally, a teacher can also actively play a role in steering classroom discussions around aspects that they find conducive to their desired outcomes (Hurst, Wallace, & Nixon, 2013).

Finally, research on religion in schools has also identified how the school cannot be considered separate from the wider culture it is a part of. As Skeie, (2007: 250) illuminates, *'researchers...have for a long time been aware of the fact that teaching about religion in schools does not happen in isolation from the surrounding world'*. Undoubtedly, schools are embedded in localities that are themselves part of a larger socio-cultural context, which influences the reality of schooling. This highlights the need to research how students, teachers, and school administrators interact during the process of everyday schooling and what connections it has to the local religious sphere of which they are a part of.

3.4   Conclusion

This chapter outlined how the research on religion and education in Pakistan has mostly been centred around textbooks with a number of themes such as the creation of the 'self' and the 'other' on both religious and gender lines being visible in the textbook narratives. Additionally this chapter looked at other qualitative research studies on religion and education in Pakistan, such as a view on teachers' and students voices (see Lall & Saeed, 2019). Yet, none of these studies focus solely on religion, and there is a dearth of research on the role of religion in classrooms in Pakistan.

Ethnographic methods have long been the primary methodological tools to study religious practice in difference communities as well as different levels of religiosity. The previous section highlighted a range of qualitative studies using ethnographic methods to observe the role of religion in student identity formations and classroom discourses, particularly in a range of secular contexts. With a carefully conceived qualitative methodology it can be possible to understand variations in religious expression in different settings and to understand the role of religion in everyday functioning of different communities. The studies referred to in the previous section therefore have helped to inform the research approach and methodology of this work, which is outlined in the next chapter.

Chapter 4.   Methodology

The research question "What is the role of religion in classrooms in public, private, army and church administered schools in Lahore?" and its associated sub-research questions required a method of enquiry that was qualitative in nature and produced rich in-depth data. In order to study, investigate and explore the role of religion in education at the classroom level, my research therefore used five qualitative case studies with ethnographic methods of classroom observations, semi structured interviews and observation of the social and physical environment in the schools as the research methodology, and Lahore as the research site. This chapter provides a description of and justification for the way this research was conducted focusing on the design of my research, its rationale and the data collection techniques I adopted.

4.1   Research Design

Exploring the role of religion, in its educational setting, is a strongly social construct, which requires a method of research that has its grounds in naturalistic observation (Martin, 1976b). Additionally, with the educational setting being particularly multifaceted, immersive approaches towards research remain the only viable methodologies to use. Qualitative case study constitutes one such immersive approach to research where the focus is on the process rather than the outcome (Merriam, 1998).

4.1.1   The Multiple Qualitative Case Study Approach

Before selecting a qualitative case study, it is important to take into consideration how schooling in the country is affected by socioeconomic divide and hence, how different schools impart education in different ways. Pakistan contains six distinct educational systems running side-by-side: private schools, public schools, army-administered schools, church-administered schools, NGO schools and madrassas (religious schools). I am not looking to conduct research in madrassas for two reasons. Firstly, they account for only one per cent of total student enrolment in the country (ASER, 2015). Secondly, their entire ideology is based on religion, hence

the involvement is more explicit rather than implicit in nature. I rather, want to look at schools where the involvement of religion is more implicit. I am also not looking to conduct research in NGO or philanthropic schools since they have a significant overlap with both government schools and low-cost private schools. Many government schools are handed over to these organisations to run (See for instance The Citizens Foundation[54], Door of awareness[55]).

Research has shown a stark difference in the learning outcomes between private and public schools (Amjad & MacLeod, 2014). The private schools in themselves contain significant disparity with the existence of low-cost and elite schools existing side by side with the differences in the education systems paralleling the class differences existent in the society (Andrabi et al., 2008; Malik et al., 2020; Zaidi & Malik, 2020). These schools are different not only in terms of the socioeconomic statuses of enrolled students but also in terms of the education imparted in them (USCIRF, 2016). Elite private schools in Pakistan predominantly employ the Cambridge University Press Textbooks and Cambridge International Examinations System and have often been highlighted for charging exorbitant fees and catering to the elites of the country (Andrabi, Das & Khwaja, 2008; Afzal, 2015). On the other hand, there is a dearth of research on army-administered as well as church-administered schools with hardly any information regarding their operations being available in the public domain.

Keeping into account the diversity between different school systems in Pakistan, my study utilised the multiple qualitative case studies approach to look at a number of field sites or cases. In simple terms, a case study can be defined as a *"an empirical enquiry that investigated a contemporary phenomenon (the 'case') in-depth and within its real world context"* (Yin, 2014; 16). A case is described as anything that serves to enhance the understanding of a person, community, or the social context that is being studied (Stake, 1995; Merriam, 1998). Yin (2014) considers case studies applicable for instances where a researcher wants to examine contextual conditions and can be seen as more of a strategy than a method.

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[54] https://www.tcf.org.pk/
[55] https://doorofawareness.org/

Multiple case studies or the multi-sited case study approach refers to fieldwork conducted using more than one case (Creswell, 1998; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2005; Stake, 1995). In such a design, each case study provides a bounded context that attempts to capture a phenomenon that is wide-ranging. These case studies are heuristic and particularistic in nature, providing thick description (Merriam, 1998). They are particularistic as they focus on a particular site or phenomenon (Merriam, 1998). Another aspect of case studies' is their interpretive nature where they allow the researchers perceptions to add additional dimensions to the data (Stake, 2005).

With the use of multiple case studies arises the question of the method of comparison. Innovations in the field of comparative studies allow researchers to focus on a varying degree of cases. Using multiple sites will help me in exploring the role of religion in a variety of field sites, keeping in mind the diversity in the education system of Pakistan. My study, however, does not attempt to compare the cases rather provide a parallel reflection of the role of religion in different cases (schools) belonging to different categories. In this sense, I take inspiration from what Skocpol and Somers (1980) call the parallel demonstration of theory (used by them in the context of comparative history)- which allows the researcher to assert similarities or perhaps differences (by presenting the objective findings in a parallel way rather than in comparison) in a series of relevant cases without objectively comparing them. The findings from different cases (schools) are juxtaposed to demonstrate and explore the role of religion in them. Different schools are presented to consider a range of educational systems in Lahore, Pakistan. Contrasting these would allow me to assert similarities (or not) and assert the common applicability (or not) of one theoretical stance (role of religion in schools). Comparison also is not the objective since I am not testing a pre-decided hypothesis, the study is not providing an account of the "ought"; rather, it focuses on the "is," namely the role of religion in the classroom and school settings.

As far as the research location is concerned, in Pakistan, most low-cost and elite private and public institutions are clustered together in large urban centres such as Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad (Bano, 2012). For the purpose of my study, I have

decided to use Lahore as my area of research. The reasons behind site selection are much more rooted in convenience and logistics as I am originally from Lahore. It would have been difficult for me to conduct research outside my city of residence due to concerns of mobility and security.

Schools in Lahore can be divided on the basis of locality, textbook board used, and ownership (Rahman, 2012). I was interested in the latter two categories of textbook board used and ownership presented by Rahman (2012) as my aim was to visit schools that used textbooks prescribed by the Punjab Textbook Board[56]. There is a particular lack of literature on army-administered schools in Pakistan. I wanted to conduct research in them because of the link between Islamisation, militarisation and extremism in Pakistan (see Fair, 2009; Rahman, 2012) that has been highlighted in research, yet army schools have rarely been looked at. Military in Pakistan has often been blamed for promoting militarization through a heavy emphasis on Islam and hence I wanted to understand the role of Islam in the army-administered schools. Additionally, I used one elite private school as a contrasting context to the other schools. These elite private schools use the Cambridge University Press textbooks and system rather than the matric board run by the government. The private school textbooks have been highlighted for their superior content as compared to the government textbooks (See for detail Andrabi et al., 2008; Afzal, 2015) and various studies have highlighted a disparity between the views and academic achievements of elite private school students with those of public schools. I therefore chose a sample consisting of one low-cost private school, one public school, one church-administered school, one army-administered school. I chose one school from each category described above other than a madrassa or a NGO school.

I decided to choose Grade 7 as my sample class for the schools. The Grade was chosen after careful deliberation over two major points. Firstly, I wanted to conduct research on students and teachers in a grade where attendance is high. The school dropout rate increases sharply in Pakistan at the college level (grade 11-

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[56] The textbooks highlighted by previous research and spoken of in the literature review are the ones published by the provincial boards in Pakistan, with the greatest focus being on the Punjab textbook board (See literature review section for detail).

12), and is considerably lower for primary and secondary level (USCIRF, 2016). Secondly, in Grade 7, Social Studies, which includes History and Geography, and Islamiyat are compulsory subjects and research on textbooks has shown how these are the subjects with more religious mentions. Also, the higher the class, the more students would be mature enough to participate in class discussions. I decided against choosing Grade 8 as students in Grade 8 in public schools are now liable to give end of year exams taken by the Punjab Government known as the PEF exams. I believe studying towards exams for the entire year results in certain limitations in the pedagogical practices, and also results in more time being devoted to exam preparations rather than actual teaching.

I decided to conduct research in each school for six weeks. I consider this methodological time appropriate to gain in-depth knowledge of the environment while being short enough for me to conduct research in all field sites in a timely manner. I conducted classroom and school observations during all six weeks of the research in all 5 schools and conducted semi-structured interviews in the last two weeks of my time in each school.

4.1.2 Ethnographic Methods

Ethnographic methods that include observations and interviews are usually thick in description and are useful for generating hypothesis, rather than verifying them (Geertz, 1973; Iannaccone, 1975). Such a technique is especially suitable for research where the phenomenon being examined is unclear, and a part of a social setting where interactions between participants are used to answer the research questions (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999b). This is particularly applicable in my study, where I wanted to explore the role of religion in classrooms, through the interactions of teachers and students in the classrooms and in the general school environment.

It is important to note that behaviour, norms and values then, are the reaction of individuals to the meanings they attach to situations but these behaviours are equally open to interpretation (Herman-Kinney & Verschaeve, 2003). This study is

set out in classrooms because I wanted to understand how religion is involved in meaning making (Schwandt, 1994). A combination of methods such as classroom observations, semi-structured interviews and debriefing sessions would help in understanding how religion was being discussed in classrooms through the actions as well as reactions of teachers and students in everyday classroom life and also through the voices of the teachers themselves. To understand social situations and the meanings created in them, it is important to be a part of said situations. I therefore decided to employ qualitative ethnographic methods of classroom and school observations and semi-structured interviews in order to produce data that is strong on reality and discover activities that may be oblivious or unobtainable for outsiders (Carspecken, 1996).

4.1.3 Interpretivist Paradigm

As outlined in 1.3, my research falls under the interpretivist paradigm. Interpretivism is a paradigmatic approach to social science research in which the researcher itself functions as a platform and filter through which knowledge and data flows (Lichtman, 2013). Crotty (1998:67) explains how "the interpretivist approach looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world". Interpretivist research thus is situated in a particular social, cultural as well as historical context. Furthermore, in research that is interpretive, meaning of situations is derived from the interactions between participants and the researcher and also depends on the researchers' and participants' views (Chowdhury, 2014). Interpretivist researchers identify and acknowledge the limitations of positivist research and the use of quantitative methods (Grix, 2010; Marshall, 2016; Martin, 1993). Interpretivist research typically includes qualitative methods such as observations, interviews, and documentary analysis. Partly evolving as a rejection of positivism's use of data that can be empirically obtained, quantified, measured, and reported; interpretivists employ qualitative notetaking from observations and interviews as a form of data collection (Lichtman, 2013).

An important aspect of interpretivist research is that generates knowledge related to the views of participants. In this sense, considerable value is placed on the perspectives as well as interpretations of both the participants and the researcher

as well as the phenomena being studied (Ritchie et al., 2013). The interpretivist researcher tries to understand the meaning that participants make of contemporary situations as well as the underlying meaning behind participants actions. They also make a deliberate effort to "centre the researcher as the "font" of knowledge, rather than arguing for a collectively constructed epistemological "truth" and the interpretivist writer acknowledges that their own opinions and biases influences the result" (Lichtman, 2013: 47). I therefore outline again how as a researcher; I am integral to the study and how my positionality (further outlined in section 4.8) influences the meanings that I make out of situations.

4.2   Pilot

For my pilot scheme, I went into a school in the area of Garden Town, Lahore to a low-cost private school, which was one of the five low-cost private schools that I contacted[57]. The reason for choosing this school was that they were the first to give me research permissions and also substantial methodological time. The name of the school will not be disclosed due to a confidentiality agreement. The school, within the same building, holds classes from Grade 3 up till Grade 10 and uses curriculum mandated by the Punjab Textbook Board. I was able to gain access to the principal, who I initially called. The principal put me in touch with the head teacher overlooking Grade 7, who in turn introduced me to the Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies teachers for the Grade. As the pilot was only conducted for two days, these were the only classes I was able to attend and hence the only teachers I was able to contact. My first step was to explain my research and provide both the head teachers and individual subject teachers with the information sheet and ask them for consent. As this pilot could only be conducted for a limited time, I did not conduct any interviews with the teachers, and I just attended the Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies for two consecutive days, witting at the back of the class. I tried not to disrupt the class in any way. I used a notebook to take handwritten notes.

I took notes of every mention of religion in the classroom. Before attending the

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[57] I used a list of all low-cost private schools in Lahore, which was available online on the School Education Department Lahore Website. I then used the Random formula on Excel to choose a list of five schools. https://schools.punjab.gov.pk/

class, I was under the impression that the teaching style will focus on rote memorization based entirely on textbooks, but during the class I observed that although teachers constantly asked students to repeat what they were saying, their own lecture consisted of both reading the textbook and giving their own views.

I feel this initial short pilot scheme gave me a good notion of how to behave in the school. I interacted with the teachers and was able to form some initial rapport with them. I did realise that in order for classroom observations to provide effective results, a substantial amount of time needed to be spent in the school for me to truly become immersed in the environment. It also provided me some clarity regarding the room for teachers' and students' own subjectivities to come through in the classroom. I also realised that I had to make sure I dressed in a certain way conforming to the school environment and not use any gadgets during the class to avoid students becoming distracted. I had initially gone inside wearing a traditional dress but without covering my head (in many areas and schools', teachers do not cover their heads so I assumed I could go in without covering my head) but after noticing how all the teachers had covered their heads, I realised I should have done so too, especially since I did feel it was stopping me from truly blending in.

4.3   Negotiating Access

My first step was to gain more knowledge about each of the categories of schools. Nader (1969) has proposed how it is the responsibility of the qualitative researcher to learn as much as possible about the social context or the culture being studied before actual field observations. Hence, I started by visiting the School Education Department of the Government of Punjab, where I met the Deputy Secretary of Education. I received a list of all the schools in Lahore from the department, which I then divided into five categories- low-cost private, elite private, public, army-administered and Church-administered based on ownership. I then proceeded to gain more knowledge about each of these categories; this included identifying the first level gatekeepers if applicable. The first step in starting with case study research is gatekeeping, which involves gaining access to the specific case that is being studied (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). For the purpose of this study, I have identified four types of gatekeepers:

Table 1:

Classification of Gatekeepers	Purpose	Example
First level gatekeepers	To provide permission to conduct research in the selected category of schools.	Relevant school regulatory authorities such as School Education Department of the Government of Punjab.
Second level gatekeepers	To give permission to conduct research in the specific school and to help establish contact with the head teacher of the selected Grade 7	Principal and school administrators.
Third level gatekeepers	To give permission to conduct research in the classroom and understand its specific context/environment. To help in being introduced to the research participants.	Head Teacher for Selected Grade 7.
Fourth level gatekeepers	These are the actual units for data collection.	Students and teachers in the class (Research participants).

Once I had the list of all schools (accessed from the School Education Department Punjab), I initiated the process of sampling and gaining access to the chosen schools. My approach for choosing schools and negotiating access differed for each of the five categories of school. For the church-administered, army-administered and public schools, I could not approach the schools directly since all decisions regarding

the individual schools are made by the respective centralised bodies governing them. In the case of the low-cost and elite private schools, first level gatekeepers were not required since these were privately owned and not being regulated by any monitoring authorities that I had to seek permission from.

In Pakistan, The Catholic Board of Education and The Presbyterian Board of Education are the predominant authorities that run church administered schools under their jurisdiction. While the Catholic Board of Education employs textbooks published by the Punjab Textbook Board, the Presbyterian Board uses the Oxford University Curricula up until Grade 8. I visited the Presbyterian Board's head office located in Lahore, where I received this information. For this reason, I decided to select a school headed by the Catholic Board of Education and approached the first-level gatekeepers who were the administrative staff at the Board for negotiating access to the category of schools. I visited their head office, which is located in Lahore and asked to speak to the management. I faced some difficulty in gaining access to the higher echelons of the management, the administrative staff was unable to help and asked me to send a petition to the head of the Board. In a subsequent meeting after my petition was heard, I was asked to submit relevant documents from my university as evidence for the need to research. I was told that I would be assigned a school by the management, which was located in a Christian majority area. I then visited the school and initial meetings with the second and third level gatekeepers were held.

In Pakistan the army-administered schools are headed and monitored by the Army Public Schools and Colleges Systems Secretariat (APSACS). A total of 168 schools operate under the highly centralised system of the APSACS Secretariat through a setup of 12 Regional Offices, with a student population of more than 220,000 and teacher strength of around 13533[58]. It is very difficult to gain access to this centralised body, so I employed Lofland and Lofland (1995)'s suggestion of using connections available through friends and acquaintances in the field in order to access the first level gatekeepers. I, therefore visited the APSACS secretariat

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[58] This information was gathered through personal visits to the Lahore office of the APSACS Secretariat. Further information is available at http://www.apsacssectt.edu.pk/

located in a residential area in Lahore through recommendation from a contact. In the initial meeting, I was asked to provide details of my research instruments, of my research timeline, and of documentary evidence from my university. In the second visit, I again met some representatives from the secretariat and was asked for details about my research and my reasons for wanting to conduct it. I was also asked to have a short meeting with the school counsellor who examined me and asked me questions related to my mental health. I was given briefings on the school regulations, policies and the code of conduct expected of me. I was asked to submit a report to the secretariat on the completion of the research about my impressions of the workings of the school. I was then assigned a school by the secretariat where an initial meeting was held with the second level gatekeepers- namely the Principal and the Vice Principal who subsequently introduced me to the head teachers.

For the purpose of this study, low-cost private schools are those that operate "for profit", are registered with the School Education Department of the Government, and charge a fee of less than Rs. 5000/month; this is a categorisation that the school education department itself uses. For low-cost and elite public and private schools, I employed the technique of random sampling. For the list of all low-cost private schools, I filtered them according to the textbooks used, with only schools using textbooks by the Punjab Textbook Board selected. I had decided on contacting multiple schools- five schools at any one point of time, in order to account for unresponsive or unobtainable gatekeepers. From this list, I wanted to contact as many schools as possible, until I received research permission in two, so that my fieldwork wasn't affected in case some of them withdrew.

The actual process was extremely time-consuming as I had to visit multiple schools. I first selected a random sample of 10 schools using the RAND function on Microsoft Excel[59], located within different areas of Lahore, from the list of low-cost private schools. I decided to physically approach all of these schools one by one. What

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[59] In the excel sheet I entered the formula =Rand() in a column . RAND returns a random real number greater than 0 less than 1. A new random number was thus assigned to each school when I copied the formula down. I then sorted the data according to the random number and selected the first 10 schools in the excel sheet.

ensued thereafter was a complicated process of choosing the school, which I illustrate below:

Figure 1:
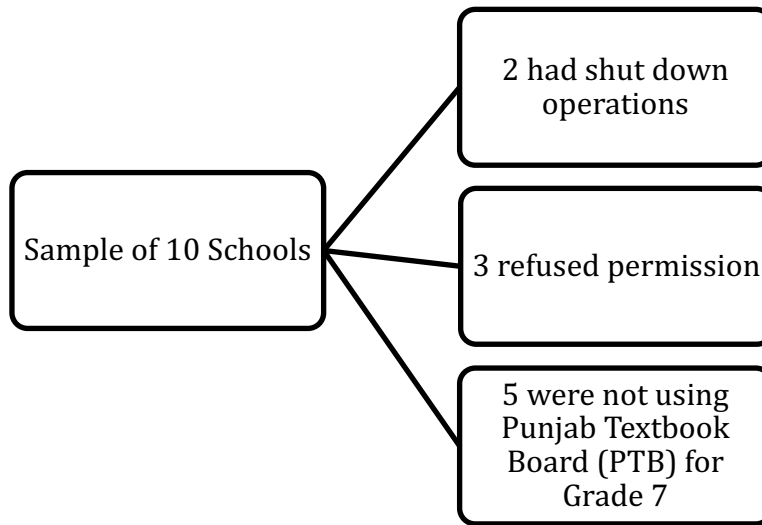
The administration of three of the schools in the random list refused to speak to me when I reached the premises and two were not operational anymore even though they were still categorised as operational and running in the list given to me by the School Education Department. The remaining five schools were only using the textbooks published by the Punjab Textbook Board for grades nine and ten, and for the Grade 7 were using the Cambridge University Press textbooks. Hence, I again had to generate a random sample from the list of low-cost private schools[60]. This time I generated a bigger list of 30 schools and then visited the premises of each one of them.

Figure 2

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[60] This was done using the same process described above but after deleting the schools already contacted from the list.

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                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │  16 refused  │
                    └──────────────┘                 ┌──────────────────┐
                                                     │  3 did not give  │
┌──────────────┐    ┌──────────────┐                 │  access for the  │
│ Sample of 30 │────│   6 showed   │─────────────────│   full 6 weeks   │
│   Schools    │    │   interest   │                 └──────────────────┘
└──────────────┘    └──────────────┘                 ┌──────────────────┐
                                                     │  3 gave access   │
                    ┌──────────────┐                 │  for the full 6  │
                    │ 8 were not   │                 │      weeks       │
                    │ using PTB    │                 └──────────────────┘
                    └──────────────┘
```
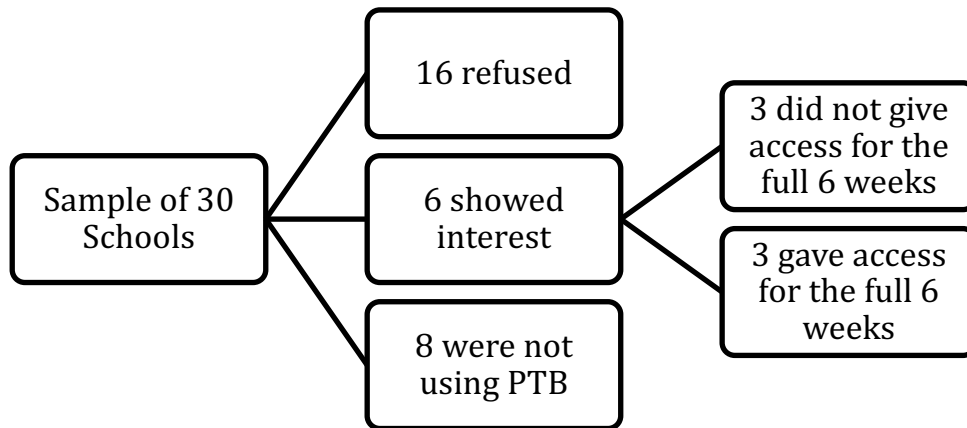
After multiple meetings with the second level gatekeepers in the 6 schools that had shown interest, I got the permission to conduct research in all of six of them. However, three of them only gave me permission for 3 to 4 weeks of fieldwork. Out of the remaining three, I decided to choose the school that gave me the full research time and was bigger in size with a bigger student population and it was the one that gave me the research permission first. I was then asked to provide documentary evidence and a meeting was held where I was introduced to the third and fourth level gatekeepers.

Elite private schools use the Cambridge University Press textbooks and are only situated in various urban areas within Lahore. Much like the case of the low-cost private school, I generated a random sample of 10 schools from the list of elite schools in Lahore. I went about the same process as above and started by telephoning the head offices of all of these schools. I was not granted access to the school offices of 5 of these schools and I was invited to meet the administration of the other 5 schools. Out of these, 3 refused to grant me access for research. I got permission to conduct research in the other two schools and I started my research with the school where the gatekeepers coordinated and afforded me with the entire six weeks of research time. Some schools were willing to give access but only for a maximum of four weeks. I initially held meetings with head teachers and through them the teachers. I also had to speak to the school counsellor and provide documentary evidence pertaining to my research. I also had to sign a non-disclosure agreement with the school to not use their name or the names of any of the students and teachers in my research.

For the public school I approached the first level gatekeepers at the School Education Department with the list of public schools they had provided me. With the enforcement of Article 25-A: Right to Education of the Constitution, the provision of free and compulsory education to all children aged between five and sixteen became a responsibility of the government. The School Education Department of the Government of Punjab [61]is thereafter responsible for the regulation of all public schools in the region, as well as the formulation of curricula and textbooks, teacher training and student assessments and examinations. This highly centralised body makes all relevant decisions related to the public schools and hence it was imperative to first seek permission from the department. This was the final sample for my research as gaining access to the first level gatekeepers for this category took the longest time and this process was also interrupted by the advent of the COVID19 pandemic. By the time I accessed the first level gatekeepers, I already had a sample of two all-girls and two mixed gender schools in which I had been granted permission to conduct research. All the public schools conduct single gender education with 152 being boys only and 180 are girls only. I therefore wanted an all-boys school in order for my overall sample to give some reflection of the diversity of the schooling system in Lahore, and since more than 50 percent of the schools in the city are all boys, I decided that I needed to have at least one all-boys sample. I did not receive clearance initially from the relevant authorities to conduct research in the boys' only school. I submitted my application again on September 15th, once schools started opening again after school closure due to COVID19 and met first level gatekeepers through the help of my local network. The actual negotiating process was quite difficult and required liaising with first level gatekeepers' multiple times. From the list of the available public schools in Lahore, I randomly selected[62] one all boys school from the list of all-boys public schools whose name I gave to the gatekeepers and was finally granted permission to conduct research there for six weeks. I then held a meeting with the second level gatekeepers at the selected school and began my fieldwork.

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[61] https://schools.punjab.gov.pk/
[62] This was selected using the RAND function on excel where a random number was assigned to each school. I then sorted the 10 schools according to the random number column and then I selected the first school from the list.

For the rest of the study, I will be referring to the Church-administered school as CAS, army-administered school as AAS, elite private school as EPS, low-cost private school as LCPS and government-administered school as GAS, since this is the order in which I conducted fieldwork in them.

My role in the setting was defined in a number of ways: as an educationist, As a PhD researcher from UK, as a colleague for the teachers, as a staff member for the students.

Crang and Cook (2007) explain how multiple roles within a setting help in presenting a self that can hold itself according to the group setting (Crang and Cook, 2007). I define myself here as a colleague for the teachers since in my introduction I had spoken to the teachers about my previous teaching experience. I have volunteered for multiple non-governmental organisation schools and also participated in mentoring programmes. Further I shared with the teachers details of my own initiative called dreams from the Streets that focuses on sponsoring education of out of school children by linking them to donors and to private schools (not linked to the case study schools) who can then incorporate them (see section 4.8 for details on positionality).

4.4   Profile of Schools

School 1- AAS

The starting point of the research was an all-girls army-administered secondary school with Grades ranging from class 5 till 11, with approximately 40 students in each section of each grade located in the upscale Lahore Cantonment municipality, which is a Garrison controlled by the Military Lands and Cantonment Department of the Ministry of Defence, Pakistan. The secretariat overlooks an eminently centralised system of schools, principally for children of army personnel, but with admissions open to the general public as well. The predilection towards army households is evident in the fee structure, with army households paying highly subsidised rates of less than PKR 5000 per month and non-army households paying PKR 10,000 per month. All schools operating under the system have an overarching philosophy focusing on citizenship wellbeing and duties towards one's nation with

emphasis on fostering skills in students that can help them contribute to a better Pakistan.

This school can be considered well equipped, housed in four brick buildings with three playgrounds, which provide the platform for numerous sporting activities, encircling it. The school also contained a sizeable auditorium where assemblies were held every morning, and cultural and religious events would ensue every Wednesday morning.

With respect to pedagogy, English was the medium of instruction with all students and teachers being mandated to converse in English during school hours. A combination of textbooks from the Punjab Textbook Board as well as textbooks for some subjects such as History, English and Geography that were especially designed and published by the secretariat were employed.

There were eight different sections for Grade 7 in the school with approximately 30 to 40 students each; with the section I conducted research in consisting of 38 students, 24 of which were children of army personnel. Students were taught courses of Islamiyat, Urdu Literature, Urdu Language, English, Geography, History, Maths, Arts, Computers, Sports and Science by a total of nine teachers. In terms of gender, the composition of the teaching and administrative staff was predominantly female, with only a small proportion of administrative staff being male. The school promoted an interactive style of teaching, with lesson plans particularly focusing on student feedback. Innovative teaching techniques such as role-playing, debating and the use of multimedia technology were often utilised in the classroom settings.

Even though the administration refused to provide information regarding the religious backgrounds of the students and teachers, I was able to ask the teachers (the ones teaching Grade 7) about their religious backgrounds and found out that they were all Muslims. It was trickier, on the other hand to find out the religious backgrounds of the students, but the class teacher once mentioned to me that all the students were Muslims.

School 2- CAS

The second school that I visited was a church administered school[63] located in a semi-urban Christian majority locality[64] and run by the Catholic Board of Education. The Catholic Board is responsible for 534 schools, out of which 140 schools are in Lahore, eight colleges, and seven technical institutes with a total student body of over 30,000. The underlying philosophy of the schools focuses on engendering Christian values in students regardless of their race and creed[65].

Out of the list of schools that I had shortlisted based on random sampling, I was allowed access to one mixed gender school in a Christian majority area. The first striking difference between this school and the army-administered school that I previously visited was the difference in size and facilities. The premises consisted of four separate but small concrete buildings, which surrounded a small playground that was also used as the space for conducting morning assemblies. True to the underlying philosophy of the Catholic Board, this schools' particular ideology also heavily focused on fostering Christian values of peace and tolerance, addressed in its mission statement as well, to all its students regardless of their religious backgrounds.

In accordance with the uniform standards implemented by the Catholic Board, the medium of instruction for this school was Urdu and textbooks published by the Punjab Textbook Board were employed.

There were two sections for class 7 with a capacity of around 38 students each and I spent six weeks in one of these sections. The teaching staff for Grade 7 consisted of four women who taught eight subjects namely, English, Urdu A, Urdu B, Geography, History, Science, Maths and Ethics. Separate classes for Islamiyat were given once a week in lieu of Ethics to the Muslim students. The staff, much like the army-administered school, consisted mostly of women, with a group of nuns overseeing much of the daily teaching activities. The style of teaching was traditional

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[63] These schools are not religious schools as they follow the guidelines and curriculum of the government, with the only difference being the fact that a church body heads them .

[64] Since Pakistan is a predominantly Muslim state with Christians forming only 2 % of the total population, there are very few areas that are dominated by non-Muslims with majority of the areas being Muslim majority in nature.

[65] This information was gathered through field visits to the head office of the Catholic Board of Education as well as the head office of the Presbyterian Board of Education in Lahore. For further details see http://www.cbelahore.com/ and https://www.peb.edu.pk/.

teacher-centric with a heavy focus on rote learning and memorisation from the textbooks and focus on exam preparations.

The school administration provided all information regarding the religious backgrounds of the students and teachers, because of which I was able to discern that the class comprised of mostly Christian students, with only three students being Muslims- with all the students being residents in the same locality.

School 3- EPS

The third school that I visited was an all-girls branch of an exclusive high-cost private school that is highly selective in its selection of students, has a separate building that houses Grade 7 and located in the prestigious residential area of Gulberg in Lahore. The Grade 7 class I visited consisted of 30 students and was taught by six female and six male teachers.

The premises consisted of multiple beautifully constructed, purpose-built brick buildings, with several facilities available to the students ranging from auditoriums to gymnasiums. What was instantly striking about this school was that the school promoted a collective elite identity, which was upheld by the students' financial backgrounds and academic achievements, with majority of the students being residents of the historically elite neighbourhoods nearby. The parents of most students occupy influential positions in the legal, political and economic fabric of the country.

In this school, English language not only served as the principal medium of instruction, but there was also an overwhelming emphasis on conducting all extra-curricular activities such as debating and dramatics in English, with only one class devoted to the learning of Urdu. A noticeable dissimilarity between this school and the other schools in the sample was the range of subjects being taught to students. Learning another language was compulsory with German being the preferred option for most students. Extra-curricular activities were given prominence with separate periods for singing, dancing, karate, gym being provided for the students. Other subjects being taught included Urdu Literature and Urdu Language, English, Science, History, Geography and Islamiyat.

The school particularly focused on fostering critical thinking skills in students that could provide them the ability to compete with their Western counterparts around the world. As the school authorities were willing to provide information regarding the religious backgrounds of the teachers and students, I found out that the class that I visited did not contain non-Muslim students or non-Muslim teachers. However, the school did cater to some Christian students and two Ahmadi students and employed some non-Muslim teaching staff as well.

School 4- LCPS

This was a mixed gender school located in the upscale municipality of Model Town but within a highly constricted Shia majority slum area inside the urban locality. The school is owned by a Shia family and mainly houses Shia students from the locality. There was only one section for Grade 7, consisting of 15 students, ten boys and five girls, being taught by a total of four teachers, two of whom were female and two males. It was a low-cost private school as it charged a monthly fee of PKR 600 and was privately owned by the principal, who also owned two other low-cost schools in the municipality.

Since this was the fourth school I visited, what was especially visible at first glance was the difference in the facilities and infrastructure as compared to the other schools, with this school being housed in a decrepit building nearing collapse. The student population was visibly small and the facilities available were negligible with no playgrounds for the students to play in during their break. The space for conducting assemblies in the morning was so confined that some students would find themselves standing beyond the boundary of the school. There were no provisions for extra-curricular activities and only a limited number of soft boards were available in each classroom and at the main entrance.

Urdu was the only medium of instruction with only one class focused on the teaching of English and textbooks published by the Punjab Textbook Board in use. Aside from English only a limited number of subjects were being taught which were English, Urdu Literature, Urdu Language, Science, History, Maths and Islamiyat. Separate etiquette lessons were given to male students that revolved around the persona of Caliph Ali (who is a revered figure in Islam- particularly Shiism). All students and

teachers interacted with each other in Urdu, interspersed with Punjabi. The school used a pedagogical style that predominantly stressed rote learning with students being asked to memorise passages from the textbooks and then being asked to recite them.

Information regarding the composition of students according to religious background was not provided to me, however in one class of Islamiyat, students were asked about the religious rituals practiced at their homes through which I discerned that all students were Muslims. I asked the principal about the religious backgrounds of the teachers, who were all Shia Muslims. One differentiating characteristic of this school was that all female students as well as teachers were required to cover their heads, regardless of their religion or creed.

School 5- GAS

This was an all-boys school with 50 students and three teachers, all male employing textbooks published by the Punjab Textbook Board, with the medium of instruction being Urdu[66].

This school was large with multiple single storey buildings, consisting of administrative offices and 40 classrooms and two big playgrounds that are used for assemblies, sports and any events held at the school. There was a total of seven sections for Grade 7 at this school and I chose one section out of them based on random sampling. There was one course for learning English and the students and teachers predominantly conversed in Urdu and Punjabi even during the English class. Separate *talawat* (recitation) classes were provided to students of Grade 7 every alternate week. All the administrative as well as teaching staff in the school is male, with no women being allowed inside.

The pedagogical style focused excessively on rote learning with teachers reciting passages from textbooks either themselves or asking students to read them out aloud. Additionally, the head teacher for every section was responsible for teaching

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[66] This information has been collected through personal visits to the School Education Department and meetings with the Deputy Education Secretary Lahore. The list of schools is available at
https://schoolportal.punjab.gov.pk/sed_census/new_emis_details.aspx?distId=352--Lahore

multiple subjects and in the class attended consisted of the head teacher making students run errands like cleaning the classrooms instead of actual teaching most of the time. I asked the administration about the religious composition of the students and teachers and was told that all of them were Muslims. The three teachers in the class I was observing were Islamic clerics.

Given below is a summary of the all the major characteristics of the five schools.

Table 2:

Schools	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4	School 5
Category	Army-administered	Church-administered	Elite private	Low-cost Private	Public
Location	Army cantonment	Semi-urban Christian majority area	Upscale residential area	Urban slum	Semi-commercial area
Medium of Instruction	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	Urdu
Textbook Board Followed	Punjab Textbook Board and APSACS Curricula	Punjab Textbook Board	Cambridge University Press	Punjab Textbook Board	Punjab Textbook Board
Grade 7 Students' Religion	Muslims only	Christian majority	Muslims only	Muslims only	Muslims only
Grade 7 Students' Gender	All Girls	Mixed Gender (20 boys, 18 girls)	All Girls	Mixed Gender (6 boys, 4 girls)	All Boys
Number of Teachers for Grade 7	9	6	12	4	3

Composition of Grade 7 Teachers According to Religion	Muslims only	Christians only	Muslim majority	Muslims only	Muslims only
Composition of Grade 7 Teachers According to Gender	6 females	2 male and 4 female teachers	6 male and 6 female teachers	2 male and 2 female teachers	3 Males
Fee Structure	>PKR 5000	<PKR5000	>PKR5000	<PKR5000	Free
School Uniform	Girls: *shalwar qamīẓ* with a dūpatah draped at the front.	Girls: *shalwar qamīẓ* with dūpatah Boys: Tucked in shirts and trousers.	Girls*:* *shalwar qamīẓ* with a small sash in the front.	Girls: *shalwar qamīẓ* with heads covered with dūpatah Boys: Tucked in shirts and trousers.	Boys: Tucked in shirts and trousers.

4.5   Research Methods

The qualitative case study methodology employed for this project encompasses multiple ethnographic methods of data collection and employs the technique of triangulation to mitigate bias. This approach helps in adding depth to the data and ensuring validity by using more than one research method (Denzin, 2012). Since the research is entirely qualitative and exploratory in nature, the purpose is not to increases chances of control over the data, it is to deepen and widen the knowledge

gained of the sample schools. In this section I will highlight the specific methods I employed to conduct research for my study.

Table 3:

Main research Question	Sub Research Questions	Sub-sub research questions	Research Instruments
What is the role of religion in classrooms in public and private schools in Lahore?	*1. How does religion come up in discussions within classrooms?*		Classroom observations
	2. For what purposes do teachers draw on religious notions in classrooms?	In particular linking to: 2a) National identity 2b) Ethnic identity 2c) Gender identity 2d) Moral development 2e) Other	Classroom observations and semi-structured interviews with teachers
	3. How is religion involved in the physical and social environment of the classrooms, for example		Observation of physical and social environment of the schools

	in school and classroom rituals?		

4.5.1 Classroom Observation

The principal method for understanding the place of religious discourse in the classrooms was participant observation. I used this method to answer my first sub-question, "How does religion come up in discussions within classrooms?" Yin (2014) explains how observations allow for the recording of actions in both real time and in context. I approached the study as a non-participant observer (Walsh, 2009), since I wanted to observe the classrooms and student-teacher interactions in their natural settings. To be clear, I entered the field- which in this case is the classroom- as an outside individual who does not directly influence the classroom activities but is a silent observer, nonetheless. I used to enter the classroom right at the start of the school day and sit at the back alone in order to avoid research reactivity of the participants (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) and was attentive to and noted any and all mentions of religion in the classrooms. Using the framework and suggestions by Merriam (1998) this observation also entailed collecting data on: the physical aspects of the classrooms; the students, teachers, their interactions with each other; the teacher's interactions with me; factors such as nonverbal cues including teachers' and students' body language, hand gestures, clothing; and my role in the classroom as a non-participant observer.

One research that inspired my study and influenced my observations was Alan Peshkin's work in Bethany Baptist Academy where he immersed himself in the school environment- using in-depth observations but also taking notes manually instead of through recordings. A number of rules guided my note-taking as well during the observations. Spradley (1980) suggests using the language identification principle which lets the researcher identify what language is being used by which participant. This helped in the identification of my rephrasing while also giving a clear and true picture of the actual language in which the observation

was recorded. Spradley (1980) also puts forth the verbatim principle, which resulted in a verbatim record of the articulations of the participants, which again helped me identify and be aware of any summarising, translating and paraphrasing of the articulations. The third principle I adopted was to only note phenomena that were observable- this helped in the researcher bias and speculations on the thoughts of the participants coming through the data. The last principle I adopted was to identify the time, participants present, subject being covered and textbook content for each and every classroom observation as well as my thoughts and roles in a separate reflexive journal as suggested by Dobbert (1982). I purchased the textbooks for all the subjects and would read the prescribed textbook content (around which the class would be based) at the start of every session.

I initially considered dividing my field notes into different categories such as Islamic invocations and factual mentions of Islam but decided on noting down every mention possible of religion, in whichever way it would come up in the classrooms and categorise the mentions in the data analysis stage. I considered students and teachers alike as important sources of knowledge generation (Bourgois & Schonberg, 2009) and especially focused on their interactions. Also, I was aware that one advantage of using qualitative research techniques such as classroom observations and semi-structured interviews is that salient questions can arise during the process; hence, I was aware that actual fieldwork would significantly influence my conceptualisation of religious meanings.

In order to gather a comprehensive account of the classrooms, I used to be present at the school sites from the time when teachers entered the school in the morning from the time the classes started to the time they ended, attending particularly the Social Studies, Islamiyat, Urdu, and English classes. I was also attentive during the Science classes since research on textbooks in Pakistan has highlighted the heavy involvement of religion in science textbooks (Hoodbhoy, 2020). I focused particularly on these subjects because they have been highlighted in previous research on textbooks for having the most involvement of religion in them. Some subjects were completely disassociated with religion, such as maths, which, I would sometimes not attend and instead would use that time to interact with the teachers, sit in the teachers' lounge and just observe the school buildings

and environment.

4.5.2 Semi-structured Interviews

A shortcoming of classroom observations and viewing sessions can be a failure to account for the perspectives of different participants. Interviews in this case are helpful as they are considered direct elicitation methods (Briggs, 2007). A major aspect of my research is to understand why teachers may or may not be discussing religious notions in classroom, which required interviewing them and asking them about the reasons. I conducted 18 semi-structured interviews after managing to build a relationship and rapport with the teachers that involved enough understanding for a genuine exchange of views and a degree of openness and honesty to the interviews to exist. I used this method to answer my second sub-question "*For what purposes do teachers draw on religious notions in classroom?".*

These were one-on-one semi-structured interviews with the teachers that were undertaken informally[67]. These interview questions were informed not only by the research questions, but also by the data collected from the classroom observations prior to the interviews. For this reason, I decided to conduct these interviews after four weeks in the field and after developing some rapport with the teachers. In my initial meetings with the gatekeepers, I had given details of my research tools and had asked for permission from the school authorities and the teachers to conduct the interviews in the school premises, be it the teachers' room or any free classroom.

Since I was more interested in attending lectures of Islamiyat, Urdu, Social Studies, English and Science, I decided to interview the teachers teaching these subjects. I intended to conduct the interviews as per the teachers' availability and convenience, whether that was early morning, after the school day had ended, or during free periods. I asked all the teachers for their preferred language, whether English or

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[67] The sampling strategies for choosing teachers were both strategic and theoretical, based on the courses taught, gender as well as the years of experience. As interviews were conducted in the second stage of the research, the sampling was also informed by data collection and analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

Urdu and if they chose Urdu, I would transcribe the interviews in Urdu and then translate into English to avoid distortion of meaning. Only the teachers in EPS asked for the interviews to be in English; for all other sample schools the interviews were conducted in Urdu. I also asked permission for audio-recording the interviews and only did so where allowed. 12 out of 18 teachers allowed the interviews to be recorded. I provided them with a transcript of the recording (transcribed and translated into English) following the interviews.

One inspiration for conducting the interviews came from Sullivan and Rosin (2008), where they provide a structure for conducting observations. Their research on pedagogy suggests how observing teachers and classroom environments in their natural environments followed by asking questions specific to the pedagogy observed is the objective structure for research observations on pedagogical practices and classroom discourses. They also illustrate how it is challenging for teachers to speak about their practices without structured prompts. Hence in the semi-structured interviews, I would ask the teachers about specific incidents witnessed through the observations. I combined a pre-drafted interview protocol (consisting of a few questions around teaching experiences, understanding of religion) with classroom-specific questions on observed practices.

Initially, I asked teachers about their teaching experiences, their motivations for joining this profession, their ideas about the role a teacher played in the identity development of students. I would then ask them about their thoughts about religion, about the nation, about gender and I would finally ask them to recreate events from the classroom observation that involved them mentioning religion, followed by elaborating on the purposes for drawing on religion in classrooms (Seidman, 2006; Spradley, 1980). I was careful about not asking them about their personal characteristics and to not use any personal information related to the teachers and kept the data strictly anonymised. Interviews were used to not only validate the findings from the observations but also to provide depth to the data from the classroom observations. It also gave the teachers the opportunity to be an active part of the research, relating the meaning making that comes from their own social interactions and experiences (Crang and Cook, 2007).

For the purpose of maintaining anonymity, in the rest of the study I will be referring to the interviewed teachers the following way:

Table 4:

School	Teacher			
	Subject Taught			
CAS	A. Social Studies	B. English	C. Urdu	D. Science
AAS	A. Social Studies	B. English	C. Urdu	
EPS	A. Social Studies	B. English	C. Urdu	D. Islamiyat
LCPS	A. Urdu	B. Social Studies	C. English	D. Islamiyat
GAS	A. Electricity and Urdu	B. English, Maths, Science, Computers	C. Social Studies and Islamiyat	

I want to highlight that I decided to use alphabets to refer to teachers instead of pseudonyms (which would have been a more ethnographic technique) because pseudonyms are gender specific, and teachers were vary of any identifying information (particularly their gender) to be known in this research. I also did not use any other way of referring to teachers (such as colours) since they would have had cultural connotations attached to them. I therefore made sure not to use any pseudonyms and follow a simple process of anonymity. I assured the teachers at multiple points that no identifying characteristic, particularly their gender, could be known from the thesis. I also mentioned that I will be referring to them using the anonymous method of employing alphabets, which appeased them (the only other option was using numbers but since I was already using numbers to refer to schools, it would have become too confusing to use numbers for teachers as well).

It is important to note that I had intended to interview 4 teachers from each school but in AAS only three teachers from Grade 7 agreed to be interviewed and the Grade 7 I was observing in GAS had only three teachers teaching all of the subjects. Hence the total number of teachers interviewed were 18.

4.5.3 Observation of The Physical and Social Environment of the Schools

One component of the learning environment that influences students' learning is the place where the learning takes place (Weinstein, 1979). To this end, I observed the social environment of the school in the capacity of a participant observer (using visual observation), such as assemblies, prayer times, school events and the physical premises to answer my fourth sub-question "How is religion involved in the physical and social environment of the classrooms, for example in school and classroom rituals?" Hence my role in the school was not just restricted to the classroom but the Grade 7 class that I was attending, I would follow them to the auditorium for the school rituals and spend the entire day in the school. The idea here is that a day in the class for Grade 7 would entail not just the time spent inside the classroom but also in the school auditorium, or assemblies as a part of the activities of that Grade. I would therefore only attend the rituals when the participants (teachers and students) of the Grade 7 classroom I would be observing would be attending these rituals and events. This also allowed me to be a bigger part of the school environment and bond further with the teachers.

Observing the preparations for school events and being a part of the school culture enabled me to become more of an insider. I was invited to attend all social events in CAS, AAS, EPS such as carnivals, celebrations of cultural occasions like Iqbal day and debating competitions. In LCPS and GAS, no events were being held because of the advent of COVID19 and in GAS, even assemblies were not taking place due to COVID19.

The role of religion would entail the examination of both the overt and hidden curriculum. What characterises hidden curriculum is not just the sociological environment of the schools but also the physical environment of the institutions.

The physical arrangements of the classrooms, the buildings and especially the display boards in classrooms characterise a hidden curriculum often ignored in the examination of the covert norms in schools (Margolis, 2001). One way of assessing the role of religion can be by observing the physical spaces in schools. To this end, I conducted visual observations of the school premises (the classroom that I was a part of and the auditoriums or other spaces I would visit) but without the use of equipment.

Of particular interest to the study were the bulletin noticeboards, posters and graffiti in use around the schools and on display in the classrooms, and the information displayed on them. This was especially pertinent in the case of AAS, EPS, GAS since these schools had large buildings and halls that were filled with bulletin boards and illustrations. I used to notice whether they had any mentions of religion and whether there were any religious symbols drawn on the boards? After taking permission from the school authorities, I also took pictures of the buildings, bulletin boards etc in CAS and EPS. Yet, I did not get permission to take pictures of the bulletin boards etc in AAS, LCPS and GAS, hence I did not take photographic or video evidence of the visual environment and instead relied on the technique of observation and note taking.

4.6   The Impact of COVID19

The novel coronavirus disease (COVID19) was confirmed to have reached Pakistan on 26th February 2020 with two cases being reported. With a daily increase in the number of coronavirus patients, the government decided to impose a nationwide closure of all educational institutions, from 13th March 2020. This was when I had completed half of my research time in school 4 (LCPS)- three weeks were left in LCPS and 6 weeks were left in GAS for a total of 9 weeks of research time. This decision was initially supposed to be discussed on 27th March 2020 again, and in the first instance was only levied until 5th April 2020. With a continuous rise in cases all over the country, the federal as well as provincial governments decided to continue with the closure of schools until the COVID situation got better.

Meetings were held every month by the Federal Minister of Education, and relevant school education departments of each province after which it was deliberated that schools may open July 15th depending on the situation of the pandemic. Closer to July 15th, it was decided that schools would open on august 15th after which it was finally deliberated that they would open on September 15th, keeping in mind the consistent decrease in the number of new coronavirus cases and the high percentage of recovered patients. This meant that the fieldwork was paused/halted for a period of 6 months from 13th March 2020 until 15th September 2020. This break in the fieldwork also meant that research in school 4 was not undertaken for a continuous period of 6 weeks, rather it initially began in the last week of February until 13th March 2020, and then continued again for 3 weeks once schools were reopened from September 15th till October 2nd, 2020. This also meant that I had to re-negotiate access with the school that I was visiting.

This involved multiple meetings with the owners of the school, once before August 11th when schools were initially supposed to open on August 15th and once on September 10th in anticipation of the school opening on September 15th- to assure them that I would follow SOPs in the school. In these meetings held at the registration office inside the school, the owners, the school principal and teachers teaching the Grade 7 I was supposed to visit were present. Here, protocols from my end such as social distancing measures, compulsory usage of masks, temperature checks were mentioned.

Similarly, I had to re-enter negotiations with the School Education Department of the Punjab Government in order to visit a public-school operating under the system. Due to the fear of an incoming second wave, the relevant authorities asked me to elaborate on all the steps I would take to reduce the risk incurred by students and asked me to strictly follow the protocols, which included wearing a mask, gloves, checking temperature every day and maintaining social distance. I was also asked to get a coronavirus test done and provide the results to the authorities. My research timeline was significantly altered as a direct consequence of COVID19 which can below.

Figure 3:

School 1 (CAS) (31st September - 10th November)	School closure due to COVID19	School 4 (LCPS) (15th September - 4th October)
School 2 (AAS) (11th November - 22nd December)	School 4 (LCPS) (24th February - 13th March)	School 5 (GAS) (5th October - 15th November)
Winter holidays (extension due to smog)	School 3 (EPS) (13th January - 23rd February)	
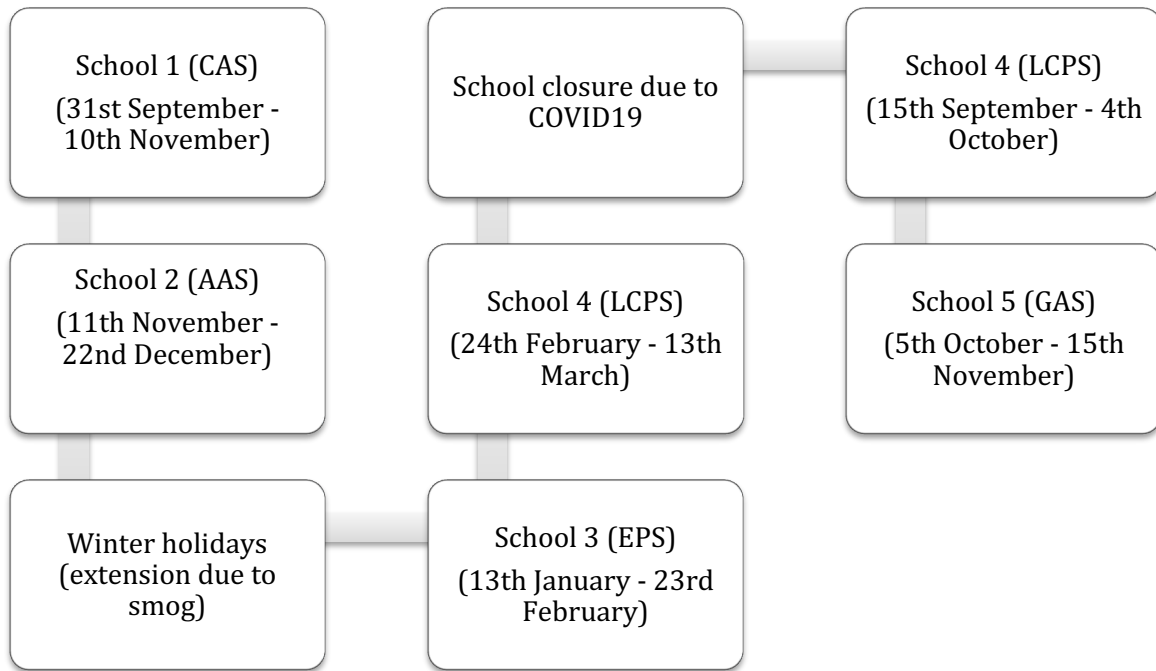
The full fieldwork timeline is included in Appendix B.

4.7   Translations and Transliterations

For transliteration I enlisted the help of Dr Tariq Rahman in incorporating the IJMES transliteration system for Arabic, Persian and Turkish. I amended all my transcriptions accordingly and used the IJMES to write Urdu (by adapting the Arabic letters) in English script for all the data. Transliteration has only been used for the fieldwork data, and all other Urdu words (for instance those in chapter 2 and 3) have been retained the way they were used in the quoted texts (in the policies or literature that was quoted).

For the translations of the data, I enlisted the help of a bilingual Urdu speaker who was provided the anonymised data (Urdu in English script and the English translations) for member checking.

Finally, following my thesis examiner Dr Iqtidar's comments in the preliminary report, I have streamlined the data to include the translations (in English) as compared to a mix of English and Urdu. Only a few important Urdu words, with

particular contextual connotations, have been retained in the text and these have been transliterated using IJMES.

4.8   Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to the process of *"identifying salient themes, recurring ideas or language and patterns of belief that link people and settings together"* (Marshall et al., 1995: 154). The first and foremost step in data analysis is housekeeping. I took notes not on the laptop or any electronic gadget, rather manually. I noted down all field notes in English using a pen and notepad. I believed using a laptop might prove a distraction for the participants, students, and teachers alike, hence I undertook manual writing of notes. I also was cognisant of the fact that a number of schools that I was visiting were low-cost in nature, where a lot of the students and teachers alike did not own laptops, cell phones etc, and in such a scenario using one would make me more of an outsider and would prove to be a distraction for the participants. I used to write descriptive notes, wherever possible, but in situations where detailed notes were not possible, I used to note key words during the observations that could later serve as a reminder of what happened. For this purpose, I kept an observation sheet. I started writing notes everyday by dividing them into location and time, the subject being taught, and the number of participants present. I would then transfer the manual data into the computer every day. However, the notes on participants were anonymised so that no personal data is used.

I used to enter all the data, from interviews to observational field notes into first Microsoft Word and then into NVivo every day after the field work, which is a software programme on computers that allows qualitative data to be coded, organised and analysed. I did this daily for my field observation notes in order to ensure the safety of the data. I only used the secure remote desktop connection with UCL, using the N-Drive so that the data remained safe and confidential.

I undertook the transcription of the interviews manually and by myself instead of through a third party in order to maintain the confidentiality of the data and also because I am a native speaker of Urdu with a high fluency and advanced level writing

and reading abilities. While taking the notes, I would sometimes translate them into English automatically while writing and sometimes I would write them down in Urdu if I felt the linguistic affordance of the words would lose their essence if translated in English. In the data chapters, in many places I have provided both the original data noted in Urdu and given translations and translated data. Transcription software called F4 was used for audio data in the case of the semi-structured interviews that were recorded.

The next step was organisation of data. I organized the data on the basis of field sites observed and according to whether it was descriptive information, that involves factual accounts recorded from the field which were recorded in one notebook, or reflective information, that is my own thoughts and ideas concerning the events, which were recorded in my second field notebook (Schensul and LeCompte, 2013). In NVIVO, the factual notes were entered into the cases section and the reflective information under memos. The cases section was divided into 5 different sections for all of the schools observed with each section containing notes from classroom and school observations and interview transcripts.

While typing out the data on a daily basis allowed me to re-experience and review the daily that was recorded. This also allowed me make patterns and connections. It also set the foundation for the powerful process of analysing the data through coding. Coding means to arrange things in a systematic order, which enables it to be analysed accordingly. A pertinent component in qualitative research, coding can also refer to indexing and involves reading and re-reading data carefully to identify parts of the data that are relevant, to identify themes, to build connections and to answer the research questions (Creswell, 2007).

I was cognisant of the need to resist "neat narratives" (Dyson & Genishi, 2005:79) while conducting thematic analysis of data. I used the framework outlined by Lecompte (2000) by conducting data analysis in a series of steps. The first of these was 'tidying up' the data I gathered. Since my raw data accounted for 100,000 words, I first cleaned the data for any repetitions and for unnecessary information (not related to religion).

I began with open coding (Merriam & Tisdell, 2009) in which I went through collected notes from classroom observations and observations of assemblies, physical environment and rituals of the school, notes from debriefing sessions and the transcribed interviews and I sorted through them according to their mentions of religion. As Saldana (2016: 3) has described, most of these codes consisted of *"a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data"*. Taking inspiration from Saldana (2016) I used to reflect on my reflexive notes recorded in my reflexive journal and I would write analytic memos every night after a field day which would help deconstruct my thinking from the events of the day and also help in generating codes later on in the analytical stage. These memos also helped to *"tie[d] different pieces of data into a recognizable cluster"* (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 72).

I did not view the initial codes as fixed and they were throughout the process of analysing the data and writing were open to additions, reinterpretations and deletions. As Strauss (1987: 32) states it is imperative to *"not become too committed to the first codes … since initial codes can seem highly relevant when they are actually not"*. The aim here is to not let any pre-conceived notions and set theoretical frameworks to influence the analysis of the data. Since my research is exploratory in nature, I strived to let the data develop an organic structure of its own.

With respect to coding, I used in vivo codes- where the codes were derived from the data itself often using the frequency command on NVIVO. If I could not find an appropriate code then I would work on building my own code by looking at existing literature that would help in explaining the data (this is how I came up with the terms 'moral education' and 'development', (detailed in Chapter 8) (Creswell, 2007). All these codes included some mention of religion which was the basis of the open coding.

Axial coding was the next stage, where I reviewed the initial codes to see which ones were being most frequently used to determine themes and patterns in the data. Each of these strategies required reading the database repeatedly. I then

built the codes into categories and then finally reviewed the codes to create the three themes identified in the next three chapters. Because this was an exploratory descriptive case study, the goal was to use the above-mentioned codes and subsequent themes to produce thick data, with vignettes providing an effective strategy to write a detailed description (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2014). Qualitative case studies particularly require rich, holistic data and these strategies of coding and describing the themes helps in illustrating the richness of the individual cases (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

4.9   Reflexivity, and Positionality

All writing is 'positioned' and within a stance" (Creswell, 2007: 179). The way we write reflects our own interpretation based on the cultural, social, gender, class, and personal politics that we bring to research". It is therefore important for researchers to be aware of their own positionality, especially if the methods are qualitative and interpretive in nature.

As such, even in my own city, I understand that I am simultaneously an insider and outsider (Gilbert, 1994; Mullings, 1990) in the different school settings, for the following reasons:

Table 5:

Insider	Outsider
I hail from Lahore, Pakistan where I completed my schooling.	I went to an elite private school in Lahore, making me an outsider for the other four case study schools.
I have been studying in the field of education.	My higher education was from UK.
I undertook high school exams in Lahore.	I undertook exams with the Cambridge GCSE examination board, rather than with the local government board.
I have consistently been volunteering and working for low-cost private and NGO schools.	The selected schools were entirely new for me.

Research has shown how it is better to conceptualize the researcher's role on a continuum rather than as an insider or outsider (Hodkinson, 2005). There were therefore levels of both familiarity as well as strangeness and this allowed me to see hidden aspects that may be 'taken for granted' by the insiders. I constantly questioned myself over my own value-laden perspectives especially pertaining to religion. I understand that it is important that this process of reflexivity occurred from the start till then end of the research to avoid superficiality.

Reflexivity in research requires reflection on self, process, and representation, and involves the critical inspection of politics, power relations and researcher accountability in the research process (Jones, Ougham, Thomas, & IPašakinskienė, 2009; Moss, Al-Hindi, & Kawabata, 2002) providing a more nuanced understanding of the research content and process. An important aspect of reflexivity is being aware of one's positionality in research. When evaluating one's own culture, a qualitative researcher should possibly act as a philosopher, constantly questioning the obvious or stated facts that are taken for granted in his own society (Erickson, 1973). The point is not to self-indulge but to be reflexive about one's biases, and power relations that may inadvertently affect the methods and interpretations of research.

The key strategy that I employed to be reflexive was to keep a reflective journal where I noted down my own interpretations and views on everyday events. The notes from the reflective journal were used to compare and contrast with the actual research findings/observational notes in order to view the results from different perspectives. In order to be reflexive about the classroom observations, I used the technique of debriefing with the teachers after every class where I would ask them questions about the discussions in the classroom and ask them about the reasons for doing so. I constantly questioned myself about my own thoughts on religion, how I came about my own notions on religion and whether my notions were affecting the research.

There were a range of factors that influenced the credibility and validity of this research- my positionality being a primary source. In a qualitative study the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis. In qualitative research, credibility if not associated with *"objective truth"* (Maxwell, 2013: 122) rather it is *"holistic, multidimensional, and ever-changing; it is not a single fixed, objective phenomenon waiting to be discovered, observed and measured"* (Merriam, 2009: 213).

My positionality or rather my awareness of my positionality helped increase the credibility and trustworthiness of this study. As I pointed out at the start of the dissertation I have always identified as a Muslim, Pakistani woman who is brown of skin colour and liberal in her views. I am also a politically charged individual engaged and interested in a variety of societal and global issues, which I have also advocated for. As a Muslim Pakistani I have always been taught how I cannot differentiate between these two markers of identity as they are one and the same. I also have an affinity towards engaging in debates around religion or rather the politicisation of it- and I have engaged in them in formal and informal platforms. Since I have some teaching experience, I also needed to let go of my own pedagogical biases around how a subject should or should not be taught.

I was a recognised outsider in all the settings, but I was vigilant in conducting my research as unobtrusively as possible. I tended to be silent and was very careful about my verbal cues. I made sure to write notes in a notebook on my lap, as unobtrusively as possible. I kept two notebooks with me, one was my field journal, and one was my reflexive journal and all notes were taken manually and quietly in a notebook in my lap. Taking into account symbolic interactionism, many researchers argue that the role of participant observers does not remain static over time (See for instance Walford, 1987). I did recognise that my presence in the classroom may influence the activities of the classroom, especially the reactions of the teachers. I, also noted that during the course of research, my role did change in some sample schools through acquiring an understanding of the 'rules' of interaction and engaging in educative processes that made me a legitimate peripheral participant.

In some instances, I was asked by teachers to help them with the teaching activities or materials. In a few instances, the teachers would move to the back of the classroom to speak to me, particularly in AAS; hence, even though I wanted to remain silent I would still be involved in some interactions though these were strictly restricted to just the teachers. There were a few times when I helped the teachers in the elite private school to set up the projector and computer for teaching. In the public school, the male teachers would ask me how I was doing, ask me if I wanted tea or make some small conversation sometimes during the class while the students would be doing assignments. Overall, I made sure to remain silent during the day and be a 'fly on the wall' in the classroom settings. In all of the schools I got feedback from the teachers saying they sometimes used to forget that I was sitting inside the classroom since I would be at the back. Some teachers even mentioned how this had something to do with my short height and the fact that they sometimes mistook me for being a student as well. Even the students, in moments when no teachers were present in the classroom, would make noise, interact with each other and complain about the teaching without considering my presence in the classroom.

Following interviews, I would also take notes of my moods in the reflexive journal in order to keep an introspective record (Merriam, 2009: 136). When analysing data, I would go back to my reflexive journal to understand possible implications that my mood could have had on the findings. This was a continuing and ongoing effort on my part where I would discuss my biases, viewpoints with my supervisors as well every month. I am hoping that this awareness translated in my data analysis process which I have undertaken with the most transparency. One other method of increasing the credibility of the study was through time- by the end of the five or six weeks in all of the schools I became aware of repeating patterns and themes.

One way I triangulated data was by asking clarification questions in the interviews. I tried to ask questions that uncovered the teacher's thought processes and goals behind their classroom discourses, including why certain topics were or were not brought up in the classrooms. After the data analysis, I did go back to the literature review chapter to understand the themes emerging from the data and also for staying current with the current literature on the topic that was emerging. The teachers in AAS particularly showed palpable sadness when I completed the data

collection in that school. The other participants in other schools also expressed appreciation over my research time.

4.10 Ethical Implications

As Silverman (2005) explains, qualitative ethnographic methods such as observations and interviews are based on data collected from individuals and about individuals; hence, it is hardly surprising that such research would face ethical and methodological issues. In this section, I outline the ethical and methodological issues concerning this study may raise and how overcame them.

I made sure to protect the privacy, confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants. With regards to confidentiality, I made every effort to protect the privacy of research participants, but I did make them aware of the fact that there are no absolute guarantees, despite best efforts (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2005; Creswell, 2013). I confirm that the names of the respondents are held in confidence and used with anonymity, and I have removed all identifiable information related to the participants. In anonymisation, pseudonyms have been employed to protect the identity of the participants. Detailed descriptions of the setting and the characteristics of the participants have been avoided to reduce the risk of identification.

I gave consent forms to the adult key informants, which include the teachers of the selected Grade 7 in each school and also the head teachers. I acquired informed consent from them, not only in the beginning but also before the interviews started in the last two weeks of the research in every school. I also received consent from them after debriefing sessions as I told them that I wanted to include materials from the debriefing sessions in my study. It is important to note that, as is the case with data relating to adults, where data relating to children is fully anonymised, the requirements imposed by data protection legislation will not apply. Additionally, I did not interact, on any occasion, with any of the children. I still gave consent forms to the teachers and the school administration to share with the parents of students (who all agreed to my presence in the classrooms). I have fully anonymised the data

of both teachers and students so that they are unidentifiable with the teachers of every school only being referred to as Teacher A, B C etc.

In terms of data security, researchers comply with British Educational Research Association (2018)'s guidelines with regards to the use of personal data in line with the Data Protection Act (2018). In this regard, I informed the participants as to where the information would be stored, and whom it will be shared with and how it will be used. I have assigned ownership rights to the interview participants. According to (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007:213), "by assigning such ownership rights to people, they can be protected from the consequences of information they regard as confidential, or damaging being disclosed publicly by the researcher".

After transcribing the interviews and translating them from Urdu to English manually, I gave the copies to the teachers to read, which I believed would improve validity and consistency of the results. Participants were time and again informed of their right to withdraw any time during the study. During the interviews I was especially careful not to make the participants uncomfortable, and I also conducted the interviews in a time and space that they were comfortable in. I consistently reported my progress to the participants (Robinson & Weldon, 1993), so that their consent and comfort was constantly taken into account.

All researchers are required to be honest about the purpose and impact of their study as well as the funding of their projects. I will analyse the data in such a way that sensationalism is minimized while the contextual comprehension of the data is maximized. I have also endeavoured to report truthfully any scientific or cultural biases that may be inherent in the presentation of the data. I will also have to describe my data analysis procedures in BERA protocols, with particular attention on the methods and accuracy of findings.

Encrypting data while it is being stored provides substantial protection against unlawful or unauthorised usage. For this reason, I only use UCL remote desktop connection on my laptop. UCL desktops already have Windows BitLocker stored for protection. Additionally, I downloaded FireVault for my MacBook. In order to avoid loss of said encrypted data, a copy of my work has been stored in a safe environment

in the N-drive, which is my own personal storage data given by UCL. I only stored the data for my immediate need and will remove the data according to UCL's regulations.

Before starting my data gathering, I held meetings with each teacher to explain the purpose of the study, research questions, methods and procedures employed for ethical research. I constantly engaged with the subjects about the nature of the study, about their participation and solicited advice from them at all stages of the study. All the schools asked me to give details of my research instruments in the consultative meetings held. I provided full disclosure over the research techniques and showed my research equipment (which included a notebook, a reflexive journal and an observation sheet) prior to the study. All participants have been provided with my contact details so that they have a mechanism to be able to contact me, in case they have concerns about their involvement later.

Chapter 5   Religion and The Nation

 "Pakistan was founded on the basis of Islam. The basis of all aspects of our society is Islam. The ideology of Islam and Pakistan is one".

(Teacher B LCPS)

Through the emphasis on an overarching national 'ideology', the above articulation by teacher B (LCPS) illustrated the degree of intersection between religion and the nation-state in Pakistan. The educational discourse in Pakistan has been known to play an instrumental role in purporting the dominant state narrative (Dean, 2013; Saigol, 2014)- a recurrent theme in my research findings as well. From the start of my fieldwork, I could sense being part of the "Pakistan project" with classroom discourses consistently stressing on the ideology of Pakistan- always cloaked in religious terms, schools opening with the singing of the national anthem every day in the assembly, eulogies for national heroes of Pakistan and their contributions to the country and Islam and panegyrization of the military for protecting the nationhood (both Pakistani and Muslim). In her research, Lall (2012b) revealed differences in the conception of the state depending on the type of school attended by the students. My case study schools also varied in the way the nation was being spoken of. Using data from the five case study schools, this chapter presents the narratives concerning the nation that were visible in the classrooms.

5.1   Religion and Pakistan's Ideology

One overarching narrative in the classrooms concerned '*Pakistan's ideology'* or rather '*The Islamic Ideology of Pakistan',* which has been highlighted in research on textbooks for helping construct the national identity of students (see Lall, 2008; Lall, 2012; Saigol, 2014; USCIRF, 2016). In concert with this, the educational policies have also underscored the importance of the ideology of Pakistan being taught in schools (See for instance NCF, 2017). Even though this teaching of ideology is more explicitly included in the curriculum and textbooks of Grade 9 and 10, I still encountered narratives concerning the ideology of Pakistan in the Grade 7 classrooms of my case study schools, often without supplementary texts. These narratives were most profound in LCPS, where teacher B (LCPS) while initially

teaching the concept of society, in one Urdu lecture, digressed to the concept of ideology of Pakistan, as shown in the particularly long vignette below:

Vignette 1
Teacher B: "What is a society? Does anyone know?"

Students are silent.

Teacher B: "People make a society through language, religion, clothing, food, etc. So now if you ask me the question of who makes the society? It is the people who make the society. Take Pakistan for instance- why do you think Pakistan was made? And how and where were we when there was no Pakistan. Why do you kids think that Muslims got a separate country on 14th August 1947? If Pakistan wasn't made, what do you think would have happened?"

One of the students: "We would not have been free; we would be staying in some other country?"

Teacher B: "If someone comes to stay here, can they practice their religion freely? The answer to that question is no. When there was no independence, we were slaves, we could not pray, there was no adhan and we could not make mosques. Now look around you, look everywhere. You have mosques in Pakistan which means you can pray whenever and wherever it is that you want to pray, you can practice Islam to your wishes and the way you want to. How do you think this was possible? This was only possible because we were able to gain independence".

The same student: "So we would not have been practicing Islam?"

Teacher B: "It would have been difficult for us to practice our religion but in Pakistan our ideology is based on Islam so we can practice it freely".

After a few minutes...

Teacher B: "What is ideology? It is the combination of ideas on the basis of which nations are created. A nation much like Pakistan cannot thrive, cannot be successful if it does not have an ideology or an identity backing it. Before this when Muslim leaders were in power, the ideology was the same. At the time of the Mughal rulers the ideology of the entire subcontinent was that of Islam. The ideology of Islam and Pakistan is the exact same. Do you have a question about this?"

All the students remain silent.

Teacher B: "Our religion is Islam; other countries may have a different religion and hence their ideology and way of living might be different. If a nation stops thinking about ideology for example if we Muslims leave our

identity of Islam behind- our nation will be weakened. The nations abroad would get an opportunity to grab us and use our weaknesses".

After a few seconds' pause…

Teacher: "What do you think was the main factor in our ideology?"

A student raised his hand: "Ma'am religion- Islam".

I found the way this classroom interaction progressed, starting with speaking of societies and ending with outlining the ideology of Pakistan, a little confusing. I use the term confusing because the way the Islamic ideology of Pakistan was introduced and then reiterated seemed out of context, since the textbook content only specified what a society is, focusing on dress, culture, language and religion, but without going into detail about the ideology of Pakistan. Even when introducing the concept of society, teacher B (LCPS) never defined it and instead proceeded to detail the supposed reasons behind the birth of Pakistan. Striking were the factual inaccuracies in the description of the pre-independence era- the propagation of the false notion of the lack of mosques and recitation of *Adhan* (Islamic call to prayer) before partition ignores the rich history of Islamic architecture and rituals in the subcontinent (Schimmel, 2006). When I asked teacher B (LCPS) about these inaccuracies, they responded by saying that Muslims did have trouble in practicing Islam before Pakistan. I assured teacher B (LCPS) that I was not questioning whether they faced difficulties or not, I was merely pointing out factual inaccuracies, to which they responded that "*there might have been a mistake in presenting the argument, but the essence remains the same that the creation of Pakistan was imperative for 'us' to practice 'our' religion freely".* I further probed them about the idea that the 'ideology' of the subcontinent at the time of the Mughal rule was Islam- considering nothing written in history proves that the '*ideology in its entirety'* was Islam since most of the population still consisted of Hindus. To this the teacher responded, "*but the rulers were Muslims and ideology comes from the rulers".* Such an understanding of what the ideology of a nation pertains disregards the complexity of the term and limits it to one distinctive marker, which, in this case, concerns the religious affiliation of the ruling elites. Yet this is unsurprising, considering how the suppression of competing ideologies arising from ethnic and other sources in favour of one dominant ideology has been

highlighted in significant research on textbooks (Durrani & Dunne, 2010a; Nayyar, 2013; Saigol, 2005, 2014).

What was also noteworthy in this vignette was the repeated emphasis on the need for the separate state of Pakistan and its synonymity with Islam through the argument '*the ideology of Pakistan and Islam is the same'*. Considerable research on textbooks has shown how they address the ideology of Pakistan without a contextual background (Rahman, 2011a; Saigol, 1995, 2003), however, in this class, there was an added element of fear of disintegration of the country engendered in the students when relating the repercussions of not following the ideology of the country.

In the semi-structured interview, I asked about this threat of disintegration and the focus on the ideology of Pakistan, to which teacher B (LCPS) responded: *"because it is important for the students to know our ideology and how we got this country and how hard we have to work for it. The students should know the reason behind the creation of Pakistan, which is Islam. We have to respectful towards our motherland and our religion and show love for both or else we would suffer the fate of Kashmiris".* Saigol (2014:178) shows how "*official ideology and national historical narratives mirrored the existential anxieties of a state threatened with annihilation and fearful of dismemberment*" and this fear of disintegration was almost palpable, not just in the classroom discourse, but also in teacher B's (LCPS) response. The boundaries between nation and religion were also nebulous but this has been illuminated in prior research on textbooks that demonstrate the synthesisation of the state and religion (Durrani & Dunne, 2010b; Lall, 2008a; Saigol, 2005; 2014). The prominence of the ideology of Pakistan in the classroom discourse was also visible in other case study schools such as CAS, where, in one Geography class, ideology was mentioned in conjunction with the topic of cleanliness, as shown in the vignette below:

Vignette 2

> *Teacher D: "Pakistan was created because Muslims needed a separate country. This makes Pakistan unique and different from all other nations in the world since it is the only nation borne out of a strong love for religion. Do*

you know of other countries that were created because of a shared religion?"

Students chant no.

The internalisation of the state's hegemonic religio-nationalist discourse that ties Pakistan's creation to Islam and makes it 'unique' was quite visible here. Much like the case of LCPS, the reasons behind the creation of Pakistan were expounded without having any link with the textbook content and the topic at hand. Here, the notion that Muslims needed a separate state was linked to the civic duty to keep it clean; there was no mention of the state's duties towards the citizens. Since this is a Church-administered school, the emphasis on Islam was particularly striking. When I asked the teacher about this interaction, they said:

> *"if you see the way I am teaching it is apparent it is how Pakistan was created and that's what I teach, students often ask why it was important to create Pakistan and the answer to this question is to ensure that Muslims are free from slavery".*

Fuchs (2020) asserts how proving loyalty and commitment to the Pakistani state is a matter of great importance to the Christian population in Pakistan. Yet, the reiteration of the supposed Islamic ideology of Pakistan is in contention with the insistence of many within the Christian community *"that Pakistan was originally envisioned by its founders as a haven for religious and ethnic minorities on the Hindu-majority subcontinent, based on the principles of 'pluralism' and 'religious tolerance'"* (See for detail Paul et al., 2018). For teacher D (CAS) to associate Pakistan's ideology solely with Islam could serve to potentially impact Christian students' sense of belonging with the state and potentially result in feelings of alienation.

One case study school in which I did not encounter any references towards the ideology of Pakistan was EPS, even when the Urdu textbook lessons focused on such topics as role of women in Pakistan's independence and *Yaum – i – Difāʿ Pakistan* (annual defence day Pakistan). Here the focus was solely on the teaching of language with the teacher accentuating the literal meanings of the words in the textbooks and the construction of sentences rather than any explanation of the material at hand. This was also visible in the case of the teaching of English, which

solely focused on improving the students' English grammar. The history lessons, at least the ones I attended, revolved around the Middle Ages and teacher B (EPS) did not allude even once to Pakistan's history or ideology.

The ideology of Pakistan did make an appearance on multiple occasions in GAS where the ideology of Pakistan was especially mentioned by Teacher C (GAS), for instance in one Urdu lesson where the textbook content comprised of poems concerning love for the land. After asking a student to recite one such poem, the teacher elaborated:

> *Vignette 3*
>
> *Teacher: "We are a Muslim nation, Pakistani nation. Wherever we go, whichever place we go, our identity will always be that we are Pakistanis and Muslims. Pakistan is the only country in the world that came into existence because of strong religious principles- the principles that belong to Islam, which in itself is based on the principles and teachings of the Holy Quran."*
>
> *Students make noise…*
>
> *Teacher: "Quiet. It is your responsibility to make sure that not just Pakistan gets famous but also the human rights of Islam are upheld."*

Here, the state and religion were made synonymous by outlining the responsibility of the students towards both, inculcating in them a sense of deep loyalty. Considerable research on citizenship education in Pakistan, or the lack of it, has focused on the construction of an exclusionary and passive citizen and this interaction brings to the fore the lack of distinction between Pakistani citizenship and Islamic education (Dean, 2013; Saigol, 2014; Lall and Saeed, 2019). In the ensuing interview when I asked the teacher why the ideology of Pakistan was mentioned repeatedly in the classroom even when it was not a part of the textbook content, they said: *"This is the* nafsīāāt *(psychology) and the* nafsīāāt *of every place is different. We have to make use of dīn and* dunyā *dono (both faith and the world)."* I then further enquired how important it is to talk about students' identity as Muslim Pakistanis since it was a frequently discussed topic in the classroom, to which they responded:

> *"This is the most important aspect of teaching. This history of Pakistan is our ideology and the basis of the construction of this country and I feel it is missing in our syllabus. See our heroes are not included. Please go and ask students of class 7 they would not know who Quaid e azam is. Their parents may have told them but it is not included enough in education. When we were studying, we loved our country and religion to the extent of fundamentalism. I think it is a disappointment and it is the fault of the government because there is no continuity in our syllabus and its very random. The publishers you see change the syllabus when the new government comes in and because our children do not know of the ideology of Pakistan and how it was created by good Muslim political figures such as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Iqbal so we have to tell them everything ourselves because it is not included enough in the textbooks".*

One can see how, for teacher C (GAS), historical consciousness and the need to inculcate and engender popular sentiment concerning the nation was pertinent. Renan (1882) famously articulated how *"the nation like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice and devotion"* (Renan, 1996; p.55). The memory-nation nexus has been the source of much scholarly interest and divisive critique but regardless of what approach one follows in defining the nation, history and the current popular imaginary of the nation are almost inseparable (See Olick, 1998). I did remind teacher C (GAS) that Allama Iqbal was mentioned almost every day in the classroom. Teacher C (GAS) countered that he is the founder of the nation and as such "*deserved a great level of respect for the students to understand the ideology of this country*".

There was also an implicit assumption that political figures who had contributed towards independence were all Muslims. This emphasis on '*good Muslim and political figures'* was a recurring theme in almost all case study schools other than EPS. Any mention of the Pakistani nation was usually incomplete without recalling the contributions Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In all of the schools' portraits of Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah were present, in LCPS, EPS and CAS there existed just two portraits yet in GAS and AAS almost all the walls and classroom doors contained either pictures of Allama Iqbal or Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Sometimes the portraits would be accompanied by *dua'* (recitations) as was the case in AAS, GAS and LCPS. So present was Allama Iqbal in the infrastructure at AAS, in particular, that sometimes I would encounter multiple paintings, pictures and written eulogies for and poems of Iqbal within the confines

of the same classroom. Once in AAS, an entire event was organised to celebrate Iqbal Day, to commemorate Allama Iqbal's contributions to the country. During this event the Vice Principal referred to him as the *"poet of the followers of Islam".* In a subsequent speech praising Iqbal, a student called him the "*hero of Pakistan*" and explained that "*He is our hero, and do you know why he is a hero? The person who does something great for a country and its Muslims becomes ingrained in time as a hero. He was a saviour of Muslims' and he created this country for us and gave us a separate homeland and we should be eternally thankful to him".* This was followed by the recitation of many of Allama Iqbal's poems, and a dramatized enactment of the poem "Iblees ki Majlis-e-Shoora".

 Iqbal's contribution to Islamic theology and philosophy cannot be discounted yet heralding Iqbal only as the prime visionary of Pakistan and its eponymous ideology serves to overlook his creative genius in the fields of learning, philosophy and politics. Ali Usman Qasmi, (2010: 28) writes how "*Iqbal is considered as idealogue- and again not a poet per se- especially in depictions in official history books"* and that his *"envisioning of a consolidated authority for Muslims in a separate state was not necessarily bent on constituting a distinct Pakistani nationhood".* Yet the appropriation of Iqbal as the proponent of the nation's ideology leaves little room for any debates on his political ideology. At another event celebrating the national heroes of Pakistan in AAS, one student mentioned in a speech that *"the creators of Pakistan spread the message of Islam and are known as the good Muslims".* This event was devoid of any mentions of non-Muslims and their contributions towards the creation of Pakistan. What the event did highlight, at multiple points, was how the Pakistani and Muslim brotherhood was synonymous, which was another oft-articulated narrative in the classrooms.

5.2   Religion and The Muslim Brotherhood

The reiteration of the Islamic ideology of Pakistan was often translated and extended to an emphasis on the notion of 'Muslim Ummah' in the classrooms, where Muslims were referred to as members of not just the same religion but also race. For instance, teacher B (LCPS) during a class on equality, mentioned how all Muslims belonged to a single race as shown in the vignette below:

Vignette 4

Teacher B: "Pakistan is very much equal with equal rights given to everyone. Although in Pakistan, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, and the rich don't listen to the poor. There is discrimination on the level of class and privilege, but our religion and race are the same with the Prime Minister only being Muslim which is a big plus for us because that enables us to live peacefully together.

Do you know what a common religion is?

Religion has a predominant influence over the entire country.

Do you know what race is?

All the Muslims in the world belong to one race and because we do we should care more about the Muslim brotherhood. The concern and love that a Muslim has for another Muslim is not possible for any other human race. This is because of brotherhood of same religion, customs etc".

Student: "And for other religions?"

Teachers: "It is not like we won't care about them; it is just that we would care about Muslims more".

After a few minutes…

Teacher: "There can be light differences between Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto (I think she meant Pashtun), in terms of their languages or the way they celebrate the Islamic religious festivals or wedding traditions etc but the basis on which this is happening is the same and that basis is Islam (Islam was spoken loudly). Everyone celebrates Eid the same way regardless of if the customs and traditions are different, the base is still the same".

One of the students: "And ma'am Shi'a?"

Teacher: "Shias are also Muslims even though some of their rituals are different from those of other Muslims. This is a very big point without which Pakistan's ideology is incomplete. So, ideology means same religion, same class, same race, same languages, rights, resources, traditions and customs etc".

The lesson started with teaching the concept of equality, but subsequently the focus shifted to understanding the notion of Pakistani identity, which was described entirely in religious terms by teacher B (LCPS). Class discrimination in the society, though acknowledged, was offset by the unifying existence of a common religion, where the religious affiliation of the Prime Minister somehow translated into a

resultantly peaceful society. Noticeable was the way teacher B equated religion and race by calling Muslims both members of a race as well as religion. When I asked teacher B about the accuracy of the statement, they reiterated that Muslims do belong to a single race and religion. I countered by defining race as "*the grouping of humans on shared physical and social qualities*"- Muslims therefore could belong to a different race while sharing a common religion to which teacher B (LCPS) responded that the concept of Muslim Ummah implies that Muslims are the same people. Here, I could detect a certain degree of reverence for the concept of Muslim brotherhood, which perhaps transcended notions of race for teacher B. It was also possible that there was a lack of clarity regarding the concept of race; regardless, I did not probe further to avoid discomforting teacher B. There is limited literature within the context of Pakistan on this analogy of race and religion; one interesting study by Rana (2011) traces the historical interconnections between the tropes of religion and race to argue that Islam is not only mobilized in terms of religion but also as a racial category but this is limited to the West.

What was pertinent about this interaction was also the exclusion and inclusion of people according to religion- where brotherhood towards Muslims transcended the association towards people belonging to all other races and religions. This is reminiscent of Ibn-e-Khaldun's[68] concept of Asabiyyah (of affiliation in the form of unity in beliefs), which leads to the bond of cohesion amongst social groups. It was interesting how the concept of race accompanied the notion of the Muslim brotherhood that cut across national boundaries but also united and surpassed ethnic identities within the country. When I asked the teacher about the reason for linking Muslim brotherhood with other ethnic identities, they responded:

> Teacher: 'Our identity is that we are Pakistani Muslim). If you go abroad your identity is going to be that you are Pakistani Muslims, people will talk about how you are Pakistanis and that you belong to the Muslim Ummah- no one will mention or ask about how you are Punjabi or Sindhi or Balochi or whatever else. If I don't tell students, this then Sindhis will fight with Balochis. We will be separated and we will be broken inside out and anyone would be able to attack us therefore".

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[68] Ibn-e-Khaldun was a fourteenth century Arab-Muslim historian and scholar.

Here, religion was surpassing ethnic identities to foster a collective national identity, with the notion of the Muslim brotherhood and Ummah denoting a supranational identity that transcends geographical boundaries. Yet, the creation of a separate Muslim nation-state that also houses minorities and the separation from Muslims across the border implies the relinquishment of the Muslim universal brotherhood or Ummah in favour of the individual nation-state. The overarching affiliation between the national and religious identity presents a conundrum considering religious identity transcends geographical boundaries (Miller, 1995). Abdullah Al-Ahsan, (1992: 29) explains how: *"In the twentieth century of the Common Era, Muslim commitment to the concept of ummah seems to have been challenged by the idea of nationalism. With the development of nationalism, and in particular, the emergence of Muslim nation-states, the Muslims seem to have become somewhat confused about where their first loyalty lies-whether primary loyalty belongs to the ummah or to the nation-state".* When I asked teacher B (LCPS) about the contested boundaries between Pakistani nationalism and Muslim brotherhood, they said these two notions are compatible since what unites us is Islam and we are 'Pakistani Muslims'. This response was unsurprising considering the lack of understanding regarding the boundaries between the Pakistani nation and the supra-national Muslim Ummah since the national narrative conflates the two.

Lastly, what was also significant about the interaction shown in vignette 4 was the acknowledgement of sectarian differences within Islam. LCPS is housed in a Shia majority area in Lahore and is also owned by a Shia family, yet I had not witnessed any mentions of the Shia-Sunni divide or sectarian differences within Islam in the school. This was surprising considering the well-known and documented doctrinal attacks and (occasional) violence against the Shia community in Pakistan (See for detail Fuchs, 2020). This was the first time when a student explicitly mentioned the denomination and here the concept of Muslim brotherhood again was used to engender the notion of equality of all Pakistanis. Even though teacher B (LCPS) did acknowledge the differences in rituals of Shia Muslims compared to those of Muslims from other denominations, there was an overarching emphasis on Islam as the unifying factor for the people of Pakistan and sectarian differences were downplayed. Fuchs (2020) shows how instead of adopting a narrative of

marginalisation, Shias in Pakistan constantly reinscribe themselves into the fabric of the nation by underscoring unwavering loyalty to the state and its ideology; in this classroom one manifestation of this was the emphasis on 'Muslim brotherhood'.

The rhetoric of inclusivity and equality with respect to religion was also presented through appeals to the global Ummah. In GAS, for instance, teacher C (GAS), in an Urdu lesson on equality, emphasised how equality for all is a tenet of Islam by providing the example of Kaaba[69], in the vignette below.

Vignette 5
Teacher C: "During Hajj all the people wear the same ihram and recite the same Kalmah[70]- Please recite the Kalmah after me".

Teacher C recites the Kalmah.

لَا إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا ٱللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ ٱللَّهِ
(There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his messenger).

Students recite the Kalmah.

Teacher C: "I was saying how everyone reads the Kalmah regardless of caste, colour, creed, social class. During Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.)'s time- before the advent of Islam- there was too much inequality- where servants could not sit at par with the owners. This still exists in some places even though forbidden in Islam. Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said all human being are equal. Sadly, today if someone from a lower rank must speak to a senior, he would get intimidated and nervous. Now take the example of Mecca".

Students are silent.

Teacher C: "People come from all over the world. They respect each other. Ummah, Muslim brothers- this is a very big relation. Even within the existence of tribes, you recognise your Muslim brothers. It has been decreed to live faithfully and peacefully together".

When teacher C (GAS) mentioned the Kalmah, there were a few students who had already started reciting it without instruction from the teacher. The socio-psychological embeddedness of religion in the everyday life of the students was

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[69] Kaaba is a building in the middle of the most important mosque in Islam, the Masjid-al-Haram in Mecca Saudi Arabia, considered the house of Allah and the most sacred site in Islam.
[70] The Kalmah is the recitation of Shahadah (which is the first pillar of Islam) that denotes belief in a single god and in his last messenger.

evident here. Religion was again used to obviate class differentiation as well as differentiation on the basis of caste, colour and creed. Teacher C (GAS) highlighted the issue of income inequality and class discrimination in the society, and this was perhaps even more pertinent considering this was a public school located in a low-income locality. In this way religion, perhaps, served as opium for those with low-incomes. The example of Kaaba was intertwined with the notion of the Muslim brotherhood where affiliation for fellow Muslims transcended all other forms of affinities-caste, colour, class etc. Here tribal affiliations were also mentioned but then teacher C (GAS) reiterated how during Hajj the Muslim brotherhood cut across the tribal identities. When I asked teacher C (GAS) about the importance of reiterating this identity they said:

> "If *one throws a stone in the lake, ripples are generated all over so it's not like you can't bring change and hence every child can gain knowledge and bring difference to the country, one should only have a strong belief in God, this is very important. You should know in your heart that Allah is with you and in your heart hence it is important that we make them love our Ummah and Pakistan as these are linked. Hence, I focus on teaching them about respect and equality of Muslim brothers".*

Therefore, for teacher C (GAS), effectuating the idea of brotherhood would help foster not just love for the Muslim brotherhood but also for the country and its people and would help counter inequality in the society. Here the assumption was also that equality and respect for the Muslim brotherhood would somehow translate in love for Pakistan and perhaps good citizenship as the teacher did mention the possibility of "bringing change to the country". Yet, the whole discussion on equality failed to acknowledge the existence of religious differences. When I asked teacher C (GAS) about this, they responded that *"Islam says all human beings are equal and that is what is taught in the classroom. Of course, the affiliation towards fellow Muslim brothers will be more but that does not mean the rest are not equal".* In Pakistan, literature on public school textbooks has highlighted the pivotal role played by religion in illustrating sameness and differences within and between groups and in doing so constructing opposing images of the 'self' and the 'other' (see, for instance, Saigol 1995, 2005; Rahman, 2012; USCIRF, 2016). Here the excessive emphasis on love for Muslim brotherhood to engender equality may serve to disregard the existence of people of other faiths and implicitly '*other*' them.

It was interesting to see how the Muslim brotherhood was not mentioned in CAS, yet the idea of oneness was engendered by linking the religious figures from Christianity and Islam, for instance in one Urdu class by teacher B (CAS) who said "we *have holidays for Jesus Christ on Christmas we also have a holiday for Prophet on Eid al Fitr so we all are one and it is important that we realise that and be tolerant and peaceful towards each other."* This can again be seen as providing credence to Fuch's (2020) assertion regarding the Christian community's efforts towards showing unwavering loyalty towards the state and here a manifestation of this was drawing parallels between Muslims and Christians.

In EPS on the other hand, teacher A (EPS) once explained how the notion of equality extended to not just the "Muslim brothers" but all human beings. This conversation was initiated after a student read a paragraph from the Urdu textbook that emphasised the importance of showing respect and love for Muslim brothers as shown in the short vignette below:

> *Vignette 6*
> *Student 1: "Teacher we should always give Salam to fellow Muslims, and we should not scream or abuse when speaking to Muslims".*
>
> *Teacher A: "We should not do that regardless of the religion, Muslim brothers or not".*
>
> *Student 2: "Ma'am people of all religions are equal".*
>
> *Teacher A: "Good".*

In EPS consideration for equality informed the pedagogical style of the teachers and this manifested into attempts to generate greater sensitivity towards people of other faiths. The use of religion as a unifying factor for fissiparous identities was most visible in AAS where in one class, while the students were given a break to finish their assignments, Pakistan Super League cricket (PSL) final[71] started being discussed as shown in the vignette below:

> *Vignette 7*

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[71] PSL is a professional Twenty20 cricket league held between six team representing six cities in Pakistan held every year from February to March.

Student 1: "Inshaa Allah ma'am Lahore Qalandars[72] will win".

Student 2: "I hope Karachi doesn't win, only Lahore does and if Lahore doesn't then Multan does. Punjab should at least win".

Teacher C: "Child it does not matter, we all are one, Sindhi, Punjabi etc, we are all Muslims and Pakistanis. There is no Sindhi or Balochi when it comes to personality. All Muslims are brothers and one".

The embeddedness of Islam to project unity among diverse ethnic and cultural groups that form Pakistan was quite evident here. Pakistan, even after the separation of Bangladesh, has remained a multi-ethnic political system, where depending on the socio-political context, different levels of identity may be salient at any one point of time (Islam, 1981). In this case, the students' loyalty was towards the team belonging to the city they inhabited, and after this towards teams from other cities within the same province. The internal competition between the supporters of cricket teams belonging to different cities and provinces of Pakistan and by extension their ethnic affinities was domesticated by the teacher in favour of loyalty towards the Pakistani identity. Durrani and Dunne (2010) have observed how "*The Pakistani case demonstrates the cohesive force of religion in providing an internal unity that can obscure ethnic or other forms of group-based dissent*". When I asked about this interaction in the semi-structured interview, Teacher B (AAS) responded:

> *"See when the cricket PSL was going on and students were saying we are with Lahore etc, but it is important to realise that we are one regardless of how we look, and that Muslims should not compete with each other. What I think the new generation is somewhat better… things such as class difference jokes are ending. Parents do have a role, those who are conversant, and intolerant have told their kids we are bad or good ... this caste is good or bad this is more cultural than religion. There is no such thing in our religion. All humans are equal Laraib, and it is our duty to make students understand that is no such concept caste system sect system- Shias are better or Sunni, Punjabi etc. Teachers have a role to play here".*

I further asked teacher B (AAS) who "we" are, and she said 'Pakistanis' to which I enquired whether by Pakistanis they meant Muslim Pakistanis or all Pakistanis regardless of religious affiliation and they said all Pakistanis. What was interesting in the teacher's response was also the acknowledgement of sectarian, class and

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[72] One of the six teams participating in PSL, representing the city of Lahore.

caste differentiation in the society and the incompatibility of these notions with the teaching of Islam. Also noteworthy was the emphasis on the role played by parents, and by extension the wider culture in engendering caste discrimination. Halai and Durrani (2018) in their interviews and focus group discussions with teachers, have demonstrated how they are cognisant and highly vocal about issues of social class and social justice in Pakistan. Teacher B (AAS) showed a similar perspective on discrimination in the society and acknowledged their role as an agent of change in the classroom. For teacher B (AAS) somewhere the notion of Muslim brotherhood was serving the purpose of curtailing rampant discrimination in the society. Lastly, in AAS the notion of the Muslim brotherhood was also invoked in relation to the Pakistan army with teacher C (AAS) once stating how it is the duty of the army to protect the Pakistani and Muslim brotherhood and that: *"the sword of a soldier does not harm a Muslim brother"*. The role of the army in protecting the nation was an oft-articulated narrative not just in AAS but other case study schools as well.

5.3   *Religion, 'the Politics of Sacrifice' and the Army*

A recurring phenomenon observed in the case study schools was the evocation of a connection between religion and the Pakistani army/military. Even when Pakistan was oscillating between military rule and democracy, the power of the army was unparalleled; it had a preeminent role to play not just in the country's politics but also society (Naseem, 2014). Popular discourse- songs, images, literary texts- has been used to foster a form of nationalism around the military with even national events and rituals brimming with militaristic emblems (Rashid, 2020). Research has also indicated how education in Pakistan has glorified the ascendancy of military in education by valorising warriors and soldiers of Pakistan's past (K.K Aziz, 1992; Nayyar and Salim, 2003; USCIRF, 2016; Naseem, 2014). In their focus group discussions with university students, Lall and Saeed (2019: 55) showed how young Pakistanis had *"have complete faith in the functioning of the army"* and its ability to provide security and justice.

In my research as well, any mentions of the army were accompanied by the emphasis on the institution's contributions towards the security of the state. These

contributions were highlighted through veneration for the army's 'sacrifices' for the state and its citizens. The politics of sacrifice has been highlighted in other research, such as by Rashid (2020: 463-471), who focuses on *affect* to understand the construction of militaristic subjectivities and highlights how the *"militaristic narratives of sacrifice and service to the nation-state)"* made possible through the *"ideologies of religion and nation"*. In LCPS, this association between sacrifice for the nation and the army was sometimes linked with anecdotes from early Islamic history, such as in the vignette below from one Urdu class which focused on a poem on loving the country.

> *Vignette 8*
> *Teacher A: "Do you know how many people gave sacrifices in order to create this country? So many people lost their lives hence it is our duty to protect our country. Do you know how Hadhrat Umar[73] said that even the responsibility of protecting a goat is on me? This is the responsibility of a government to take care of its citizens. What is a government's responsibility can be seen from the examples of the Islamic Caliphs and in Pakistan the army works day and night to protect us citizens? It is our duty to protect this country".*
>
> *Students are silent.*

It was interesting how an Islamic Caliph's example was given to apprise the students of the responsibility of the government towards protecting its citizens, yet the interaction concluded with underscoring the civic duty of the citizens instead to provide security to the state. Teacher A (LCPS) did however emphasise how the responsibility of protecting the citizens was being fulfilled by the army. Durrani and Dunne (2010: 232) through their textbook analysis have shown how *"episodes from history are selected and narrated in such a way as to construct all Muslims as one nation, and military heroism and the readiness to fight in the name of religion as an essential feature of being a Muslim".* In this case, the example of a historical religious figure was given not just to instil readiness in students to protect the country but also to recognise the army's contributions towards the state. The analogy of the Islamic Caliph (who represented the government of the time) and the army also signified a lack of delineation and perhaps clarity between the roles of the government and the army in the country. Lall and Saeed (2019: 43) have

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[73] Omar was one of the most influential Caliphs in Islamic history and a companion of the Islamic Prophet, succeeding Abu Bakr as the second Caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate (see for detail As-Sallabi, 2007).

also highlighted a conflation *between the roles of the state, the government, political parties and the army* - which is understandable considering how heavily involved Pakistan's military is in the country's politics*.* In the ensuing interview, when I asked teacher A (LCPS) to elaborate on this conflation and the reason for elaborating on protection of the country, they responded:

> *"See the first thing I teach children is that how did we get this country and why did we get this country and when we go to other countries, we don't have the same respect over there. Yes, we are the minority over there and before we were slaves and the word slave hurts a lot but now, we have our own country and we are not slaves and children talk to me about other countries and what's happening with the Muslims over there they are not allowed to pray or to celebrate Eid and yes when you go to another country and you have to live according to their rules. Hence it is very important to inform them about the sacrifices made for creating Pakistan so that they develop a love for their country and appreciate their army for protecting it".*

While hearing teacher A's (LCPS) response, I was reminded of Gramsci's theory of hegemony[74]- where the notion of 'slavery' was used to dissuade the hegemonic class (Muslim Pakistanis) from leaving their country. These notions were invoked to engender feelings of loyalty towards the Pakistani state. For teacher A (LCPS), it was also important to refer to sacrifices made for the creation of Pakistan in order to engender loyalty and love for the country, yet this opinion was also informed by the assumption that all Muslims are treated badly in other countries. The use of the term '*slaves*' was particularly disconcerting as was the fact that students were also responsible for conveying the false idea of Muslims being slaves in foreign countries to teacher A (LCPS). I did ask them where they were getting their information from, and media and news was provided as the source. In recent years, media in Pakistan has become home to a cacophonous landscape of competing news channels using sensationalism and exaggeration as their selling points (Mulla, 2019) and belief in conspiracy theories in the society abounds (Anand & Niaz, 2020). This perhaps inspired the conviction with which teacher C related this opinion and used it as a reason for engendering love in the students for the country.

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[74] Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) was a philosopher, politician and writer who developed the theory of hegemony to explain how the ruling class maintains its position.

The focus on the idea of sacrifice was visible in other case study schools as well, such as CAS, where for instance, one Urdu lecture focused entirely on the same poem in the textbook on sacrifices made for the creation of Pakistan, that was being read in LCPS.

> *Vignette 9*
> *Teacher to one of the students: "Please recite the verse from the poem on page number 34".*
>
> *Student: "flowers have been destroyed to gain an orchid".*
>
> *Teacher A: "You have to keep in mind that you got this country after the sacrifices of so many people who gave their lives for the cause of this country which was to gain a separate homeland from Muslims and not live with Hindus how a separate state was inevitable otherwise, we would have been treated very badly. Hence it is very important to realise the sacrifices that were made to bring this country into existence because of which everyone should work hard and make Pakistan proud and show love for the country. For this we also need to thank our army who serve at the borders day and night to protect us from our enemies and are willing to give their lives for us. Before, India used to dominate us a lot but Pakistan is strong, and we can face India easily and this is possible because of our army".*

The Urdu textbook did contain an entire poem on love for the country and one verse focused on the notion of 'sacrifice' yet the extended elaboration on the sacrifices were, much like the case of LCPS, used to engender the notion of love for the country in students. This was also related to the civic duty of working hard for the nation where the security of the state overrides all other concerns that a citizen might have. Rashid (2020: 471) discusses the ability of the army *"to depict service and sacrifice as noble …. whose affect is constructed as "sacred"*- here the sacredness is linked to Pakistan's ideology- in particular the need of a separate homeland for Muslims and through the army's contributions towards protecting the country from external others (particularly India). Reverence towards military for protecting the country from India has been highlighted in considerable research on not just textbooks and curriculum but also on students' views. Lall & Saeed, (2019: 108) for instance showed how *"focus group discussions across universities invariably brought up the constant threat that Pakistan faced from India, which further legitimized the role of the military as the protector of Pakistan".* In this classroom discourse this threat was used to both legitimise and glorify the

Pakistani army by applauding it for its strength which becomes particularly pertinent through remembrance of the creation of Pakistani state and the constant need to protect it from the religious and national 'other'. When I asked teacher A (CAS) about this focus on the military when it was not mentioned in the text, they stated:

> "See our brotherhood is important because we are all Pakistanis. Teachers should bring this up so that students have love for the country and army who is protecting everyone, Muslims and Christians and not just in history, teachers should be bringing this in all of the subjects because this is important, and this will make students realise their love and affiliation towards the country".

The unfettered loyalty of Teacher A (CAS) towards the military is reminiscent of Ryan Brasher's (2020) finding from his survey of Pakistani university students that Christians stood out when compared to other minorities in expressing uncritical patriotism and support of Pakistan's armed forces. The reasons explicated by teacher A (CAS) were like those of teacher A (LCPS), in that, mentioning the military and their sacrifices helped in fostering love and affiliation for the country, yet I personally found teacher A (CAS) to be more passionate in their articulations regarding their views on the army. This might have to do with the teacher's own positionality or perhaps Fuch's (2020) assertion concerning the Christian communities attempts at proving loyalty to the state. Regardless, I was unable to probe further since teacher A (CAS) changed the topic and seemed unwilling to discuss the army further.

The need for fostering loyalty towards the country was a recurring theme in another school, GAS, where teacher C (GAS) would broach the topic of sacrifices and love for the country in a similar fashion. In one such instance, when the same poem from the Urdu textbook was being read, teacher C (GAS) not only highlighted the need to foster a sense of '*giving back to the country*' in students but also elaborated on the link between becoming not just a good citizen but a good Muslim citizen. When I asked about this in the interview they said: *"I want students to have an idea about how difficult it was to seek independence and how it is their duty to give back to the country so they grow up to be not just responsible citizens of the country but to be good Pakistani Muslims".* Durrani & Dunne (2010) have

shown how the curriculum in Pakistan not only constructs the images of good/bad Pakistanis but also good/bad Muslims (highlighted further in Chapter 6). In teacher C's (GAS) explanation, both identities merged to create the 'good Pakistani Muslims'. Yet, in GAS, no association with the military was made and the armed forces were not mentioned even once in the classroom - which is surprising considering how blurred the boundaries are between military and political-civil institutions within the country.

Overall, in all three classrooms while teaching the same poem on love for the country, similar narratives around *'sacrifices'* were propounded in the classroom discourses by the teachers. Yet, in EPS, on no occasion did I encounter any form of narratives concerning love for the country or any mentions of the military in any capacity. When the same poem from the Urdu textbook was read in this classroom, there was no further elaboration or discussion by the teacher on the sacrifices for the country.

Where adulation for the military was most visible though was AAS, where in every morning assembly the slogan of "*long live Pakistan army*" was also chanted. The walls of the school were filled with pictures of decorated army officials with Islamic sayings on sacrifices for the country accompanying as well as a description of their valour for the country. Eulogizing national heroes of Pakistan, particularly those linked to the armed forces, for their sacrifices towards the country was a recurring theme in the school and I have various instances to recount from my fieldwork diary such as the occasion of one school event celebrating national heroes of Pakistan. This event started early morning, and classes for all grades were cancelled for the day to enable students to participate. This event comprised of students giving speeches about the national heroes, performing short plays by dressing up as selected national heroes and members of the armed forces or singing songs for them, with all such national heroes being Muslims. CSJ, (2020) in their report show how the contributions of the non-Muslims to the defence of the country are seldom mentioned in the textbooks and here they were not mentioned in the school events as well. During the event the choir recited eulogies for revered national and religious figures such as *"O Quaid-e-Azam it's your favour, your*

favour [75]*"* for Muhammad Ali Jinnah, *"soldiers of Muhammad's faith"* for the Prophet and *"the pure soil of this country is mixed with blood of the martyrs"* for the martyrs from the armed forces.

All the songs included alluded to notions of protecting the country in some way or the other. The power of music and songs in emotional rather than critical internalisation of the army's role in the country is quite visible here. One particular war song popularized in the 1965 war with India, performed valiantly at the event, glorifies particularly the *Shahīd* in battle (the terms *Shahīd (martyr)* or *Shahadat (martyrdom)* made a frequent appearance in this school event):

"Oh, martyrs in the path of righteousness

Pictures of faith

The winds of the land salute you".

Martyrdom constitutes a powerful testimonial in Islam (Cook, 2007) and in Pakistan eulogization and constant remembrance of *Shahīd* (martyrs) is an indelible part of the media discourse (Hassan, 2018). In educational discourse, other than the mention of selected national and military heroes, an emphasis on the concept of martyrdom, particularly through a gendered lens has been highlighted. Saigol (1995: 250) describes how *"this form of complementary visualization of masculinity and femininity enables warlike nationalism to be imbibed by the citizenry which feels empowered by vicarious participation in the state's nationalist triumphs".* The valorisation of the "*Shahīd*", through the songs performed in the event, also fosters a masculinist militarisation- where all military heroes were male.

During a speech, one student mentioned: *"It is the good fortune of the citizens of Pakistan that we are a part of this country, and our forefathers were willing to give their lives for our religion Islam.* The military was then revered for their noble fights for preserving the Islamic baton and militarism was not just normalised but also glorified by the effectuation of a sense of gratitude for protecting the country. The

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[75] Ironically this song was plagiarised from an Indian song eulogizing Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Indian counterpart Gandhi. See for detail (https://scroll.in/article/771358/gandhi-replaced-with-jinnah-the-story-of-how-an-ode-to-india-was-plagarised-in-pakistan)

event concluded with the vice principal loudly saying, *"now let's sing the national anthem loudly to show our love for the country, love for Pakistan, love for Islam and love for Pak Army who save us day and night"*, following which the national anthem was then sung twice. Subsequently I asked the Vice Principal the reason for celebrating this event and they responded that it was to create passion for the country in the students.

Such zeal and fervour for the country was also visible within Teacher A's (AAS) classroom who in three different lessons emphasised on the importance of Independence Day, when the textbook content solely focused on the topic of special occasions.

> *Vignette 10*
> *Teacher A: "One of the most important events of the year is 14th August[76] so students how do you feel on 14th August?"*
>
> *One of the students: "We feel very happy and excited because it is to celebrate our independence".*
>
> *Teacher A: "You feel patriotic, you are watching documentaries, there are flags everywhere, we feel Pakistani so much so that we feel ashamed to listen to Indian songs".*
>
> *After a minute …*
>
> *Teacher A: "Do you know why you have pictures of a lion in your notebooks[77]. Its because our lions have destroyed our non-Muslim enemies". Do you know who these lions are?"*
>
> *Students' shout "FAUJI (Army officers)".*
>
> *Teacher A: "When the circumstances of a country deteriorate, the army interferes to improve its situation".*
>
> *Student: "way the government of the Sharifs ended?"*
>
> *Teacher A: "You must have heard that army brought Imran Khan. Army brought him and Nawaz Sharif could not complete his term and had to leave just after three years, and this is why army had to step in instead and take*

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[76] 14th August, is a national holiday in Pakistan observed annually to commemorate the independence of the country in 1947 when it was declared a sovereign state.

[77] It was mandatory for all notebooks used by the students in AAS, for all subjects, to contain a picture of the Pakistani flag (whether hand drawn or pasted) and a picture of a lion denoting the Pakistan army. One day the coordinator for Grade 7 came to inspect the notebooks of students and the class teacher was reprimanded when few of the notebooks did not include the Pakistani flag.

> *control of the country and bring Imran khan. Pervez Musharraf[78] made a system that was very beneficial. Army only intervenes when they think that the country is going in the wrong direction and against Islamic principles".*

"Enemies" in this context were openly articulated as "non-Muslims". Durrani & Crossouard, (2020: 328) state how imagining an external other "*appeared to solidify national unity, flattening otherness based on religious, gender and ethnic affiliations and identifying the military as the key signifier of Pakistani identity".* This interaction not only drew on the analogy of lions to denote the Pakistani army but also provided justification that juxtaposed with religion for the army's involvement in the politics of the country. Research on textbooks has noted how textbooks and especially the involvement of Islam in them have often been used as justifications for military dictatorships. Hence, by Zia's era, the notion of sanctity of religion and country and the idea of the "enemy" started to be used as justification for the military's excursions (See for instance Saigol, 2010, 2014; Saikia, 2014). Yet here, military was openly lauded for orchestrating the change in leadership of a 'supposedly' democratic government. The military dictatorship of General Pervez Musharraf was lauded for its contributions, without specifying what those contributions were and completely glossing over the numerous issues the country faced during his tenure. Lall and Saeed (2019: 51) showed how the participants of their study expressed their support for the General- with some referring to it as an example of *"good governance".* In their research as well, students expressed greater discontent with the democratic governments, showing how support for the army and its intervention in the state is normalised not just in the politics of the country but also in the everyday worldviews of Pakistan's citizenry. The intervention of the army in governing the country, in the above vignette, however, was also additionally justified using Islam as the basis of their actions. Here also, perhaps one factor normalising the role of the military could be the politics of sacrifice, particularly when linked with religion.

The extreme authority of the military and its hidden machinations are well-known but not openly acknowledged in Pakistan yet considering this was an army-

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[78] Musharraf is a former Prime Minister and retired General of the Pakistani army. He has been charged in a high treason case and for alleged involvements in the murders of two renowned politicians. He is currently a declared absconder living in Dubai(Al Jazeera, 2019).

administered school it was not surprising for me to witness it being so openly articulated. In the debriefing session teacher A (AAS) declined to comment on this interaction. I posed a different question in the semi structured interview and asked teacher A why they deemed it important to speak about non-Muslim enemies and the army's contribution in the classroom, to which they responded:

> *"In my view what is missing in books and curriculum is that they don't focus on such things (14th August). How should I say it we may teach them verbally, but we can't get them to think practically? How our great grandfathers valued and celebrated such days the new generation does not have the same sentiments. Kids are focused and involved on social media unaware of such stuff like what is 14th August, what is the importance of 23rd[79] march".*

I countered this by remarking that both days are celebrated all over Pakistan and are heavily ingrained in the national memory and are additionally a part of the curriculum as well. Teacher A (AAS) responded that this was not the case and "*the kids these days were more interested in social media as compared to knowing more about our history*". Here, the appeal to the past was also given as a justification for invoking love for the country as well as the army. Yet, all of the anecdotes are a visible manifestation of the role and perception of the military in the larger society of Pakistan. The state is scripted in the national consciousness not just through media (songs and movies) but through texts as well as physical spaces. Machines used by the army such as guns, tanks, fighter jets are inscribed in the society as monuments and form a part of its visual culture (Rashid, 2020). Through using popular discourse, as well as physical spaces the army also engenders the memory-nation nexus by constantly imbibing itself into the fabric of the society. The memory-nation nexus was again a prominent occurrence in the schools both for the military and for the reiteration of the ideology of Pakistan and the notion of the Muslim brotherhood, perhaps with the common purpose of forging national unity and consciousness.

Conclusion

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[79] Pakistan Day is a national holiday in Pakistan commemorating the Lahore resolution that was passed on 23rd March 1940, with the adoption of the first constitution of Pakistan.

Overall, one can see how by using the metaphor of 'oneness', the Pakistani nation in these classroom and school discourses was constructed in a way to surpass all religious, ethnic, linguistic, regional, and gender differences. The discourse of oneness also resulted in an emphasis on the global Muslim brotherhood and Ummah that served to transcend geographical boundaries. Yet, nationalistic feelings were also propounded in all the schools through references to historical National figures such as Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the eponymous ideology of Pakistan and by highlighting the sacrifices of the army and its predominating position in the society.

Some interesting observations from the data emerge. Firstly, there were some differences in the articulations concerning the nation between the schools. These discourses in some way depended on the category the school belonged to with AAS, unsurprisingly, focusing extensively on the role of the army in nation building; GAS focusing less on the army and more on good citizenship; teachers in LCPS highlighting notions around the "Muslim Ummah" to surpass differences between Muslims; teachers in CAS emphasising Pakistan's ideology and the reason for its creation and the ideology of Pakistan and the army rarely being mentioned in EPS.

The discourses also depended on the teachers' socialisations and pedagogical choices, where some teachers showed cognisance towards their role as agents of change in the classroom and enabled critical discussions of the nation's ideology and the notion of the Muslim brotherhood. While other teacher further emphasised certain notions around the nation, such as civic duties of the students and an overall indebtedness towards the army and the founders of the country, without supplementary textbook content while some teachers just focused on the textbook content without elaborating it further.

Additionally, the role of religion also extended beyond the classrooms where school rituals such as various events in AAS also highlighted notions around sacrifices of the army and respect for the country's founders, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal. Similarly, portraits of the founders of the country in all of the schools, and those of army officials in AAS with Islamic sayings next to them highlighted the nexus between religion and nation and the role of both in the everyday school life of the students. In this sense, religion supplemented nation

building not just through the classroom discourses but in the overall school environment.

What was also interesting to see was how religion was equated with the nation, the Muslim Ummah and the army often to justify the point of the teacher- for instance civic duties were encouraged by emphasising how they are encouraged in Islam. Religion, though omnipresent in the cultural milieu of the institutions, was also akin to a tool used to further the views of certain teachers in the classrooms. For instance, notions around martyrdom, which holds a certain reverential status in Islam as well, were propounded using religious references. However, there is a difference between martyrdom for a country (Pakistan) and martyrdom for a religion (Islam)- by conflating the two it becomes difficult to differentiate between what is religious and what is cultural/national/societal.

Though fostering unity in the populace and a sense of national consciousness formed important reasons for and consequences of such constructions, the total dilution of Pakistani identity to Islam serves to thwart acknowledgement of the multiple identities contained in Pakistan, whether religious, ethnic, linguistic or gender. It is this construction of the self and the other that will be analysed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6   Religion, the 'Self' and the 'Other'

"Do you know what Hindus believe in? They believe in Bhagwan.[80] *So how can we live with them when they do not believe in Allah like Muslims. Our leaders wanted a society, and rightfully so, based on a form of governance where everything is based on the principles of Islam and that is our identity".*

(LCPS, Teacher A)

In the above articulation, teacher A (LCPS) not only constructed a powerful and unequivocal image of the 'self' as *Muslim*, described as the believer in *Allah* (common Arabic word for God), with all Hindus as the Muslim's 'other' but also simultaneously provided a justification for the categorisation of Hindus as the 'other', owing to their belief in a *Bhagwan* (ironically also a term for God- in Hindi). In Pakistan, the use of religion in the educational discourse has been highlighted for playing a pivotal role in illustrating sameness and differences within and between groups- whether religious, national, ethnic or based on gender; with differences between Hindus and Muslims being the most extensively vocalised (See for instance Saigol 1995, 2005; Rahman, 2012; USCIRF, 2016). The identification and awareness of the 'self' and recognition of all 'others' on religious grounds was a recurrent and significant aspect of everyday classroom and school discourse in my research as well- almost as a mechanism for substantiating and complementing the creation of the 'Pakistan project' outlined in chapter 4. This chapter reports on the qualitative data collected from the case study schools to examine how the 'self' and the 'other' is constructed in classrooms as well as the school environments and what part religion plays in the process[81].

6.1   Religion and the Religious Others: Other Religious People

Smith (1991) emphasises how some 'others' in identity construction are more significant than others since they constitute a threat to the very existence of the 'self', against which the nation continuously seeks to assert itself, or differentiate

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[80] Bhagwan is an epithet for a deity, used in many parts of India and South Asia to refer to the concept of a universal god (Turner, 2014).
[81] The analysis consists of vignettes from classroom observation and data from debriefing sessions and semi-structured interviews with the teachers to understand the construction of the 'other'.

itself from. In my research, the most explicit and ubiquitous manifestation of differentiation between different groups of people, and hence the most significant, was the marker of '*Muslim*' and '*non-Muslim*', accompanied by the suppression of any internal diversity within both the 'self' and the 'other', as another hermeneutical move in the process. In the discourses, the predominant narrative concerned the Hindu '*other*', which was almost an intrinsic and embedded component of everyday schooling.

6.1.1   The Hindu Other

The Hindu 'other' was mentioned in various contexts and in varying degrees in all case study schools and in classes of almost all the observed subjects- English, Social Studies, Urdu and Islamiyat. The Hindu other is significant and also highly contentious not only because it poses a threat to the territorial existence of the Muslim 'self', due to a combined fractured past of the members of the two groups, but also because it poses a threat to the separateness and authenticity of the Muslim, and by extension Pakistani, 'self' owing to shared cultural heritage.

Turner (1975) explained how the strongest and the most significant other may be the one which has the most commonality with the in-group- this is also referred to as narcissism of small differences by Freud. Hindus fulfil this because of the shared past of Hindus and Muslims in the subcontinent. Since uniqueness and sameness within the in-group makes identity meaningful, any threats could "*be restored by means of a search for difference and otherness, the creation of, and then the emphasis upon, heterogeneity*" (Lemaine et al., 1978: 287). One manifestation of this search for difference in the case study schools was the insistence on polarity in culture, dress, language, and morals between the Muslim in-group and the Hindu out-group, all assembled under the aegis of religion. This narrative was not just limited to differentiating between the two groups but also extended to, in certain cases, the categorisation of the Hindu 'others' as dirty, in contrast to the purity of the Muslim believers. This was particularly witnessed in a social studies class in LCPS where once an entire Urdu class of 40 minutes was spent on discussing the differences between Hindus and Muslims while the textbook content focused on cleanliness. A particularly long vignette from the

class, which encompasses almost all of the ways in which Hindus were defined as the 'other' in the school setting, is provided below:

Vignette 1:

Teacher B:" These Hindus are so dirty- they drink cow urine".

Student 1: "Hindus think it will cure coronavirus". The rest of the students laughed in response".

Teacher B: "Muslims are so clean and pure and look at these Hindus drinking cow urine, they are so dirty; that's why we could never live together".

After a minute's pause …

Teacher: "God forbid if I were Hindu and I started worshipping idols in front of you, would you ever be okay with that? No two different religions can live together".

Then she proceeds to write this on the board:

مسلمان کی زبان =اردو[82]   ہندوؤں کی زبان   =ہندی

Teacher: "We are completely different from Hindus, and this includes everything from dress, culture, religion, thoughts, food etc. Ethic are completely different of the two nations. Hindi for instance is very different from Urdu. Language is very important since it is used to relate and communicate with the other person what you are thinking about. Look at Hindus lighting fireworks, look at the kind of rituals they have. For instance, that ritual when the idols are taken out of the house and then taken to Ganga, and they leave the idols there like Hanuman[83]. Maybe it is Diwali[84]".

Some of the students start beaming and raising their hands.

Student 2: "No no its something they do with Ganesha[85] and not Hanuman and it is called Ganesh Chaturthi[86]".

Teacher B: "How do you know this?"

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[82] The language of Hindus: Hindi   The language of Muslims: Urdu

[83] Hanuman is a part-human, part-monkey Hindu God who is a central figure of the Hindu epic Ramayana (See Turner, 2014 for detail)

[84] Diwali is a festival of lights, lasting for 5 days, that is celebrated by Hindus, Sikhs and Jains around the world. The festival generally denotes the victory of light over darkness (Britannica, 2020).

[85] Ganesha, also known as Ganapati, is an elephant headed Hindu God of wisdom and prosperity, who is one of the best known worshipped dieties in Hinduism (Britannica, 2020).

[86] Ganesha Chaturthi is a 10-day festival marking the birth of the Hindu deity Ganesha (Turner, 2014)

Student 3: "They teach the gods how to swim". The rest of the students laughed in response".

The same student: "Madam we have seen this in Bollywood movies".

Student 2: "No, not Bollywood movies, we have seen this in the tv show Naagin[87]." The rest of the students again laugh in response. The students give details of the festival explaining to the teacher why and how the idols are taken to the river".

Teacher B: "Keep quiet. The point is to look at these people drowning the gods they worship. When Muslims were praying in their houses, these Hindus were drowning their gods".

The students continue discussing Bollywood movies and Indian tv shows amongst themselves.

Although the lesson plan for this class focused on cleanliness; somehow it turned into one of the most vehement discussions on how the Muslim self is different from the Hindu other. Quite pronounced was the analogy of dirty and clean- with rituals of the Hindu 'others' considered dirty and those of the Muslim 'self' clean, essentializing all Hindu and all Muslim rituals and individuals under these categories. What also was prominent was the religious connotation attached to the languages spoken by the two-groups. Firstly, this identification ignores the fact that many Muslims' living in India may speak Hindi or the Hindu minority living within Pakistan might speak Urdu. Secondly, these languages are not polar opposites as stated by the teacher since they are considered variants of the common language Hindustani[88] (Rahman, 1997).

Rahman (2012, 2016) contends how the focus on Urdu for linguistic homogeneity is one vehicle for creating the 'other' in textbooks, yet in this classroom discourse the Urdu language was given almost a religious and reverential status. Hobsbawm (1992:56) referred to this idea of purity attached to a language and its role in the development of national identities as *philological nationalism'*. Though as a concept, it has been more widely studied in a Western context- Nichanian (2002) emphasises how modern philology redefines the self as 'native' owing to the value

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[87] Naagin is a supernatural fantasy and thriller Indian tv series focusing on the lives of shape-shifting snakes (Bansal, 2016)).

[88] Hindustani is a pluralistic Indo-Aryan language spoken in Pakistan and Northern India (Rahman, 1997).

attached to a shared language, literature as well as oral traditions which can foster nationalism. In the above-mentioned discourse Urdu symbolised a religious identity through the oral tradition and history of employing it which adds an element of purity to the language and its association with the nation.

When I asked teacher B (LCPS) about the categorization of Urdu as a language for Muslims in the debriefing session, teacher B (LCPS) reiterated that it is the language of Muslims of the subcontinent. When I asked the teacher about the existence of other languages (Bengali, Sindhi, Punjabi etc.) spoken by Muslims in Pakistan and also the fact that most religious texts are in Arabic, the teacher argued that the point was that Urdu is 'our' language and Hindi is 'theirs' and language is a significant part of 'our' identity. As Oakes (2001: 240) states a *"possible manifestation of a strong link between language and national identity is the use of language myths, which serves to claim the superiority of one language- or rather the group who speaks it- over another";* in this case the myth concerned Urdu and Hindi.

In this classroom interaction, also noteworthy was the reaction of students- the otherwise silent class showed signs of palpable excitement to the mention of the religious festival of Ganesh Chaturthi. The impact of media, particularly Bollywood which is widely consumed in Pakistan and is a source of much fascination in the country (Khan et al., 2014) was quite visible in this class. The reason why the festival was mentioned- to differentiate between the rituals of Muslims and Hindus- was completely ignored by students in the eagerness to discuss Bollywood references. This is where the positionality of the students differed from that of teacher B (LCPS) - the students' fascination for Bollywood allowed them to discuss the ritual, deemed by the teacher as dirty, as something almost exciting. When I discussed this incident in the debriefing session with teacher B (LCPS), the students' enthusiasm and knowledge of the religious festival was attributed to the impact of media. The teacher also blamed the families of the students for their keen interest in *un-Islamic* content. I also asked teacher B (LCPS) about their personal knowledge regarding the religious festival, since it was not a part of the textbook and the teacher recalled having seen the ritual being performed in a Bollywood movie, which they found disconcerting and disrespectful. Yet ironically

teacher B (LCPS) had also acquired their own information from watching Bollywood. The soft power of the industry has often been highlighted in research (Khan et al., 2014; O'Neill, 2013; Roy, 2014) and this incident provided further evidence for its impact on the general perception of Hindus in Pakistan.

In LCPS, I not only encountered narratives focusing on differences between Hindus and Muslims during classroom discussions but also while interacting with teachers, head teachers and administrators during breaks which were noted in my fieldwork journal. Once I was invited to join the teachers and the principal during a lunch break, where COVID19 was being discussed. Since quite a few teachers were not wearing masks, I advised them to exercise cautiousness. At this point, three teachers and the principal vocalized how Pakistan and Muslims were safe from corona but the condition of neighbouring India was terrible because *"god was not saving them"*. The Indian Prime Minster Modi and his discriminatory policies towards Muslims was given as a reason for the pandemic being so deadly in India.

One teacher then came to sit next to me and stated: *"Look at India, they are facing god's wrath because of their Prime Minister and because of who they are and because they are dirty while we are safe because we are Muslims and God has saved us."* Again, the narrative of dirty Hindus was witnessed but this time coupled with a conspiracy theory concerning the ongoing pandemic. This is unsurprising considering the prevalence of "*distorted facts, conspiracy theories and myths as ultimate truths through the mobilisation of religion in Pakistan*" (Anand and Niaz, 2020). This nexus between religion, pandemic and cleanliness is reminiscent of the declaration by famous Muslim clerics that COVID19 poses no threat since "*Muslims perform ablution five times a day*"[89] (Dawn, 2020). This recurrent labelling of Hindu beliefs as unclean was also observed in one other school. When speaking of cleanliness and clean water Teacher B in GAS mentioned how:

> *Vignette 2:*
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> *Teacher: "Which is the water of River Ganges? This is the one in India and they think it is clean when its dirty. Look at the Hindu)".*

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[89] https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-pakistan-congregat/god-is-with-us-many-muslims-in-pakistan-flout-the-coronavirus-ban-in-mosques-idUSKCN21V0T4

Student: "Dear sir, they call a monkey their God".

Teacher: "Yes look at the kind of things they believe in".

Contempt over idol worship was noticeable in this vignette as was the idea that Hindus are dirty. Prior textbook research in Pakistan has highlighted how Hindus have been constructed as the 'others' of Muslims, in particular using the dirty/clean myth (Saigol, 1995; Lall, 2008; Rahman, 2011), with these depictions decreasing with textbook revisions over the years, yet the observed classroom narratives of 'dirty' and 'clean' have not been identified in prior research. In this case, even with textbook revisions that omit the dirty/clean analogy, it was still being discussed in the classroom as the teacher's pedagogical choice. As Apple (2004) notes, teachers' worldviews and pedagogical styles heavily influence the classroom discourses. In this school, the classroom discourses invoked the Hindu other also to guarantee that the students were not seeking inspiration from or viewing Hindus in a positive light. The teachers in GAS repeatedly mentioned how students should not be following Hindu rituals and be cognisant of the need to only follow Islamic rituals, such as in the vignette below from the Urdu class:

Vignette 3:

Teacher C: "If we cut our hair the way Hindus cut their hair then on the Day of Judgement we will be asked to rise from amongst the Hindus and we will be seen as belonging to their Ummah. Hindu tie threads- on Raksha Bandhan[90]. Islam says threads can't do anything because Allah is the one who gives life. Similarly, Sikhs wear bangles- the sad part is that we also started wearing them. Who gives life?"

Students chant Allah.

Teacher: "Yes and this is why you should not follow Hindu rituals".

This discussion was initiated after a student was asked by teacher C (GAS) to get a haircut. Thereafter the demonising of the 'other' coalesced with a fear of the day of judgement and the possibility of being recognised as the non-Muslim other on the fateful day. Research on textbooks has highlighted how Hindus are often

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[90] Raksha Bandhan is a popular Hindu festival, celebrated in many areas of the Indian subcontinent to strengthen the relationship of siblings (B. Turner, 2014).

essentialised under one category and are 'othered' through the perception of a threat (Lall, 2008b; Rahman, 2011a; Saigol, 1995; 2003; 2005). Here, however the threat was not just *from* the Hindus but also from the slightest resemblance or affinity to them, albeit only physical. When I asked about this in the interview, teacher C (GAS) explained how schools were important learning spaces for the students, particularly to realise the need to live their lives according to Islamic principles and not be influenced by the Hindu culture. Yet, the need to articulate this suggests the threat of influence over students is probable. Internal significant others threaten to erode the authenticity of the nation while external significant others can possibly challenge the cultural authenticity from within (Gellner, 1964; Triandafyllidou, 1998). Hindus, in this case, fall under which perhaps make the corresponding threat more profound. This oscillation between the internal and external significant other was also visible in the classroom discourses when the terms Hindus/Indians or Hinduism/India would be used interchangeably, essentially disregarding the distinction between a religion and a nation.

In CAS, the Hindu/Indian other was often mentioned in the Social Studies, Urdu and English classes in conjunction with the history of the subcontinent where once the need for a separate state for Muslims was emphasized in a social studies class on two consecutive days. A short vignette from the discussion on Pakistan's independence, in the class is provided below:

> *Vignette 4:*
>
> *Teacher A: "This is a Muslim country and we love it. For instance, in India the way of life is based around Hinduism and hence there is no place for Muslims and Muslims are treated really badly as they do not get the rights to freedom. Indians worship cows and this had repercussions for the Muslims especially during the time of the religious festival of Eid[91] because they did not used to let them sacrifice cows. Pakistan was made because Muslims needed a separate homeland and Hindus treated us badly".*
>
> *Students make notes in silence.*

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[91] Eid is a religious holiday celebrated by Muslims all over the world with a number of variants such as Eid-ul-Fitr, (to mark the end of dawn-to-sunset fasting in Ramadan), Eid-al-Adha (to honour the willingness of Ibrahim to sacrifice his son) and Eid Milad un Nabi (To celebrate the birth of the Islamic prophet) (Turner, 2014).

Firstly, Indians rather than Hindus were identified for worshipping cows, in turn categorizing all Indians as Hindus. Secondly, although this is a Church administered school with Christian teachers and students, the term *"hum"* (us) was often used while relating the persecution faced by Muslims from Hindus. This captures a paradoxical situation where national and religious identities intermingle. This is reminiscent of Fuch's (2020) and Maqsood's (2017) contention regarding overlapping religious and national identities of Christian minorities within Pakistan. When I asked teacher A (CAS) during the interview why Hindus were being mentioned in classrooms even though the textbook did not include a passage on them the teacher said:

> *Teacher A: "If students are questioning then we have to tell them that we needed freedom to practice our religion and we were not getting along with Hindus".*
>
> *Researcher: "Is this in response to students asking why Pakistan was made? Or why Hindus and Muslims did not get along?"*
>
> *Teacher A: "No, for instance if I say that if someone stops you from going to Church would you not feel bad. So, I relate it to them that similarly Muslims used to feel bad about all the torture of Hindus and the fact that they did not used to let them practice peacefully. Look at what is happening in Kashmir[92] afterall". (A discussion on Indian occupied Kashmir ensues)".*

Fuchs (2020) asserts how the Christian community *"underline their unwavering loyalty to the state and have attempted to build bridges with the majority population against all the odds"*- teacher A (CAS) recognising Hindus as the common enemy can perhaps be considered one such attempt other where reiteration of the Islamic ideology of Pakistan can be seen as another way of underlining loyalty (see also vignette 2, chapter 5). The threat from the Hindu/Indian other however was not just limited to the fragmented history of the two groups but extended to a focus on Kashmir and by extension Kashmiris as members of the in-group, which made the unfair treatment by Indians of Kashmiris an added reason for viewing Indians/Hindus as a threat.

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[92] Kashmir is the norteastern area of the Indian subcontinent which is a disputed territory currently administered by three countries: India, Pakistan and China ((Copland & Lamb, 1993).

The analogy between the treatment of Indians in Kashmir and the caste system was a recurrent observation from the field, both from classroom observations and teacher interviews. In EPS, where the teachers rarely mentioned Islamic teachings, figures or any other religious denominations, the mentions of Kashmir and Hindu/Indians stood out particularly. Teacher A (EPS), during a history lecture focusing on the mistreatment of Jews by Christians in the middle-ages, once mentioned how discrimination stems from intolerance and ignorance towards the concept of equality stating how *"this is reminiscent these days by the case of India being unjust towards Muslims of Kashmir, this is wrong and not allowed in Islam as well. This stems from the caste system prevalent in Hinduism."* Again, this reinforces the idea of the threat from the 'other', but because the information was provided without any context or historical details, it was open to ideological manipulation. By using content analysis of textbooks on a similar topic, Saigol (2005: 1014) noted how *"the child reading the text gets the impression that there is no dissent and that each and every Hindu is a staunch believer of caste. In contrast, and by implication, the Muslim Self is good because it is based on equality and justice"*. Here the student does not get this impression through the implicit meaning of the text rather through the explicit exposition by the teacher. In the following interview, teacher A (EPS) explained that religion does not have a place in non-religious subjects and:

> *"I said to the students that if you go ask your parents, they still do that where you don't share food with Christians and call them Chuhras[93], these are traditions from Hindus. We are not allowed to question. My question is this who are we to ask anyone about their religion or their views, for instance I often get asked if I am a Shi'a because I have a Shi'a name. Why do people care. This is our society it doesn't accept you the way you are. The core of religion is forgotten, the essence is gone like the morality of it but the rituals mainly adopted from Hindus and based on discrimination is given importance".*

While the teacher raised some valid points regarding the lack of tolerance to questioning and the discrimination faced by Christians- implicitly the Hindu 'other' narrative was playing a role in informing the opinion. This narrative is foreseeable

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[93] Chuhras are the Dalit Christians who converted from Hinduism to Christianity to escape caste persecution (Singha, 2015).

since most Christians in Pakistan do belong to families that converted from untouchable backgrounds in the nineteenth century (Harding, 2009) and thus also suffer from caste-based othering. The analogy between the discrimination faced by Christians and Teacher A's own personal experience as a Shia, which is a significantly larger minority group than Christians yet still susceptible to intolerance, was notable. Fuchs (2019) has shown how both communities face similar constraints on their road to equal citizenship in Pakistan. Interestingly Teacher A from EPS, much like teacher A from CAS, furthered the narrative of the 'Hindu' other, while belonging to minority groups within Pakistan themselves.

In EPS, there were no other mentions of the Hindu 'other' by any student or by any other teacher. In AAS as well, I rarely witnessed any discourses by the teachers around Hindus. Teacher B (AAS), for instance, made a consistent effort towards showing how the Hindu other was not different from the self. Yet, there were instances where students instead of teachers would articulate notions concerning Hindus. One such instance, where the teacher was elaborating on the Bhakti movement[94] that reigned during the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar[95], is described in the vignette below:

> *Vignette 5*
> *Teacher B: "This movement was not a religion rather an ideology to promote peace and tolerance through different religions".*
>
> *To this a few students objected and raised their hands.*
>
> *Student 1: "But Ma'am there are so many different gods and viewpoints within Hinduism, that makes them totally different from Muslims".*
>
> *Teacher B: "Even within Islam there are multiple sects and viewpoints so it is possible to have differing viewpoints and we should not be quick to deem Hindus wrong or dissimilar from us".*
>
> *Students are now silent.*

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[94] This refers to a theistic trend in Hinduism that emerged in the 15th century developed around the similarities between different gods and goddesses (Fisher, 2016).

[95] Akbar was the third Mughal emperor who reigned from 1556 to 1605 known for expanding and consolidating the Mughal empire. He was also a supporter of the Bhakti movement and hence considered un-Islamic by various Islamic historians (Fisher, 2016).

This was one of the many instances where Teacher B (AAS) questioned supposed differences between the Muslim 'self' and the Hindu 'other'. Research on textbooks in Pakistan identify how the Hindu 'other' is created through texts (Lall, 2008; Rahman, 2012; Saigol 2014; USCIRF, 2016) yet the data from the five case study schools show some similarities and yet some differences in the articulation of the Hindu 'other' in different classrooms and by different teachers. Teacher B in AAS, for instance, exercised greater agency to enable critical discussions in the classroom to construct the 'self' without accentuating differences with the 'other'. I had several debriefing sessions with teacher B (AAS) where they articulated the need for teachers to exercise their agency in the classroom for the purpose of fostering peace and tolerance. However, other teachers in the same school did not exercise the same agency- although they also did not further any notions concerning the Hindu 'other'. The construction of religious others, however, was not just limited to 'Hindus' but also extended to the Christian and Jewish 'others', each one performing a somewhat different role.

6.1.2 The Christian Other

The Christian 'others', much like the Hindu 'others' present a dichotomy through membership of both the in-group as Pakistanis and out-group as non-Muslims. Saigol (2005: 1017) noted through research on textbooks how *"The Christian and English 'other' also plays a significant role because of the interlocking history of British"* and "*The English seem to stand for Christianity as well as the West in general*". Rarely was this visible in the case study schools I visited, where all the teachers were cognisant of the difference between the English and Christians. For instance, in LCPS, where narratives concerning the Hindus were especially dominant, the Christian other was only mentioned in relation to the Hindu 'other' such as in the vignette below:

> *Vignette 6:*
> *Teacher B" Hindustan had two nations- Muslims and Hindus but Hindus wanted Muslims to be sidelined. Thieves get together which is why British convened with Hindus because thieves joined hands. Hindus convened with English to betray us.*

After a minute's pause…

Teacher B: "Non-Muslims can never be your friends and so do not make the mistake of considering them your friends. Therefore, it is said non-Muslims will never be good to Muslims so always be very careful about this."

Here the British were mentioned along with Hindus, but Christians weren't - yet teacher B (LCPS) did conclude the lesson by stating that non-Muslims, in general, could not be trusted. When I asked the teacher in the debriefing session to elaborate on this vignette, the teacher stressed how non-Muslims in general could not be trusted. Ironically in the above vignette and in the corresponding debriefing session, teacher B (LCPS) compared *Hindus* with "*English*", essentially conflating religion with ethnicity. Teacher B (LCPS) also stated that Christians were better than other non-Muslims because of their *monotheistic beliefs*. In this way, the 'Christian other' was similar to the 'self' or the 'in-group' when comparing other religious people yet part of the 'out-group' due to the remaining religious differences. This paradoxical categorisation starkly contrasts with prior research on the Christian 'other' (Harding, 2009; Saigol, 2005; Walbridge, 2005), which has pointed only towards hatred and prejudice against them. Prior research has also failed to identify how Christians might be perceived as less of a threat owing to similarity in religious beliefs. I did probe teacher B (LCPS) further and they elaborated how the monotheistic beliefs of Christians along with the belief of Muslims in Jesus Christ and monotheism made them more similar to Muslims as compared to idolators. I asked why monotheism, according to them would make for more trusting relations to which teacher B (LCPS) responded that it will not- *"it's just that the ones who believe in multiple Gods are worse and bigger sinners"*. This understanding seems to be a manifestation of a definitive rather than nuanced understanding of religious identities- unsurprising considering the wider discourse concerning polytheists and monotheists in the country where polytheists like Hindus are mocked considerably more (Anand and Niaz, 2020).

The Christian Other was understandably the 'self' in CAS, where it was mentioned in conjunction with the Muslim 'self', denoting congruence between the two. On being asked about the use of Islamic teachings in the classroom, Teacher A (CAS) stated "*There is no harm in it because all religions are good. I went to a Muslim*

school and college as well and it made me feel more like them. In Pakistan majority is Muslims and we are minorities, and we have to face a lot of discrimination so learning about Islam helps". This again is a manifestation of Fuch's (2019) assertion regarding the Christian community proving its loyalty to the state- here this resulted in invoking the 'Muslim' self and relating it with the 'Christian' self.

In other schools, students would sometimes bring their own notions of the Christian others. To elaborate this further, I have an incident to quote from my field work journal from AAS, where I was asked about all the case study schools' I had visited during an English class:

> *Vignette 7:*
> *Researcher: "I have previously been to a Church-administered school".*
>
> *Teacher: "Oh, how was it?"*
>
> *In the meanwhile, a student sitting right in front of me said to the friend sitting next to her …*
>
> *Student: "This means that the researcher is Christian. We should not be interacting with her or be sitting in her presence because she is not a Muslim. My parents have said that Christians are bad."*
>
> *Teacher: "Please be quiet and do not say that. Also, the researcher is a Muslim so do not call her a Christian and you should not be overhearing the conversation of other people."*

To witness a student openly articulating such unequivocal views regarding Christians was unexpected, especially in AAS, where I had seldom witnessed examples of religious 'others' being invoked. However, this was not entirely surprising considering prior research on Christian's being generally disfavoured by the Muslim majority in Pakistan (Ispahani, 2017). Also, the teacher underlined my religious affiliation instead of contesting the notion that Muslim students should not be interacting with members of the Christian community. There was perhaps a misplaced focus by the teacher on reaffirming my religious identity but no effort was made to engage with the student's perception of how Muslims and Christians should interact or the perception that only a Christian would visit a Church administered school. Yet, it was the students' own socialisation that resulted in a

strong narrative regarding the Christian 'other' rather than the classroom discourse. After this incident the Christian 'other' made frequent appearances in the English classroom in AAS where weeklong lectures on special occasions were being conducted. A vignette from the class is provided below:

Vignette 8:
Teacher: "Muslims do not follow the Georgian/Christian calendar hence it does not make sense for us to follow or celebrate the Christian New Year. As Muslims we should be following the Islamic Calendar to celebrate the Islamic New Year only. For instance, festivals like Halloween which are Christian in nature and un-Islamic are not allowed in Islam and they are wrong and should not be celebrated by Pakistanis since they are Muslims. It is better when students think about holidays, they think about occasions like Eid-e-Milad-un-Nabi[96]".

Here the festivals of the Christian 'other' were described as un-Islamic and irrelevant for Pakistanis with all Pakistanis essentialized as Muslims and all Christians deemed as belonging to the out-group. In the ensuing interview, when I asked teacher B (AAS) about the official use of the Georgian Calendar in Pakistan and hence whether that was un-Islamic, they responded: *"religion is being treated as a joke and hence it is important to understand that we follow Georgian calendar, but we don't celebrate their days like a Christian or Jew would."* When I asked teacher B (AAS) about Christians living within Pakistan, the teacher said, *"they are free to follow their rituals but we should not be following them"*. I then asked the teacher if 'we' means Muslims or Pakistanis, the teacher responded with Muslims and that *"if there were Christian students in the classroom, I would have elaborated how they should celebrate their festivals and Muslims should celebrate theirs"*. In this instance, the teacher's own perspective had a significant impact on the classroom discourse, yet there was some sense of incertitude regarding the construction of the Pakistani 'self'. National identity construction in Pakistan always had religion at its core (Lall, 2008), yet this understanding is perhaps not nuanced enough to comprehend the existence of religious plurality, which has been excluded in popular discourse in the society since Zia's era.

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[96] Ibid.

Teachers' viewpoints also had a notable role to play in EPS where Teacher B (EPS) in the interview mentioned the importance of being sensitive towards other religions and their members especially Christians because "*the school did consist of a minor Christian student body*". Teacher B (EPS) concluded with a saying "*Do not call someone's false god wrong, they may call your true god, wrong*". Halai and Durrani (2018) have demonstrated how teachers in Pakistan express a nuanced understanding of aspects of education that hinder or promote opportunities for marginalised groups in the society, yet they exhibit assimilationist ideologies that align with nation-building agendas such as creating the religious self and other. However, in EPS, and particularly for teacher B (EPS), respect for other people's religious values informed their pedagogical style generating greater sensitivity towards the Christian 'other' in the classroom. In conclusion the creation of the Christian 'other' was contingent on the teachers' or students' own perspectives rather than the textbooks, which seldom featured them, with the same applying for the Jewish 'other', which was even less prominent in the textbooks.

6.1.3 The Jewish Other

In public school textbooks the Jewish 'other' does not figure prominently (Saigol, 2005; 2014), which is surprising considering how prevalent anti-Semitic views are in Pakistan (See for detail Shields, 2008). However, in the classrooms I visited, the Jewish 'other' was mentioned on a few occasions. In LCPS, Jews were often mentioned when relaying anecdotes concerning Islamic history, for instance, in the vignette below from an Islamiyat class:

> *Vignette 9:*
> *Teacher D: "Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) used to pray to Allah for guidance and he was well-known for his equality even to the extent that Jews who were the bitter enemies of Islam used to come to him for advice on conflicting matters".*
>
> *One Student: "Are* yahudī *(Jews) and* ʿīsāʾī *(Christians) the same?"*
>
> *Teacher D: "*yahudī *and* ʿīsāʾī*: both believe in Allah. They are Mushriks (person who rejects Islam-polytheist) but all others are worse and are Kāfir (infidel) since they worship idols." Who are* yahudī *? They are Jews and the followers of Hadhrat Musa (Moses) and who are* ʿīsāʾī *? They are Christians and the followers of Hadhrat Isa".*

Here, the Christian and Jewish 'others' were lumped together while people belonging to other religious denominations were categorically described as worse. Ironically, teacher D (LCPS) described Jews and Christians as polytheists when they are monotheists. However, in the same instance Jews (followers of a religion) were also presented as bitter enemies of Islam (a religion), which is a commonly held belief in Pakistan to the extent that it was openly professed by the Islamist group Lashkar-e-Taiba[97]. The depiction of Jews as enemies of Islam was also witnessed in GAS with teacher B (GAS) often mentioning in class how *"blood in exchange for blood is an example of Jewish ignorance".* Here, common stereotypes prevalent in the society regarding Jewish ignorance as well as Jews being the enemy of Muslims (Ajmal & Tahira, 2015) were reiterated. Since Pakistan has historically sustained a belligerent position towards Israel, with the government placing itself at the forefront of anti-Zionist struggle, this has also translated into the rise in anti-Semitism in Pakistan (Shields, 2008). In the interview the teacher stressed the need to *"tell students that many things they follow are examples of Jewish ignorance and it is important to differentiate between the age of ignorance and the post-Islamic era".* The reiteration of the Jewish other as different from the self was also repeatedly evident in CAS, which provided an interesting observation wherein not only Hindus, but Jews were also constantly presented as the other to the Muslim as well as Christian self.

> *Vignette 10:*
> *Teacher A: "The biggest sign of Day of Judgement is that the dead will rise on the day of judgement. Jews do not believe in it".*
>
> *One Student: "Then what do the Jews believe in?"*
>
> *Teacher A: "Jews say we will get back our bodies, but Muslims and Christians believe that people will rise on the day of judgement and those who have done good deeds in this lifetime will live the rest of their lives in the sanctity of the heaven. Those who do bad deeds will spend the rest of their lives in hell".*

The similarities between Muslims and Christians were highlighted by elaborating on differences with the Jewish others. Similar to the case of the Hindu 'other', this

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[97] Lashkar-e-Taiba is one of the largest Islamist terrorist groups that has been banned from yet based within Pakistan blamed for orchestrating the 2008 Mumbai terror attacks (C. C. Fair, 2018)

perhaps helped in negotiating the national and religious identities of students by aligning Muslims and Christians together and regarding all other religious people as the 'others.

In AAS, the religious others were mentioned less in the classroom, however they were often lumped together as non-Muslims in the assembly, and once in an event celebrating the national heroes of Pakistan. For this event, different acts were performed by students on national heroes- with one student in the closing speech mentioning how: *"These heroes are not only national heroes, but they are also Islamic heroes, and they are our pride, Pakistan's pride, Islam's pride. Pakistan's army without any hesitation help deals with non-Muslim enemies".* All national heroes mentioned were lauded for their contribution to not just the country but also to the religion. Since this was an army administered school, the armed forces were always mentioned in the morning assemblies and in the school events, but this was the first time that they were explicitly lauded for protecting the country from non-Muslims rather than non-Pakistanis. Here religion and nation became synonymous and the threat from the external 'other' was addressed through glorification of the military. I have identified in Chapter 4 how the glorification of the military and the constant evocation of the notion of 'sacrifice' was a consistent finding in my research. It would not be incorrect to say that the military has been the most dominant institution within Pakistan since its inception even to the extent that it has directly been involved in ruling the country for almost half of Pakistan's existence, and perhaps reiterating the religious ideology of the country and a threat from non-Muslims 'others' helps in symbolising its constant need in the country. The construction of the self on religious lines, however, was not just restricted to religions other than Islam but also between Muslims.

6.2   Religion and Others within the Religion: The Good and Bad Muslims

Contemporary research on Islam, particularly post 9/11, has called attention to the discourse of "good" and "bad" Muslims prevalent in both Western politics and academia (Lacey, 2014; Mamdani, 2002) with good Muslims being essentialized as *"moderate Muslims who…wish to be "accepted"* and bad Muslims being

"fundamentalists", "radicals" or "terrorists" because they refuse to conform to the demands of authority" (Topolski, 2018:2). In Pakistan, considering the role of Islam, it is entirely unsurprising that research on textbooks has highlighted a similar discourse albeit, following a different objective. Durrani and Dunne (2010: 231) have identified how curriculum in Pakistan not only differentiates between Muslims and non-Muslims but also constructs 'good' and 'bad' Muslims, where the latter are understood to *"engage in un-Islamic customs and practices are presented as internal enemies".* An interesting observation from the field, therefore, was the way this differentiation was articulated in the classrooms. 'Us' was a reference to good Muslims and 'them' was reserved for bad Muslims. This distinction was often raised during Urdu classes in GAS. In the vignette below, Teacher B (GAS) underlines the qualities of a good Muslim during an Urdu lesson:

Vignette 11

Teacher: "Do you know what is our greatest quality? That we are born in a Muslim family. The best is the non-Muslim who has converted to Islam. Allah says you are a Muslim if you are born in a Muslim household, but you are not a mūmin *(believer) if you do not follow and obey the sayings of Allah. A Muslim who is not a* mūmin *is a bad Muslim and not one of us. So, students now you must tell me what the qualities and virtues of a* mūmin *are.*

Students are silent.

Teacher: There are 3: When Allah is mentioned, there is fear in the mūmin*'s heart. This is not applicable in the case of everyone, it only happens in the case of a* mūmin*. When verses are recited in front of the* mūmin *, their faith increases. The* mūmin *is the one who has full trust and faith in Allah, and he prays regularly."*

Teacher: "Please write this down, you will be tested on this."

After 15 minutes.

Teacher: "Before ending the lecture, I want to ask who has created the world?

The students chant "Allah".

Teacher: "It is no one but Allah. So, what is a good Muslim?"

> *One student: "One who prays five times a day, one who pays zakat, one who believes in the oneness of Allah".*
>
> *Teacher: "The whole point of today's class is for you to know what a good Muslim is. But also, you need to know who are* Munāfiq[98] *are. They are the people who converted to Islam but not truly and completely - and are also not* mūmin *– and so do not pray regularly. They are bad Muslims".*

In the ensuing interview, Teacher B (GAS) called attention to the need to distinguish between 'mūmin' and 'Munāfiq' for "*students to know what path they should follow and also for them to keep away from bad Muslims, since this is the age where students get influenced by those around them".* A homogenized concept of the "good Muslim" is introduced here, elaborated on only through specific and restricted notions of piety, belief and performativity". Marsden (2008) emphasises how syncretic forms of religious practice emerge and stabilise as the dynamics of local social relations and Islam accommodate each other, from which symbols of the 'good Muslim' are constructed, giving rise to a plurality of practice influenced by the particulars of place and space. A manifestation of the dynamics of local social relations, in the above vignette, was in terms of an overarching fear of following rituals and strict adherence to them. The politics of fear (pertaining to Allah in particular) plays an important role in moral policing or in creating as Shaheed (2010: 858) calls it "a *repressive moral stronghold*" in the Pakistani society. In this classroom, the politics of fear, where the students were being taught to identify bad Muslims and fear the slightest affinity to them, combined with overt symbols denoting 'good Muslims' such as praying five times a day were constructed and emphasised.

This postulation was also visible in LCPS. While studying the concepts of *imaniyaat* and *ibadaat* (faith and worship) in one Urdu class, Teacher A (LCPS) expounded on the difference between good and bad Muslims:

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[98] Munāfiq in Islam are considered **false Muslim** were a group decried in the Quran as outward Muslims who were inwardly concealing disbelief and actively sought to undermine the religion. It is used for people who profess faith but are actually disbelievers(Ahmad, 2006).

Vignette 12

Teacher: "What is imaniyat? Imaan (faith) on Allah, Imaan (faith) on Angels, and Imaan (faith) on Prophets and messengers. Imaan (faith) that on the day the world will end, there will be a day of judgement. Good Muslims and good people will go to heaven and all other bad people will go to hell. If the foundation of your faith is strong, then you will be a good Muslim. It is important to keep your namāz and pray five times a day and also go for pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj)".

A student raised their hand to say: "Teacher I keep all my fasts in the Holy month of Ramadan. Does that make me a good Muslim and does that mean that I will be going to heaven?"

Teacher: "Allah will forgive the sins of a mūmin *and it is important to know* mūmin *will be forgiven by Allah on the day of judgement".*

Teacher A (LCPS) then quizzed the children with respect to which scripture was revealed to which Islamic messenger; the total number of messengers; the number and names of all Islamic scriptures. This impromptu quiz was not a part of the textbook or the lesson plan. During the interview, when I asked teacher A (LCPS) about the need for asking students to repeat ritualistic information i, the teacher explained how it is their duty of providing students with detailed Islamic knowledge stating, *"I believe teaching is a 'prophetic profession' so this is also a part of their education and our duty to give them religious knowledge and make them good Muslims".*

I further asked teacher A (LCPS) about their interpretation of a good Muslim and the foremost characteristic outlined by the teacher was how a good Muslim follows the pillars of Islam and all its rituals. Teacher A (LCPS) showed both an awareness regarding their agency as a driver of change in classroom dynamics and students' worldviews as well as adherence to commonly held principle or values with regards to religion. This pattern of behaviour was in line with Halai and Durrani's (2018) research on teachers as agents of change. Yet, the teacher's awareness was restricted to the idea of a particular form of religious practice or belief, which concerned the following of Islamic practices such as praying, othering those who did not strictly adhere to the rituals of the religion. Within the same faith, this articulation creates a strict demarcation between true and false believers which further emboldens the policing of religiosity. I use the term policing of religiosity

particularly due to the growing evidence of moral policing in Pakistani society under the guise of religion. In particular, Digital Rights Foundation (2020) has highlighted the growth of moral policing not only on traditional media outlets but online spaces, where many Pakistani citizens are seen engaging in arguments over the meaning of being a good Muslim and women and gender minorities are singled out and subjected to hate speech, threats of violence and censorship. These discourses further the dichotomy between good and bad Muslims and results in the normalisation of this demarcation in the society.

This normalisation can also be witnessed from one instance in AAS, where in the history class during a study break, the construct of good and bad Muslims was broached by a student rather than the teacher. Teacher B (AAS), however provided an alternative definition of good and bad Muslims.

> *Vignette 13*
>
> *Student 1: "How do we know if a person is a Muslim or not, in the sense true Muslim or not".*
>
> *Student 2: "When my parents went for Umrah[99], they offered their chair to someone who needed it inside the mosque in Mecca, does that count as zakat[100]?"*
>
> *Student 1: "How do we know if someone is deserving of Zakat or not. People could be bad Muslims and not following all of the rituals".*
>
> *Teacher: "There is no point in being a good Muslim and not a good human. Both things are interlinked so just because you follow Islamic rituals does not mean you are a good person and a good Muslim".*

Here, Teacher B (AAS) extended the notions of 'good' and 'bad' Muslims to encompass ethics as compared to the primarily ritualistic conceptions of the student. The classroom discourse also enabled a discussion on what constitutes a good Muslim. Durrani and Dunne (2010: 231) have highlighted a struggle between the '*righteous and impious*' in the curriculum, yet this does not account for the

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[99] Umrah is an Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca that can be undertaken at any point during the year as compared to Hajj which can only be performed during a specific time period (Turner, 2014).

[100] Zakat is a religious obligation on Muslims with a certain degree of wealth to donate some portion of it charity (Turner, 2014).

hidden curriculum that informs both the students' and teachers' socialization, influencing their individual ideas of the good and bad Muslims as obvious in this classroom.

Interestingly, the Shia Sunni divide, which has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2, was not mentioned in any of the schools. Research on textbooks has shown that textbooks conform to a more Sunni interpretation of Islam, yet in all of the sample schools, the divide was never mentioned. This is particularly significant since the Shias and Sunnis differ in their rituals and if rituals make a good Muslim, then there might be some contention over the construction of the term itself. I could not broach the matter in any of the classrooms considering the sensitivity of the topic in society but did find the lack of discussion interesting. The delineation between good and bad Muslims, however, did extend towards the categorisation of the good and bad woman, or particularly the good and bad 'Muslim woman'.

6.3 Religion, the Male Self and the Female Other

Feminist critiques of education in Pakistan have focused on the masculine and patriarchal construction of students' identities through a predominant reliance on religion (See for detail Durrani, 2008; Saigol, 2003; Saigol, 1995; Zia, 2017). The resultant creation of the male 'self', by implicitly underscoring male superiority, and female 'other', by attributing a reverential but restricted female status to religion, has been the source of considerable research, but mostly on textbooks and curriculum (Kadiwal & Durrani, 2018; M. A. Naseem, 2014). These gendered divisions were also identified in the case study schools, albeit in varying degrees. One recurrent observation concerned the importance of the Muslim woman's ʿizat (honour) and the role of Islam in upholding it. The term ʿizat plays a pivotal role in the regulation of female conduct in Pakistani society (Shah, 2016). In LCPS, this concept was often referenced by drawing parallels between pre- and post-Islamic times. For instance, during a history lesson Teacher B (LCPS) repeatedly mentioned: *"In the past, women were not respected Islam gave them respect"*. Similarly, in GAS, within a predominantly male environment, the "*good Muslim woman*" was often spoken of with continued emphasis on ʿizat :

Vignette 14

Teacher C: "When Islam came, women started being respected".

After a few minutes.

Teacher C: "Households that have more men tend to benefit more. Now lets look at Hindus. You can see their women and children but our women are modest and veiled, not like their women)".

Here, the terms *sharam (shame)*, ḥayā (modesty) and *pardah*[101] were important conceptual manifestations of ʿizat. The observance of *sharam* and *pardah*, being intensely sensitive topics in Pakistan, are seen as synonymous with individual chastity, social prestige and good religious behaviour (Shirkat Gah, 2001). In Pakistan, the construct of ʿizat is deeply connected to the linkages with masculinity, family systems with the virtue of women being intrinsically tied to the honour of their male family members ie. father, brother and husband (See Zia, 2017). When I asked both teachers about the emphasis on ʿizat , they said this concept is integral to our society and Islamic culture. Teacher B (GAS) specifically mentioned how important it is for students to understand the level of respect Islam bestows upon women as compared to other religions. When I asked Teacher B (GAS) about their source of information for this (whether they had studied other religions in detail to come to this conclusion), they responded that it is a well-known fact that women were not respected before the advent of Islam. I did not probe further since I felt my question, perhaps, slightly offended Teacher B (GAS) who reiterated the importance of ʿizat of women to me.

Yet in Pakistan, women are often othered through the repeated emphasis on the concept of ʿizat - with male members of the society often given the duty of upholding ʿizat (Durrani & Dunne, 2010a; Zia, 2017). The females are also othered in these discourses using language, where terms such as *"*our women" indicates a specifically male audience being addressed. Similarly, in all case study schools, barring EPS, nationhood was mentioned in relation to *"Islamic brotherhood",* which again 'others' women from the popular discourse. Finally, in the above vignette, the

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[101] Pardah refers to the practice of limiting or forbidding the interactions of women with men outside of their immediate families. For some, pardah results in a rigid relegation of women to private/domestic spaces, for others, pardah can be upheld through practices of veiling and modesty (M. A. Syed, 2004).

Hindu 'other' also makes an appearance, in stark contrast to the *pardahdar* (veiled) Muslim women who have *sharam (shame)*. This is analogous to Saigol's (2003: 390) finding from textbooks that *"women of other cultures are denigrated, and an Islamic view of womanhood is upheld".* The veneration of the Muslim woman is therefore further achieved when compared to the Hindu woman.

This interpretation of Muslim womanhood was also visible in AAS. One incident recorded in my fieldwork journal particularly resonates. On my first day in the school, I was sitting in a waiting room next to the mother of a 7th Grade student. The head teacher then arrived and complained to the mother about the students' dismal performance in the classroom and how this was a cause for concern.

> *Vignette 15*
>
> *Mother: "She is a very disciplined child and very different from girls her age, she herself asks for the* dūpatah *(headscarf) every morning and insists on wearing it since she loves it and hence, she is such a good Muslim and loves her religion".*
>
> *Teacher: "Yes, that is nice, but your daughter has been consistently performing poorly in school".*
>
> *Mother: "My daughter is a very good child. Her brother is very patriotic and loves his country and wants to give his life to the country and dreams of joining the army like his father".*

Here, the mother countered questions regarding the students' school performance by acclaiming her for being a "*good Muslim*". The dūpatah (a long scarf like cloth), worn was provided as a visible symbol of the students' piety. In recent years, secular as well as religio-nationalist epistemological frameworks have been used to understand the politics of piety in Pakistan, which spearhead the complicated processes of pious subject formation, with the 'subject' being Muslim women (Hasan, 2015; Zia, 2017). These have often marked the symbolic value of forms of the veil, from dūpatah *(scarf)* to Hijāb *(head covering)*, as embodied practices of piety. The exposition by the mother about her daughter's affinity for dūpatah can be seen as an outward declaration of piety. On the other hand, the reference to the patriotism of the female student's brother was also provided as the immediate rationale, or perhaps a reason for overlooking her class performance.

An example of this gender demarcation was visible in CAS, where at various points 'exemplary' Muslim women were mentioned as appendages to their male counterparts. For instance, once in an hour-long class, mentions of Fatima Jinnah[102], who was a dentist, were devoid of any reference to her professional roles and achievements, rather she was presented as a peripheral presence around the central figure of her brother. The lack of discussion around female role models or the subjugation of female figures to their male counterparts has been an oft articulated point in existing research on textbooks in Pakistan (see for instance Mattu and Hussain, 2003; Ullah and Skelton, 2013), as has been the veneration of traditional female roles such as being confined to the domestic sphere or in this case spending "*all her time taking care of her brother".* This is equated with love for the country and religion, making Fatima Jinnah worthy of the title of Maadr-e-Millat (Mother of the Nation), which in fact was bestowed for her countless contributions to women rights activism in Pakistan and the settlement of migrant communities. When I asked the teacher about the role of Islamic or national female role models, they explained how it helps the students in believing men and women are equal and provides them exemplary models to look up to, yet these role models were always mentioned in conjunction to their male counterparts as sister of, wife of, mother of. When I asked the teacher about this, they sounded slightly incredulous and said their perception is completely different and the relations of these role models to the exemplary men was also a matter of pride. I wanted to probe further but refrained from doing so to avoid discomforting the teacher.

In this regard, one school in which gendered articulations were different or gendered norms were questioned was EPS. In this elite school, many students were also active in the social progressive movement of Aurat March[103] and were aware of the increasing feminist campaigns within Pakistan. On one such instance there was a discussion on Aurat March in the history class, which the vignette below elaborates:

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[102] Fatima Jinnah was a Pakistani politician and one of the founding figures of Pakistan. Her brother was Muhammad Ali Jinnah who was the first President of Pakistan.

[103] Aurat March is an annually held socio-political movement in various cities of Pakistan to observe international women's day for greater accountability for violence against women (Zia, 2020).

Vignette 16

Student 1: "Ma'am, Aurat March is against the principles of Islam and the concept of our society. The main manifesto of the movement is 'mera Jism meri marzi[104]', which is against the teachings of Islam."

The rest of the students started arguing and interrupting the student.

Student 2 responded:" How is asking for our rights and asking for the rights to our own bodies against the teachings of Islam?"

Student 1: "These women are asking for rights, but Islam provides them with so many rights but prohibits what they are asking for."

A lot of other students started talking amongst themselves and arguing with student 1 for saying this.

Student 3: That is so wrong- the society doesn't give women the rights so how is it wrong to ask for them.

Student 4: "It is much easier in India as compared to Pakistan where religion has such a hold and so women are not given the freedom that they deserve and asking for our rights is not against Islam at all. Religion encourages feminism"

The clash of different ideas regarding Islam and feminism are visible in this case, with associated arguments for and against the compatibility between Islam and a secular 'rights-based' feminism professed by Aurat March. Many Pakistanis consider feminism a western imposition, with the associated local feminist movements such as Aurat March and the manifestation of the global me-too campaign in contention with "Islamic culture" (Zia, 2020). Much of this classroom's discourse thus concerned the students' own socialisations and views over feminist narratives now available in the public domain. In the ensuing interview I enquired about teacher C's (EPS) lack of participation, following which I got a detailed response:

"Students came to me previously and asked me about Aurat march and they asked me what you think. I said see I am not a feminist, but I support this. So, students asked me if I believed in mera jism meri marzi. So first I said this is a very sensitive topic, if you were my friends, I would tell you but

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[104] It is a feminist slogan, literally meaning my body my choice, raised by feminists in India and Pakistan used to claim ownership over their bodies (Zia, 2020).

there are certain things that we should not talk about. See they idolise me,
whatever I wear they copy, If I like something they will too and hence
whatever I would say about Aurat March they would say the teacher
supports mera jism meri marzi so you have to be very, very careful about
religion and such topics."

In the above interview, the teacher was negotiating her views on the topic while also manoeuvring through the perceived religious impact of this. The sensitivity of the topic resulted in the teacher not disclosing her personal opinions inside the classroom. Rouse's (2004) ground-breaking study on women's sense of belonging had previously outlined the declining freedom for women in both the public and private sphere. Here, this freedom concerned the articulation of views and somewhere as Zia (2019) contends *"the current generation's inability to grapple with the role of religion vis-a-vis feminism in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan"*. Alternatively, one teacher in the same school held the view that the students had become too progressive. In the semi-structured interview Teacher B (EPS), for instance EPS expressed how:

"These girls have gotten quite out of hand. Body curves should not be
showing. Our religion allows for a few things but doesn't a lot of things.
Fashion is okay but vulgarity isn't. Our plant is with us; bodies are with us
and we are responsible for them; men will not stop staring. These people
aren't religious anymore. I specifically had to ask students to make a poster
denoting the five pillars of Islam to be hung inside the classroom because
the girls were not making any themselves. But you can see around the
school you will hardly see any duaʿ. *This is all because of declining*
religiosity in the society".

Teacher B (EPS), with starkly opposite views to teacher C (EPS), was referring to the changing social norms and the declining role of religion in the lives of the female students. Here, religion was again linked to the female students' dressing with the male gaze normalised and its perpetrators exonerated from blame. This was perhaps articulated because of the English language annual school play that teacher B (LCPS) and I had attended before the interview, which was a musical consisting of female students dancing and singing while wearing what teacher B (LCPS) termed 'western attire' (skirts). It was a little surprising for me to see such antithetical views of teachers regarding gender and religion within the confines of the same school. It highlighted however the role of teachers' own socialisations and positionalities and how those overshadowed the larger culture of the school they were a part of. Yet

both teachers refrained from exhibiting these views in the classroom, where students were quick to engage in critical debates over issues related to women.

Finally, the construction of women as the gendered 'other' using religion also manifested in the strict policing of their clothes. The rules applied for teachers as well where in AAS and LCPS, female teachers were prohibited from wearing "western dresses" such as jeans or shirts and could only dress in the traditional attire of *shalwar qamīẕ* . All the uniforms of female students (in all schools) consisted of *shalwar qamīẕ* and dūpatah*s*. Here some reflection of the larger society of Pakistan was also visible whereby all the females (teachers and students) would cover their heads at the advent of *adhan* (Islamic call to prayer).

Finally, I also want to recount another instance from my fieldwork journal- once at AAS, I wore a long kurta over denims to school for which I was constantly stared at by everyone ranging from the security guards to the administrative staff and teachers. When I finally reached the classroom, a student remarked how I should wear the Islamic clothes of *shalwar qamīẕ* . The head teacher then apologized to me for not informing me beforehand about the existence of a strict rule on the campus forbidding any female teacher or student from wearing jeans- since it's a "*western attire*". I asked whether any similar rules were applicable for the male teachers and was met with a resounding no. The fact that the student could openly articulate this and would confound a traditional dress as being religious in nature signified the extent to which religion and culture is conflated and deeply entrenched in the society.

Conclusion

Overall, the role of religion in constructing the 'other'- whether religious or gender in the classrooms differed in every school with the Hindu other being the most significant and visible 'other' in the classroom as well as school discourses. This is in line with existing textbook research on the construction of the Hindu other.

Yet in some of these classroom discourses the denigration of the Hindu other went significantly ahead of the textbook discourse with some teachers repeatedly discussing Hindus, in predominantly negative terms, without accompanying textbook

content. Some teachers, particularly in EPS and AAS, however, did encourage students to think critically about the categorisations of the 'self' and the 'other' and emphasised on similarities rather than differences. There were others who conformed strictly to the textbook content.

Much like the role of religion in articulating notions around the nation- there were certain variations around how the 'other' was constructed in the classrooms. In EPS, religious discourses were minimal with no mentions of 'good Muslims' and only a few teachers mentioning the Hindu 'other'- in the context of Kashmir. In LCPS these vocalisations were the most rampant, with teacher B (LCPS) particularly emphasising on differences with the Hindu other. Interestingly in CAS the Hindu and Jewish 'other' were denigrated and Christians and Muslims were lumped together- perhaps in a way to build bridges with the majority Muslim population. The female 'other' was constructed on religious lines in all of the schools except EPS- where debates surrounding the feminist movements in Pakistan were rampant. This also showed how the individual school ideologies were influencing the construction of the self and the other.

The construction of the other, using religion, was also engendered outside the school classrooms through school rituals such as events and assemblies which shows the wider role of religion in the school environment. Interestingly the influence of the overall socio-cultural environment of the country also manifested in the classroom and school discourses, for instance in the way Bollywood references were used in the classrooms or even in the myths concerning COVID19 circulating in the schools. Much like notions surrounding the nation- the boundaries between what can be deemed cultural and what can be deemed religious were blurred. For instance, difference between Hindus and Muslims and the analogy of dirty and clean can be considered a more socio-cultural perception prevalent in the country rather than something propounded by the actual religion- Islam. Similarly, the idea that global feminist movements are un-Islamic is more cultural in nature since many Islamic feminists have used examples from the religion to profess their support for the movement around the world.

This chapter also highlighted certain gaps in the existing literature. Existing research has not shown how the moral policing of females in schools can possibly create

images of the gendered other. What has also not been highlighted before is the construction of the good and bad Muslims that were undertaken in nearly all of the schools. This categorisation also extended to a focus on the moral education of students, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7   Use of Religion for Moral and Character Education

"One should speak the truth -should not lie- God does not like those who lie). Morality in our society is based on the concepts of Islam which does not allow for immorality". (GAS, Teacher C)

By linking an important character trait - truthfulness with an all-encompassing God, this articulation by teacher C (GAS) illustrated the degree of intersection between religion and morality for them. In Pakistan, religion dominates various aspects of the society and has been known to play a pivotal role in the socialisation of its citizens (White, 2012). In this sense, religion provides what Peter Bergen (1977) refers to as a "*mediating structure*" or ideological context through which people develop their moral bearings. In my research, I sensed the role of religion to be considerably more than a "*mediating structure*", particularly for the cultivation of moral values. In almost all of the case study schools in my research; morality and ethics were emanating from religion, and were based on religion as well, with an overarching devotion to God appearing to motivate the commitment to effectuate moral and ethical values in students. The predominant way these values were disseminated was through an emphasis on religious exemplars and a focus on the consequences of immorality and alternatively morality. Using data from the case study schools, this chapter observes and analyses narratives concerning the use of religion for moral and character education that were visible in the classrooms.

7.1   Religious Figures, Moral and Character Education

The primary mechanism through which moral lessons were imparted in the classroom discourses was through evoking examples of historical religious figures, in particular the founder of Islam - the Prophet Muhammad[105] (henceforth referred to as The Prophet) and the first four Caliphs[106], often complemented by the mentions of and examples from religious scriptures - the Holy Quran and Sunnah (Jesus Christ and bible in the case of CAS). The mentions of the religious scriptures were ubiquitous in all schools often by way of quotes from the scriptures inscribed on walls

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[105] The Islamic Prophet Muhammad was an Arab religious and social leader who was the founder of Islam. According to Islamic doctrine, he was a Prophet sent to reaffirm and preach the teachings of Adam, Moses, Abraham and Jesus concerning a monotheistic God known as Allah in Islam.

[106] Rashidun caliphates are the spiritual and religious successors to the Prophet Muhammad in the Sunni jurisprudence of Islam who are Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman and Ali.

or in the form of paintings hanging on the school walls and around the buildings. The Prophet in Islamic theology and practice is regarded as the perfect embodiment of moral character (Walzer & Gibb, 2021) - with the Quran stating '*You have indeed in the Apostle of God a beautiful pattern of conduct*' (Sura 33, v. 21). The record of his spoken words and actions, known as the Hadith, is considered the perfect compendium supplementing the Quran for the promulgation of moral guidance (Walzer & Gibb, 2021). Haq (1980) has emphasised how in Pakistan "*the personality of the Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) is the main source of spiritual inspiration for Muslims*". Understandably, frequent references to the Prophet and the Hadith were observed in the case study schools such as in LCPS, where often entire lessons were dedicated to describing the role of the Prophet as the saviour of *insaniyat* (humankind) and as a perfect moral exemplar, as shown in the vignette below from an Urdu class:

Vignette 1

Teacher C: "Please stop making noise and listen to me. Prophet (S.A.W.[107]) used to say that language is what would help people be protected from each other. We should be careful about how we speak with one another. First things first: we should start our conversations with Asalam-o-Alaikum. We should not be too loud or silent. We should not interrupt others while they are talking. We should be careful and thoughtful. We should not say unnecessary things, not talk too much. We should not hurt anyone. We should not be abusive towards anyone. When a person opens his or her mouth, he is showing his upbringing. No matter how nice a person looks, it really matters how nicely that person is speaking. Here we need to look at Prophet (S.A.W.) to see how people need to act with one another. He never used to hurt a soul and was gentle and kind with everyone".

Students are nodding their heads.

Teacher: "Be concise like him. Give others a chance to speak. It is important to be very careful about how we speak and talk to others. It is important to not talk out of hand and say unnecessary things. Religion teaches us a lot about morality".

After a few minutes

Teacher while reciting a verse: "A true Muslim is the one from whose tongue and hands other Muslims are safe. One important lesson that you can learn

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[107] Abbreviation for sallallahu alayhi wa sallam which means "peace and blessings of Allah be upon him".

from the Prophet's (S.A.W.) life is that of morality and ethics, even in the worst of times and the worst of the treatment of Muslims Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) was never rude, he never ever made any derogatory remarks against anyone even the people torturing him or the woman throwing garbage at him. How can you do that through your language and through your tongue?"

One student: "It can be only if you do not curse, not hurting anyone, not making fun of anyone".

Teacher: "It is more than that, we need to make sure we follow the principles of religion and not intentionally hurt anyone and follow the example of Prophet Muhammad P.B.U.H".

One student: "How did Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) used to speak so slowly and nicely, that people easily used to understand his point?"

Teacher: "He was always very concise, would never talk unnecessarily and always used to give other people a chance to talk. It is important for Muslims to follow this example in order to live their life peacefully and be good human beings. Religion teaches us that we should sit together and make decisions with teamwork. Our Prophet is an example of the solver of problems for all human beings belonging to all races. It is important that you students learn to read about this history and take examples from the life of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) who led an exemplary life which can teach us the way to spend our lives. Even with non-Muslims he was never discriminatory or unequal and gave the highest priority to justice. Non-Muslims, rich, poor, people regardless of their race, colour, were given equal priority by him".

The above lesson was imparted without any supplementary textbook content - teacher C (LCPS) initiated a discussion on moral behaviours following unsuccessful attempts at disciplining the students for making noise in the classroom. Thereafter, noticeable was the impact of the Prophet's mention; not that there was a tangible way for evaluating the impact - yet I noticed how students immediately and respectfully acceded to the teacher's request, stopped making noise and furiously nodded their heads in response. There was a certain degree of reverence and sanctity associated with the invocation of religion and particularly with the Prophet - without whose mention moral lessons were rarely imparted in this classroom. The emphasis on the Prophet can be seen as a manifestation of spiritual modelling, which concerns the emulation of a religious model for good moral behaviour (Oman, 2012). Arthur, Kristjánsson, Harrison, Sanderse and Wright (2016), for instance, acknowledge that character education, particularly teaching virtues involves both explicit guidance as well as implicit modelling. Though spiritual modelling theories

largely focus on the role of members of an individuals' own society, it also includes important historical religious figures and in this case the Prophet provided one predominant religious model to be followed.

In this discourse, spiritual modelling involved the emphasis on definitive standards of behaviour - standards that came from a prophetic figure*.* Jensen (2020: 200) evocatively explains how *"religious doctrines provide ethical codes that range from daily behavioral prescriptives informing a life of righteousness, holiness, and/or compassion to guidelines for either transcending the mundane of common life or infusing it with sacred meaning by living according to the ethics and ideals proscribed by their traditions."* In this sense religious transcendence results in such allegiance towards the faith that it fosters a sense of loyalty and greater responsibility towards the realisation of these moral values - here this allegiance was fostered through the example of the Prophet and the evocation of a duty to follow the example set by the Prophet. Yet, in this classroom, morality was so enmeshed with religion that it left a slightly restricted space for individual autonomy and reasoning with moral training focusing solely on divine dictates. Context behind the actions of the Prophet, for instance, or an emphasis on why these moral values are encouraged was missing.

While teacher C (LCPS) did emphasise the importance of being polite and respectful, there was an overarching emphasis on the notion of the "*Muslim brotherhood*". Here, again the exclusion and inclusion of people according to religion - brotherhood towards Muslims to be specific - transcended the association towards people belonging to all other races and religions. However, this example did not involve the mention of the Prophet and teacher C (LCPS) did state how the Prophet never discriminated based on race, religion, creed etc. However, the Prophet's name was used to supplement narratives concerning "*Good Muslims*" who were seen as emulating the characteristics of the Prophet. There is limited research on the construction of "good Muslims" in education in Pakistan (see Halai and Durrani, 2018; chapter 6 for detail) but what existing research has particularly failed to highlight is the use of religious figures, particularly the Prophet, to engender these categorisations. Finally, a popular anecdote concerning an old Jewish woman

throwing garbage at the Prophet[108] was used in almost all case study schools, and being a part of the society, I have heard it from numerous people as well - from my teachers to family members to even colleagues at my workplace; and I have also relayed it myself on various occasions. Here again these anecdotes were met with beaming faces and a few students even raising their hands to perform *dua* (prayers) for the Prophet - which is reflective of the ritualistic veneration of and devotion towards the Prophet in Pakistan.

Following this interaction, I had a long conversation with Teacher B about the role of influential religious figures in the moral development of students where they said:

> *"If you are talking about religion you should talk about it and talk about events, for example, I was teaching Urdu today and I talked about an event related to Hadhrat Usman Ghani (RA) because in our religion there are many events and people to talk about. Because you know that they learn, and they want to do the same good deeds it's in our religion, so the children also develop an interest to do these deeds. For example, you know that you must teach children not to lie etc and for that the use of religion and the events help better to implement the concept. Then I told them about an incident when there was an old woman who used to throw garbage at our beloved Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and from these incidents the children learned that the prophet never thought if the other person is a Muslim or from another religion. And would always be polite and respectful towards them. From this you learn that if you respect your teacher, and we teach this according to the religion and examples from the religion".*

For teacher C (LCPS), the examples of religious figures were important to socialise students into being respectful and polite towards their teachers. I further asked them whether there was a difference in student reactions when religious figures were mentioned to which they responded: *"when I tell the students stories from Islamic history, they get really interested and listen with joy and they take whatever the teacher is saying more seriously if you give these examples".* The mention of religious figures in this sense, provided a degree of credibility to the arguments made by the teacher - which was an important aspect motivating the teacher to invoke mentions of the religious figure in the classroom. An interesting aspect about LCPS was also the emphasis on the fourth Caliph in Islam, Ali ibn Abi Talib, following any

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[108] This much-loved story has no basis in Hadith but is extremely popular all over the world. It concerns an old Jewish woman who used to throw garbage at the Prophet in defiance of his message. When she stopped throwing garbage one day The Prophet went to her doorstep to ask about her health and took care of her, after which she accepted Islam. This story is retold as an epitome of compassion.

discourses around morality. Since LCPS is owned by a Shia family and consisted of primarily Shia students, these mentions were expected. In one history class, Caliph Ali was mentioned repeatedly when the topic of bravery and goodness came up, as shown in the vignette below from a history class:

> *Vignette 2*
>
> *Teacher B: "Hadhrat Ali used to talk about goodness. He said that we are not capable of fulfilling all our needs ourselves. There is a higher power for running the world. Hadhrat Ali also said that please read the translation of the Holy Quran and you will receive the answers to all your questions and the solutions to all of your problems and if not then you can receive the answers to all of your problems from the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.)".*
>
> *Students are silent.*
>
> *Teacher B: "We should learn about bravery from him. Prophet (S.A.W.) gave Hadhrat Ali the orders that on the night of Hijrah, Hadhrat Ali will be sleeping in his room and bed while he will be travelling in the dark of the night and emigrating to Medina. Hadhrat Ali did know at that point of time that he could possibly be killed. But Hadhrat Ali did not care about his life neither about his death because he was simply happy about the fact that he would be sleeping in Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.)'s room and bed and that was enough cause for happiness for him. This bed was called farsh-e-gul. The second title that was given to Hadhrat Ali was Fatiha Khyber. There are multiple names to his credit and that emphasises his goodness. He also said for instance that when two people come to you for an opinion, you should not make a judgement without hearing both sides of the argument. It is only then that you will most likely learn the truth".*

Even though the History lectures were focusing on the British rule, teacher B (LCPS) used to provide analogies from Islamic history to impart lessons about bravery and courage - highlighting the synonymity between religious and national history in Pakistan. The above quoted anecdote was relayed four times in four consecutive classes - where students were also asked to repeat the titles afforded to Ali in the fourth class. The constant reiteration of this anecdote also helped in inspiring bravery in the students but for the cause of religion.

When I asked teacher C about this interaction they said "*see not just bravery I told students about tolerance of Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) and how you need to for instance practice patience because problems come from Allah and you have to bear them with patience because then Allah will help you and you are eventually be*

answerable towards Allah and not to other people, so be honest and patient and think about Allah. Giving examples does help to tell students about these things". For both teacher B and C (LCPS) then, the reiteration of anecdotes from Islamic history and examples of religious figures were important for students to understand the concepts being relayed in the classroom.

Fuchs (2020: 101) notes how Shia's "attempt to prove their unwavering loyalty to the state, try to build bridges with the majority community*"* - the constant reiteration of the caliph's sacrifices and devotion to the Prophet perhaps provided one way of reinscribing into the society. It is interesting to note how neither educational policies nor the research on textbook and curricular content has highlighted any mentions of Caliph Ali in them. The classroom discourse at LCPS shows how actual discussions can differ significantly from the textbook content - and depends on the socialisations and subjectivities of the teachers.

Devotion to the Prophet was also visible in AAS where nurturing of moral values in students occurred not only in classrooms but also in school events dedicated to certain religious and national figures. One such school event was dedicated to celebrating 12[th] Rabbi-ul-Awwal[109] (Prophet's birthday). The event started with a speech by a student expressing how the event was organised to commemorate the month of love and prayers and to panegyrize the exemplary character of the Prophet stating: *"It is important for all of us Muslims to lead our lives by his example and do good deeds and avoid bad deeds".* Following this, another student arrived on the stage to relate the story of the Jewish woman who used to throw garbage at him concluding how *"he was the epitome of kindness and goodness, and he was the best man ever the world has seen"*. The event also included three different choirs reciting *Hamds* (word praising God) and *Naats* (religious poetry) eulogizing the prophet. The event ended with an address by the Vice Principal on the need to follow the Prophet's example stating how: *"Prophet (S.A.W.) wanted a good world around him, a world full of love and kindness and care and it is imperative to have a peaceful Islamic world and so it is the duty of all the Muslims to be good and kind like The Prophet and bring peace, harmony to bring forward a better world".* This event, like all events held in this school concluded with a recitation of the national anthem.

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[109] Rabbi-ul-Awwal is the third month in the Islamic calendar. It is celebrated by Muslims all over the world because of the birth of The Prophet on the 12[th] of Rabbi-ul-Awwal.

Halstead, (2007: 288) stresses how in Islamic societies *"because of the reverence in which the Prophet Muhammad is held in Islam, every small detail of his personal lifestyle and behaviour becomes a model for Muslims"*. This was particularly visible in this school event at AAS, where every detail of the Prophet's life was used to foster some moral lesson or the other. Every student participating delivered either impassioned speeches or recited heartfelt hymns, which were met with constant applause - a few teachers sitting next to me were even weeping at certain points. I felt that the way the message of peace was imparted and the reverence for the Prophet was almost palpable. So present was the Prophet in the overall environment of the school that he was mentioned in almost every class where a moral lesson was imparted. For instance, in one Urdu class that concerned laziness, teacher D (AAS) spoke about *"lazy and complacent people who hire their servants to perform all their chores and duties and have a lot of money are actually the ones who are going against the will of God. The Prophet would do all his work himself and hence good Muslims should also do all their work themselves and those who do not do their work themselves are actually the ones who are going against Allah. The presence of such people in the society should actually be non-existent"*. In addition to emphasising how hard working the Prophet was, this discourse made the distinction between good and bad Muslims - here bad Muslims were also the ones who did not perform their duties themselves and therefore went against Allah. Durrani & Dunne, (2010) have shown how good and bad Muslims are constructed in the curriculum by showing how bad Muslims engage in un-Islamic behaviour - here complacency was regarded as un-Islamic behaviour. Additionally, it also emphasised on class distinctions; another important aspect prevalent in the society and in particular the education system (Omer & Jabeen, 2016) by categorising people who hire servants as lazy and complacent. Visible was thus how certain categorisations prevalent in the society were seeping into the classroom.

A similar lecture in another Urdu class concerned the importance of hard work, where teacher C (AAS) invoked examples from the Prophet's life to propound their point, as shown in the vignette below:

Vignette 3

Teacher C: "What are the two gifts that God has bestowed upon us".

One student: "Courage to do hard work and to make yourself self-sufficient".

Teacher C: "Aap[110] (S.A.W.) used to do all of his chores himself and he used to be so hard working, and he used to say that no work is small. The point of this lecture is therefore this moral lesson that no task is small because Prophet never used to find any task or any work to be beneath himself and hence, we should also not see anything - any job or any work to be beneath us and strive to live our lives according to the principles of Islam and follow the example of the Prophet. Not just the Prophet, the four Caliphs used to do all their chores and tasks themselves as well. Muslims should learn from these examples and learn to do all of their things themselves and be hardworking. A big moral lesson can be learned from this that concerns hard work and doing your work yourself and being self-sufficient and the fact that our religion teaches us that moral lesson. If you are hardworking, your arrogance and your ego will fade, and your country will prosper".

One student: "This is because our country and our economy are halal and our country can only prosper if we are hardworking".

Here an important moral lesson of hard work was imparted through religion, particularly by giving the example of The Prophet. I did ask teacher C (AAS) why the same moral lesson had to be reiterated so many times and they responded that it was to make sure students fully understood the concept. The four Caliphs who hold great esteem for Sunni Muslims all over the world were also mentioned. What was also interesting was the association between hard work and the nation - the synthesisation between religion and state was evident here where moral lessons imparted through religion were also linked back to the nation. Giroux, (2004: 423) stressed how *"religious values in the service of humanity…deepen those compassionate and critical values that affirm the social contract between the citizen and the state that lies at the heart of a substantive and inclusive democracy".* Perhaps, the use of religious values here provided a way of contributing to the state. The emphasis on hard work, prosperity of the country and religion also reminded me in some way of Weber's (1905) study on the relationship between religion and the capitalist spirit. Though Weber specifically focused on a branch of Protestantism-Calvinism; the argument still provides an important blueprint for how religion can be linked to success in this world. In this case, religion was providing an important

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[110] In Pakistan the Prophet is often referred to as AAP (an Urdu word meaning 'you'), mostly used to denote reverence for a venerable elder.

mechanism for students to work hard, not just for themselves but also for the prosperity of the country; giving what Weber might call a worldly activity- religious character. This distinction of worldly (religious) activity, can be employed in a myriad of ways in different contexts- paving way for the potential *use* of religion to justify and promote national and local narratives.

The coalescence of religious and moral values was also evident in CAS, where even when the textbook content explicitly mentioned Islamic religious figures, the teachers would relate incidents from Yeshu Masih[111]'s life or mention his characteristics to engender moral virtues in students. In one such Urdu lesson that focused on honesty, the textbook content contained mentions of Islam, but teacher A (CAS) spoke in length about Yeshu Masih, as shown in the vignette below:

> *Vignette 4*
> *Teacher A: "Please look at the exercise for today's topic and read the passage on honesty".*
>
> *Students are reading the text.*
>
> *Teacher A: "Today's story is on a captain's child whose name was Muhammad Akbar. What is the moral of the story?"*
>
> *Student: "That we should not lie".*
>
> *Teacher A: "Here, it is also important to follow the example of Yeshu Masih who led his life with honesty, and he would never lie. We should follow his example and not lie and always be honest. Yeshu Masih also encouraged people to be honest in their work. Not just Yeshu Masih, you should also look at Prophet (S.A.W.) and his life to learn important lessons. Both these messengers serve as role models for the students and how they should live their lives by looking at these exemplary figures and use their saying and teachings and incorporate them in their lives. The other day we read a story about Hadhrat Umar[112] and how he let go of his material belongings for the cause of Islam and he was not materialistic and not emotionally attached to his belongings. His wife gave all her jewellery to the government".*
>
> *Teacher A: "What was the moral lesson of this story?"*
>
> *One of the students: "We learnt that people should not be materialistic".*

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[111] The Hindi and Urdu name for Jesus Christ.

[112] Umer was one of the most influential Caliphs in Islamic history and a companion of the Islamic Prophet, succeeding Abu Bakr as the second Caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate (see for detail As-Sallabi, 2007).

> *Teacher: "Yes the lesson is to be humble and modest which is a lesson that they should and can share with their friends".*

It was interesting to see how multiple examples of religious figures were provided in this lecture. Here, teacher A (CAS) began the lecture by giving examples from the life of Jesus Christ but was also quick to provide parallels with religious figures from Islam - invoking both the Prophet and one of the Rashidun caliphs. This again is reminiscent of Fuchs (2020: 114) findings related to Christian engagements to reinscribe themselves within Pakistan to *forge cross-communal alliances inter alia by claiming certain (Muslim) personalities as in fact embodying Christian values.* When I asked Teacher A (CAS) about invoking both messengers in the classroom discourse, they responded: *"God's messengers are everyone's messenger, it is our duty to respect them. The same way we respect Hadhrat Isa because he is a messenger, we respect Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.), it is our duty to respect them".* Interestingly research on textbooks and policies has highlighted a lack of discourse around religious figures other than those belonging to Islam in them - this focus on Yeshu Masih highlighted how the classroom discourses can differ from the designated curriculum and depend on a variety of factors such as the school ethos and the teachers' subjectivities.

I further asked the teacher about the students' responses towards the mentions of religious figures from both Islam and Christianity to which they responded: *"I remember I was relating a story from the time of Prophet (S.A.W.) who came and told people about why respecting women is important and then the students asked that miss who was he? What should we call him? And I told them that he was like Jesus Christ and how we believe Jesus, we should believe him. If you are sitting here, you are sitting here because of him because he brought the end of ignorance. The textbook will give a passage, but we have to go in-depth and it is our job to elaborate it and give students information that will help them in their lives".* Devotion towards Islam and gratefulness to the prophet for bringing about the end of ignorance was quite visible here. Yet, I could sense Teacher A (CAS) making an additional effort to create analogies between the two religious figures and by extension the two religions. This can also be seen as a manifestation of Fuchs' (2020) assertion concerning the Christian community consistently trying to prove loyalty towards the state - gratitude for the Prophet serving as one such way.

For teacher A (CAS) then, the Islamic Prophet was considered synonymous and analogous to Jesus Christ which provided ample reason to mention both in the classroom discourse. Teacher A did emphasise how their intention was to help students in leading their lives with these examples but also to give equal respect to all religious figures. Where in CAS, these mentions always had a positive undertone and were meant to help the students; in GAS, these mentions always accompanied a sense of enforcement. In GAS strict enforcement of rules and moral and ethical training of students was always accompanied with anecdotes from religion. In one Islamiyat lesson focusing on the migration to Medina, Teacher B (GAS) emphasised on modesty and humility of the prophet, as shown in the vignette below:

Vignette 5

Teacher B: "Nabi[113] (S.A.W.) used to pray to Allah with his hands in the air. He first used to thank Allah for all his blessings and then ask anything for himself and that is what we should do. We should be thankful to Allah for all that he has done for us. does not like arrogance. You should never trust anyone but God".

Students repeated: "No"

Teacher B: "Only Allah has power. We learn a moral lesson from every Islamic event. When Mecca was conquered, two tribes were trying to attack Mecca and the Muslims. When the infidels thought that they will defeat Muslims, this was a matter of arrogance and Allah, and The Prophet did not like that. He said: I am your Prophet; I am the son of Abdul Muttalib. Allah has sent angels from the sky which you cannot see. Infidels are arrogant over their money. You can see from this was that one should not be proud about their money. No one should feel arrogant over their money, power or beauty. We should have faith in Allah no matter what, and not trust anyone else, trusting someone else and being arrogant is wrong".

After a few minutes -

Teacher: "Respect for parents, teachers, friends, respect for elders, love for children, avoidance of curses. Our Prophet has taught us the right way so that our afterlife is better. Praises for the Prophet who taught us the way to make "ākhrat" (our end) better. We are all humans but what is humanity? If we help a person pass a street, then that is humanity and that is the biggest thing. Human beings are Ashraf ul Makhlūq- *above angels and Jinns[114]- near*

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[113] Another way of addressing The Prophet Mohammed – 'Nabi' means Prophet in Urdu. 'Akram' means the one held in highest honour (Walzer & Gibb, 2021).

[114] Djinns are supernatural creatures in Islamic mythology and theology. The broader meaning of the word is demons or spirits(El-Zein, 2009).

> *Allah. Allahumma bimiska. Follow the path Allah has provided and hold the rope tightly that He has given us. Quran is the best route for us. It is giving us instructions on how to live our lives and this is the way for us for success in the afterlife and if we do not do this then we will rot in the fire of hell. There is no one worthy of worship other than Allah. Kāfir are the ones who deny this. Tawhid - means belief in Allah. There is no one worthy of worship other than Allah".*

There was considerable emphasis on standards of right and wrong in the above discourse, with moral and ethical guidelines provided as a list of dos and don'ts. The Islamic scholar Ghazali has emphasised how moral education in Islam is dependent on divine rule, known as the Divine Command theory - where belief in a God takes centre-stage over human agency; which results in ethics, as Fazlur Rahman explicates, '*not expressed in terms of propositions, but rather in terms of divine dictates and actions'* (Rahman, 1985). Some scholars, instead of calling this divine command theory refer to theological or divine voluntarism to differentiate between God's will for moral obligation and God's will for moral human good (See Murphy, 2012; Ward, 1995). I personally connect to one particular variation of divine voluntarism theory purported by (Nam, 2004) who explains how *"admitting God's obligating will as a partial constituent of moral obligation, my formulation of divine voluntarism admits that God is sovereign over moral obligation. At the same time, it is not the case that God wills human moral obligation for no good reason. God's obligating will is grounded on God's antecedent will, and God's antecedent will is God's will for human moral good"* (Plato, 2002: 10a)*.* However, I believe that in order for God's will for human moral good to be understood - moral values should not be presented as dictates and rules rather, human beings need to develop an understanding of why these values are 'good' or 'bad'. This brings me to Socrates's *Euthyphro* and the difficult question of whether *"the pious is loved by the gods because it is pious, or is it pious because it is loved by the gods?"* Delving into Socrates's question is beyond the scope of this thesis yet given the nexus between morality and religion in these discourses, it seems pertinent to look back at it.

The promulgation of these divine dictates was met by students' respectful silence throughout with a few reciting prayers in front of me - the atmosphere was therefore intensely sanctimonious. When I asked Teacher B (GAS) about this discourse, they said *"The messengers who have guided us have given us the knowledge of faith;*

not just that but also the knowledge of the world like related to medicine and the arts and everything so you cannot separate the two. One is equal to the other." Yet the pedagogical style adopted to impart knowledge in this school involved a limited scope for contributions from students and a strict environment where students were given instructions rather than lessons, with no context or reasoning given to students regarding the moral guidelines. This could perhaps owe to the pedagogical style that was so strict in nature.

I will quote another classroom discourse from GAS which happened during a five-minute study break in teacher C's (GAS) class. Teacher C often gave moral and ethical guidelines to the students during the class, but this was the first time, in any of the schools, that climate change and environmental pollution was being spoken about as shown in the vignette below:

Vignette 6

> *Teacher: "Cleanliness is half of your religion, as is mentioned in the Holy Quran and in Islam. Our religion encourages us to observe cleanliness because cleanliness is very important. Cleanliness is very much a part of our faith, our religion Islam. In terms of keeping our environment clean, it is indicated by Allah in the Quran that He is happy with those who keep themselves and their environment clean".*

> *One student asked: "where is this written in the Quran?"*

> *Teacher shows the textbook where it is mentioned that Prophet P.B.U.H. has said that as Muslims our responsibility (religion) is to not only keep ourselves clean but also the environment around us clean.*

> *Teacher: "So we should brush our teeth, brush our hair, and take regular showers as instructed to us by our dear religion Islam. Environmental pollution influences the ozone layer and is detrimental to the environment and to the health of the planet that we live in and which Allah has made and so it is imperative that we take care of it. Destroying the ozone layer due to the pollution is therefore against the teachings of Islam. Smoking though not outrightly prohibited in Islam can also be considered an act of pollution that destroys the environment and hence can be considered as disliked in Islam. Good Muslims should therefore not smoke since it is harmful for their own selves and to the environment. The smoke is very dangerous for people around the smokers as well as it can lead to issues of health. Throwing around garbage is also forbidden in Islam as it would result in people falling ill".*

> *Student: "Is this because the health of people sitting around the trees would get affected?"*

> *Teacher: "Yes and Prophet also has asked people not to waste water for instance as it can be detrimental for the environment. If we follow Islam, not only can environmental pollution be tackled, rather the world can become more beautiful than it has ever been".*

This was such an interesting discussion for me since climate change and environmental pollution is hardly given any prominence in the Pakistani society. Religious scholars have, in recent times, advocated for the pivotal role religion can play in countering human-induced degradation of the environment (Bergmann, 2009; Palmer, 2013). This has mostly focused on the role of Christianity in countering climate change in the Global North (Hulme, 2017; Jenkins, Berry, & Kreider, 2018). In one of the very few studies focused on Islam and Muslim communities around the world, Koehrsen (2021) elaborates the role of Muslim environmentalist organisations around the world in their advocacy for and facilitation of environmentally sustainable societies using religious dictates. Yet different approaches were identified in different societies. It would be interesting to conduct a more in-depth investigation of the role of religion in combating climate change in Pakistan and particularly the role of the Prophet as a moral exemplar. Overall, one can see how research on textbooks has failed to highlight the important role the Prophet plays in the moral and character education of students - considering how he is invoked in textbooks even while discussing climate change and cleanliness.

Teacher C (GAS) connected both issues with religion quite seamlessly, by providing examples from both the Prophet and the Quran but also explaining why the issue of climate change and pollution is pertinent and how human actions can help prevent them. Even though the textbook content solely focused on how Islam and the Prophet advocate for cleanliness and consideration for the environment, teacher C (GAS) went further to elaborate on the reasons why these values are encouraged. One can see how the theological and normative aspects of Islam were clearly used in this discourse, yet the dissemination of these views allowed room for human agency or rather will, where the consequences of human actions were also discussed. When we were discussing this interaction in the debriefing session, teacher C (GAS) elaborated how they thought "*it was my duty to engender these values in students, and religion provided an effective platform for doing so especially*

because students took divine dictates more seriously". In this sense, teacher C (GAS) was cognisant of their role as what Halai and Durrani (2018) call an '*agent of change'* in the classroom and made an effort towards fulfilling it.

This discourse was also one of the first times that I witnessed students taking an active role in the discussions, asking questions, nodding their heads to teacher C's (GAS) articulations. Otherwise in GAS, moral education was mostly promulgated through the strict dissemination of morals and ethics - sometimes by also underscoring potential rewards and punishments.

7.2 Religion, The Day of Judgement, Moral and Character Education

One interesting phenomenon in almost all case study schools, was how morality - particularly the moral decisions of doing good or bad, was linked to the concepts of rewards and punishment. In particular, the narrative of reward and punishment, through the Islamic belief in the day of judgement, and the constructs of heaven and hell were used to foster moral and character education of students in the classrooms. These narratives were often furthered by mentioning what is *haram* (forbidden) and what is *halal* (permissible) in religion.

7.2.1 The Fear of Punishment

One recurring theme in the classroom discourses involved specific references to the construct of hell, the reiteration of what is *haram* and the threat of punishment in the afterlife to prevent students from indulging in '*bad deeds'* and to encourage them to develop character traits such as honesty and perseverance. This was particularly applicable in the case of GAS, where, as mentioned before, strict enforcement of rules and discipline was a salient feature of the day-to-day school life of students. One predominant factor contributing to this enforcement was the use of religion to inspire ethics and morality in students. This was particularly true for the Urdu lectures where Teacher C (GAS), after completing the day's activities, would have a conversation with the students about morality. Yet, these conversations often concerned the day of judgement and the construct of *divine punishment for sins'*, such as in the vignette below from the Urdu class:

> *Vignette 7*

Teacher C: "Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) said: "do not bring the burden of this world to me on the day of judgement. So that people of other communities do not get ahead of you. You know people who say that the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) is going to lobby for me. Sorry children, that is not going to happen. Prophet said I will not speak for the forgiveness of those who do not fulfil their responsibilities. His daughter Hadhrat Fatima was told by him, that do not think that just because you are my daughter your forgiveness is a given, your behaviour will help you. If the Prophet was not going to undertake commendation for his own daughter, then who are all of you? (what is your standing? Everyone will be answerable to Allah for their sins and will face punishment and whatever it is that they have done in this world on that holy day and then their fates will be decided so it is important that you are careful about what you are doing in this world. Beware, no one committing a crime is responsible for it other than the person who has committed the crime. Neither the son is responsible for the crimes of his father, neither is a father responsible for the crimes of his child. Your sins are yours and no one else can take the responsibility for them. Allah says you cannot put them on other people. You cannot violate the rights of other people. This is a very big sin".

After a few minutes

All students remain silent.

Teacher C: "Whether you pray or not, and that it is very important that you pray five times a day otherwise the doors of hell will open for you and on the day of judgment they will be answerable in front of Allah about why you have not been reading namāz(Islamic prayer). In Islam, interest is haram. Before Islam, interest was common but after the advent of Islam it was declared haram. Whoever takes this, suffers in their afterlife, Allah really dislikes this. Allah Ta Allah, then makes life difficult for such people. The Prophet has told us how to preserve our afterlife. You should not steal, should not kill, should not violate rights of other people, this is the way of Allah and if you follow this, your "ākhrat" (afterlife)' will be better.

All students remain silent.

After a few minutes …

Teacher C: "Allah says whoever curses, he then has to bear the brunt of all the sins of the cursed. So, for instance if person A curses person B, then all the sins of person B are applicable to A and on the day of judgement A will be answerable for his own sins and the sins of B and will be punished for them and on the other hand, person B will be given the rewards for all of A's good deeds instead. A will then turn in his grave and angels will tell him that all of his good deeds were ignored, and he is going to hell just because of one curse and the person who was cursed is now going to heaven".

This long vignette reflects the usual discourse in this classroom where moral and character education often coalesced with religion, irrespective of any connection

with the textbook content. In this discourse as well, the lesson plan for the day focused on writing a letter to the Principal in Urdu and this discussion began once the students had started working on the individual letters. The subsequent moral lecture did initially focus on individuality of moral actions and their consequences. Teacher C (GAS) also in a way repudiated and denounced the concept of nepotism by giving the example of the Prophet. Yet, even though the whole discourse focused on good moral behaviours such as truthfulness, Teacher C (GAS) did not elaborate on why these moral traits are encouraged. In the semi-structured interview, I probed them about this, to which they responded that "*religion is complete and the best way for guiding the students - I feel faith, and religion is everything. It tells us everything not just related to religion but also related to the world. Just knowing that religion has proclaimed a deed as bad is enough for us to refrain from doing it*". For Teacher C (GAS) then, the idea of moral right or wrong did not require reasoning - rather mere instructions were enough. Many religions purport a belief in a god or multiple gods who have the supernatural power to monitor human behaviour, and then deliver punishments or rewards (Johnson & Bering, 2006). The notion of the presence of a supernatural entity that has the power to monitor human behaviour has been highlighted in research as resulting in greater self-control and resistance to temptations in adults as well as adolescents (Carter, McCullough, & Carver, 2012); and this was perhaps one of the reasons for the emphasis on the divine consequences of human actions in the classroom discourse.

What especially drew my attention was the silence in the classroom, perhaps owing to the sanctity of religious invocations or the fear associated with the day of judgement - the emphasis on the '*doors of hell'* was met with timid expressions of the students. The focus on the day of judgement - particularly the palpable threat of punishment in the afterlife is reflective of the larger socio-political culture of Pakistan where fear of *"ākhrat"* plays a crucial role in moral policing in the country, especially through media. Prime time news channels air debates every night where some discussion or the other always strays towards the notion of *"ākhrat"*. Take for instance the case of a religious cleric decrying how the coronavirus pandemic was a symbol of god's wrath (Anand & Niaz, 2020) or *azaab* because of growing

immodesty in the society and some tv channels even airing entire programmes dedicated to *"Azaab-e-Qabar (punishment of the grave)"*[115].

Considering this, it was unsurprising to witness Teacher C (GAS) focusing on the construct of punishment in Islam. Yet, what drew my attention was how the anecdotes were provided without any evidence. For instance, cursing, slandering, and belittling others is forbidden in the religion; the Prophet has been quoted as saying "*The one who starts abusing his fellow Muslim and calling him names bears the sin of both, unless the abused person uses more vulgar phrases than the first (Muslim)*", the interpretation of which is that the initiator bears the sin of the curse - not of all the sins of the cursed'. Otherwise with this logic, if person A curses person B who might be a criminal for instance, then person A would bear the brunt of person B's crimes which automatically contradicts what Teacher C (GAS) earlier said about all human beings being answerable for their own sins on the Day of Judgement. I was a little wary of broaching this subject with Teacher C (GAS), hence I just mentioned in the debriefing session how I had heard a different version of this narrative - to which Teacher C (GAS) vehemently responded that their version was correct. I did not ask any further questions to avoid offending and alienating Teacher C (GAS).

The concept of *'āzmāish' (test)'* was also mentioned in CAS where the construct of hell and the inevitability of punishment was often invoked using references from the Bible, for instance in the vignette below from one Bible class:

> *Vignette 8*
> *Teacher D: "These days there is no tolerance in people which is a sign of approaching day of judgement since people do not have any patience left in them which is a sign of it, and this has been mentioned as a sign in the Bible. Be fearful, do not indulge in 'āzmāish' (test). Do not lie - do not convert lies to truths because on the day of judgement you will have to face 'āzmāish' . Be fearful of judgement day".*
>
> *One student: "I am confused. Jesus used to pray all the time then why did he come under 'āzmāish' of God? If the way of not coming in 'āzmāish' is praying, then how come he came under 'āzmāish' ?"*

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[115] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-UQa57eP5jk

> *Teacher D: "This is because God wanted to give an example about 'āzmāish'. But 'āzmāish' ends with good deeds".*

Often in the Bible class, signs of the approaching day of judgement would be discussed mostly without any corresponding materials in the textbook. This lesson particularly focused on the fear of punishment with Teacher D (CAS) explicitly stating how students should be fearful of the day of judgement. Yet, the classroom discourse did involve a student questioning the concept of *'āzmāish',* which signified some critical engagement. After this discourse, one of the students' mentioned how they had been watching content on the internet related to Christianity to further their knowledge, to which Teacher D (CAS) vehemently stressed that they should not question religion and the sanctity of the divine book, Bible. Copp, (2016: 153) defines moral indoctrination as *"to indoctrinate is to induce 'a person or group to accept a set of beliefs uncritically'. This raises the question, what is it to induce people to accept a belief uncritically? Ordinarily, this would involve inducing people to believe something without giving them good reasons to believe it"*- here instilling fear of the day of judgement and reprimanding students for questioning religion or even looking for additional information provided one such tool for moral indoctrination. When I asked Teacher D (GAS) about the reason for mentioning the day of judgement as well as giving anecdotes from religion, they responded:

> *"If we give references from the bible and the ten commandments then that turns out to be helpful, for instance, in telling them to be respectful towards elders, to be honest, to not lie and to not cheat. This is what the ten commandments are about. They tell you that if something is not yours you can't take it. For instance, a student is giving an exam, and I leave the class and if I say I am leaving but God is watching you, and he will be watching so in this sense if we tell them that religion is there and God is watching, then they will listen. So, the students realise that even if the teacher is not present, god still is and he is watching so they should be honest and not cheat. If they are strong believers, then they will understand this. So, for instance if I am not in the class, the student will not cheat because he will think that God is watching and so religion will help in this regard because they will be fearful of a higher power. So, in the end if they will feel that god is watching… then they will not do what I did not ask them to do".*

The use of religion to foster discipline was quite evident here - the respect afforded to religion does result in a lack of questioning by the students and an easy acceptance of the narratives advanced by the teacher. Although not true of all religions, many religions promote belief in a God, gods, or spirits that have

supernatural powers whereby they can watch people's moral behaviours (both internal and external) at any time and then administer rewards or punishments (Johnson & Bering, 2006). This belief in the presence of morally engaged supernatural beings has been found to be associated with higher self-monitoring of behavior, which increases self- control and temptation resistance in both adolescents and adults (Laurin, Kay, & Fitzsimons, 2012), and here this belief contributed to inculcating discipline in the students.

Similar narratives concerning the Day of Judgement were also visible in LCPS where the classroom discourses often focused on the punishment for '*bad deeds*', such as in the vignette below from one Urdu class:

> *Vignette 9*
> *Teacher B: "You must have heard the saying that Allah forgives the sins that you commit towards him but will not forgive the sins that you commit towards fellow human beings. Respecting rights of other human beings can only be forgiven by the other person and until the other person forgives, even Allah cannot".*
>
> *Students are silent*
>
> *Teacher B: "We should always speak the truth and not lie since god does not like liars. We are Muslims and for us Muslims, interest is haram. Those people who seek and take interest will go straight to hell. Allah has given human beings a heart so that they have the ability to love others. In Islam it is also highly forbidden/haram to speak ill about anyone. One should not speak ill about anyone. Do you know how wrong gossiping is? Take the example of Chinese whisper - you say one thing and something completely different is transferred to the other person. Our religion strictly prohibits us from gossiping and speaking ill about anyone and therefore we should refrain from it."*
>
> *After a few minutes.*
>
> *Teacher B: "What is the difference between Muslim human beings and the devil - it is that the human beings, especially Muslims have the ability to live for others whereas the devil only lives for himself."*

Like Teacher D (CAS), Teacher B (LCPS) in one discourse invoked both the constructs of hell as well as '*haram*'. Again, the moral lessons were imparted as instructions without any information or discussion around why the depicted traits were wrong or alternatively right - the fact that religion prescribes something wrong is reason enough to not do it. Also, this lesson was again imparted without any

connection to the textbook content, which for this day focused on revising the course for the class tests. Noteworthy was the analogy between '*Muslim human beings'* and the Devil - with all those not conforming to the religion automatically becoming the *other human beings*. Research on textbooks has highlighted how the content differentiates between the religious self and the other (Durrani, 2008b; Lall, 2008c; Saigol, 2005) - yet no exposition has focused on the differentiation between the religious self (Muslims) and the devil. This othering and focus on the Muslim self were also evident from the emphasis on how 'we' are Muslims, which again feeds into the construction of the 'other'. When I asked teacher B (LCPS) about this interaction, they said:

> *"Religion is very important for our lives and our society and has a very big impact on education. We are an Islamic society so obviously that will impact our education. We are Muslims and we should promote Islam in front of the students. When we teach students respect and good behaviour, good etiquettes and hard work, we should tell them how Islam promotes this. When we tell students this, they will get used to these notions and they will stop annoying you and they will be hardworking themselves. We should tell them about bad deeds/sin for instance if you lie your sins will increase and you will become a bad child, so that fear needs to be instilled. Islam obviously talks about hard work so we should relate that to the students."*

It was interesting how the teacher addressed the fear instilled from the notion of sin - suggesting how it was necessary to inculcate that fear. Also, indicative of the larger moral policing in the school was the argument by the teacher that the invocation of Islam would contribute to students becoming hardworking and how resultantly *'they will stop annoying you'*. Again, a possible reason for invoking religious notions, particularly concerning the Day of Judgement, was the resulting impact of increased discipline in students.

In EPS, on the other hand, these constructs were hardly ever spoken of. In one interesting lecture though, in the geography class, the growing population of Pakistan was being discussed where teacher C (EPS) spoke in length about family planning -in particular, societal impediments to it. Here, the teacher gave examples from many rural areas in Pakistan where family planning is looked down upon and terms like *God forbid* are associated with it. The teacher elaborated how the construct of hell and *'haram'* are wrongfully attributed to family planning and can be misconstrued and manipulated by people. Halai and Durrani's (2018: 547) research

on teachers as agents of change in the classroom emphasised cognizance of teachers in Pakistan with respect to the possible manipulation of religion as a driver of conflict - *"however, in spite of an understanding and awareness of these issues, their responses demonstrated that issues to deal with inequities and divisions in society were perceived by them as peripheral to the core curriculum to be dealt with if an opportunity arose, or put aside as 'out of topic'".* Yet, in the above and other similar discourses in EPS, the teachers not only showed awareness of their role as agents of change but also tangible employment of their agency to shatter myths around religion.

Sometimes the construct of the day of judgement was amalgamated with mentions of religious figures for the moral lesson to be advanced. In AAS, moral lessons were often provided not just in the classrooms but also in the school events taking place every Wednesday which were predominantly devoted to important religious or national figures. On one such event dedicated to the Prophet, as mentioned in the previous section, one student while arriving on stage elaborated how *"if you want a good afterlife and want to be forgiven for your sins and not go to hell, then you need to spend your lives for the love of Prophet Muhammad P.B.U.H."*. On the other hand, one teacher quoted a Hadith to say how *"On the day of judgement the most important belonging of a person will be his morality not prayers".* In this event moral lessons, like the other case study schools, were imparted without any accompanying exposition, yet there was a greater emphasis on morality and ethics as compared to religious expressions when discussing the afterlife.

In another school event commemorating the birth of Allama Iqbal, a written play by him was enacted based on Majlis-e-Iblees/Majlis-e-Shura. This enactment involved the main character of Iblees who is also known satan cackling loudly. This entire enactment consisted of multiple performers, dressed as the devil's henchmen and angels, with commentary being provided by a few students' backstage about why the actions of Iblees were wrong. The play ended with a student saying, *"What will be the biggest thing on the day of judgement?"* with all the students chanting *"Husn-e-Ikhlaq (beauty of character / affability)"* in return. This play was wonderfully enacted and directed with colourful costumes, enthusiastic performers, and an

actual moral lesson of good over evil being imparted in a critical and engaging manner.

In my semi-structured interview with Teacher B, I did ask about the moral lessons using the construct of the day of judgement provided in both these events, to which teacher B responded:

> *"See, education is based on religion. You study literature, you read Milton, you think you have sinned. You study how John Milton has glorified Satan in his writings and you end up reciting 'kalma' after a little while. You don't look at the context or the literature. You end up backing away. You tell the students this is forbidden e.g., boy and girl together but you don't look at the morals but are back to square one which is wrong. Religion consists of studying and gaining knowledge until you know what is right or wrong".*

For Teacher B (AAS) moral reasoning was not divorced from religion where religion allowed room for questioning and critical engagement. Teacher B (AAS) also pointed out a pertinent issue in the society where the pursuit of knowledge was construed as being in contention with the religion. The role of knowledge in Islam has been illuminated in much academic research, for instance, *'ilm'* (knowledge) is repeatedly mentioned in the Quran equated with *Nūr* (light) and contrasted with *jahl* (ignorance/darkness) (Engineer, 2001). Yet, academic debate has also emphasised how this questioning is only encouraged if it falls under the domain of religion. Halstead, (2004: 200) writes how "*the implications for education are that the cultivation of faith is an essential part of education and that there is no justification for encouraging children to question their faith. This does not mean that religion should be used to hinder human invention or scientific enquiry...but simply that it provides boundaries within which Muslims can pursue their studies with confidence*". When I asked teacher B (AAS) about the room for questioning in religion they responded that it is allowed as knowledge is encouraged specially to foster morality. Yet the fact that teacher B (AAS) would mention feeling guilt after reading John Milton's writings on Satan showed the limited room for gaining knowledge that might fall outside the spectrum of religion for the teacher. In Pakistan gaining knowledge that might fall outside the spectrum of Islam has remained a point of contention with Darwin's theory of evolution being excluded from science textbooks for going against the teachings of the religion (Hoodbhoy, 2020).

Nevertheless, I did not probe teacher B (AAS) further since any conversations around sinning and questioning in religion could tilt towards the concept of blasphemy which is a highly controversial and contentious topic within Pakistan (Ahmed, 2020). In a later conversation we did speak about the relevance of the notion of hell and mentions of Iblees to which they responded that *"the students should understand the consequences of bad actions for which the notion of hell is invoked".* The fear of punishment in the afterlife was therefore a recurring discourse within almost all case study schools albeit in varying degrees.

7.2.2 The Hope of Reward

Another recurring subject in the classroom discussions revolved around the concepts of *halal,* the construct of heaven, and the actions to please God linking all three to resultant rewards in this life, and the afterlife to encourage students towards good moral behaviour. In GAS, as mentioned before, character education coincided with strict regimentation of rules, which was mostly enabled through the threat of punishment but oftentimes the construct of heaven was also invoked, as shown in the vignette below from an Islamiyat class that concerned a poem eulogizing the Prophet:

> *Vignette 10*
> *Teacher B: "How are you son?"*
>
> *Students: "theek (fine)".*
>
> *Teacher B: "you should not use the word "fine", you should say Alhamdulillah (by the Grace of God) or Allah-u-Akbar (God is Great). What should you say?"*
>
> *Sudents: "Alhamdulillah and Allah-u-Akbar".*
>
> *Teacher: "The purpose of life is to live according to Allah. Until you work hard, you will not get any reward. A small infant will cry for his mom to know he needs milk. For our "ākhrat" (the hereafter), we need to pray, respect our parents and teacher. We should lower our gaze in front of our father, keep our heads down while talking. Children I want to share something with you that if you send prayers to the Holy Prophet then whoever does that will go to heaven.*

Saigol (2014) has highlighted how character traits such as subservience are instilled in students through both formal education in schools and informal education at home - yet no existing research has shown how this is enabled by using religious notions

of heaven and hell. Here Teacher C (GAS) encouraged students towards good moral behaviour through the promise of Jannat. In GAS, the pedagogical system was so conducive towards inducing docility and submissiveness in students that even in a discourse eulogising the Prophet, the constructs of heaven and hell were invoked to socialise students into subservience - "*keep your face down while speaking*" being a prime example. Again, these moral instructions were being provided without any accompanying rationale concerning their relevance.

In LCPS, the constant reference to the day of judgement was often supplemented with notions of good and bad Muslims, for instance in the vignette below from a history class:

> *Vignette 11*
> *Teacher C: "When the world will end, there will be a day of judgement. Good Muslims will go to heaven and bad people will go to hell. What I mean by this is that if you do good deeds you will go to heaven and if you do bad deeds, then you will go to hell. If the foundation of your faith is strong, then you will be a good Muslim".*
>
> *Students are silent.*
>
> *Teacher C: "It is important to keep your namāz and pray five times a day and also go for pilgrimage (Hajj)".*
>
> *A student raised his hand to say: "Teacher, I keep all my fasts in the Holy month of Ramadan. Does that make me a good Muslim and does that mean that I will be going to heaven?"*
>
> *Teacher C: "In order to go to heaven you also have to do good deeds. We are ashraf-al-makhlooqat - we cannot live alone and have to help out fellow* mūmin *(believers) and it is our responsibility to help fellow* mūmin*".*

There is limited research on the construction of the "good Muslims" in the textbooks, with Durrani & Dunne (2010b) showing how the curriculum differentiates between the good and bad Muslims, where the latter are constructed as internal enemies. Here, the discourse of good and bad Muslims was extended to incorporate the afterlife consequences of being good or bad Muslims, with only good Muslims directly being the ones reaping the fruits of heaven. Teacher C (LCPS) stressed how the ones entering will have a strong foundation of faith - where this foundation was restricted to the adherence of religious rituals such as praying and fasting. This is unsurprising considering the role of prayers (salat) in Islam where it has "*a*

foundational role in constructing the triangular relationship between the individual, society, and God, it continues to figure prominently in contemporary Muslim discourse concerning ethics, culture, and subjectivity". When I asked teacher (LCPS) about the focus on good Muslims and heaven, they explained that *"it is important for students to understand that only the good Muslims can enter heaven."* Yet by focusing on how only good Muslims can reach heaven and fellow 'mūmin*'*, all others not belonging to this group are automatically constructed as the 'other'. This links back to the construction of 'good and bad Muslims' identified in chapter 6 - here the construction was being fostered through the medium of heaven and hell, perhaps providing an effective way of inspiring values complementing a supposed 'good Muslim'.

In EPS and AAS, there was no emphasis on the construct of heaven. In CAS, particularly in the Bible class, Teacher A used to mention how deeds in this world are related to rewards and punishment in the next one; hence it is important to be good. I had a detailed conversation with teacher A (CAS) about the whole concept of rewards and punishment for moral development and they said *"religion is always correct. I invoke religion because I say God has encouraged us to do good things so we should do them. This generation is quite away from religion, it is not the same as before because students are way too involved in social media and tiktok and hence it is important for teachers to sometimes bring it up to tell students and give them some info but not all the time.* It is interesting how teacher A (CAS) referred to social media usage by students, particularly TikTok,[116] as a supposed catalyst for decreasing religiosity in the society. This is reflective of the larger view in the society concerning the social media app - the Pakistan Telecommunications Authority banning TikTok on the allegation of spreading immodesty being a case in point (see Rej, 2020). Here, rise in social media usage also provided a justification for invoking religious concepts of rewards and punishment in the afterlife to bring students closer towards religion.

Teacher A (CAS) also emphasised how they are personally against invoking the construct of heaven and hell but eventually must do so because of decreasing

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[116] A video sharing social networking application/platform.

religiosity in the society. This point stood out particularly to me for two reasons. First, it reminded me of the view of religious conservatives who like to state that "*declining moral standards*" can to some extent be blamed on the rise of secularism and on the decline in the power of organised religion in the world (see Zuckerman, 2008). This is also an oft-articulated viewpoint within the broader Pakistani society where media discourses often focus on declining religiosity in the society. Religious clerics, for instance have been known to blame the country's problems and issues on "westernisation" and declining virtue of women (see Anand and Niaz, 2020). The second point of interest in this articulation of teacher A (CAS) was how religiosity in society actually seems to be increasing, particularly with the advent of Imran Khan's populist government. When I said this to teacher A (CAS), they reiterated that "look at where the society is going" with female clothing being given as an example. This again is a prominent viewpoint within the society with even Prime Minister khan recently giving a controversial statement blaming rape culture on women wearing "*very few clothes*" and promoting the "*concept of pardah*" to "*avoid temptation in society*" (The Guardian, 2021). It was interesting to see how entwined religion, morality and female dressing was for teacher A (CAS) - again reminiscent of the larger society of Pakistan.

Conclusion

Schools do play a prominent part in constructing the foundations of a value system that is viable for the society. School rituals, routines and discourses help children understand the existence of situations in life where they would need to differentiate between right and wrong, and in making moral decisions. The aim of this chapter was not to pass any judgements on the way moral and character education was fostered in the classrooms- rather it focused on exploring how moral education was possibly linked to religion.

The intersection between religion and morality, or rather the use of religion as a mediating force for fostering moral and character education, was conspicuous in almost all the classroom discourses in the case study schools. The school category again, to a certain point, influenced the way moral education was engendered. In some schools- GAS being the most predominant example- the pedagogical

technique adopted allowed for moral lessons to be imparted as strict instructions, whereas in others there was still some room for critical engagement (such as EPS). While mentions of the Prophet for fostering moral education were rampant in all of the schools, it was only in LCPS and CAS that these were accompanied by mentions of Caliph Ali and Jesus Christ respectively- again showing the influence of the individual school environment/category.

It was the individual teachers' pedagogical choices, however, that predominantly influenced the classroom discourses. Some teachers spent entire lectures in providing moral lessons to the students using religion without accompanying textbook content. This was particularly applicable in the case of GAS, where teacher C (GAS) would often indulge in disseminating moral lessons using analogies from Islam. By using the construct of heaven and hell, these religious analogies almost provided a mechanism through which to monitor students' behaviour. Religion, in this way, provided a justification as well as a tool for furthering moral education- in the process also instilling a fear of judgement in the students. What this chapter also highlighted was the lack of room around any discussions or arguments around religion and moral lessons being imparted as strict instructions instead.

Moral education of students also extended beyond the classroom walls with school rituals such as assemblies and events (as highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6 as well) also serving as a platform for imparting moral lessons. Finally, the nexus between the socio-cultural milieu of the country and the role of religion in providing moral education was also visible. Many myths and anecdotes, that might not be a part of Islam, but are prevalent in the society (such as the anecdote around the Prophet and the woman who used to throw garbage at him) were articulated in the classrooms. As were certain moral notions such as "*eyes should be lowered down in front of your father*" (see vignette 10 for detail) that are not explicitly mentioned in religion but is rather cultural in nature. This also makes it hard to distinguish between what is religion and what is cultural and highlights the conflation between the two in the society.

What was undeniable was the influence of religion, the constant invocation of revered Islamic figures, particularly the Prophet, and the use of the construct of

divine will and resulting rewards and punishments to impart moral and character education.

Chapter 8   Discussing the Role of Religion in Classrooms in the Five Case Study Schools in Pakistan

8.1   Introduction

This chapter brings together various strands of analysis carried out in the previous chapters and draws theoretical implications from the data by adapting Johnson's Cultural Web (1992) as a conceptual framework to present and discuss the findings. The previous three chapters highlighted how religion was introduced in discussions within classrooms and the purposes for which teachers drew up on religious notions in them. This involved the use of religion:

     a) for fostering a sense of national consciousness that marginalized all religious, ethnic, linguistic, regional, and gender differences,

     b) in constructing the 'other'- primarily religious and gendered

     c) as a mediating force for fostering moral and character education.

This materialised in several ways such as classroom discussions between teachers and students and school and classroom rituals and routines. Before analysing the cultural web, complexities concerning the definitions of 'societal culture' and 'school culture' must be raised.

Defining Societal Culture

The term culture contains a multiplicity of meanings and inherent vagueness and is oft-debated in research circles (see, for instance, Geertz, 1977). The intersection between culture and religion creates further problems of definitions and delineating boundaries (Lord, 2008). Yet it is important to situate culture in a specific context- this type of research grounds the individual to their immediate environment at the general sociocultural level as stressed by Erickson and Shultz (1982) and Erikson (1987) who argue for the importance of what goes outside school walls to truly understand what happens inside. In considering the role of religion in classrooms in Pakistan, it is important to locate the classrooms as a part of the general socio-cultural system of Pakistan. Although cultural studies rarely focus on religion and scholars of religion pay little attention to culture studies- the congruence of the two fields was quite apparent in this research.

Religion as culture comes in the form of explicit cultural objects, such as symbols, ideas, or persons that people use self-consciously to understand and explain themselves (Geertz, 1977). At the same time, religion can be implicit culture, defining the mental and meaning parameters within which things make sense, or as beliefs and assumptions that guide actions even if actors themselves are only dimly aware of their influence (See Geertz, 1966). Building on the views of Luzbetak (1989) and Ladriere (1976), I define 'societal culture' as a cultural system pertaining to a particular social context- which in this case concerns Pakistan- with its own socially and historically acquired and adapted system of habitudes and practices. For instance, conspiracy theories concerning Jews and Christians or the constant evocation of the afterlife is a characteristic of the Pakistani society more widely (see Chapters 6 and 7 for detail) that transcended classroom discussions and formed a part of the cultural paradigm of the schools. One can argue that all culture is social- the same way religion is often considered an extension of culture, yet the reason why I emphasise 'society' is because many societies might have different cultures and in the case of Pakistan there is an overarching emphasis on 'culture' that forms the essence of the society. It is also important to note how the conflation between societal culture and religion forms an important component of the classroom and school discourses- which makes the boundaries between what can be considered cultural and what is religious difficult.

With respect to school culture, academic consensus over the '*one best definition*' (Deal & Peterson, 1999:1) is divided because of the difficulty of directly observing the construct (Stoll & Fink, 1996). As a starting point, Schein (1985: 9) identifies school culture as "*the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of the organization. These assumptions operate in an unconscious, taken-for-granted fashion to define the organization's view of itself and interpretation of its environment*"- which can also be defined as the worldview of a particular institution. This is often conflated with the terms- ethos, climate, spirit and ambience. Since these rules are unwritten and the assumptions and beliefs are shared at a deeper level, they are rarely acknowledged and verbalised at a conscious level by the members of an organisation. The culture of a school is an amalgamation of the culture of the administration and teachers, the culture of

the students and the culture of the wider community the school is a part of (Waller, 1932). In this sense, the culture of a government administered school would differ from that of a privately-owned school; a church administered school from that of an army administered school while being embedded in the wider cultures of neighbourhoods, they are a part of. This is an important aspect of my research, where certain aspects of the 'culture' of each school differed depending on the socio-economic status of the students (as previously highlighted by Anand, 2019), textbooks used, the ideological apparatus of the governing bodies, leading to some differences in classroom discourses. Yet, the 'cultural paradigm' largely remained the same. Hence, instead of the 'school culture' in its totality, I will be focusing more on the schools' cultural paradigm as identified through the three data chapters to understand the ways of doing and being within the schools.

Defining the Cultural Paradigm

In the context of the cultural web- the paradigm "*is the set of assumptions about the organisation which is held in common and taken for granted in the organisation*" (Johnson & Scholes, 2001: 304). Kemp and Dwyer (2001) suggest that to understand the paradigm, it is important to be sensitive to signals from within the organisation. Additionally, the views of outsiders can be important in determining and identifying the paradigm (Johnson, 1992). The previous three chapters showed how the root paradigms of the schools with respect to the role of religion in them revolved around the making of the good Muslim/Pakistani- both by constructing a notion of the self and by elaborating what this ideal 'self' should be like. Instead of going into the reasons of *why* religion is instrumentalised and has entered the 'public sphere' of the schools, I will show *how* religion pervades the schools and is instrumentalised to construct the image of the self and the other, to engender notions concerning the nation and for the moral education of students while being reflective of the wider societal culture in Pakistan.

Figure 4
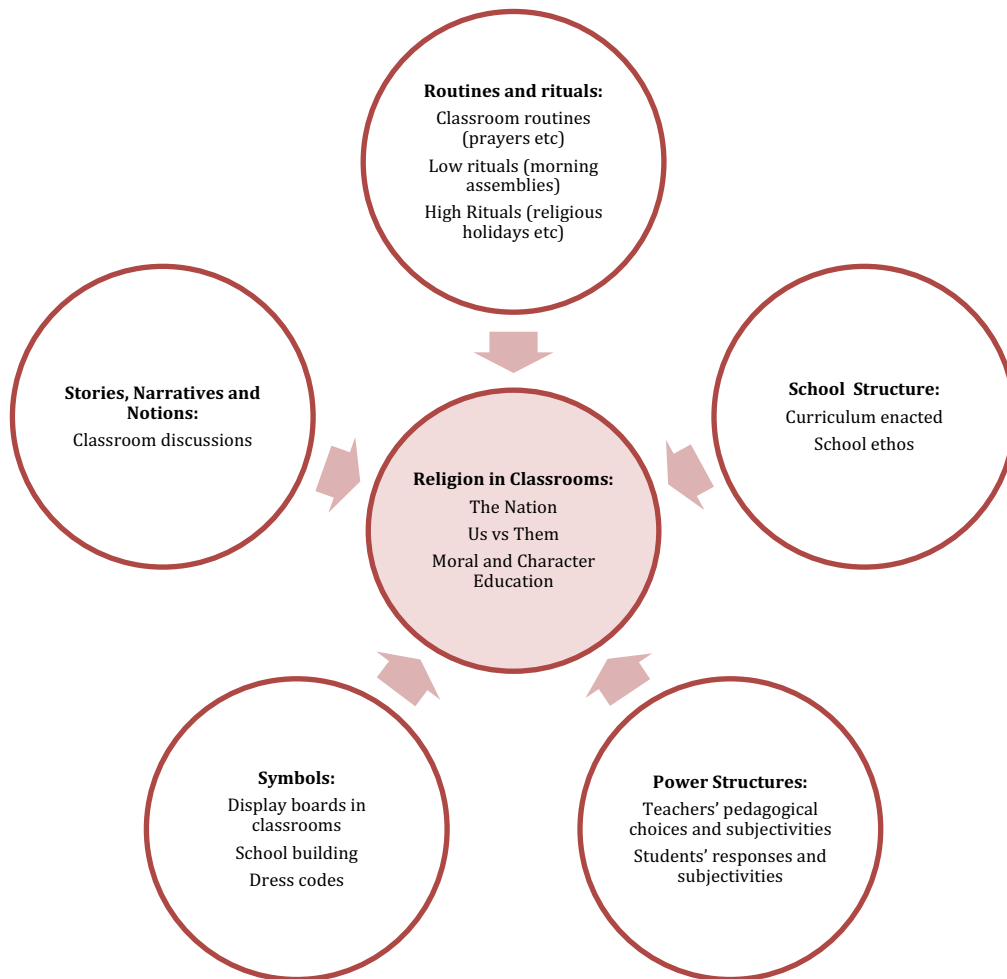
8.2   The School Structures

"School models and curriculum aims are very much interrelated and are much more critical in shaping the program of studies than is sometimes acknowledged" (Kliebard, 2004: 245).

Schools can often impose on teachers' certain values, which the teachers in various ways might be expected, encouraged, and coerced into following in their school settings. These values sometimes also depend on the school type/category; for instance, Anand (2019) has shown how the socio-economic status and institutional habitus of different schools dictate *"teachers' decisions and teacher's*

attitudes" (p.10) in the classrooms. The organisational structure of schools, their ideologies, and their culture thus play an important role in what is discussed in the classroom and in the overall school environment (Diamond, Randolph & Spillane, 2004).

In order to understand the school structures and their impact on the cultural paradigm, I focus on the curriculum in use (rooted in school structure), that influenced the degree of formalisation, complexity and flexibility within the school setting. I also analysed the individual school context, which depended on the categories the schools belonged to and their ethos. In four out of the five schools, textbooks published by the Punjab Textbook Board were used while in EPS, those by Cambridge University Press were used. As mentioned before, curriculum and textbooks published by the Punjab Textbook Board have been highlighted for not just mandating religious education as compulsory but also for the involvement of religion in non-religious subjects- thus formalising the role of religion in education. Since in textbooks published by the Cambridge University Press, religious materials are restricted to religious subjects such as Islamiyat - the corresponding discussions in classrooms concerning religion in subjects other than Islamiyat, owing to textbook content, were minimal. Yet the school structure even in EPS had an officially sanctioned inclusion of teaching religion as directed by the country's constitution.

The curriculum employed also influenced the level of flexibility that teachers had in the classroom- for instance some in AAS noted how the strict pattern of the curriculum and the examinations meant they had little room for classroom discussions outside the prescribed curriculum. The ideological and religious elements in the curriculum related to Islam illuminate a *"functionalization"* of religion where the use of the state-mandated textbooks in the case study schools do limit the knowledge, particularly religious knowledge, to a defined set of beliefs, which in turn means that complex ideas concerning religion are restricted. Not just complex ideas, it also might inhibit critical questioning through the insular lens in which religion is viewed. Yet, focusing on curriculum and textbooks neglects the appropriation of knowledge in the actual sites of schooling; pedagogy is a direct result of the school norms, clauses and orthodoxies. A school has much less

control over the curriculum enacted but more control over the classroom discourses and as observed in the previous chapters- the classroom discourses often deviated from the textbook content.

The classroom discourses, in turn also depend on other aspects of school structure- particularly the degree of centralisation yet the impact of this on the sample schools was minimal. AAS, CAS and GAS all were overlooked by higher authorities whereas LCPS and EPS were privately owned. Most research of religion in public schools is influenced by the structure of public education because they themselves operate with a certain orientation toward religion (James & Schweber, 2015) - yet in this case the centralisation in not just the public school system but also the army and church administered system and even the decentralisation in EPS and LCPS all manifested in a more institutionalised role of religion. Meyer and Rowan (1977: 341) describe how *"institutionalization involves the processes by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rule like status in social thought and action*. In this sense*, "school structures with their instrumental forms ... then become rituals for the display of instrumental-rational values"* (Bredo, Henry, & McDermott, 1990:1)*.* Here by instrumental-rational values, I refer to the purveyance of religious values that are purported repeatedly by the government. A manifestation of these rational values and as highlighted in the previous three chapters was the emphasis on the use of religion to foster a sense of belonging towards the nation, the construction of a self on entirely religious grounds and the overarching focus on the moral education of students based on religious values- culminating in the construction of similar 'notions' of the good Pakistani/Muslim.

The second aspect of the school structure considered here is the school culture. Here the school culture, depending on which category the school belonged to, facilitated the role of religion in the classrooms. In this regard each school was operating with a certain orientation towards religion - its culture set the priorities that radiated and manifested through every aspect of the school*.* Where culture can be seen as *"deeply embedded in the school's history: beliefs, values, choices made, traditions kept"* (Solvason, 2005: 90)- a product of this culture and can be

considered the subjective aura and a unique pervasive atmosphere (also often referred to as ethos) in the school (Allder, 1993).

In discussing the culture of the schools, I focus on the behavioural norms encouraged in the schools in addition to the individual school contexts to see what cultural values get importance and privilege in the school. The values being treated as important in all the schools were religious in nature- albeit with slightly different manifestations depending on the school context. In AAS a manifestation of teaching about religion was the use of religion to repeatedly glorify the contributions of the military, as highlighted in Chapter 4, with the accompanying notions of religion being mostly linked to nation building. The culture of the school demanded veneration of the army and a sense of national pride - as articulated in the school events, assemblies and in the classroom discourses. In GAS, rather than nation building, the religious invocations were often used to support the strict regimentation of rules and to inspire discipline in the students, while also consistently emphasising the civic duties of the students. The importance of religion can also be discerned through the additional religious courses provided in the school such as the Quran *talawat* (recitation) classes being provided to students of Grade 7 in alternate weeks as well.

EPS, other than the form of curriculum enacted, also differed in terms of subjects available to the students, with a range of subjects like dancing and singing also being offered. In terms of school culture, private schools in this category and the sample school caters to the elite classes with westernised ideals. The legacy of the colonial rule has often been highlighted as a determining factor behind the westernised influence on the elite private schools in Pakistan and the linguistic imperialism entailed through the overarching focus on English (see Andrabi et al., 2012). A manifestation of this was the limited role of religion in the schools, other than through the course of Islamiyat.

One role of religion in LCPS and CAS, located in minority communities, was the attempt by the communities to reinscribe themselves in the larger fabric of the country by emphasising similarities with the majority population in Pakistan while also furthering their own religious content. In LCPS separate etiquette classes

were also taught to male students, which consisted of Islamic conceptions of etiquettes and discipline mostly modelled around the dispositions of Caliph Ali (Caliph Ali is a highly revered figure in Shiism). On the other hand, teaching about religion in CAS was also somewhat dependent on the structure of the school itself. Since this was a church administered sample in a Christian majority area, religion was explicitly taught not just through the subject of Islamiyat, but also ethics and Bible which was taught to students of all ages. Surprisingly, even with the emphasis on Christian theology, Islamiyat rather than ethics was the preferred choice of subject for students appearing for board exams - the administrators cited fear of discrimination in the marking of the exams due to the religious beliefs of students for this. This shows how the role of religion in the larger societal culture of Pakistan impacted the choice of subjects within the school. It also shows how the power structures and students' choices within the school were influenced by a range of factors such as the element of religious discrimination in the society, which made the emphasis about Islamiyat more cultural rather than religious in nature. Similarly, there were several elements including but not restricted to school structures that were influencing the cultural paradigm such as the stories, narratives and notions articulated in the schools.

8.4   Stories, Narratives and Notions

"Teachers know their lives in terms of stories. They live stories, tell stories of those lives, retell stories with changed possibilities, and relive the changed stories. We mean more than teachers' telling stories of specific children and events. We mean that their way of being in the classroom is storied: As teachers they are characters in their own stories of teaching, which they author".
 (Clandinin & Connelly, 1995:12)

Discussions around the power of stories and narratives often transcend into the realm of philosophy, folklore, literature and linguistics and in other observations of human behaviour (see, for instance, Johnson, 2018; Kornberger, 2008), yet their significance in the classroom environments is frequently overlooked. Stories are a part of everyday life- human beings bring their own subjectivities and their corresponding everyday lived experiences to the stories that they narrate, and this is true, too, for teachers in their classrooms.

These consisted of stories and narratives that were narrated by teachers in the classrooms to students and by teachers, students and administrators during school events to the audience. These also include my own personal exchanges with the teachers in the form of informal conversations and semi-structured interviews. From the stories, narratives and notions encountered and analysed in the previous three chapters, some common strands emerge. Some complemented the teaching by adding contextual details to the textbook content- for instance by providing anecdotes from the life of Caliph Ali to supplement the lecture and give an example for the topic of bravery (See chapter 7 for detail). Various lectures consisted of teachers providing religious narratives to complement the material in the textbooks regardless of whether the topic was religious or not and sometimes by articulating 'notions' that complemented the texts such as the notion encountered in almost all schools that if Pakistan wasn't created, Muslims would not have been free to practice their religion. An excerpt from vignette 1 in chapter 5 where teacher B (LCPS) emphasised the importance of Pakistan's ideology, provides an example:

> *"If someone comes to stay here, can they practice their religion freely? The answer to that question is no. When there was no independence, we were slaves, we could not pray, there was no adhan (call to prayer) and we could not make mosques. Now look around you, look everywhere. You have mosques in Pakistan which means you can pray whenever and wherever it is that you want to pray, you can practice Islam to your wishes and the way you want to. How do you think this was possible? This was only possible because we were able to gain independence".*

As identified in Chapter 5, prevalent in this narrative were factual inaccuracies (mosques, for instance, existed in pre-partition India) and the propagation of false ideals in an attempt by teacher B (LCPS) to emphasise the need for an independent Pakistan with no link to the textbook content. Religion here and in similar narratives was used to justify the existence of the 'self' often through the revision of history in its oral iteration. As Hobsbawm (1992: 9-10) states *"history as inspiration and ideology has a built-in-tendency to become a self-justifying myth. Nothing is a more dangerous blindfold than this"*. Research on textbooks in Pakistan consistently highlights the historical inaccuracies prevailing in them (Hoodbhoy, 2020; Nayyar, 2013; Saigol, 1995), yet the classroom discourses underscored the possibility of revisioning history beyond the dictates of the

textbook, which is a testament of how the process of translating textbooks into pedagogy in classrooms can possibly amplify or negate narratives. All such stories, narratives and notions contributed to the cultural paradigm through the use of religion in articulating and furthering the points of the teachers, particularly those concerning the creation of the good Muslim/Pakistani.

Some stories, narratives and notions were related in the classroom in response to classroom discussions, activities or student behaviour or even quite randomly by the teachers- for instance, the example of the Prophet or other religious figures was often provided to foster discipline in students and to further important moral lessons. Owen (2001), in his research on organisational culture, uses the element of heroes and heroines to understand what is symbolic and important for the organisation. These refer to the "*people living or dead who are revered and held up as models to be emulated. They embody the core values and show that success is possible within this organization*" (Deal & Kennedy, 1982: 40) - these heroes and heroines provide models of how the core values are to be emulated by members of the organization. In the schools, the heroes and heroines were almost the same- the Prophet and the Caliphs and the founders of Pakistan- Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal. Anecdotes from the lives of these heroes were constantly given to provide students with tangible role models that they could then emulate. Interestingly national figures were often lauded for their religiosity and the conflation between religion and nation was palpable. By hailing the founders of Pakistan as heroes contributing not just to the nation but also to Islam also blurs the boundaries between culture and religion. The examples of religious figures, on the other hand, were conspicuous in all of the schools. The following excerpt from vignette 1 in chapter 7, where teacher C (LCPS) tried to discipline the class by using the Prophet's example, as shown below:

> "*Please stop making noise and listen to me. Prophet (S.A.W.[117]) used to say that language is what would help people be protected from each other. We should be careful about how we speak with one another...We should not be too loud or silent. We should not interrupt others while they are talking...*

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[117] Abbreviation for sallallahu alayhi wa sallam which means "peace and blessings of Allah be upon him".

Here we need to look at Prophet (S.A.W.) to see how people need to act with one another. He never used to hurt a soul and was gentle and kind with everyone".

Having religious heroes was both an explicit tool used by the teachers and the school administration to engender values and certain notions around the self- including those concerning nationhood, which again can be seen as reminiscent of the larger use of religion within the schools. Yet it was also reflective of the broader society where immense importance is given to the celebration of religious and national heroes. The role of religion in the classrooms was also manifested in and can be discerned by the various stories and narratives propounded within the classroom and school walls.

These can also be considered social narratives that are a product of teachers' and students' socialisations (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1995). Often this was extended to the propagation of certain 'notions' such as '*Hindus are dirty'* based on personal conjectures. This is again a notion not propounded by religion but rather the larger socio-cultural milieu of Pakistan making the conflation between religion and culture apparent. Some classroom discussions also consisted of stories provided by students mostly by giving examples from pop culture (predominantly Bollywood) in the classroom, which had some connection to the classroom discussion at hand (see Chapter 6- vignette 1).

In this sense, stories, narratives and notions became an important component of the hidden curriculum of the schools by providing a reflection of the beliefs, attitudes and subjectivities of the teachers and students. Fairclough's (1995) critical discourse theory positions the teachers' stories as a material form of dominant social action. The stories produce and transform social structures and identities among the students and teachers. Pedagogical stories and narratives therefore have an influence over the discourses produced in the classroom. Teachers then knowingly or unknowingly shape the curriculum being taught according to their own cultural dispositions.

What the stories, narratives and notions also connected was the wider societal and school culture in the classroom, which often informed the beliefs and attitudes of

the teachers and students. As Geertz (1973: 4) elaborates, stories and narratives *"are also expressions of cultural values, norms, and structures passed on through the tellers, often without conscious intention"*- the notions around religious 'others', particularly Hindus for instance, forms an important component of popular discourse in the country and the classroom stories and narratives by the teachers on the topic often reflected these prevailing 'notions'.

Few stories were also related directly to me by teachers, mostly as an answer to why teachers were invoking religion in the classroom. These stories or narratives purported were often influenced by myths and conspiracy theories such as the idea that COVID19 was affecting Hindus more than Muslims as this was a testament of god's wrath- in turn becoming untestable 'notions' as shown in the excerpt from Chapter 6 below:

"Look at India, they are facing god's wrath because of their Prime Minister and because of who they are and because they are dirty while we are safe because we are Muslims and god has saved us."

Howe (2000) contends how prejudice and fear is often maintained and fostered by semi-mythological conceptions of the past- here these pseudo-scientific conceptions related to the present and served to instil fear. Again, these conceptions were a reflection of the discourse, particularly in media, in the larger society concerning the '*Hindu*' other. Here, I also was reminded of Iqtidar's (2014) argument around taking the content of conspiracy theories seriously. Vague conspiracies are often given legitimacy through media and in this instance, they were trickling in through the classrooms- but for the specific purpose of delineating between the Muslim 'self' and the Hindu 'others'.

Many other stories and narratives were promulgated in the classrooms without contextual information such as the emphasis on the Hindu ritual of Ganesh Chaturthi in LCPS (see Chapter 6- vignette 1). A common thread in all these stories was how religion was instrumentalised to justify the point of the teacher. In order to cultivate the idea of the Hindu 'other', stories concerning Hindu rituals were given to emphasize the difference between the students and "Hindus" in

general and to paint them as the "other". Stories of Caliphs were provided to sometimes apprise the students of the responsibility of the government towards protecting its citizens yet also underscoring the need for students to recognize the sacrifices of the military and the government by linking them to religious figures and to imbibe religious values in students.

All these heavily reflected the thinking of the members of the school, particularly the teachers which also reflected prevailing norms and culture of the society. The fact that certain anecdotes concerning the Prophet were provided in almost all the schools, without them being present in the textbooks, highlighted the extent to which religion intersected in everyday schooling. From the cultural perspectives of Geertz (1973) and Goodenough (1981), one can see how classroom interactions using storytelling can influence the knowledge gained and the act of being. Through the promulgation of narratives students construct ways of being as members of the classroom. In this sense, stories and narratives comprise symbolic texts that reflect the larger socio-cultural structures a classroom is a part of. A manifestation of this was the incident of a student in AAS questioning if I was a Christian and then reiterating that they couldn't speak to Christians (see Chapter 6-vignette 7).

Yet hardly any of these stories left room for debate or discussions, regardless of whether they were provided in relation to textbook content, classroom activities or in my personal interactions with the teachers. Even in my interaction with teacher C (GAS) where they misquoted an anecdote from Islamic history, I was wary of calling them out or broaching the topic further. In many of these interactions and ensuing stories the role of religion in the classrooms felt implicit and a part of the lived religion of the classrooms. Yet, some stories and narratives felt deliberate and intentional as they provided justification for the teacher's point as well as a way of precluding questioning- which is a role religion has served consistently over the years in the Pakistani society where religion is often used to curb dissent (See Rahman, 2012; Saigol, 2014). Stories and narratives propounded by the teachers thus became important vehicles for the use of the image of the Pakistani/Muslim self in the classroom. Yet what is undeniable is the fact that the stories enacted in the classrooms and overall school life were heavily influenced by the pedagogical

stances of the teachers within the schools and many of these stories bordered on attempts to indoctrinate certain religious ideas in the students.

8.5   Teachers' and Students' Power Structures and Subjectivities

"In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth".
(Foucault, 1977: 194)

Classroom discourses are inordinately influenced by the curriculum employed and the overall culture of the school they are a part of (see, for instance, Margolis, 2001; Weis, 1985). Yet, the classroom interactions also depend on the socialisation of teachers which is based on the sharing of ideas, often amorphous and conflicting and rarely critically examined, that influences the thoughts of a social group. The "what is taught" is determined by the society and the organisational instructions but 'how it is taught' is often determined by the teachers (see for detail Youdell, 2011) – however, this is also contingent upon the power structures of teachers and students within the boundaries of the school.

For my research it is the agency and subjectivities of the teachers and to a lesser extent that of students that contributed to the cultural paradigm; hence, I will be focusing on teacher subjectivities and pedagogies and student responses. By subjectivities I refer to the fact that teachers "*are made subject and subject to these classifications [they] can also interrogate, resist and attempt to imagine outside them*" (Youdell, 2011:27). Yet they also bring into the classroom their own subjectivities that influence the discourse. Teachers' subjectivities are important since "*individual teachers have a great deal of freedom, often more than they recognize or wish to admit*" in determining what is taught in the classroom -which makes them the most pivotal 'gatekeepers' in deciding what students will learn and what they will not learn (Thornton, 2005: 6). This brings me again to Foucault's conception of power- since the enactment of teachers' agencies and subjectivities also depend on their own power- in that power "*needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression*" (Foucault, 1980: 119). Thus, power can be seen as a force that is not necessarily oppressive and restricted to a

hierarchical order rather as a part of social life, which allows for teacher subjectivities to come to the fore.

In the schools, three types of teacher subjectivities were witnessed. Some teachers conformed to the textbook content and the teaching styles of the schools and did not deviate from the textbook content. Here the degree of involvement of religion in the textbook determined how much religion came up in discussions within the classroom and teacher's own subjectivities played a minimal role in the classroom discussions. This could perhaps be attributed to the teacher's understanding of their agency since some of these teachers emphasised how they strictly adhered to the textbook content and school instructions. Yet, these were far and few in between for in all the schools, monitoring of teaching activities was scarce leaving room for teachers to navigate the space of the classrooms. Prior research in Pakistan has elaborated how pedagogical techniques predominantly focus on rote memorisation from textbooks with little input from teachers (Aser, 2020; USCIRD, 2012)- yet the in-depth observation of classroom interactions in the schools did exhibit the presence of teachers' own subjectivities and a degree of agency in many instances.

A few teachers also displayed an understanding of their role as agents of change in the classroom and engaged in some critical discussions concerning religion, though these were also few. Teacher B (AAS), for instance indulged in questioning the textbook material using pedagogical techniques such as role playing to make students engage with the textbook content. An excerpt from Chapter 6 vignette 5 is given below as an example:

> Student 1: "But Ma'am there are so many different gods and viewpoints within Hinduism, that makes them totally different from Muslims".

> Teacher B: "Even within Islam there are multiple sects and viewpoints so it is possible to have differing viewpoints and we should not be quick to deem Hindus wrong or dissimilar from us".

The above excerpt highlights one of the many instances where teacher B (AAS) questioned students' perceptions regarding differences between Muslims and Hindus. Few teachers in EPS also emphasised the need to distinguish between

religious and non-religious subjects (see chapter 6- vignette). Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1978: 3) state how in some cases *"teachers' views on [curricular] matters are frequently discordant with those of supervisors, professors, [and] curriculum developers"*- which in turn can result in the teachers acting as agents of change to "liberate the curriculum"(Ayers, 2010: 98). For Ayers, teachers should and can use their position in classrooms to push back against societal and cultural forces - which few teachers in the sample school did, not in a manner that was defiant but one which was discreet, perhaps owing to the sensitive nature of the topic of religion. The sensitivity of the topic sometimes also resulted in the teacher not disclosing their personal opinions inside the classroom. Yet, most teachers in the sample schools did not consider a need to push back against societal norms as they heavily abided by them.

Teachers' own religious subjectivities played a role here- many analogised their profession to a form of divine guidance where the role of a teacher extended beyond the curricular content making it imperative to advocate religious knowledge. This seemed to be a recurring thread where some teachers not only acknowledged their roles as significant agents influencing the identities of students but also highlighted the religious duty that teachers had in the moral and character education of students through the teaching of Islam. A few of these teachers in the ensuing interviews had emphasised the lack of inclusion of religion in textbooks (despite literature and popular debate highlighting the abundance of it), which made it imperative then for them to actively instil religious values in the students. For instance, teacher A (LCPS) during one debriefing session (provided in chapter 7) articulated:

"I believe teaching is a 'peghambrana paisha (prophetic profession)' so this is also a part of their education and our duty to give them religious knowledge and make them good Muslims".

While listening to these proclamations, I was reminded of the notion of divine callings. There is limited literature on callings in the profession of teaching- with most work focusing only on the Catholic and Protestant understanding of calling and no literature focusing on the possible existence of a similar construct in Islamic

societies. Weber's (1905) ground-breaking *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* was pivotal in understanding the concept of calling- he emphasizes how "*Luther broke the Roman chains which bound vocation and extended the calling of God to include the totality of every Christian's life*" (quoted in Heiges, 1984: p.61). For Weber then, Protestant tradition infused everyday work with a moral and religious dimension through the construct of 'calling'. Drawing on Weber's work, Madero (2020: 174) highlights how "*calling in a modern perspective refers to Weber's idea that the social and institutional context determines somehow a person's calling to a particular type of work*". Yet for the teachers interviewed, teaching as a profession was not just an emblem of transcendent summons, it was almost akin to a call to contribute to the religious discourse and to the society- much like the summons to be a good Muslim and Pakistani which was advocated as a duty in all the schools.

Yet, for some teachers this also meant furthering narratives differentiating religions successively without accompanying textbook content on the same. Teacher B's (LCPS) pedagogical choices were the most prominent manifestation of this who engendered narratives concerning the "religious" others in multiple lectures without accompanying textbook content on the same or based on the slightest mention of religion in the textbook content. For instance, one excerpt from vignette 1 in Chapter 6, provides an example:

"*Muslims are so clean and pure and look at these Hindus drinking cow urine, they are so gande (dirty); that's why we could never live together*".

Here again religion was found deeply entrenched in the classrooms where teachers, bringing their own socialisations and beliefs, furthered notions concerning religion that essentialised the 'other' as dirty. It is important to note how these religious subjectivities often had little to do with the religion itself- rather were a manifestation of the wider societal culture of Pakistan. Various studies have emphasised a link between teachers' religious subjectivities and their curricular and pedagogical choices (Feinberg & Layton, 2013; Schweber, 2006; Schweber & Irwin, 2003) but mostly in religious schools or in secular societies. Geertz (1966) stresses how considering religious subjectivities in the world alone is a difficult task

since they are so heavily intertwined by societal culture due to religion having an undeniable cultural component- one that differs according to the specific societal culture the religion is situated in and with the inculcation of culturally defined ways of perceiving the world and acting within it. The construction of the religious self and 'other', for instance, is a visible discourse in Pakistan in not just education but also media- where religious differences between Pakistani Muslims and all 'others' are often highlighted. The role of religion in the fractured and fragmented past of the country manifested in the constant use of and emphasis on religion to justify the existence of the 'self' and its differences with the others by the teachers. Perhaps the most pertinent example is the articulations around religious sameness and differences in CAS, where teachers furthered the narrative of the 'Hindu' other, while belonging to minority groups within Pakistan themselves and in EPS where discourse around religion was minimal.

The role of rhetorics employed by the teachers depended on the school but also the culture of the classroom that they had built as learners or as authority figures often with little room for any form of critical thinking. On the other hand, student engagement was limited to the students merely nodding their heads, regurgitating materials from the textbook or repeating what the teachers had previously said, again with limited critical engagement especially with respect to any discussions on religion. In certain instances, students did ask questions or contribute to discussions, for instance, in EPS when students discussed the movement of Aurat March and how it was justifiable on religious grounds since 'Islam gives women the right to fight for their rights' (see Chapter 6). Ornstein & Hunkins, (1993: 369) suggest hidden curriculum *"is best illustrated in the sexual roles and ethnic strategies that are conveyed in textbooks and . . . in the student-student and student-teacher interactions"*. The teacher-student interaction mentioned previously did convey a prevalent attitude concerning the hidden curriculum of religion in the classroom, which was to use it as a justification by the students and teachers to convey their respective points- again because religion was a convincing tool to deter any further arguments. Religion in this sense was 'objectified' or instrumentalised to propound certain narratives convincingly.

Both teachers' and students' subjectivities and dispositions then played a role in shaping the classroom interactions and discourses around religion. These were additionally also influenced by and influenced the daily rituals and routines within the schools.

8.6   High and Low Rituals and Daily Routines

"The dispositions which religious rituals induce thus have their most important impact—from a human point of view—outside the boundaries of the ritual itself as they reflect back to colour the individual's conception of the established world of bare fact".
(Geertz, 1966:35)

In addition to the classroom discourses, the student-teacher and teacher-teacher interactions, and the school's structure- the hidden curriculum of rituals enlightens us immensely over the symbolic realm of the "school". A school's culture will therefore also be embedded in the everyday, taken-for-granted routines and rituals based on underlying, often unquestioned assumptions. Willard Waller, back in 1932, observed how everyday school routines and school rituals such as ceremonies "*mostly have value ... in the mobilization of individual attitudes to group objectives*" (quoted in Pajak, 2012:120). These routines and rituals form an integral component of the cultural web of an organisation.

In my research, rituals and daily routines formed an essential element of everyday schooling. High rituals in the school could be examined by observing the school calendar- particularly the school events and religious holidays. Here, I also mention school events that were not explicitly religious in nature since, as shown in the case of AAS's events for Iqbal Day and the celebration of national heroes of Pakistan, religion was seen as being heavily involved in the process. Other than Iqbal day, I had attended a religious event revolving around commemorating the birth of the Prophet in AAS- which is also heavily celebrated within Pakistan. It is difficult establish whether these events could be considered religious in nature or just merely socio-cultural- again highlighting the coalescence between the two terms.

Research has shown how high rituals, in both classrooms and the larger school, "objectify" the cultural world the schools inhabit (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 89). The analogization between rituals and culture is not new since the foundation of the theory of rituals goes as far back as Durkheim (1912) and Radcliffe-Brown (1922) who both emphasised that ritual symbolism is reflective of cultural dispositions. Turner (1967) further elaborated on Durkheim's work by stressing on the symbolic meaning of rituals and how they worked on reiterating the shared cultural and social values in each context (1978: 573). Here the shared culture and social values, particularly around the respect afforded to important religious and national figures and to important religious occasions was commemorated in the form of high rituals inside the schools.

Yet, this was not the case for all the schools - EPS was the only school where school events were devoid of any religious mentions, and one instead focused on a Romeo and Juliet inspired love story written and directed by members of the student body with other high rituals including an essay competition also devoid of any religious mentions. This was perhaps visible because of the legacy of the colonial rule has often been highlighted as a determining factor behind the westernised influence on the elite private schools in Pakistan and the linguistic imperialism entailed through the overarching focus on English (Malik, 2014). People with substantial social capital- bureaucrats/military officials/ politicians/ businessmen- are more likely to educate their children in these elite schools and EPS was testament to this. This can be seen in Bourdieun terms as a strategy to establish social circles as a strategy to reap benefits (social capital), and to be regarded and respected by others who value their capital (symbolic capital) (Bourdieu, 1986).

Here, the individual school culture, at least for the case of EPS, influenced the everyday routines and high and low rituals prevalent within the school. The school calendar, in all the schools though consisted of holidays for religious purposes such as to celebrate Eid, Prophet's birthday etc. These events and holidays again contributed towards the role of religion in schooling. Gerholm (1988) emphasises how rituals are so entrenched in a social context that it is important to understand not just the performance of rituals but also the "*general occasion of the ritual as*

much as the ritual itself" (Gerholm, 1988: 195). It is important to note what cultural values get importance and privilege in the school's social milieu and how they contribute to the school's cultural paradigm. Here all values getting prominence were religious in nature.

The "low" rituals or routines, on the other hand, were mostly characterised by daily morning assemblies that started with and ended with Quranic recitations in all the schools. They also involved the singing of the national anthem and in some cases the raising of the Pakistani flag. These morning assemblies are considered a gathering space for all the members of the school varying slightly every day, oft-times consisting of students performing *Naats (hymns)* and speaking about influential religious figures and sometimes consisting of school administrators and different teachers coming on to the stage to perform *naats* and reciting dua‘- and chanting religious incantations. Religion in this sense was embedded in a daily ritual of the morning assembly that began and ended with the use of religious invocations. Firstly, the normalisation of these recitations through a daily routine made them more pervasive. McLaren (1988: 171) describes how: "*both students and teachers unquestioningly internalize the cultural definitions operative in the school milieu in their reified forms".* Daily rituals such as reciting Quranic verses, in this sense, became an aspect of schooling that is repeated every day. Building on Geertz's work, Bredo (1990) highlights how the performance of such rituals as hoisting a flag infuses feelings of belonging, loyalty and inclusion and can be described as "*drama as communion*". In the schools daily religious invocations were instrumentalised to further these feelings of belonging and inclusion- the role of religion, in this sense was also to serve as a binding factor fostering communion in the schools.

Daily routines are a more subjective and embedded component- wherein some inane daily actions also involved religion in them. The stopping of lectures due to the advent of *adhan (Islamic call to prayer)*, the covering of the heads of female students and teachers during *adhan*, break given to students to read their *namāz* (Islamic prayer) and even the daily salutations that consisted of religious invocations. In AAS- the Islamiyat and Urdu classes always began with one or more students routinely doing Quranic recitations. In GAS- teachers and students

alike would routinely read verses from the Quran during the classes and do *talawat* (Quranic recitation). Salutations in all the schools consisted of *Asalam-o-Alaikum* (greeting in Arabic meaning peace be upon you), followed by Jesus be with you in CAS. It is again difficult to differentiate between what can be deemed religious and what can be deemed cultural. For instance, how much of the respect accorded to adhan is part of Islam and how much is it a manifestation of culture, particularly civil conduct, is something future research can focus on.

I have previously emphasised how in CAS, the attempts by the classroom discourses of Christian teachers were reminiscent of Fuchs (2020) finding that Christians in Pakistan reinscribe themselves into the society by emphasising sameness with Muslims to underscore loyalty with the state (see Chapter 6). Yet, not just a deliberate attempt to emphasise belonging with the state, the daily routines in CAS, sometimes unintentional and routine, also demonstrated the congruence between religion and societal culture where certain religious invocations such as the Salam were used in all the schools and perhaps can be seen more as an instance of the 'civil conduct' aspect of societal culture than religion. This is congruent with Geertz's analysis of Balinese rituals which he considers to be equivalent to an expression of ordinary life (Geertz, 1966).

Teaching and learning in the classrooms therefore in one way were happening *with* religion- where the daily routines and rituals provided an embedded and implicit element that was always present in the classroom and school environments. Yet it could also be argued that these "religious" behaviours could also be termed simply as instances of civil conduct or reflective of societal traditions. Gerholm (1988) interestingly speaks about the impact of traditions on rituals- which has roots in the past. He gives the example of a Hindu woman living in Trinidad whose non-religious husband and son insist on a religious funeral for her, stressing how the significance of the funeral is more symbolic than religious- not inauthentic yet necessary for the occasion. Similarly everyday routines and perhaps even rituals in schools can be symbolic for non-religious reasons- a manifestation of the wider "societal culture" or mere embodiment of civil conduct.

Turner (1967) particularly highlighted the role of rituals as a set of rules of a culture (what he calls the music score) and the social system (what he calls the orchestra). The high, low rituals and everyday routines in the schools similarly can be seen as students being a part of a cultural system pervaded by religion. Wuthnow (1987) contends how at certain points, individuals use objects, rituals and routines as justifications for their actions and to further their understandings of the world. This understanding of the world often manifested in the use of religion in the events to underscore certain moral and character lessons or to further concepts such as loyalty towards the state and the construction of a self on deeply religious grounds. However, it also manifested in everyday routines where the role of religion was more implicit. Not just rituals and routines however, what also determined students experience of everyday schooling were the visible symbols in the schools.

8.7   *Symbols-The Visual Hidden Curriculum*

"*My intention in attending to the aesthetic of the school is to think about the material and visual environment of the school, its images and objects as an assemblage that displays a certain kind of sensibility*".
(Wells, 2007; p.271)

Scholars of hidden curriculum have acknowledged and outlined the function of students visual experience of the school (through the built environment, material culture, online photographic collections) and the rising sense of importance the presence of these symbols have (P. Jackson, 1968; Margolis, 1999, 2001; Prosser, 2007). This aesthetic of the school automatically becomes a variable in the day-to-day educational life of the students. The visual symbols of the schools can thus be seen as a useful analytic tool to comprehend the seemingly banal aspects of everyday school life.

In terms of the visual culture, what was most prevalent in the classrooms as well as other school buildings was images, bulletin boards, posters and in some cases graffiti that promoted national and patriotic historical subjects, and graphic illustrations of historical heroes such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal but always with some Dua ʿ *(prayer)* accompanying their pictures. Separately as well, the classroom and school walls, in almost all the schools were filled with posters and boards depicting some Quranic verse or even just a mere painting of

the word 'Allah' in Arabic. Religious insignia at CAS included a drawing of Jesus Christ and crucifixes in every classroom and office. In contrast, classroom and school walls in EPS were filled with portraits and paintings of nature, of students winning trophies, of picturesque locations within Pakistan and abroad and of drawings and paintings by students at the school that had entered arts competitions. Here again the individual school culture – as outlined in the section on school structures influenced the visual culture of religion in them. Yet even in EPS, the classroom did consist of posters denoting the five pillars of Islam and portraits of the national heroes of the country.

Religion, in this sense, was embodied in the visual atmosphere of most of the schools and the classrooms that accompanied everyday teaching and learning, contributing implicitly to the cultural paradigm by both invoking notions concerning the 'nation' and by using religion for the moral education of students. This again is reflective of the larger socio-cultural environment of the country where most public spaces ranging from government offices, airports to even hospitals contain visual religious elements such as paintings containing Quranic verses or just *Ayat ul Kursi* (255th verse of the second Surah in the Quran) framed on the walls.

Baker, Ng-He, and López-Bosch (2008: 292) state how "*the hidden visual curriculum is a discourse of transmission and appropriation of institutional norms, values, and beliefs deriving from the visual images displayed in schools and assimilated by students through unconscious learning outside of the formal curricula".* The visual artifacts and representations are also a manifestation of what the schools give importance to- and the multitude of religious symbols therefore show the importance of religion in it. Yet, it is also important to understand the power structures behind the visual designs of the school and whether the images have been utilised due to a specific purpose or arbitrarily. Teacher B (EPS), for instance, recounted how they specifically asked the students to make posters involving Islam for the classroom walls to counter the declining religiosity they were observing (See chapter 6 for detail). This shows the effort by the teacher to specifically imbibe religious messaging in the classroom even though the school culture did not demand for an inclusion of the messaging. Here, religion was instrumentalised for the explicit involvement in the everyday visual culture of the

school, on the other hand some teachers explained how the visual artifacts came around organically- which also indicates the conflation between religion and school and societal culture. Here again one can question whether visible religious symbolism in the classrooms provided just another example of everyday civil conduct.

The school buildings for all the sample schools, irrespective of their size, consisted of prayer rooms for teachers and students that were a part of the formal architecture of the schools. These rooms, which in some cases were also the rooms for the faculty consisted of *janamāz* (prayer rugs) while the one in CAS had a separate small church of their own. Despite its existence at an implicit level, Margolis (2004) calls attention to the visual but hidden curriculum as an important and subconscious contributing factor towards everyday learning- which calls for a more serious need to evaluate the visual cultures of all the materials displayed in classrooms and on its architecture not only in terms of how they support teaching and learning but also in terms of their possible impact on student learning on an everyday basis. Though not particularly used as aids in learning, throughout the schools and the classrooms, these religious symbols in some ways were reminders of external superstructures beyond the dimensions of the classroom and were reminiscent of the larger social structures in play.

The third type concerns the dress codes / uniforms mandated in the schools. In all the schools, the dress codes consisted of *shalwar qamīẓ* for girls and pant and shirts for boys, as mentioned before and in almost all the schools there was a spoken or unspoken rule concerning the dress codes of female teachers as well. This dress code of *shalwar qamīẓ* (traditional dress worn in South Asia) was a manifestation of the traditional notions of the Islamic dress- I use the term Islamic dress as this is the term that was used in front of me by teachers and students alike. Policing of the attire of female students and teachers was a common occurrence- by the security guards and even the female administrators. The dūpatah- in some ways also served as a cultural and religious manifestation of the moral policing of women- of their *sharam (shame)* and honour. The dress code consisting of the dūpatah, which is seen as synonymous to good religious behaviour (Zia, 2017) – served as a way religion again was instrumentalised in the

everyday learning of students. Here again it could be argued that rather than a manifestation of religious behaviour, the dress code served as an everyday example of civil conduct- yet the connotation of the dress is highly religious as elaborated in popular discourse. This makes the delineation between what is deemed religious and cultural extremely difficult.

Irrespective of the dress code itself, many female students and teachers chose to cover their heads with dūpatahs, which is an obvious religious symbol in the context of Pakistan. This is also makes it difficult to distinguish between cultural and religious symbols since covering heads during the call to prayer is a Pakistani rather than an Islamic ritual. The symbol of dūpatah is used in the country as an instrument for female honour and religious behaviour often quite strategically such as in the case of female politicians donning the veil seemingly as personal choices (Zia, 2017). Yet, sociologists of religion when asked the difficult question of, 'the role of religion' in human action are wary of categorising religion only as a tool instrumentalised by individuals and regulated by tactical concerns. Religious symbols are not just employed and used by individuals; individuals are simultaneously held by them. Even for the supporters of human agency, it is difficult to completely comprehend motivations behind human actions, but it is also difficult to overlook the role of the larger cultural forces here.

8.8   Conclusion

The five elements of the web overall showed how religion was used as a tool through the organisational structures, teachers' power structures, high and low rituals, symbols and the various stories, narratives and notions that contributed to the cultural paradigm of the schools, focusing on the construction of the 'self' and the 'other' and in the moral and character education of the students. In this sense, several elements of everyday schooling were being used to create the image of the good Muslim/Pakistani. Yet, the elements of the web also showed how religion was an embedded and intrinsic part of everyday schooling that could also be considered equivalent to an expression of ordinary life. Some aspects of the daily routines, such as respect for the call to prayers and female teachers and students covering their heads, were an embedded part of the societal culture that seeped

into everyday schooling and were not being instrumentalised as a 'tool' for furthering the cultural paradigm. This also makes it difficult to comprehend and delineate the boundaries and differences between the wider societal culture and what can be construed as purely 'religious'. I therefore argue that the boundaries between religion and culture in schools- pertaining to both its instrumentalisation for the construction of the Muslim/Pakistani self and its more embedded existence within the school and classroom boundaries- are diffuse. Rather than purely 'religion', I would like to argue that it is the socio-cultural construction of the 'religion', or what I would like to call 'socio-cultural religion', that was found to have a role in the schools, rather than 'religion' itself.
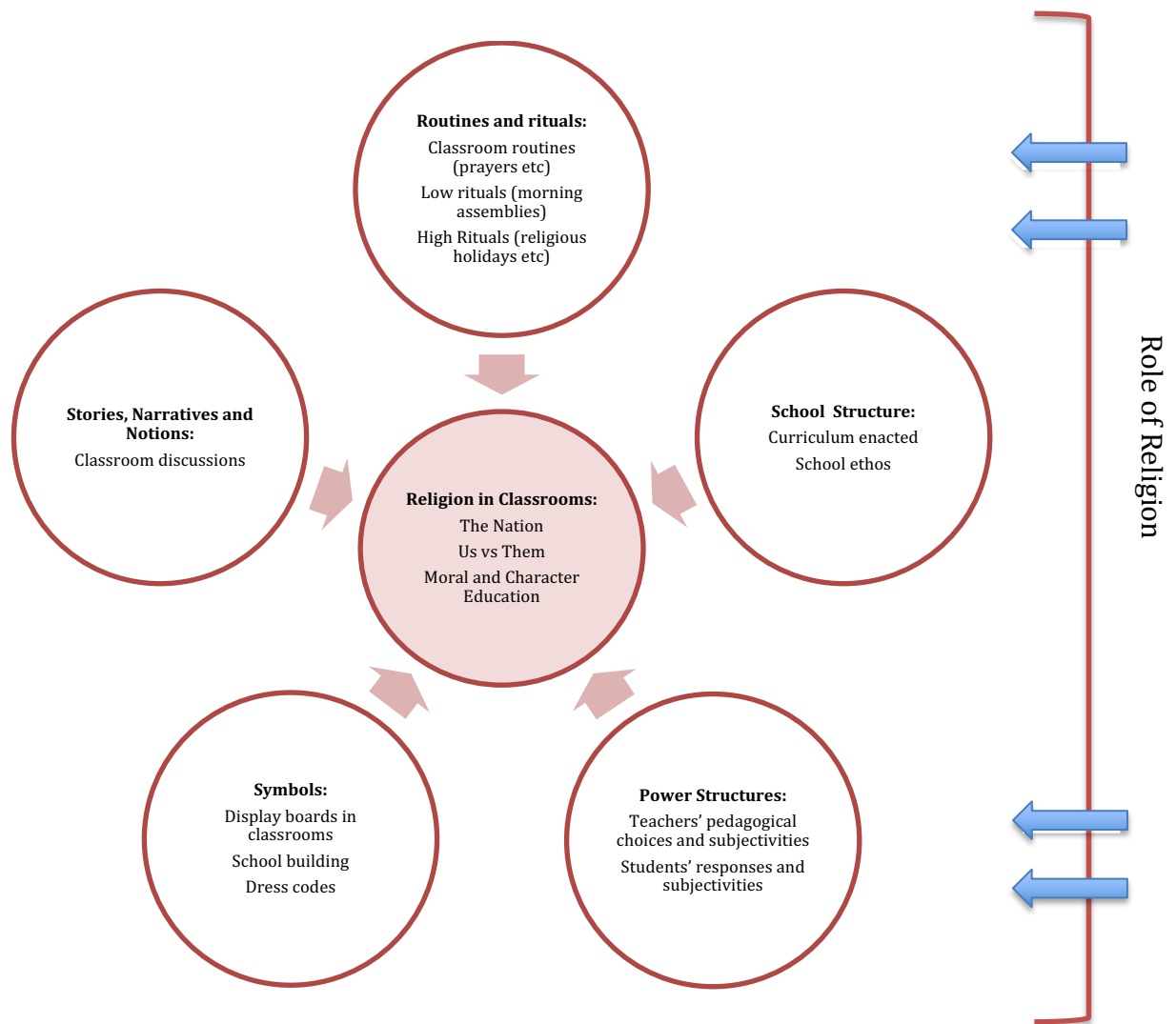
This 'socio-cultural religion' and the use of it in the classroom does not come without accompanying consequences. The involvement of religion in the classroom discourses, in many instances, served to inhibit critical engagement and questioning. Often the teachers themselves, in the case study schools, articulated how invoking religion would inspire discipline/respect and would justify the points of the teacher. It makes me wonder how much room was left for debate and discussions, for critical questioning and engagement. Another important point to note is the respect and reverence afforded to religion, which holds true in many countries, but here I particularly refer to the context of Pakistan. In Pakistan, as highlighted before, religion is often presented as being venerable and there exists a general unwillingness towards critiquing or even questioning religion for fear of causing 'offence'. Deviation from the literal, traditional interpretation of Islam is frowned upon, with Islamic teachings often being misinterpreted by religious and political leaders to gain legitimacy. The fear of causing 'offence' is a legitimate emotion that I have personally experienced not just in my daily life but also during this research. At many points, I refrained from questioning teachers further for fear of causing 'offence' -keeping in mind the sensitivity of 'religion'. I witnessed students becoming silent at the mention of religious figures and anecdotes and a general unwillingness towards asking questions whenever religion was invoked. I question whether this is a conducive environment for learning. Is the use of religion in non-religious subjects and as a part of everyday discourses helping students? The exact impact of the involvement of religion in classroom discourses can only be understood through a greater focus on student perceptions in future studies- yet

these pertinent questions are especially important considering the current debate on the increase of religious materials in the Single National Curriculum 2021 in Pakistan.

An important aspect of this chapter has been the use of cultural web as a conceptual framework that provided elements of a web to analyse the organisational structure from within but from a more micro and individualistic lens. In adapting the framework for my data, I came across two interesting observations or rather realisations. Firstly, when analysing the cultural paradigm of schools using the framework, one cannot discount the more macro influence of the larger sociocultural systems that the schools are a part of. In the analysis of the elements of the web above, ranging from the subjectivities of the teachers to the various stories, narratives and notions purported in the classrooms, the general reflection and influence of the larger societal culture of Pakistan cannot be discounted. This requires a need to observe the organisational culture- not just from a micro lens but also from a macro lens to account for the aspects of the society that seep into individual organisation. In this case the role of religion at the societal level seeped within the organisational culture of the schools where socio-cultural religion was used as a tool to create the image of the good Muslim/Pakistani.

Secondly the elements of the web cannot be seen as disparate, autonomous variables; rather they are highly interconnected. The rituals and routines and the visual culture of the schools is influenced by the individual school structures; the stories, narratives and notions furthered in the classrooms are influenced by and connected with teachers as well as students' power structures and subjectivities'; teachers power structures are also influenced by the school structures; finally, all these elements are influenced by the larger societal culture. Figure 5 shows the school's cultural web with the influence of the role of religion in the society:

Figure 5:

Routines and rituals:
Classroom routines (prayers etc)
Low rituals (morning assemblies)
High Rituals (religious holidays etc)

Stories, Narratives and Notions:
Classroom discussions

School Structure:
Curriculum enacted
School ethos

Religion in Classrooms:
The Nation
Us vs Them
Moral and Character Education

Symbols:
Display boards in classrooms
School building
Dress codes

Power Structures:
Teachers' pedagogical choices and subjectivities
Students' responses and subjectivities

Role of Religion

In this sense socio-cultural religion was almost a system guiding everyday school life through the meanings embodied in the symbolic elements within the school and the nexus between its social-structural processes. Clifford Geertz (1975) argues how, as a cultural system, a religion is also a symbolic system which conceptualizes and shapes the world views of its followers and gives meaning to their life. Yet this symbolic system was also heavily influenced by and conflated with the societal culture of Pakistan. Hence the socio-cultural assumptions about religion, the meaning of being a Pakistani, the relationship between the self and the 'others' all amalgamated to form a coherent system or world within the schools that fit seamlessly together.

Chapter 9   Conclusion

"The central matter to study is...not whether the religious has any significance, but rather how it manifests itself—in which way it is significant".
(Laustsen, 2013: p.431)

Throughout this exploratory work, I have tried to observe and understand the manifestation of religion in classrooms; the underlying focus has been on *how* it becomes a part of the school environments and *why* is it invoked by teachers in the classrooms rather than *whether* it should be invoked. The *how* and *why* enabled me to answer the overarching question: *"What is the role of religion in classrooms in public, private, army and church administered schools in Lahore?"* on which this study was premised. Precipitated by previous research on state-sponsored textbooks and curriculum in Pakistan that highlighted the role of religion in purporting a dominant religious narrative of the state and constructing an image of the 'self' and the 'other' (See for detail CSJ, 2020; Lall, 2008; Nayyar, 2013; Saigol, 2014; USCIRF, 2016), I was curious to understand the manifestations of religion in classrooms through the enactment of the overt and official curriculum as well as the embeddedness of the everyday learnings in schools. This would allow me to understand the significance of the *role* of religion rather than the significance of the religion itself.

The pursuit of an answer to the research question propelled me into a fascinating journey that involved immersing myself in the environments of five different case study schools and in questioning my own notions concerning religion. The ethnographic tools of classroom observations, semi structured interviews and observations of the visual and social environment of the five schools and the analysis of data using Johnson's Cultural Web (1992) as a conceptual framework to present and discuss the findings allowed me to derive theoretical implications from my work. This chapter presents the major findings of the research, answers the research questions, highlights the contribution to knowledge from this study, elaborates the limitations of the research and finally presents recommendations for future research on the topic.

9.1   Research Findings

9.1.1   Religion in Discussions in Classrooms

The first sub question of the research study was "*how does religion come up in discussions within classrooms?"* The data gathered from the five schools showed how religion came up in discussion within classrooms in several different ways- in most cases without any accompanying association with the textbook content. Firstly, religion was linked to the notion of 'oneness' using which the Pakistani nation in these classroom and school discourses was constructed in a way to surpass all religious, ethnic, linguistic, regional, and gender differences. The 'oneness' also helped in justifying the reason for the state's existence and in fostering love for the country. Though fostering unity in the populace and a sense of national consciousness formed important reasons for and consequences of such constructions, the total dilution of Pakistani identity to Islam served to thwart acknowledgement of the multiple identities contained in Pakistan, whether religious, ethnic, linguistic or gender. Here, the state and religion were made synonymous by outlining the responsibility of the students towards both, inculcating in them a sense of deep loyalty. Religion, in this sense, helped in inculcating the sense of loyalty- loyalty for the nation was akin to loyalty for the religion.

The second use of religion was in the identification and awareness of the 'self' and recognition of all 'others' on religious grounds, which was a recurrent and significant aspect of everyday classroom discourses. This complemented, substantiated, and furthered the construct of oneness that helped engender what I call the Pakistan project, particularly by focusing on the Hindu other which was the most ubiquitous discourse around the 'other' found in all classrooms. Despite more than 70 years having passed since its inception, religion, and the construction of the self and other was still being used to help students understand *what* their identity is and *why* is it important and *how* it differs from the significant other- Hindus/Indians (mostly used interchangeably). The formation of in and out-groups relies on some form of shared symbolism and in this case, religion served as that marker of sameness and difference.

The third manifestation of religion within the classroom discourses was in the propagation of moral and character education. The intersection between religion and morality, or rather the use of religion as a mediating force for fostering moral and character education was conspicuous in almost all of the classroom discourses in the case study schools. In some schools, the pedagogical technique adopted allowed for moral lessons to be imparted as strict instructions, whereas in others there was still some room for critical engagement. What was undeniable was the role of religion, through the evocation of revered Islamic figures and the use of the construct of divine will and resulting rewards and punishments to impart moral and character education. This was undertaken to encourage students towards several morally and socially acceptable actions such as cutting hair ('Hindus do not cut hair' was the analogy given to encourage them); working hard; being proud of their country and to reiterate the list of everyday moral rules and regulations for the Pakistani citizen. Here *through* religion moral education was being complimented with the dissemination of values by the teachers to the students becoming in some ways easier- easier because religion provided less margin of questioning and perhaps easy acceptance. Hence students were learning not just *about* religion but also *through* religion.

Religion also came up in discussions at certain points through articulations by the students instead of the teachers, for instance, in the case of Aurat March where students brought up religion to emphasise the need for women to fight for their rights. Here again religion was instrumentalised as a tool to justify the validity of the Aurat March. In this sense, for students as well as teachers, teaching and learning was being actualised *through* religion, which formed a marker of justification and of validation for their actions and choices in the classroom setting.

Overall, religion was mostly brought up in discussion in classrooms by the teachers where some of these discourses complemented the teaching by adding contextual details to the textbook content- for instance by providing anecdotes from the life of Caliph Ali to supplement the lecture on and give an example for the topic of bravery (See Chapter 7 for detail). Most were promulgated without any supplementary textbook content. Knowing *what* the manifestations of religion in the

classroom were makes it important to understand *why* they were actualised making it important to highlight teachers voices and to understand their pedagogical choices.

9.1.2 Teachers' Voices on Religions in Classrooms

The second sub-question this research answers is "*for what purposes do teachers draw on religious notions in classrooms? In particular linking to: National identity, Ethnic identity, Gender identity, Moral development, Other".* Broadly speaking teachers drew up on notions of religion for a number of reasons; because the curriculum dictates it, because using religion helps in justifying and reiterating their points (whether on the nation, constructing the image of the 'self' and the 'other' or in engendering moral and character education of the students as identified above), because they feel it's important for the students' identity development and in order to keep order in the classroom and to tell students how to live.

Within all three constructs the teachers provided a number of reasons for invoking religion in the classroom. For some teachers such as teacher A (LCPS), it was important to refer to sacrifices made for the creation of Pakistan to engender loyalty and love for the country and to eulogise martyrs who had given life for the country. Religion helped in the fostering of this loyalty. It also helped in engendering the moral education of students. Many teachers in the debriefing sessions and semi structures interviews explained why this was important. For teacher C (GAS), the examples of religious figures were important not just to socialise students into being respectful and polite towards their peers but also towards their teachers. Some teachers related how it is important to bring religion in the classrooms because of changing social norms and the declining role of religion in the lives of the female students. Teacher A (CAS) also emphasised how they are against always invoking the construct of heaven and hell but eventually have to do so because of the lack of discipline in the students. For teacher A (LCPS), the examples of religious figures were important to socialise students into being respectful and polite towards their teachers. The mention of religious figures in this sense, provided a degree of *credibility* to the arguments made by the

teacher- hence making it imperative for the figures to be invoked. For both teacher B and C (LCPS) then, the reiteration of anecdotes from Islamic history and examples of religious figures were important for students to understand the concepts being relayed in the classroom. Religion therefore was being instrumentalised in the classroom as a tool for justification of arguments, for complementing the teaching, for instilling discipline. For all three (and other reasons provided) religion was playing both an implicit and explicit role- almost as a second teacher that enabled and supported the teaching. In this sense, teachers were teaching, in many scenarios, not just *about* religion but also *through* religion.

The involvement of religion for different teachers however did depend on their positionalities to some extent. First, some teachers conformed to the textbook content and the teaching styles of the schools and did not deviate from the textbook content. Here the degree of involvement of religion in the textbook determined how much religion came up in discussions within the classroom and teacher's own subjectivities played a minimal role in the classroom discussions. Second, a few teachers also displayed an understanding of their role as agents of change in the classroom and engaged in some critical discussions concerning religion, though these were also far and few. Teacher B (AAS), for instance indulged in questioning the textbook material and using pedagogical techniques such as role playing to make students engage with the textbook content. Third, some teachers reiterated and furthered the textbook content with respect to religion. Teacher B (LCPS), for instance spent a substantial part of the classroom interactions in propounding the image of the 'Hindu' other, often by demonising Hindus. Teacher's own religious subjectivities played a role here with some evoking a more religious stance in their teaching roles than others. The way religion was brought up also differed (as can be seen by contrasting Teacher B (AAS) with Teacher B (LCPS). Yet the larger looming involvement of religion in the classrooms was ubiquitous often also influenced by the larger school settings.

9.1.3   Religion in the Social and Cultural Milieu of the Schools

The third sub-question this research answers is *"how is religion involved in physical and social environment of the classrooms, for example in school and classroom rituals?"* The findings of the study show how religion forms an indelible part of the school environment through classroom and school rituals (events, assemblies, soft boards). Here, the covering of the heads of female students and teachers during *adhan*, school rituals and assemblies that consisted of religious invocations for instance serve as one manifestation of the role of religion in the social and physical environment of the classrooms.

Teaching and learning in the classrooms therefore in one way were happening *with* religion - where the daily routines and rituals provided an embedded and implicit element that was always present in the classroom and school environments. Some examples of the rituals or routines in the schools, where the role of religion was preeminent was daily morning assemblies that started with and ended with Quranic recitations in all of the schools. Religion is in this sense was embedded in a daily ritual of the morning assembly that began and ended with the use of religious invocations. As highlighted in Chapter 8, in terms of the visual culture, what was most prevalent in almost all the classrooms as well as overall school buildings was images, bulletin boards, posters and in some cases graffiti that consisted of images of national historical figures, and graphic illustrations of historical heroes such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal next to Islamic invocations (*Dua (prayers)*.

Religion, in this sense was embodied in the visual atmosphere of most of the schools and the classrooms that accompanied everyday teaching and learning, contributing implicitly to the role of religion in the schools to foster the image of the good Muslim/Pakistani by both invoking notions concerning the 'nation' and by using religion for the moral education of students.

9.1.4   The Role of Religion in Classrooms.

Answering the sub-questions above led me to understand and analyse my main research question- *"what is the role of religion in classrooms?"* After observing the *how* and *why* of the role of religion in the classrooms (as well as school settings) the utilisation of the cultural web helped in showing two distinct ways in which religion was involved in the school and classroom discourses. Firstly, religion was '*instrumentalised*' through the organisational structures, teachers' power structures, high and low rituals, symbols and the various stories, narratives and notions that contributed to the cultural paradigm of the schools focusing on the construction of the 'self' and the 'other' and in the moral and character education of the students. In this sense, several elements of everyday schooling were being used to construct the powerful and unequivocal image of the 'self' as a good Muslim/Pakistani. Yet, as highlighted in chapter 8, the elements of the web also showed how religion was an embedded and intrinsic part of everyday schooling that could also be considered equivalent to an expression of everyday life. In this sense, some aspects of everyday schooling were not being d as a 'tool' to foster the image of the good Muslim/Pakistani, rather they were a deeply embedded part of the socio-cultural milieu that also permeated everyday schooling.

Religion was therefore both an implicit and explicit part of everyday schooling where discussions, teaching and learning and everyday schooling in classrooms was happening *through* as well as *with* religion. The *through* signifies the use of religion for complimenting everyday classroom discourses whereas the *with* signifies the implicit embeddedness of everyday religion in the school settings.

9.2   Scholarly Contributions

This section outlines the three major scholarly contributions of my research.

9.2.1   Contributions to the Field of Religion and Education

The major contribution of the study is that it calls for a need to examine mainstream schools (non-religious) to understand the role of religion in classrooms (research on which is scarce). Through the exploration of the role of religion in non-religious schools in a country with a religious background; I have shown how

the role of religion is influenced by a range of factors such as the wider socio-cultural milieu of the country, the individual school cultures and more importantly the subjectivities of the teachers (that are also somewhat informed by the wider societal culture). The research has therefore highlighted the multifaceted nature of classroom discourses which require examinations inside (and outside) the lived reality of classroom rather than a singular focus on textbooks, curriculum documents and educational policies.

Nord and Haynes (1998) have emphasised how the involvement of religion in education needs to be taken seriously as a subject matter but most research fails to give importance to the ever-present religious infrastructure in societies where religion plays a predominant role and how that in turn informs schooling. This presents contributions to the field of both confessional and non-confessional religious education (RE). The world has seen a shift from confessional (theological) to a non-confessional (sociological religious studies) based approach to religious education in schools. This research has shown the amalgamation of both approaches in non-religious mainstream school settings. The contribution therefore is in the form of a questioning of binaries with regards to theological and more sociological approaches towards the study of religion. It shows how the social and cultural infrastructure of a context influences the role of religion in schools which ultimately can result in teaching and learning *about, through* and *with* religion.

Another contribution to the field of religion and education is the focus on teachers' subjectivities and voices in the classroom discourses that has been highlighted in this research. This shows how the positionality of the teachers influences the classroom interactions and the role of religion in them. This research also highlights the important role of religion in the wider society and how that has an impact on the classroom discussions. Many of the myths and stories propounded in the classrooms were reflective of the general societal culture of Pakistan. For instance, the construction of Hindus as the 'other' is a ubiquitous facet in the Pakistani society which was also prevalent within the classroom walls; conspiracy theories concerning Jews and Christians, or the constant evocation of the afterlife is a characteristic of the Pakistani society (See Chapters 6 and 7 for detail) that transcended classroom discussions and forms a part of the cultural paradigm of

the schools. The relationship between the use of religion in the larger society has important implications for what happens inside the classrooms. This calls for a further examination of the link between religion, society, and classroom discourses in future research. This has important implications for scholarship around lived religion in schools.

Research on morality and education has also largely focused on rationalism or the nexus between morality and religion in religious schools. Yet hardly any research has observed this nexus in non-religious schools in religious societies. Previous literature also has not highlighted the voices of teachers pertaining to the use of religion for moral education. This research shows how morality was fostered *through* religion and how religion served as a tool for justification for the moral lessons. It shows how moral education is fostered using religion in the classrooms- with an undeniable influence of the wider societal culture on the moral discourses around religion. I believe this is an important relationship that can be observed in secular as well as religious contexts.

9.2.2   *Implications for Research on Religion and Education in Pakistan*

In the context of Pakistan there has been considerable research on the role of religion in education. This research mostly focuses on textbooks and curriculum (see, for instance, Rosser, 2004; Rahman, 2005; Ali, 2009; USCIRF, 2016), with public schools and madrassas being particularly highlighted for involvement of religion in their textbooks (Winthrop & Graff, 2010; USCIRF, 2011; Rahman, 2012). Since Saigol's (1995) ground-breaking work on curriculum, there has been a singular focus on textbooks and curriculum as the primary influencer of students' identities in the classrooms. In the past year especially, public debate has centred around the advent of the new Single National Curriculum (SNC) and the impact of the increase in the role of religion in the textbook and curriculum documents on students.

On the other hand, there has been a great deal of research on the allegedly seditious activities of the various madrassas that are mushrooming within Pakistan, and the extremist elements in their curricula as well as that of public schools'

subjects of Pakistan Studies and Islamiyat. Such research has primarily been conducted, by way of content analysis and surveys conducted in the primary and secondary schools in the country. Yet, there is limited research on the enactment of texts into pedagogy in the classrooms, on teachers' voices and on the involvement of religion in the daily atmosphere of the schools.

The limited studies that do focus on teachers' voices look at their agency in the classroom settings- with Halai and Durrani (2018) particularly showing how teachers are cognisant of their roles as agents of change for peacebuilding in the classrooms and Anand's (2019) work on teacher's pedagogical responses to teach India-Pakistan relations in Delhi and Lahore. Yet, none of these looked at teacher's responses specifically through the lens of the role of religion. There has not been any work on the role of religion in classroom discourses. There also has been no study that has focused on army administered and church administered schools (only private and public have been examined thus far).

This study has unearthed how the role of religion in classrooms manifests as both an explicit tool that is instrumentalised to engender the notions of the good Muslim/Pakistani and an embedded norm that reflects the wider societal culture of the country. This shows that the excessive focus on the curriculum and textbooks in Pakistan as well as the educational policies now needs to shift focus to actual classroom interactions. The singular focus on SNC and its potential impact on students (particularly those belonging to religious minorities) is redundant without an examination of what is happening in the classrooms. My research highlighted the involvement of religious discourses in the classroom context regardless of any textbook content on the same. The socialisations and subjectivities of the teachers and the individual school ethos played an imperative role in the stories, narratives and notions that were purported in the classroom (which were present every day in the school environments). I argue that research on the involvement on religion in education in Pakistan needs to move beyond the prescribed curriculum and focus on the enactment of this curriculum and on the manifestations of everyday socialisations in schools to truly understand the role for religion in the classrooms.

In terms of policy implications - I believe my research shows how the school and classroom discourses and teachers' subjectivities are also reflective of the wider societal culture that seep into the individual classrooms- in some cases bolstered by similar subjectivities of the students as well (for instance through narratives concerning religious minorities as highlighted in Chapter 6). Lobbying for religious inclusion in education policies always centres around textbooks and curriculum but I argue that even if those documents become more inclusive (and representative), they still will not dictate actual classroom discourses. This has serious implications for students belonging to minority religious communities (since the construction of identities in the classrooms are so singularly focus on the good Muslim/Pakistani). Policies should therefore focus on teacher training (both pre and in service) to ensure teachers are cognisant of their roles as agents of change in the classrooms- and any policy discussions over the involvement of religion in education should also emphasise on teacher training. The role of teachers in the classroom interactions and discourses and their understanding of how to be inclusive will be instrumental in informing policy decisions.

Importantly this work has highlighted the much-neglected role of religion in education to foster the moral development of students. Most research on religion and education in Pakistan has focused on the construction of the self and the other or on the construction of the national identity of the students. Yet, this research has repeatedly highlighted the use of religion to create the good Muslim/Pakistani. Teachers' voices highlight the important role of religion in the society as a moral standard. This was emphasised not just by the teachers but in certain discourses also by the students. The link between morality and religion is incredibly important in the Pakistani society but surprisingly has not gained much attention by scholars and academics. I believe the link between morality and religion is an important facet of the society and needs to be further examined in education.

Finally, by looking at schools belonging to five different categories I have been able to provide a reflection of the general schooling in Lahore. This has led to interesting observations from all schools and the influence of the category they belonged to on the degree of involvement of religion in them. CAS, for instance, involved notions in classroom discourses from both Islam and Christianity, AAS

linked religion to the army and have highlighted for a greater need for further work on these schools as they have not been covered by prior research.

9.2.3 Methodological Contributions

This research pushes the boundaries of the existing work on the nexus between religion and education. Prior work in Pakistan has mostly focused on using content analysis to unearth the role of religion in textbooks and curriculum. Lall and Saeed (2019), on the other hand, are the only ones to have focused on students' voices (both from universities and schools) to understand their narratives on Pakistan using focus groups. Few studies have focused on teachers voices to understand their roles in the classroom settings, these however have not particularly focused on the use of religion (Halai & Durrani, 2018; Saigol, 2014).

The originality of my study comes from the fact that prior research on this topic has been conducted on the textbook level and the policy level (See for example Fair, 2011; Bano, 2011; Burki & Hathaway, 2005) but not at the classroom level through the qualitative case study route using ethnographic methods. Ethnographic tools have proven particularly valuable in the field of religious education in a multicultural setting (Jackson, 1997; Nesbitt, 1999).

As mentioned previously, existing research on religion and education either focuses on the teaching of Religious Education, or on public schools or sectarian schools (both Catholic, Jewish and Islamic) in secular contexts such as that of the United States (See for instance Peshkin, 1986). Yet hardly any research has focused on non-religious school contexts in a country borne out of a conflict on religious lines and with a history of extractive institutions using religion for legitimacy.

My work focuses on the underlying hidden meanings relayed in the transmission of education, specifically with respect to the use of religion using the primary research approach of ethnography. Previous primary research conducted in public and religious schools in Pakistan have largely focused on the relationship between

militancy and education, using semi structured interviews and questionnaires as research methods (for example, Delavande & Zafar, 2015; USCIRD, 2011; USCIRD, 2016), with a lack of ethnographic research entailing participant observation in the three school systems.

Prior work has also largely focused on either in depth ethnographic work in one school setting such as Alan Peshkin's work at the Bethany Baptist Academy for a period of 18 months and Dilger's (2017) study in Catholic and secular schools. Limited studies have combined ethnographic tools with qualitative case studies not just to gather thick data but also to observe the diversity of different schooling systems. In doing so, this research combines two qualitative approaches- case studies and ethnographic methods using the parallel demonstration of the role of religion in each school that enabled the contrast between different schooling context without the need to compare them or making value judgements on them.

The second methodological contribution is to use the conceptual framework of the cultural web, which is a framework mostly used in management studies, in the context of schools. Additionally, this research adapts the cultural web to the schools and amends it to include the influence of the societal culture, and the role of religion that seeps through the individual schools' cultural paradigms. I have also outlined how the elements of the web do not work in isolation and are rather highly intertwined and coalesce to contribute to the cultural paradigm within the schools. This amended framework can thus be used for other research and school contexts and can have a transnational appeal depending on the societal and school contexts being observed.

9.2.4   *What Place for Religion?*

Finally, I would like to highlight another potential contribution of this thesis. Throughout the study I have strived to explore what the involvement of religion is rather whether it should be involved or not but I do believe it is important to reflect on the findings to see what they mean for the educational role of schools. I highlighted in Chapter 8 how the use of religion might potentially restrict the critical engagement of students due to the fear of causing 'offence' associated with any

mentions of religion. I believe this is a critical point of concern, which highlights a potential disadvantage of the lack of delineation between religious and non-religious subjects and therefore should be debated and further explored in future research.

Through this study I have shown how teachers sometimes deliberately manoeuvred discussions in the classroom to involve religion and 'instrumentalised' it to purport narratives such as the creation of an insular religious 'self' that is different from the non-religious 'other'. This use holds great significance for the moral and social formation of children and the future they hold for the country. What does the excessive role of religion mean for social cohesion and harmony? Is social cohesion just restricted to a particular social group (or what Benedict Anderson calls an 'imagined community')? The extensive focus on one particular aspect of identity can serve to inhibit others and potentially influence the social formation of students. Debates concerning the role of religion in education are ubiquitous around the world and this study has shown through a particular context- a role for religion that borders on indoctrination of ideas and narratives. I believe this thesis therefore contributes to the larger discussion over whether and what should be the place for religion in education.

9.3 Limitations and Validity of the Research

Regardless of its contributions, this research did face certain limitations. First, it employed a methodological tool of semi-structured interviews to further extrapolate the teachers voices to understand why they were invoking religious notions in the classrooms. I particularly focused on teachers' voices rather than students' because of the ethical issues pertaining to research with students. I also preferred to focus more on teachers' narratives concerning the classroom discourses because of the power structures prevalent in schools in Pakistan. Much research has focused on how strict regimentation in schools allows a limited scope for students to articulate their opinions in the classrooms- it also focuses on how regurgitation from the textbooks is used as the primary pedagogical technique in classroom discourses in schools in Pakistan. Additionally, the doctoral research was also constrained by time and triangulating the data with the student voices

would mean additional methodological time. However, some classroom discourses- albeit minor- did highlight student voices and them interacting with teachers around the construct of religion but an in-depth and localised analysis of students' voices is missing.

With qualitative research that uses ethnographic methods such as observations, a significant limitation can be the researcher's positionality. The data collected form qualitative research is highly dependent on the positionality of the researcher as they bring their socialisations in the field, which can possibly influence the reliability and validity of the data. I have circumvented the issue of validity and reliability by making the data analysis process transparent using Salda's (2016) technique of conducting coding in stages. I held successive debriefing sessions with the teachers in order to understand the reasons why they invoked certain notions of religion in the classrooms. I also showed the interview transcripts as well as the transcripts from the debriefing sessions to the teachers to ensure transparency. The debriefing sessions were used to increase the reliability and validity of the data gathered.

Another limitation of the research concerns the research location and the sample chosen. Due to the time limitations, I could not conduct in-depth ethnographic research in all the schools and instead opted for the qualitative case study technique using ethnographic methods to gather data in the five schools. However, considering the diversity of the schooling system in Lahore, this sample is not representative of all the schools in the city rather they provide a general reflection of the role of religion in schools. Due to logistical issues I had to constrain my research location to Lahore, although within Lahore the schools were based in both urban and semi urban localities; focusing on one city means that the case studies cannot be generalised to the rest of the country and are not representative of the entire country. Yet, they are reflective of the diversity of the schooling system within Lahore and the data gathered did overall provide a reflection of the role of religion in the classrooms.

9.4   Suggestions for Further Research

The experience with this research has helped uncover various dimensions from within the field of religion and education that I would want to explore further in my research trajectory.

First, I would want to address the one limitation of the study which is the small sample size and conduct similar research over a larger sample of schools in varied research locations within Pakistan. Future studies can focus on other locales such as on rural areas instead of an urban city - an urban city in a different province such as Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa or Balochistan where religious involvement in education has been highlighted extensively. Moving forward, I would also want to implement the same techniques in these locations but also use the added sample of a religious school- madrassa- whose entire ideology focuses on Islam and then understand how religion is involved in these schools and compare them to non-religious schools. I am interested in comparing the findings derived from a study on religious schools (madrassas) to establish more robust conclusions.

Second, with this research one aspect of the involvement of religion in education that was unearthed, and that has been overlooked otherwise, is the role of religion to engender moral and character education. This was a significant facet of this research and an aspect of the role of religion in education that can be explored further. The use of religion to foster moral education has been analysed in limited scholarship (Lockwood, 2009). Hence, more in-depth ethnographic work can focus on the construction of the good Muslim/Pakistani. It would also be worthwhile to conduct a longitudinal study to examine the role of religion in classrooms. I also want to further focus on the boundaries between culture and religion and focus on the voices of students and teachers to understand what they consider religious and what they consider cultural.

Finally, throughout this study, I made a conscious effort towards avoiding any form of interaction with the students which meant their individual voices, other than in the form of classroom interactions did not feature in the research. Future studies can focus both on teachers' voices and students' voices to understand how the linking of religion to influence students' subjectivities have an impact on the students themselves. It is important to understand the impact of the use of religion

in classrooms on the intellectual and social formation of schools. Does the use of religion inhibit their critical thinking skills? It would also be interesting to see how students perceive religion and why or why not they would bring religion in the classrooms. Studies on students' voices and religiosity have rarely focused on their positionalities due to the ethical difficulty of conducting such research. I would like to focus on students religiosities in future research and compare them for different schooling contexts.

There is also a transnational value to the different aspects of religion in education unearthed in this research. Similar research could be undertaken in the contexts of other countries. Most research on religion in education has focused on religious subjects in public schools or on religious schools in secular contexts. This study could be replicated in the context of other countries with a religious infrastructure such as Israel, Malaysia etc. It could also be replicated in the context of non-religious schools in secular countries.

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Appendix A

IOE Ethics Approval: Z6364106/2019/06/47

Participant Information Sheet

Title of Study: Exploring the Nexus between Religion and Education: The Case of Pakistan
Department: Curriculum, Pedagogy and Assessment, Institute of Education
Researcher Contact Details: Laraib Niaz, ████████, laraib.niaz.17@ucl.ac.uk

You are being invited to take part in a project, which I am conducting to inform my PhD thesis. This information sheet contains all relevant information regarding the project that you need to know before you sign up for it. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Feel free to ask questions in case you are not clear about some aspects. Please take your time to decide whether you want to participate or not.

1.   What is the project's purpose?
The study looks ta the involvement of religion in education in Pakistan at the classroom level. Prior research has mostly focused on textbooks with their being a dearth of research on the pedagogical processes in the classrooms. This project aims to examine the involvement of religion in the classroom using ethnography as the main research methodology. Classroom observations and semi structured interviews will be the main research tools.

2.   Why have you been chosen?
You have been chosen because you are a teacher in one of the sample schools where the study is being conducted.

3.   Do I have to take part?
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form. You can withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without it affecting any benefits that you might be entitled to. If you withdraw you will be asked what you wish to happen to the data you have provided up to that point.

4.   What will happen to me if I take part?
Each participant teacher will be interviewed for approximately 2 hours. The interview will be conducted within the school premises inside an empty classroom. If you want the interview to be conducted somewhere else, according to your wishes that will be taken into account. The interview will be semi structured, therefore it will start with some definite questions followed by a general discussion. The interview will only be recorded if you allow, otherwise I will take handwritten notes. The interview transcript will be given to you and you can ask me to change or delete any data that you do not want to be included.

5.   Will I be recorded and how will the media be used?

The interview will be recorded and will be transcribed into text by myself with all names and identifiers emitted, if and only if you allow a recording. Otherwise, I will be taking handwritten notes on my notebook. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside of the project will be allowed access to the data. I will store all original recordings in a password protected folder.

6.   What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
The research concerns religion, which may be a difficult topic for teachers to talk about and hence may cause some discomfort if some sensitive information and ideas are revealed. However, the data will be strictly confidential and will also be anonymised.

7.   What are the possible benefits of taking part?
Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will inform a larger project , which will focus on the involvement of religion in classrooms that takes into account both teachers views and the impact on students.

8.   What if something goes wrong?
If you wish to make a complaint regarding your treatment by the researcher, please get in touch with Dr Farid Panjwani (f.panjwani@ucl.ac.uk) at the IOE. You can also complain to the Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee.

9.   Will my taking part be confidential?
All the information collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications and all possible identifiers will be changed or emitted. No external agency will be used to transcribe the data as I will do this myself.

10.   Limits to confidentiality

- Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies.
- Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it is possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything, which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm. I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.
- Confidentiality will be respected unless there are compelling and legitimate reasons for this to be breached. If this was the case we would inform you of any decisions that might limit your confidentiality.

11.   What will happen to the results of the research project?

The data used in this project will be used to inform my doctoral thesis. The document and results will be sent to participants, upon request. The doctoral thesis will be given to the departmental panel and my supervisors to examine.

12.   Data Protection Privacy Notice Notice:

The data controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Office provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.

The legal basis that would be used to process your personal data will be the provision of your consent. You can provide your consent for the use of your personal data in this project by completing the consent form that has been provided to you.

I will endeavor to pseudonymise and anonymise your data wherever needed. I will make sure confidentiality is maintained.

If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, please contact UCL in the first instance at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk. If you remain unsatisfied, you may wish to contact the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO). Contact details, and details of data subject rights, are available on the ICO website at: https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/data-protection-reform/overview-of-the-gdpr/individuals- rights/

13.   Consent for further information

Laraib Niaz
UCL Institute of Education
20 Bedford Way London WC1H 0AL gemma.gronland.17@ucl.ac.uk

Farid Panjwani
UCL Institute of Education
20 Bedford Way London WC1H 0AL f.panjwani@ucl.ac.uk
+44 (0)20 7612 6895

UCL
Institute of Education

CONSENT FORM

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Exploring the Nexus between Religion and Education: The Case of Pakistan

Department: Curriculum, Pedagogy and Assessment

Name and Contact Details of the Student: Laraib Niaz, ██████████

Laraib.niaz.17@ucl.ac.uk

Name and Contact Details of Student's Supervisor : Dr Farid Panjwani,

F.panjwani@ucl.ac.uk

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The student organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the student before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time. The student will retain a copy of the form

I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box below I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes means that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study.

		Tick Box
1.	I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet for the above study. I have had an opportunity to consider the information and what will be expected of me. I have also had the opportunity to ask questions which have been answered to my satisfaction and I have agreed to take part in semi-structured interviews with the researcher.	
2.	I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to 1 month after the interview.	

3.	I consent to participate in the study. I understand that my answers to interview questions, and observations from the classroom will be used for the purposes explained to me.	
4.	**Use of the information for this project only** I understand that all personal information will remain confidential and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified. I understand that my data gathered in this study will be stored anonymously and securely. It will not be possible to identify me in any dissertation or publications.	
5.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason	
6.	I am aware of who I should contact if I wish to lodge a complaint.	
7.	I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.	

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Student Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix B

PhD Timeline:

Sarah Niaz PhD Timeline

Quarter																	
Year	2017			2018													2019	... 2020 ... 2021 ... 2022
Oct Nov Dec	Jan Feb March April May June July Aug Sept Oct Nov Dec																

Tasks (top to bottom):

- Submission and editing of research proposal
- First attempt at literature review
- Revisions to the literature review
- First attempt at the methodology chapter
- Revisions to the methodology chapter
- First draft of the upgrade report
- Revisions to the upgrade report
- Submission of the upgrade report
- Mapping process of the field
- Upgrade Panel convenes
- Gaining ethics approval
- Reach out to schools to gain ethics approval
- Confirm participant schools and establish timeline
- Start ethnography in CAS
- Research in AAS
- Research in EPS
- Research in LCPS
- School closure due to Covid
- Continuing research in LCPS
- Research in fifth school
- Analyse data
- First data chapter
- Second data chapter
- Third data chapter
- Get feedback and redraft
- Discussion chapter
- First draft of the upgrade report
- Second Draft
- Send to internal reader
- Incorporate internal reader comments
- Final draft, printing and submission
- Preparation for VIVA