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Islamic Habitus in English Language Textbooks Produced by Boards in Pakistan

Ashar Johnson Khokhar⁎
Department of Education,
Forman Christian College University, Lahore

Yaar Muhammad
Department of Education
University of Management and Technology, Lahore, Pakistan

Abstract

The textbook is an important and powerful tool used by the state to reproduce the social and cultural habits of a group, most often, of the majority group's social and cultural imaginations. The habitus produces and instills the world-view about society, the social and cultural values that a state valorized and would like pupils to internalize and make it part of their world-view. This study analyzes the English textbook published by the state textbook boards (Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Sindh) for the academic year 2018-2019 for pupils of classes four to eight. The textbook content was analyzed using the Qualitative Content Analysis method. The content of 15 textbooks was digitized (scanned and made readable) to electronically categorized the text into categories using Nvivo 12 Plus software. The analysis revealed that the content is focused on developing and promoting Islamic habitus through stories weaved around family, making it a core component of a Muslim country. The family members practiced Islamic values, social and cultural, not only through their everyday lives at home, in school, and at other public places but also within their community through the celebration of cultural and religious festivals. The textbooks presented the Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) and his family's life as an ideal life to be lead by all, whether Muslims or non-Muslims. The textbook highlighted the 'good,' the 'bad,' valorizing the former and stigmatizing the latter to encourage pupils to develop an Islamic world-view. The textbooks fail to look into the micro-level national habitus, that is, portraying the habitus of its minorities, ethnic and religious, as the content did not integrate their habitus into the national habitus of Pakistan, making it the habitus of the majority. The current fast globalizing world needed to be presented to pupils a world-view, and this required, broadening the scope of textbook content to make it reflective of true Pakistani habitus aligned and rooted in the humane global world-view.

Keywords: Islamic habitus, textbook analysis, English textbook, textbook boards

⁎Correspondence concerning the article should be addressed to Mr. Ashar Khokhar Johnson, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Education, University of Management and Technology, Assistant Professor, Department of Education, Forman Christian College, (A Chartered University) at 15020095007@umt.edu.pk and asharkhokhar@fccollege.edu.pk

Introduction

A textbook is a core component of schooling, and textbook function differently at different levels for different stakeholders engaged in the education process. The parent and pupils are the recipients of the information found in the textbook, and they read it considering the most suitable and authentic information about what they learn in school. The school management look at school textbooks as the best way to provide all the required information to pupils as one resource while the state (provincial and federal) education establishments believe that it is the best way to inform pupils of state ideology and also to transform their personalities and shape their thinking pattern according to the state's idea of a moral and ethical human being. The selection and propagation of moral and ethical values in a textbook by a state also highlights the force of schooling as a powerful institution which is used by the ruling elites. The 'official knowledge' of a state consists of its values, moral and ethical, to be inculcated as collective ideals which were conceived by the ruling elites.[1] The official knowledge, especially of social subjects, become a powerful tool whereby a state-organized its strategically selected knowledge to manipulate pupils' behaviors and thinking, and also to legitimize its power and authority.[2]

The writers of the education policy believed that Pakistan's "education system could not remain in isolation of the challenges and opportunities provided by globalization" and presented the following vision of the Education of Pakistan. The vision stated by the state shows the Government of Pakistan's realization of embedding Pakistani nationhood into moral and ethical values (tolerance and social justice). The policy suggested that "our education system must provide quality education to our children and youth to enable them to realize their individual potential and contribute to the development of society and nation, creating a sense of Pakistani nationhood, the concepts of *tolerance, social justice*, democracy, their regional and local culture and history based on the basic ideology enunciated in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan."[3]

2. Textbooks

Textbooks in Pakistan (especially Urdu and English) are an essential tool through which pupils are socially, culturally, ethically, morally, and politically socialized and sensitized. The notion of ideal (ethically and morally) Pakistani is conceived and communicated to pupils in English textbooks. The textbooks are also an artifact depicting the evolution of a society, its cultural, social, moral, and ethical values along with the development of political thinking. The school textbooks used in state schools in Pakistan by teachers and pupils in their everyday teaching, learning, and assessment life forms an important and critical source of teaching and learning process. This study looks at how

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[1]Michael W Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

[2]Geoff Whitty, *Sociology and School Knowledge Curriculum Theory Research and Politics (*New York: Routledge, 2017).

[3]GoP, National Education Policy (Islamabad: GoP, 2009).

ethical and moral Pakistani is conceived in English textbooks of three state textbook boards (Punjab, Sindh, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) for class four to eight.

Textbooks have gone through a revision phase after the implementation of education policy 2009, which identified the need to respond to global changes happening in the world and also provided guidelines to textbook regimes and textbook writers by providing them with English Curriculum Documents. The document focused on developing the language competencies that included "Reading and Thinking Skills, Writing Skills, Oral Communication Skills," and "Formal and Lexical Aspects of Language,"[4]   and "Appropriate Ethical and Social Development."[5] The writers further elaborated this competency whereby "all students will develop ethical and social attributes and values relevant in a multicultural, civilized society."[6] The benchmarks set by the document writers are:

> Benchmark I: Recognize and practice values and attributes such as tolerance, humanism, patience, equity, justice, honesty, empathy, etc., relevant for peaceful coexistence between individuals, groups, and nations.

> Benchmark II: Develop and portray through actions, a sense of importance of individual worth; simultaneously valuing diversity and equality among people.

> Benchmark III: Understand and evaluate contemporary social, economic, and scientific developments/ issues so as to participate in the global society as aware and thinking individuals.[7]

Numerous studies analyzed English textbooks published before the English Curriculum Document (henceforward referred to as (ECD) was introduced and also after its implementation at the provincial and federal levels. The textbooks published for the academic year 2008-2009 and afterward were conceived, developed, approved, and published according to the guidelines given in the ECD. The textbooks published by provincial textbook boards have been under scrutiny for the last four decades both in Pakistan and outside Pakistan. The textbooks of Social Studies, Pakistan Studies, Urdu, and English have been studied since the 1990s. The English textbooks have been analyzed earlier before the textbook revision exercise was initiated in 2006[8] to identify the

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[4]GoP, National Curriculum for English Language Grades I-XII, (Islamabad: GoP, 2006), 3.

[5]Ibid., 3.

[6]Ibid., 37.

[7]Ibid., 37.

[8]Muhammad Ayaz Naseem, "Peace in Times of Globalization: De-(Constructing) Militaristic Identities in Language and Social Studies Textbooks in South Asia: The Case of Pakistan," (Paper presented at Eighth International Conference on Learning and Educational Media, Greece, 2005).; Muhammad Ayaz Naseem, "Education, the State and Subject Constitution of Gendered Subjectivities in/through School Curricula in Pakistan: A Poststructuralist Analysis of Social Studies and Urdu Textbooks for Grades I-VIII,"(PhD diss. McGill University, 2004); Abdul Hamid

representation of women, religious minorities, and creating social, cultural, and religious stereotypes through the textbooks. The studies analyzing the textbooks published after the implementation of ECD focused on the representation of gender, culture, inclusivity (differently-abled people), identity, and nationhood.[9] The author noticed a gap in the

Nayyar, and Ahmad Salim, *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan* (Islamabad: SDPI).

[9]Asma Aftab, "English Language Textbooks Evaluation in Pakistan," (PhD diss. University of Birmingham, 2012); Muhammad Ahmad Syed Kazim Shah, "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Gender Representations in the Content of 5th Grade English Language Textbook," *International and Multidisciplinary Journal of Social Sciences* 8, no. 1 (2019): 1-24; Jabreel Asghar, "Thou Shalt Not Think: Editors' Voice in an English Textbook to Propagate Vested Agendas," *Education Research International*, (2014): 1-8; Hina Ashraf, "A Study of English Language Learning as an Element Affecting the Social Capital of the People of Pakistan," (PhD diss., National University of Modern Languzages, 2006); Liaquat Ali Channa, Daniel Gilhooly, Abdul Razaque Channa, and Syed Abdul Manan, "Teaching English or Producing Docility? Foucauldian Analysis of Pakistani State-Mandated English Textbooks," *Cogent Education* 4, no. 1 (2017): 1-17; Fozia Gulab, and Ashar Johnson Khokhar, "Content Analysis of Language Textbooks (English, Urdu, Sindhi) for Inclusivity," *Journal of Education & Social Sciences* 6, no. 1 (2018): 55-71; Azhar Habib, and Inayat Ullah, "Indigenous Culture and Academic Discourse: A Critique of English Textbooks in Pakistan," *Global Social Sciences Review* (GSSR) 2, no. 1 (2017): 130 -49; Ansa Hameed, "Language and Gender: An Analysis of English Textbooks Produced by Punjab Textbook Board for Elementary Level in Pakistan," *Journal of Education and Practice* 5, no. 11 (2014): 108-113; Jamshed Iqbal, "A Review of English Textbook at Secondary Level in the Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan," *Research Journal of Educational Sciences* 1, no. 3 (2013): 1-5; Milad Islami, "Character Values and Their Internalization in Teaching and Learning English at Madrasah," *Dinamika Ilmu* 16, no. 2 (2016): 279-89; Shahzad Karim, and Naushaba Haq, "Culture of Language Learning: A Comparative Study of English Language Textbooks Used in Pakistan," *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies* 10, no. 2 (2014): 157-68; Syed Kazim Shah, Shaista Hassan, and Wajiha Iqbal, "Evaluation of Text-Book as Curriculum: English for 6 and 7 Grades in Pakistan," *International Journal of English Language Education* 3, no. 2 (2015); 71-89; Mamoona Khalid, "Gender Representation in Primary Level (Grade V) English Language Textbooks in Pakistan," *International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Culture* (Linqua-IJLLC) 3, no. 3 (2016): 48-61; Khalid Khurshid, Iram Gul Gillani, and Muhammad Aamir Hashmi, "A Study of the Representation of Female Image in the Textbooks of English and Urdu at Secondary School Level," *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* (PJSS) 3, no. 2 (2010): 425-37; Maryam Nazeer, Sayed Kazim Shah, and Zubia Sarwat, "Evaluation of Oxon English Textbook Used in Pakistan Public Schools for 6th & 7th Grade," *Journal for the Study of English Linguistics* 3, no. 1 (2015): 51-79; Irfan Ahmed Rind, "Gender Identities and Female Students' Learning Experiences in Studying English as Second Language at a Pakistani University," *Cogent Education* 2, no. 1 (2015): 1-11; Saira Farooq Shah, "Gender Inclusion: A Neglected Aspect of the English Textbooks in Pakistan," *International Journal of Social Sciences and Education* 3, no. 1 (2012): 118-27; Tariq Shah, "An Exploration of Attitudes Towards the English Curriculum in Educational Establishments in Urban and Rural Pakistan," (Masters Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2008); Tahir M. Yaqoob, and Shirin Zubairm, "Culture, Class and Power: A Critique of Pakistan English Language Textbooks," *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)* 32, no. 2 (2012): 529-40; Saidi Zain, Zuraida Ahmad, Ahmad Faris Ismail,

plethora of studies around English textbooks, and this study is an endeavor to address the gap.

The pupils approach textbook as the only source they should interact with other than the teacher during their language learning; for newly qualified teachers with very limited teaching experience, that is a form of learning, especially, what to teach; and for experienced teachers, they are teaching material with the predefined objectives of the syllabus.[10] The textbook regimes (in Pakistan) designed English textbooks for they know that teachers prefer to use the prepared material due to many reasons, such as lack of skills, lack of time, lack of knowledge of textbook regulation, what material to include and exclude from the textbook and outside pressure (cultural, social and religious).

3. The Textbook as a Tool

The changes (social, cultural, moral and ethical) have been shaping the world, and the terms as internalization, localization, globalization, and glocalization have made state and its textbook regimes to rethink and revisit their textbook to inculcate the national and global set of values amongst pupils through the content developed for English textbooks. The language teaching has no longer considered apolitical activity but "a political act of cultural and social production and reproduction linked to cultural and political ideologies."[11] The earlier studies on teaching and learning of English viewed it with a focus on learning theories and teaching methodology, theoretical and applied linguistics constructs, and ignoring the practitioners' (teachers and pupils) belief system. Language teaching and learning are viewed as "psycho-linguistically-oriented language acquisition," which emphasized "on techniques, activities, and methods" and education in general, but language teaching and learning in particular "is a moral act, and teachers are moral agents."[12]

The language textbooks also represent the moral complexity of a society shown through the tension between the national and global and national cultural representation and universal and national values. The teachers and pupils must confront "the moral complexity and ambiguity of our teaching that we can hope to identify the good and right things to do in any given set of circumstances, that is, to know the right way to teach."[13] The constraints imposed in classroom settings through the content on language textbooks

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Machouche Salah, and Souad A Mohamad, "Development of Integrated Science Textbooks by Applying the Enrich Tool," *Journal of Education and Social Sciences* 5, (2016): 6-13.

[10]Jack C Richards, *Curriculum Development in Language Teaching* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Richards, *The Role of Textbooks in a Language Program,* 2001.

[11]Handoyo Puji Widodo, Marianne Rachel Perfecto, Le Van Canh, and Adcharawan Buripakdi, *Incorporating Cultural and Moral Values into ELT Materials in the Context of Southeast Asia* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018), 2.

[12]Ibid., 2-3.

[13]Bill Johnston, *Values in English Language Teaching* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003).

also reveal the limited scope of discussion on moral and ethical values (the culture and habitus of a society, the national culture) and not encouraging discussion on universal values and their shaping of national culture.

The texts (prose and poetry) in the English textbook are aimed to develop linguistic, intercultural communicative, discourse, sociolinguistic, socio-pragmatic, and moral competencies. The pupils and teacher work together, and as they read the text to learn the linguistic competence, they should also "challenge the ideological, sociopolitical, and historical forces with the aim of empowering learners to acquire the required knowledge and social skills to be able to function as critical agents in a society,"[14] an approach closer to Freire's Critical Pedagogy and Pedagogy of Heart.[15] The researchers identified the gap between learning and teaching English and becoming an active international or a global citizen and urged the textbook writers to fill this gap,[16] and teachers and pupils must "go beyond the inner-outer-expanding discourse,"[17] of English teaching and learning.

English in Pakistan, as in many other Asian and African countries, spread and gained importance through its colonial masters, the British. Pakistan became an independent country, and its founding father proposed Urdu and the national language, and they believed that Urdu would keep the country united, but it proved them wrong as Bangladesh conflict has its roots in linguistic identity, and the founding fathers denied the due status of Bangla language. English became *de facto* lingua franca of Pakistan, and it continues to do so as it bridged the divide created due to earlier linguistic differences (Urdu and Bangla controversy in the early years of Pakistan's independence). In today's globalized world, English has gained importance because of the mobility of people and opportunities and resources across different parts of the world. The British rule in the subcontinent saw English as hegemonic power and to serve the needs of the British, the colonial masters of the subcontinent, but now it is viewed as an opportunity of economic, social, and cultural mobility within and outside Pakistan. English has now been indigenized, and people have coined Pakistani English as one of the variants of English spoken and understood in the world.[18]

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[14]Widodo et al., *Incorporating Cultural and Moral Values into ELT Materials in the Context of Southeast Asia,* 3.

[15]Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1970); Paulo Freire, and Ana Maria Ara, *Pedagogy of the Heart* (London, UK: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998).

[16]Alastair Pennycook, "Critical Pedagogy and Second Language Education," *System*, 18, (1990); Pennycook, *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* (New York: Routledge, 2013)*; Robert Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[17]Widodo et al., *Incorporating Cultural and Moral Values into ELT Materials in the Context of Southeast Asia,* 3.

[18]Andy Kirkpatrick, "World Englishes," in *The Routledge Handbook of Applied Linguistics,* ed. James Simpson (London: Routledge, 2014); Kirkpatrick, *World Englishes: Implications for International Communication and English Language* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University

English is taught from class one to twelve as a compulsory subject, and the textbooks material is selected, organized, and presented to develop linguistic, social, cultural, and ethical beings. The researchers have argued that "neither a book nor its knowledge is neutral or interest-free,"[19] thus making textbooks containing materials enforcing a system containing a certain set of social, moral, ethical, and cultural coherence amongst pupils. Language textbooks in today's world are not just focused on developing linguistic competence of pupils but nurturing their social, moral, and ethical values, promoting the idea that "learning English means valuing full baggage of morality and culture situated in social domains of life."[20]

4. National Habitus

Habitus or national habitus is a term coined by Norbert Elias,[21] and it refers to the habits and practices learned consciously or unconsciously, and they become part of our habitus structure so much so that they become natural to us. The social practices learned as a member of a group "in a specific social position, is literarily incorporated—absorbed into our bodies-and become our self."[22] The history of a group or the personal history of individuals shaped habitus, and thus the country we live in, the cultural practices and behaviors of a group or individuals contribute in making the "our 'self,' our self-evident, automatic, yet learned behavior, is partly determined by the country where we have grown up." [23]

The idea that more capital one has the more powerful she/he becomes is rooted in Marxist thinking, and an enriched cultural capital of a group made that nation into a powerful and strong nation. The cultural capital of a group is considered the foundation of a group's cultural and social life because a group's position in the global world is determined by what is the cultural capital made up of, that is, the values and ideals shaping

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Press, 2007); Tariq Rahman, "Language-Teaching and World View in Urdu Medium Schools in Pakistan," (Islamabad: SDPI, 1999); Rahman, "Language and Ethnicity in Pakistan,"; Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan,*"; Rahman, "Language Policy and Localization in Pakistan: Proposal for a Paradigmatic Shift,"(Paper presented at the SCALLA Conference on Computational Linguistics, Islamabad, 2004); Rahman, *Language, Education, and Culture,* Rahman, *Language, Religion and Identity in Pakistan: Language-Teaching in Pakistan Madrassas,*"; Rahman, "Passports to Privilege: The English-Medium Schools in Pakistan."

[19]Michael W Apple and Linda K Christian-Smith, "The Politics of the Textbook," in *The Politics of the Textbook*, ed. Michael W Apple and Linda K Christian-Smith (London: Routledge, 1991), 1-21.

[20]Widodo et al., 4.

[21]Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process. Psychogenetic and Sciogenetic Investigations* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2000); Norbert Elias and Michael Schroter, *The Germans: Power Struggles and the Development of Habitus* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1997).

[22]Giselinde Kuipers, The Rise and Decline of National Habitus: Dutch Cycling Culture and the Shaping of National Similarity, "*European Journal of Social Theory* 16, no. 1 (2013): 21.

[23]Ibid., 20.

cultural capital of a group. Bourdieu extended the application of Marxist's concept of capital to the realm of society and its culture. Bourdieu's understood 'habitus' as

> conditioning that is connected to a certain class of conditions of existence [...] [and] creates forms of habitus as systems of permanent and transferable dispositions, as structured structures, which are predestined to function as structuring structures[24]

The 'social/national habitus' and the 'cultural capital' are different terms used to refer to the national habitus of a group made up of individual and group patterns of behavior, feeling, and action acquired through the processes of socialization (individual and group) and individualization. Habitus is referred "to a specific and more or less individualized stamp which every single individual shares with other members of his or her society."[25]

Rehbein[26] disagreed with Bourdieu's concept of habitus as permanent because for him, if habitus is formed through a historical evolution of the internalized history, then a group experiences encounter though rooted and founded in history, but changeable due to the nature of history, that is, history is changeable. It is emphasized especially in a modern society which is fast becoming heterogeneous that the members of a group in such a society, experience a process of change in his/her capital structure or capital volume, due to different nature of the historical and cultural experiences of group members due to material encounters resulting in cognitive dissonance, which shape the group members' habitus as they work to overcome their cognitive dissonance, often, resulting in "change of direction [occurring] in the path ('trajectory')."[27]

The habitus as Bourdieu refers to it as "a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class"[28] and these "internalized structures" or "schemes of perception" shape a group members world-view which is shared with other members of his/her groups, becoming the shared world-view and practices. The values carry with them a set of properties such as 'good,' 'bad' and 'neutral'; the values with the property 'good' are valorized and thus constitute the habitus, while values carrying the property 'bad' with them are abandoned and stigmatized while the 'neutral' values, that is, the values most difficult to contest due to their permanent nature, for example, race, gender, etc.

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[24]Stefanie Ernst, Christoph Weischer, and Behrouz Alikhani, "Changing Power Relations and the Drag Effects of Habitus: Theoretical and Empirical Approaches in the Twenty-First Century; An Introduction," *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung,* 32, no. 4 (2017): 7-21.

[25]Ibid., 10.

[26]Boike Rehbein, "The Lao Academic Field," in *Hybridising East and West*, ed., Dominique Schirmer, Gernot Saalmann and Christl Kessler (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 323-39; Rehbein, *Society in Contemporary Laos: Capitalism, Habitus and Belief* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

[27]Ernst et al., 2017, 12.

[28]Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Vol. 16 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

The study focused on analyzing data around the following questions.

1. How is a common culture constructed through stories in English textbooks?
2. How is a 'nation body' or 'national habitus' created, that is, moral and ethical values portrayed through the stories narrated in English textbooks?

5. Research Methods

This study focuses on making inferences after careful, objective, and systematic identification of special characteristics of messages[29] in the stories given in English textbooks. Qualitative content analysis (QCA) is a suitable research method because this method not only allows to analyze content objectively but also to manage huge data set. QCA has been in use in the analysis of textbooks since the second half of the twentieth century, especially when the United Nations initiated a plan to build a world based on a better understanding of the 'other' and made states to realign their textbook content to create inclusive state and societies.[30] Today, the researchers studying and analyzing qualitative date prefer to use QCA,[31] making it the most widely used research method to analyze qualitative data. The textbook contains huge data, and this study analyzed fifteen textbooks, and this huge data only be studied using QCA because it helps a "researcher to sift through large volumes of data with relative ease in a systematic fashion."[32]

This study used the eight-step process (See Figure 1) to sift through and analyze the data. The process helped in reducing the data into a manageable form by selecting and organizing it according to the analytical framework used in this study. The irrelevant data or data that could not fit into the coding framework designed in line with the analytical framework was identified at the first reading stage. This data was taken out at the find the final reading of the data stage because this reading was used to analyze and interpret the data.
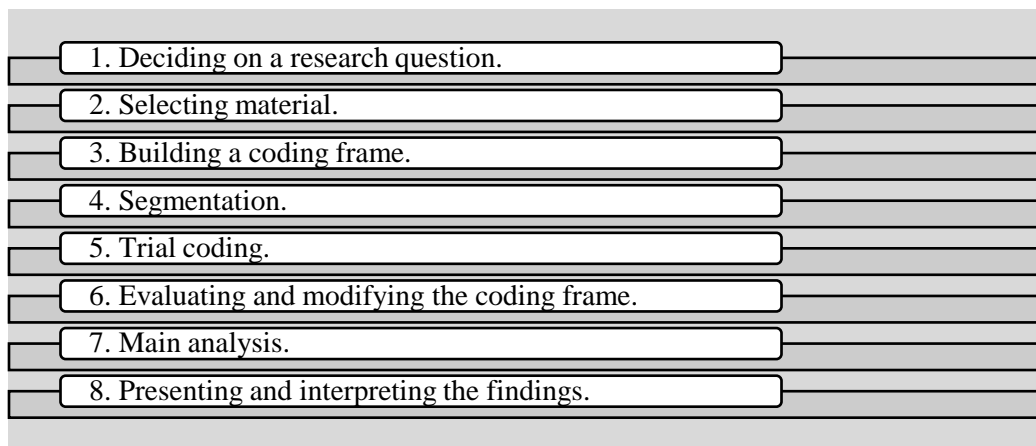
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[29]Ole R Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading. MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

[30]Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (Paris, France: UNESCO, 2010).

[31]See Kalus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (New York: SAGE, 2018); Udo Kuckartz, "Chapter 8 Qualitative Text Analysis: A Systematic Approach," in *Compendium for Early Career Researchers in Mathematics Education*, ed., Gabriele Kaiser and Norma Presmeg (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Open, 2019); Philipp Mayring, *Qualitative Content Analysis: Theoretical Foundation, Basic Procedures and Software Solution* (Austria: Klagenfurt, 2014).

[32]Steve Stemler, "An Overview of Content Analysis," *Practical Assessment, Research, and Evaluation* 7, no. 1 (2000): 17.

| 1. Deciding on a research question. |
| 2. Selecting material. |
| 3. Building a coding frame. |
| 4. Segmentation. |
| 5. Trial coding. |
| 6. Evaluating and modifying the coding frame. |
| 7. Main analysis. |
| 8. Presenting and interpreting the findings. |

Figure 1. Process of QCA

This study borrowed ideas to analyze data (see Table 1) used in earlier studies though the framework used these days was very broad, covering a broad range of national identity, including cultural identity. This study is delimited to studying the cultural aspect of identity, that is, what values (moral and ethical) are considered important and promoted through textbooks (content level analysis); how writers present the values (strategies utilized by writers to present and promote the selected set of values) to pupils.

The textbooks were scanned and converted into pdf format to make the text readable for the Nvivo 12 Plus software. This software worked in two ways, one, it stored all the textbooks analyzed in this study, and second, the software helped in sorting text into different categories (called nodes) and storing the sorted data into categories.

Table 1. The analytical framework[33]

Common Cultural Representation	Common National Habitus	The Use of Language
Widely distributed forms of popular music, art, design and literature, and the mass activities of leisure-time and entertainment	Us and Them	Based on particular social norms
	Opinions and attitudes about and towards the 'self' are made available to them	In an appropriately cultural manner
		In a moral way

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[33]Ruth Wodak, Rudolf De Cillia, Martin Reisigl, and Karin Liebhart, *Discursive Construction of National Identity*, tran., Angelika Hirsch, Richard Mitten and J. W. Unger (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Loris Eleftherios Klerides, "The Discursive (Re) Construction of National Identity in Cyprus and England with Special Reference to History Textbooks: A Comparative Study" (PhD diss., University of London, 2008); UNESCO, *Learning to Live Together: Education Policies and Realities in the Asia-Pacific (*Bangkok: UNESCO, 2014).

This framework is developed using studies by Wodak et al., (2009), Klerides (2008) and UNESCO (2014)

6. Findings

The texts found in English textbooks (of all textbook boards) have identified Common (Pakistani) nation habitus with clearly stated characteristics of a good Pakistani possessing individual such as kind, generous, caring, and collective characteristics, for example, pluralism, multiculturalism, and religious tolerance.

The life stories of Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) and his companions are presented as ideal lives possessing all the qualities, both individual and collective, that a Pakistani should be following and practicing. The stories with the key idea of 'mercy,' 'kindness,' and 'forgiveness' are part of textbooks, For example, English textbooks published by Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board (PCTB) started with stories about Prophet Muhammad's life narrating different events from his life (see Table 2), demonstrating to pupils how he practiced these qualities in the most difficult situations of his life. The writers presented to pupils the core message of Islam and Prophet Muhammad's life as "Islam covers all the aspects of human life. It is not only a religion but also a complete code of life,"[34] ; "Islam teaches love and peace. It teaches kindness and respect. Hazrat Muhammad (*SAW*) himself was very kind and loving. He treated every one, young and old, with kindness and respect,"[35] ; "The Rasool is a model of tolerance. He never wished ill for anyone."[36]

The focus of the stories is Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*), demonstrating the individual and collective characteristics in mostly non-Muslims and poor segments of society. The story of a non-Muslim woman throwing rubbish on Prophet Muhammad;[37] the story of a slave who was assigned work by his master more than what he could do;[38] forgiving those who harmed him and other Muslims[39] are found in textbooks. Other characters in different stories practice the same set of values. The story of two friends, Mariam and Razia, shows the character displaying generosity, kindness, and forgiveness. In the story, 'the Mariam's Tenth Birthday,'[40] Mariam's remorse and acknowledging that she was wrong by ignoring her friend Razia, "Mariam felt a horrible sense of shame and guilt. She understood why Razia had not been able to attend her birthday. She felt like the worst friend in the world for ignoring Razia when she needed her the most."[41] The writer tried to teach pupils the value of forgiveness and also advising through Mariam, "she promised herself never to let

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[34]PCTB, English 7, 2017, 1.

[35]PCTB, English 5, 2017, 1-2.

[36]PCTB, English 8, 2017, 1.

[37]PCTB, English 4, 2017; PCTB, English 5, 2017.

[38]PCTB, English 4, 2017.

[39]PCTB, English 6, 2017; PCTB, English 7, 2017; PCTB, English 8.

[40]PCTB, English 4, 2017, 59-61.

[41]Ibid., 60.

her anger get the better of her."[42] The value of telling the truth is also told through stories. The story 'The Silver Knitting Needle' narrated the story of a little girl, Sana, who broke her grandmother's knitting needles "it is always better to tell the truth, no matter how difficult it is."[43]

Table 2. List of topics

Topic	Textbook
Prophet Muhammad's Kindness	PCTB, Class 4 English Textbook, pages 43-45
Hazrat Muhammad's Kindness and Forgiveness	PCTB, Class 5 English Textbook, pages 1-3
Fair dealings of Hazarat Muhammad	PCTB, Class 6 English Textbook, pages 1-3
The Last Sermon of the Rasool Hazrat Muhammad	PCTB, Class 7 English Textbook, pages 1-6
Tolerance of Rasool	PCTB, Class 8 English Textbook, pages 1-2

Islamic habitus in English textbooks is the conscious and unconscious reproduction of Islamic values such as tolerance, acceptance, forgiveness, understanding of discrimination, cultural sensitivity, and empathy, which are also made part of Islamic culture by the textbook writers. The stories given in textbooks, be it from the life history of Prophet Muhammad or other Islamic personalities or stories reflective of the modern world, the characters possess and practicing Islamic habitus. The stories about Prophet Muhammad and different incidents from his life inform pupils of Islamic habitus as the textbook writers anchored firmly the values of tolerance, acceptance, forgiveness, understanding of discrimination, cultural sensitivity, and empathy in the life of Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) and his companions (see Table 3). The textbooks also have other stories where characters are seen practicing Islamic habitus.

The textbook writers focused on life stories from Prophet Muhammad's (*SAW*) life, enabling them to discover others, that is, through practicing empathy, knowledge of other cultures, cultural sensitivity, understanding of discrimination, and tolerance, and acceptance. Some stories highlighted the importance of concern for the environment, community involvement, and teamwork.

Table 3. Stories from Prophet Muhammad's (*SAW*) life

Topic	Textbook
Hazrat Muhammad's (*SAW*) Kindness	PCTB, English 4, page 43-45.
Hazrat Muhammad's (*SAW*) Kindness and Forgiveness	PCTB, English 5, page 1-3.
Fair Dealing of Hazrat Muhammad (*SAW*)	PCTB, English 6, page 1-3.
The Last Sermon of the Rasool Hazrat Muhammad (*SAW*)	PCTB, English 7, page 1-6.
Tolerance of Rasool (*SAW*)	PCTB, English 8, page 1-2.
Hazrat Umar (*RA*)	PCTB, English 8, page 60-62.

[42]Ibid., 61.
[43]Ibid., 78.

A story repeated in many textbooks (including Urdu, Ethics, and Civics) is of an older woman narrated in different English textbooks. The purpose of this story, as the textbook writer suggests to pupils, is to show the values of tolerance, sympathy, forgiveness, and mercy practiced by Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*). "[Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*)] told her that Islam made it obligatory on all Muslims to care about the wellbeing of their neighbors,"[44] highlighting the inclusive nature of Islamic society as the founder, Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) himself made the Muslim state's responsibility to ensure the wellbeing of every member of society, Muslim or non-Muslim. This message is rooted in Prophet Muhammad's life positive outlook of the world:

> Hazrat Muhammad (*SAW*) himself was very kind and loving. He treated everyone, young and old, with kindness and respect. Hazrat Muhammad (*SAW*) spread the word of Allah and changed society positively. Many Arabs with a negative thinking felt that because of the positivity of Hazrat Muhammad (*SAW*) their old idols and they themselves were losing power.[45]

Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) is a model practicing tolerance as one of the textbook writers quoted Hazrat Ayesha "Hazrat Ayesha (*RA*) said that the Rasool (*SAW*) never took revenge upon anyone."[46] Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) forgave his worst enemies, such as Abu Sufyan, who not only opposed the message of Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) but also did everything possible to hurt Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*), his family, companions, and followers. Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*), at the time of the conquest of Makkah, "not only forgave him but also honored him by declaring amnesty for those who took refuge in his house."[47]

The other story narrated in the textbook is of Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*), not only forgiving those who were persecuting him but also prayed for them. The textbook writer quoted here a conversation between Hazrat Jibrael and Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) where the former asked the latter: "O Muhammad speak, if you so wish, I will destroy them;"[48] but Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) did not want anyone to be harmed, but he wanted to win them over through his positivity. The Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) replied, "O Gracious and Merciful Allah, show them the right path, for they do not know what they are doing. They do not recognize me. They do not know I am Muhammad (*SAW*), the Rasool of Allah. Make it known to them that I am their great well-wisher."[49] The stories have also shown Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) sympathetic towards the weak, that is, the poor and the slaves. The story of Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) helping a slave has shown him caring and sympathetic to those who were less privileged, that is, slaves and the poor people. The Prophet Muhammad

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[44]PCTB, English 4, 2017, 44.

[45]PCTB, English 5, 20017, 1-2.

[46]PCTB, English 8, 2017, 1.

[47]Ibid., 1.

[48]Ibid., 1-2.

[49]PCTB, English 8, 2017, 44.

(*SAW*) saw the slave "in distress, he stepped forward and ground all of the remaining grain. Always call me if you have any grain to grind. I will do it for you, he said to the slave."[50]

The teachings of Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) are also practiced by its followers, as shown in different stories (see Table 4). The story, 'The Devoted Mate,' showed how a Muslim student studying in a non-Muslim country won over non-Muslim students through practicing Islamic habitus. This story showed the Muslim student patience, kind, generous, forgiving, caring, and sympathetic, and empathetic to those who need him in their difficult times. Though the Muslim student was ridiculed, harassed, and discriminated against due to his Islamic faith, but he "turned a deaf ear to their insulting attitude. Instead, he gave them a good turn."[51] The Muslim student looked after the non-Muslim student just like his role model, Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*), who also looked after the older woman who hated Prophet Muhammad (*SAW*) and treated him badly, but he looked after her when she was sick. The writer of this story concluded both the stories at the same note, that is, the Islamic habitus, won over the non-Muslim, and they showed remorse for their behavior. The story of Mariam and her friend also showed Mariam repenting her negative behavior and view of her friend without realizing her friend's situation. The story ended with "she promised herself never to let her anger get the better of her."[52]

The story of 'Abdul Sattar Edhi'[53] is also presented as an example of Islamic habitus. He learned the Islamic values and habitus from his family as the writer recalled that Edhi once said, "my father had very high moral standards for himself. To him, simplicity was the only tolerable way of life…my father was a truly optimistic person and always had a positive attitude."[54] Edhi's mother influenced him and transformed him into "the man he became. Edhi said of his mother that she was a very gentle, sensitive, and quiet person. She guided Edhi in such a manner that he grew up to be a very kind and sensitive person."[55] The story of the celebration of 'Eid-ul-Azha,'[56] is also used to inculcate Islamic habitus of generosity, kindness, sharing, and care for the poor. These stories present to pupils the spirit of community sharing and also the whole community coming together to help the poor by sharing the required portion of the sacrificial meat with the poor. The writers informed pupils Eid-ul-Azha is not only a religious festival but also a social and cultural traditions observed by Muslims. This religious festival has both social and religious bearing; the social includes people coming together, praying, and helping each other to sacrifice animals and sharing a part of the meat with their neighbors and relatives while the

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[50]PCTB, English 4, 2017, 56-58.

[51]KPKTB, English 8, 2017 57.

[52]PCTB, English 4, 2017, 61.

[53]Ibid., 87-90.

[54]Ibid., 87.

[55]Ibid., 88

[56]PCTB, English 4, 114-116; PCTB, English 7, 2017, 28-30.

religious covers care for the poor. The writers emphasized that their act of sharing meat with the poor would bring "many blessings in return for our kindness and sacrifice."[57]

Table 4. Other stories depicting Islamic habitus

Topic	Textbook
The Devoted Mate	KPKTB, English 8, 2017, page 56-58.
Awareness of Empathy with Special People	KPKTB, English 7, 2017, page 74.
Friendship and Cooperation	STB, English 8, 2017, page 3-5.
Better Be Safe Than Sorry	STB, English, 2017, page 39-40.
What Shaped Edhi's Life	STB, English 8, 2017, page 87-90.
Practicing Cleanliness	KPKTB, English 6, 2017, page 1-5.
Patience	KPKTB, English 6, 2017, page 44-46.
The Value of Labor	KPKTB, English 6, 2017, page 60-67.
Knowing Children from other Nations	KPKTB, English 6, 2017, page 78-87.
A Generous Deed	KPKTB, English 8, 2017, page 1-4.
Traditions and Culture	KPKTB, English 8, 2017, page 77-80.
Mariam's Tenth Birthday	PCTB, English 4, 2017, page 59-61.
Our School	KPKTB, English 8, 2017, page 90-91.
The Carpenter	KPKTB, English 8, 2017, page 126-129.

The text 'A Terrible Earthquake' showed the Islamic habitus practiced at a very critical moment of Pakistan's history. The 2005 earthquake affected a large part of Pakistan, and hundreds of thousands of people were affected by it. The writer called it "the deadliest earthquake in the recent history of sub-continent"[58] as it destroyed the dwellings and the livelihoods of the people of Pakistan. The support of different organizations and people through these organizations helped the people affected by the earthquake to restart and rebuild their lives as the government agencies worked with organizations to rehabilitate people and bring them back to leading a normal life.

The textbooks have stories about other aspects of Islamic habitus, shared or collective habitus, such as care for the environment and following the laws (traffic rules). The stories are presented as reflective of Islamic habitus of supporting every member of society to experience a safe and peaceful environment around them. The texts, for example, 'Better Be Safe Than Sorry,' 'Practicing Cleanliness,'[59] 'Surrounded by Trash,'[60] 'Traffic Sense,'[61] and 'Pollution.'[62] These stories also focused on how we (Pakistanis) can help each other to

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[57]PCTB, English 4, 2017, 15.
[58]PCTB, English 7, 2017, 164.
[59]KPKTB, English 6, 2017, 2-5.
[60]PCTB, English 6, 2017, 13-15.
[61]PCTB, English 7, 2017, 53-57.
[62]Ibid., 66-69.

live in a safe, secure, and clean environment. A writer explains the focus of such texts as "people lack civic sense and have little interest in preserving their environment,"[63] and the writer suggests to pupils that they, as a group, can make their environment clean and thus they will be helping each other to live in a safe, secure and clean environment.

7. Discussion

The family and society are important institutions appearing in textbooks, and these institutions reinforced the cultural and social habitus, making the 'national habitus.' The family is the primary setting, and it is consolidated through other supporting institutions such as community and education. The stories found in textbooks are formed around the family, making it an important foundation of social and cultural habitus. The family as an institute produces socio-cultural or national habitus which not only informs pupils of similarities and differences between their and others' habitus by making them available to pupils and reinforces it and pupils, in turn, reproduce as they subscribe to the social ideas of the socio-cultural group they are a member of.

The values of forgiveness, kindness, sympathy, and generosity are shown practiced by not only in a family but also as a group (celebrating *Eid-ul-Azha*), forming a world-view of Muslims caring for each other, especially of the poor in an Islamic society. This view is also strengthened in the story on The Terrible Earthquake where the whole society (Muslims) came together and helped those who needed them most at that time. The writer of this text ensured that pupils take the message '[Muslims] stood with those whose houses and livelihood were destroyed and helped them rebuilt their lives, their villages, towns and cities and living the lives they used to live before the calamity hit them.' The response of Muslims when this tragedy hit Pakistan, also showed how Muslims should be responding and acting when they see other Muslims facing a situation similar to the one faced by Pakistanis in 2005.

Islam and Muslim caring for all is another value highlighted as an important aspect of Islamic habitus. The institution of society is an important reproduction agent here as textbook writers included texts about living a safe, secure, and healthy life through keeping the environment clean and observing the laws. The textbook writers informed pupils that they must keep their environment clean because this will keep them healthy and strong and also show to the world an image of Muslims possessing civic sense and fully conscious and aware of the need to preserve their environment. The pupils are told about the importance of discipline in their lives through lessons on safe roads as the writers believed that "textbooks are a good source that can be used,"[64] to promote civic sense and responsibility. The inclusion of texts around environment pollution, safe and secure road, and travel, the writers are also contributing in promoting and reinforcing the national habitus of producing Pakistani fully aware of their civic responsibility.

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[63]PCTB, English 6, 2017, 15.
[64]STB, English 8, 2017, 40.

The national habitus works best when it comes to the reproduction of the majority or macro-level habitus but performs poorly when it deals with the minority or the micro-level habitus where "the struggle to invoke certain rules over others is very explicit"[65] thus offering very little.

> on the transformation of social systems… His accounts of the general system of social and cultural organization always render it as essentially conservative … imply[ing] dynamism … at the level of the strategic actor…[Habitus] is at its best as a theory of reproduction, and at its weakest as a theory of transformation.[66]

8. Conclusion and Recommendation

The national habitus portrayed in textbooks looks at the majority or the macro-level production of national habitus or Islamic habitus as the stories revolved around Islamic personalities and their social and cultural practices and world-view. The textbooks fail to look into the micro-level national habitus, that is, portraying the habitus of its minorities, ethnic and religious, as the content did not integrate their habitus into the national habitus of Pakistan, making it the habitus of the majority. The current fast globalizing world needed to present to pupils a world-view, and this required, broadening the scope of textbook content to make it reflective of Pakistani habitus aligned and rooted in the humane global world-view. The textbooks are full of ideological driven content making religion the sole pillar of Pakistani habitus. The provincial textbook regimes (as textbook production is a provincial function) and textbook writers should include the local cultural festivals, whether religious or non-religious, of minority groups in textbooks to present them as aligned with Pakistani habitus, and worth becoming part of Pakistani habitus which is rooted in the values of "tolerance, humanism, patience, equity, justice, honesty, empathy, etc., relevant for peaceful coexistence between individuals, groups, and nations,"[67] and through textbooks, the pupils will inculcate "a sense of importance of individual worth; simultaneously valuing diversity and equality among people,"[68] a goal decided by the Government of Pakistan in its ECD.

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[66]Craig Calhoun, "Habitus, Field, and Capital: The Question of Historical Specificity," in *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma and Moishe Postone (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 61–88.

[67]GoP, National Curriculum for English Language Grades I-XII, (Islamabad: GoP, 2006), 3.

[68]Ibid., 3.

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