

Examining the Concepts of Citizenship Duties and Responsibilities in Elite School Curriculum in Pakistan: An Analysis of Citizenship Education Related Textbooks

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Abstract

The duties and responsibilities of citizens in society are controlled by legal and social mechanisms that enable their participation. Duties may also be placed by civil society conventions, which require citizens to assist in running institutions. The extent to which a state can oblige citizens to engage in problem-solving or development reflects the importance of these duties and responsibilities. This study documented and analyzed how duties and responsibilities were addressed in social studies, civics, and/or history textbooks in elite schools, using qualitative content analysis. The findings show only two textbooks explicitly defined “responsible citizenship,” mostly relating to accountability, sustainable development, and respect for laws. However, accountability for injustices has been largely ignored. The textbooks display some individual actions as important for sustainable development but lack coverage of government duties. Respect for laws is recognized as essential for empires, but its importance is lacking in Pakistan’s present-day context. The duties and responsibilities of the government and citizens were absent. These findings can guide researchers in identifying uncovered aspects compared with a comprehensive framework

Keywords: *citizenship, civic duties, qualitative content analysis, Pakistani citizenship education, responsible citizenship, accountability, sustainable development, respect for laws*

Introduction

Citizenship education makes a difference in the lives of youngsters who are engaged and strive to become active, responsible members of society. Citizenship is a multifaceted area which includes civic knowledge, social responsibility, critical thinking, and global awareness (Banks, 2017; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Moreover, it not only prepares children to find their place in the world, but also to make a holistic contribution to the larger community to which they belong (Gaudelli, 2016; Reimers et al., 2016). Having a country with a diverse population and a complex history, Pakistan faces challenges in providing citizenship education as a subject to young individuals. Broadly categorized, the education system in Pakistan is two-tiered: public schools, where the majority of students study, and private schools, which cater to most of the nation’s privileged population ([Rahman, 2004; 2005](#)). These schools are not the same, and the curriculum and teaching methods significantly affect citizens’ mindsets ([Durrani & Dunne, 2010](#);

[Saigol, 2005](#)). The focus of this qualitative content analysis was on elite schools in Pakistan, whose purpose is to shape the country's future leaders and decision-makers. These private schools that serve elite classes have better resources, better-qualified teachers, and a more structured curriculum than public schools ([Rahman, 2005](#)). However, the quality and nature of citizenship education provided by these elite private schools are still largely unknown, particularly in terms of preparing students to become global citizens in an ever-changing multicultural society ([Pasha, 2015](#)).

The current paper is part of a doctoral research project in which the first author explored the quality and nature of citizenship education delivered in elite private schools in Pakistan using qualitative content analysis of social studies, civics, and/or history textbooks. This allows the study to uncover the major ideologies, themes that are addressed, and concerns and values raised in relation to citizenship education being provided to privileged individuals who will become responsible citizens of society in the future. This research study aimed to generate knowledge that will help us to know at which level students from the privileged class of the studied private elite schools are being prepared for the changing world, how they are going to approach it, and what their roles and responsibilities will be. This study has taken concepts from different authors who have made major contributions to the concept of citizenship education. Citizenship education is not just about imparting knowledge to students; it is really about being transformative, making society transformative, gaining knowledge and skills, and working for social commitment and citizenship ([Banks, 2017](#); [DeJaeghere, 2009](#); [Johnson & Morris, 2010](#)). Westheimer and Kahne's ([2004](#)) conceptual framework was used to distinguish three categories based on what one can do as a citizen of society: personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizens.

Studies in Pakistan emphasize the need for inclusive and pluralistic citizenship education ([Lall, 2008](#); [Malik & Courtney, 2011](#)). [Durrani and Dunne \(2010\)](#) mention that the government-prescribed curriculum is silent on issues of inclusion and conflict. In addition, the curriculum decontextualizes history, national identity, and current society, often promoting monoculturalism ([Khokhar & Muhammad, 2020, 2022](#)). [Saigol \(2005\)](#) argued that the printed curriculum primarily relies on a glorified and idealized version of the past and nullifies versatile viewpoints and the conflicts that the learning area engenders. In addition, citizenship education literature motivate schools to teach young children to become global citizens, not just national citizens, a notion quoted by various authors ([Davies, 2006](#); [Dill, 2013](#); [Gaudelli, 2016](#); [Reimers, 2006](#)) emphasizing that global education is extremely important and that schools must prepare students to live in the current globalized and multicultural world. Schools must prepare students to understand other cultures in the world and be conversant with them. Schools must also prepare for their future in the global world.

This research examines citizenship education textbooks from elite private schools in Pakistan by employing relevant frameworks. The study examines the concepts of Duties and Responsibilities in citizenship education textbooks within these institutions by analyzing the selected history textbooks. This research will focus on the themes, content, and particular narratives or activities emphasized in the citizenship education curriculum of selected elite private schools. Thus, this focus was a pivotal component of this study.

Literature Review

The significance of citizenship education is now favored by many people. Researchers and educators hold differing views on the nature of what is to be taught; however, few can deny that the teaching of citizenship competencies to young people is of utmost importance. This reality is likely more obvious and necessary in Pakistan than in most other countries. Pakistan is faced with a host of problems ranging from social division to political instability to religious extremism asking how and by whom we are to resolve “our” problems becomes a very real question for the Pakistan ([Lall, 2008](#); [Rahman, 2004](#)). This literature review provides an overview of the key debates and themes surrounding citizenship education. It does so both globally and specifically in the context of the elite private schools in Pakistan. It is difficult to define the concept of citizenship education. However, [Banks \(2017\)](#) states that citizenship education can be defined as “the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that students need to be responsible and effective citizens” (p. 366). The focus on not only engaging young people with the facts of citizenship and its processes is apparent in this definition. Citizenship education is about nurturing particular dispositions and competencies which sees children as active citizens as part of a holistic approach to citizenship education.

Scholars’ conceptions of citizenship education and learning have at times been proposed as multidimensional. [Westheimer and Kahne \(2004\)](#) have proposed three distinct conceptions of citizenship, these include people who are personally responsible; those who are participatory and are part of a community; and justice-orientated citizens. [Kubow et al. \(2000\)](#) proposed a model of citizenship that includes four dimensions: citizenship as a personal experience, social process, spatial boundaries, and temporal boundaries. Citizenship in a global age has also come to mean citizenship beyond the borders of the nation state or the idea of global citizenship education. According to previous literature, global citizens should be active yet responsible global members, who have a clear view of what is happening in the world and want to make it a better place ([Davies, 2006](#); [Gaudelli, 2016](#); [Reimers, 2006](#)) There are three key competencies that should be developed through global citizenship education: the ability to understand and respect cultural diversity of different societies; analytical skills to look at significant global issues around the world from multiple perspectives; and the skills to do something to address global issues.

The stark divide in Pakistan’s education is marked by the contrast between public and private schools, with the latter often catering to elite and privileged segments of society ([Rahman, 2004, 2005](#)). This divide is particularly evident in the curriculum and teaching practices adopted by these schools, which can have a significant impact on how young individuals perceive their roles and responsibilities as citizens ([Durrani & Dunne, 2010](#); [Saigol, 2005](#)). Specifically, [Durrani and Dunne \(2010\)](#) argue that the public school curriculum in Pakistan often promotes a narrow and exclusionary vision of national identity, while [Saigol \(2005\)](#) observes that Pakistani public textbooks tend to present a glorified version of the past with limited opportunities for critical reflections or alternative perspectives. It is alleged that, through their curriculum and teaching, elite private schools in Pakistan mostly promote Western knowledge, Western values, and Western culture, hence neglecting the local traditions and negating the experiences of the students about the traditions prevalent in their native context, which has the potential to create distance from the real culture. The nature and quality of citizenship education provided by the private elite schools of Pakistan is not yet known, particularly how good the schools are imparting citizenship education and preparing students as active citizens to live in multi-cultural and globalized worlds ([Muhammad et al., 2019](#); [Pasha,](#)

2015). Teachers and pedagogy play central roles in citizenship education. According to [Giroux \(1980\)](#), teachers should not be transmission agents but “transformative intellectuals” who shape students’ understanding of the world and themselves in the world. [Westheimer \(2015\)](#) tells us that how citizenship education is taught makes a difference to the kinds of citizens that are produced, and [Johnson and Morris \(2010\)](#) provide a framework for critical citizenship education that not only makes students think critically but also enables them to take political action and transform society.

In summary, this literature review has incorporated an understanding of the issues and main areas of debate and themes around the notion of citizenship education and has examined them in an international and, specifically, Pakistani context and the curriculum framework, current practices, and differentiation of citizenship education in elite private schools. The literature review states that citizenship education should be more inclusive and comprehensive to go beyond the skills and knowledge of citizenship to teach citizenship through critical engagement with power and diverse others, helping students view themselves as socially responsible and committed to social justice. The literature review suggests that citizenship education must be taught in Pakistan in a more expandable and holistic manner.

Methods & Materials

This study uses qualitative content analysis to examine history textbooks used in elite private schools in Punjab, Pakistan. Qualitative content analysis is a widely used research method used to draw inferences by systematically and holistically identifying themes, emerging patterns, and meanings within textual data ([Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023](#); [Schreier, 2012](#)). In this study, the researcher explored the concepts of duties and responsibilities in history textbooks and the meanings, values, and ideologies prevailing within them. The study sample consisted of textbooks used in elite private schools in Pakistan. Elite private schools were selected based on their reputation, academic performance, and the socioeconomic background of their students. Textbooks were collected from the schools under study. The researchers selected all textbooks for grades six through eight from each elite school. The textbooks on citizenship education used in the schools were on social studies, civics, and/or history.

Analysis of the collected data followed the method described by [Schreier \(2012\)](#) for qualitative content analysis. Initially, a general reading of the textbooks was carried out to become familiar with the structure of the textbooks, content, and the citizenship education approach adopted. This phase enabled the researcher to form the preliminary categories and themes that emerged from the data.

Table 1: List of Books Selected for Qualitative Content Analysis.

No.	Book Type	Book Title	Key
1.	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Understanding History for Class 6	UH6
2.	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Understanding History for Class 7	UH7
3.	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Understanding History for Class 8	UH8
4.	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Oxford History for Pakistan 1	OHP

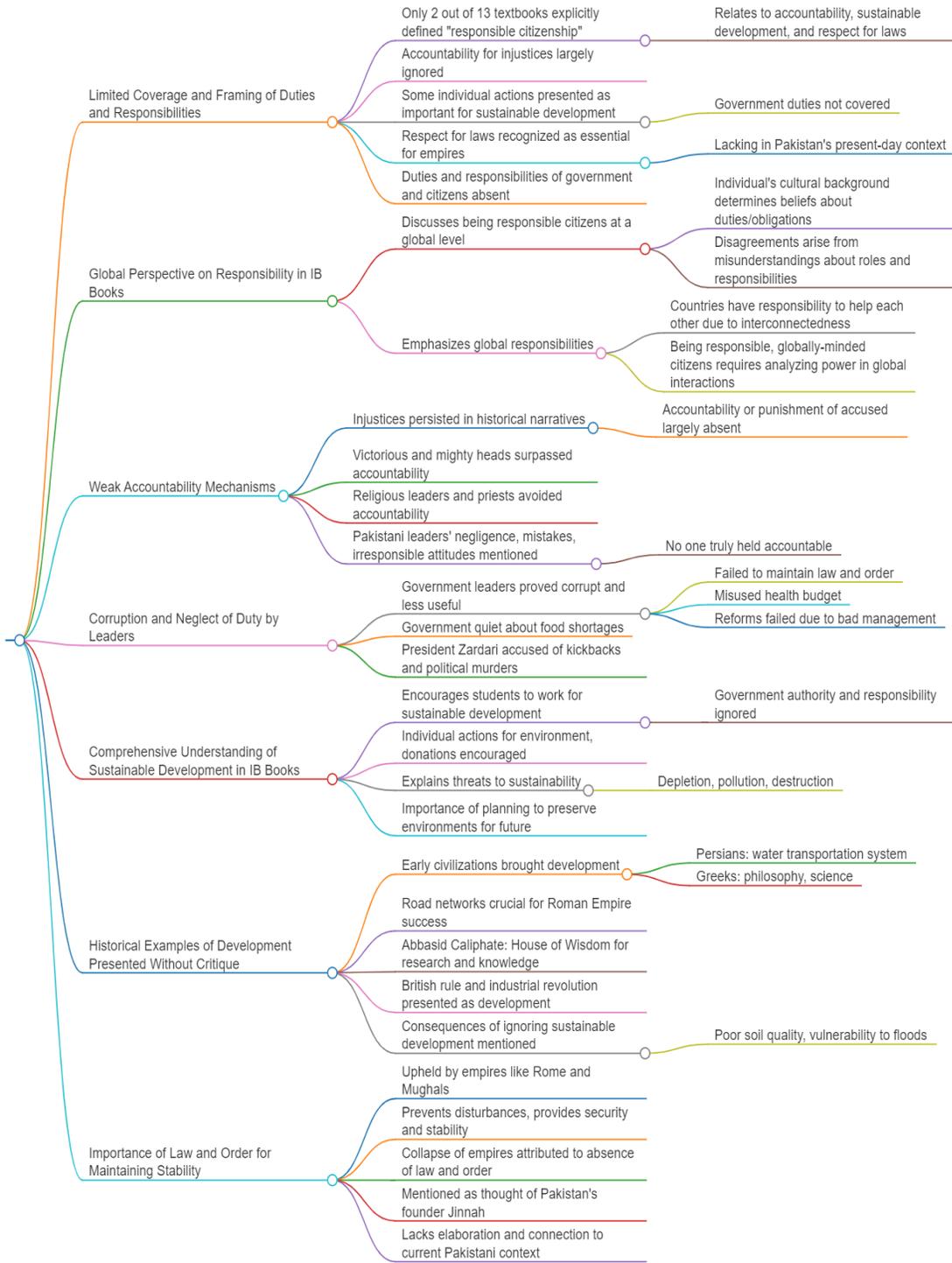
5.	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	History in Focus 1	HIF
6.	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Pakistan History, Culture and Government	PHCG
7.	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	The History and Culture of Pakistan	THCP
8.	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Pakistan - A Historical and Contemporary Look	PHCL
9.	Book specifically designed for American students but being taught in Pakistani Elite Schools	My World History	MWH
10.	Book specifically designed for IB MYP program	Individual and Societies 1	IS1
11.	Book specifically designed for IB MYP program	Individual and Societies 2	IS2
12.	Book specifically designed for IB MYP program	Individual and Societies 3	IS3
13.	Book specifically designed for IB MYP program	History By Concepts (MYP) By Concepts	HBC

Initial coding was mainly deductive, and was based on the conceptual framework developed by [Gagnon and Pagé \(1999\)](#). However, coding was developed using several steps and procedures. Therefore, multiple deductive and inductive approaches have been considered to develop codes related to the main categories of citizenship education. The main motive for using inductive reasoning to develop codes is that induction provides deeper and more meaningful information than any other strategy. Particular attention was paid to the main dimensions, such as national identity, social and cultural belonging, an effective system of rights, and political and civic participation ([Banks, 2017](#); [Kubow et al., 2000](#); [Westheimer & Kahne, 2004](#)). Finally, subcategories related to global citizenship education, diversity, and social justice-related content emerged ([Dill, 2013](#); [Gaudelli, 2016](#)). This paper only reports the concepts of duties and responsibilities found in Pakistani citizenship education textbooks as a result of this analysis process. Findings related to the other constructs are reported somewhere else (e.g., [Rauf et al., 2024](#); [Rauf, Muhammad, & Saeed, 2021](#); [Rauf, Muhammad, & Saleem, 2021](#); [Rauf et al., 2023](#)). The coding process adopted a systematic, iterative approach whereby, initially, the first researcher coded the textbooks independently, guided by the conceptual framework developed by [Gagnon and Pagé \(1999\)](#), as developed above. Regular meetings were held between the first author and team to discuss the specifically coded interpretations and compare the codes. Any differences were clarified, and the coding was refined and re-done if or when necessary. This process of ensuring inter-coder reliability is an integral part of the text's publication process ([Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012](#)).

Results

The following themes and sub-themes generated as a result of qualitative content analysis:

Figure 1. A visual representation of themes and sub-themes



The following sections presents these themes and sub-themes in detail:

Limited coverage and framing of duties and responsibilities

The analysis revealed limited coverage and framing of duties and responsibilities in the sample textbooks. Among the 13 selected books, two explicitly emphasized the concept of duties and responsibilities. One of the books not only defines what it means to be a responsible citizen as “a key factor in how we make decisions based on the knowledge that we have” (IS3, p. 74), but it also talks about “choosing to act in a responsible way” (IS3, p. 74). The positive thing is that it also explains the reciprocal relation between power and responsibility by stating that “people in power have obligations to be responsible, but power can also sway our moral values” and “great power involves great responsibility” (IS3, p. 75). Duties and responsibilities also involve concepts of personal accountability, working for sustainable development, and respecting laws. It also demonstrates how the state compels its citizens to be peacefully involved in solving problems both locally and globally. In books published for Pakistani students, the subtext was developed such that political participation is limited to the upper class of society, without any explicit aim or agenda, and there is no concept of accountability in politics. Political motivation remains either religious or lusting for power. The ‘unwashed masses’ remained unnoticed in the text. Information and qualifications were limited to superficial levels. The connotation was developed such that Pakistan is going well without sustainable development and the implementation of law and order. The reciprocal relationship between duties and responsibilities of the government and its citizens was part of the null curriculum.

Global perspective on responsibility in international baccalaureate (IB) books

One of the IB books also discusses what it means to be responsible citizens at a global level. It explains: “An individual’s cultural background determines what he or she believes their duty or obligation is during an interaction” (IS3, p. 32). The book further elaborates: “Disagreements between two parties can arise when they misunderstand what the other party’s role and responsibility should be in an interaction. Another way to look at global interaction is to also consider diverse cultural perspectives on rights and responsibilities” (IS3, p. 32).

It also emphasizes the concept of responsibility at a global level by asserting the following: “The nation/neighboring states have a responsibility to help/assist them, to give them support. Neighboring states/countries have responsibilities in this scenario, because the world is interconnected” (IS3, p. 32). The book elaborates that, “the first responsibility is of the country that is in a natural disaster situation, and then the neighboring states have the moral responsibility to provide any type of support and alliance that must be a very quick and complete response based on the concept of global citizenship, and to test your global citizenship” (IS3, p. 32). The text narrates what it means to be responsible at the global level with the help of examples such as the eradication of smallpox, which involved “a global effort with responsibility” (HBC, p. 87). It further guides students that “being able to analyze the complexity and balance of power in global interactions can help us to make choices about how we can live as responsible, globally minded citizens” (IS3, p. 32). The content further provokes students to think about global interaction in terms of economic resources: “If we use resources that come from another country, are we responsible for the way resources are managed in that country? Are there new ways to take or show responsibility?” (IS3, p. 32).

Another book also reminds students of their responsibility towards the environment within the broader scope by stating: “The idea of choosing to donate money for the preservation of another country’s environment is a fairly original one. It challenges our ideas of the spheres of responsibility” (HBC, p. 81). Although the book *My World History* explicitly addresses Americans, it also provides children with a better understanding of what it means to be responsible citizens. Miles Lemaire’s story serves as a strong inspiration for students to fulfill their responsibilities. However, this is purely in the American context. It elaborates, “Our responsibilities include a duty to participate in government and civic life, or activities related to one’s society and community. Voting is both a right and a responsibility for U.S. citizens” (MWH, p. 27). It also stresses freedom of expression and voting as “Americans also have responsibilities. For example, we have the right to speak freely, but we also have the responsibility to allow others to say things we may not agree with” (MWH, p. 27).

The other section of elite students who read IB books was largely motivated by economic gains for civic and political participation. The information remained inclined towards global interactions for trade and resources.

Weak accountability mechanisms

Findings concerning the concept of accountability reveal that although injustice against both the masses and the multitudes persisted in the historical narratives of the books, anecdotes concerning accountability or punishment of the accused of any malpractice largely remained part of the null curriculum. The contents of IB books are more focused on international perspectives than on local or national frames of reference. One of the books raises the question of accountability within the global panorama, but leaves it unanswered:

For centuries, certain countries have utilized and taken advantage of the natural resources of other nations, often without much consideration of the impact on future generations. Determining who is at fault is difficult. Is it a country that uses raw materials? Is the government or corporation paying for the resources? It may be that the consumer is willing to pay for products resulting from utilization. Is this a combination of these parties? In the end, the exploitation of natural resources across borders raises difficult questions of culpability without any easy answers. (IS3, p. 80)

The books also developed the notion that it was easy for victorious and mighty heads to surpass accountability. The narrative of the textbook explains that from early civilization to the modern world, several religious leaders and priests were never held accountable for their deeds, and it was considered such a noble profession that someone could hardly question their supremacy, even if they were found guilty. The concept of indulgence was used to avoid aristocrats’ accountability.

Some bishops lived far from their churches and often neglected their duties. The Catholic Church has also imposed taxes on its members. This money financed the construction of St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome as well as a rich lifestyle for the pope. The Church also raised money by selling indulgences, a kind of cancellation of punishment for sins that had been confessed and forgiven by God (MWH, p. 741)

From the global to the local level, the delivered message remains the same for accountability. The negligence, mistakes, and irresponsible attitude of Pakistani leaders were

mentioned several times, but no one was truly held accountable. Concerning Pakistan, the term accountability was used in textbooks when Zia-ul-Haq said that there had been a lot of corruption in the era of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the former president of Pakistan. “Whoever person had been embezzling with the public money, seizing the path of justice, and doing atrocities with the people of Pakistan would have to account after a couple of days, and they will be made accountable and punished” (THCP, p. 149).

However, at the national level, the story of incidents such as the killing of Liaquat Ali Khan, the Separation of East Pakistan, the Assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the plane crash of Zia-ul-Haq, the incident at Ojhri camp, and even the murder of Benazir Bhutto ended up simply by statements like “The people responsible for the assassination and even the cause of Benazir Bhutto’s death remain uncertain,” “While this was clearly sabotaged, Zia’s death (like that of Liaquat in 1951) was never solved.” or “In September 1996, Murtaza was killed by a police ambush at his residence in Karachi. None of the policemen involved were arrested, and some were later promoted” (THCP, p. 165).

Corruption and neglect of duty by leaders

The negligence of duties was a significant issue as textbooks talked at great length about how government leaders proved to be corrupt and seemed to be less useful as well. For example, the text highlighted how the government failed to maintain the law-and-order situation and aftermath of the economic downfall (PHCG, p. 211). The textbooks also discussed how the bureaucracy used the health budget extensively and inefficiently (PHCL, p. 195). The reforms that were not able to deliver results were supposed to be due to bad management (PHCL, p. 193). The textbooks also discussed how the government remained quiet about food shortages (THCP, p. 123). Another highlight was that, according to the text, President Asif Ali Zardari was accused of taking kickback on government deals and political murders (THCP, p. 161).

Comprehensive understanding of sustainable development in IB books but vague in Pakistani books

Working for sustainable development and respecting laws and constitutions is the duty of every citizen. The concept, definition, and importance of sustainable development were conveyed to the students of the International Baccalaureate. The IB books encouraged students to work for sustainable development; however, the authority and responsibility of the government were ignored. The books did not explicitly mention the duties and responsibilities of the government or the concept that governments are liable for citizen welfare. However, individual actions for sustainable development, environmental protection, and donations are also encouraged. The book highlighted that “sustainability is being able to meet our current needs and desires without compromising the ability of future people, including our older selves, to meet their own needs. Sustainability is being able to guarantee that the days to come will be at least as prosperous as today, or even better” (IS3, p. 173). Moreover, the textbook emphasizes depletion, pollution, and destruction as threats to sustainability. It also enlightens students regarding the relationship between sustainable development and the environment. The text indicates that one way of supporting and maintaining natural environments is through more sustainable land and resource use. This involves planning such that such environments are preserved in the future (IS2, p. 81). The book cited that

Sustainability is taking care of environmental systems, so they will be there for future needs of humanity while needing to have economic systems in place to coexist with environmental and human-created systems interacting in harmony, described as being sustainable. The balance between living standards and sustainability is what our values are; we see the trade-off, as in people. Diluting the equilibrium between living standards and sustainability is uncomplicated. (IS3, p. 192)

IB students were also informed about the global program of sustainable development goals launched by the United Nations in 2015 and that its aims are:

Eliminating extreme poverty and combating climate change and inequality are the objectives the world needs, but it is a collective responsibility of all individuals, organizations, and governments around the globe. These practices were initiated by an international organization, but their success depends on the people, organizations, and governments committed to achieving them. It is crucial to obtain all key stakeholders engaged in these practices. Given the complexity of these challenges, all sectors have a role to play, and only through global and harmonized action on all sectors can the benefits of these increases be fully realized, leading to an improved future for all of us. (IS1, p.31)

The other books specifically designed for the students of Pakistan did not distinctly or peculiarly mention anything about what sustainable development means, why it is important, what its goals are, how it is related to the environment and social justice, or how Pakistan needs to work on it. It was not mentioned that Pakistan is also a signatory to sustainable development goals or how they can be achieved.

Historical examples of development presented without critique

Many historical examples of development are presented but with no critique to them which leaves the readers with a narrow view on what progress really is. According to the historical account, it was the Mughal era that brought about the discovery of an early civilization from where British rule developed and built its own foundation for the growth of later generations. In the whole text, we get to know that development is the word that motorized activities supplement with many factors. The text speaks about development in various other fields such as arts, science, literature, language, architecture, trade, commerce, philosophy, and in view of the industrial revolution.

The narrative begins by enumerating the essentials of life through a few early civilizations: “Down to Taxila near Rawalpindi remains the world’s most ancient-known university, where people used to seek knowledge” (PHCG, p. 19). The narrative continues: “Spread over a vast area, the Persians came up with a marvelous system of water transportation, called a qanat, by tunneling the underground stratum of rocks to channel the water at slopes” (PHCG, p. 41). The narrative cites Greeks as examples: “The Greeks, concerning education and learning, are well-known in all fields. The Greeks have emerged as philosophers, scholars, writers, and scientists of the old era, such as Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and Archimedes (PHCG, p. 44). The book underscores that The men stated in this book are the ones who have taught earth-shattering knowledge to the world, not only in the past, but also in our time (PHCG, p. 44).

One of the books underscores that the road network of the Roman Empire played a vital role in the success of the empire: “Roads were the main communication arteries in the vast Roman Empire. The legions marched to every length and breadth of the Roman Empire. Their roads facilitated commerce and cultural exchange, helping, and spreading the Roman farther afield” (HCP, p. 58). In addition, A second example of how infrastructure improved cultural and intellectual pursuits is the Caliphate of the Abbasid Caliphs: “The Abbasid Khalifa, establishing the Bayt-ul-Hikmah, comprised of manuscripts, books, and literature, in Baghdad became the source of research and knowledge in that area’ (HCP, p. 58). Another example of how infrastructure helped improve specific civilizations was Feroz Tuglaq’s construction of canals, which allowed for the irrigation of fields: “To enhance agriculture and improve peasants’ lives, Feroz Tughlaq initiated irrigation of farmlands by digging canals” (PHCG, p. 71).

The developments under British rule and the industrial revolution have also been presented in another book:

The laying of railway tracks throughout the subcontinent in 1849 and the beginning of the railway system linked the cities with the source, easing the British masters to take the raw materials and the produced goods to the ports. The steam engine and industry preceded mechanization to produce iron tools, which are also used in the textile industry. This differentiated Britain from other nations. It is the simplification of the transport system with the prediction of the new and easy techniques that were also used. (THCP, p. 283)

The consequences of ignoring sustainable development were also mentioned stating that the results of poorly planned development were drastic. The growing population overused the land; therefore, the soil was poor quality and little food could be produced. Towns and cities used up the wood in the area for baking bricks leaving the area vulnerable to floods and with little resources to deal with these issues (HIF 39).

Importance of law and order for maintaining stability

The concept of law-and-order enforcement has been viewed as of paramount importance in present-day Pakistan. In many cases, the emergence of empires is the result of the organizational order. For instance, “the conquered people did not interfere with as long as they accepted the authority of the ruler, paid their taxes, and obeyed the law of the land by Rome” (PHCG, p. 49). “The Mughal emperor Akbar also upheld the rule of law; he had understood above all the need for law and order to expand and strengthen the state, which would lead to security, job stability and economic activity of the people” (PHCL, p. 66). It is also mentioned in relation to the thought and viewpoint of the founder of Pakistan, M. A. Jinnah,

Three basic duties of government are to protect and safeguard life, property, and religious beliefs of its subjects; his duty prevents disturbance and preservation of order; the absence disturbs the subject and threat to life security; uncivilized nature caused the collapse of empires; and significance of learning caused the dark ages and collapse of law and order. (PHCL, p. 2)

However, this description lacks elaboration and connection to the current Pakistani context.

Discussion

The analysis revealed a number of important findings about the textbooks that are used in elite private schools, and it sheds light on the dominant narratives, themes, and values that are propagated through the textbooks, which have potential implications for students' understanding of citizenship, social responsibility, and global awareness.

One of the most prominent findings of qualitative content analysis of textbooks is the limited coverage of the concept of duties and responsibilities in citizenship education textbooks. The results revealed that limited space was allocated to the discussion of what it meant to be responsible. Only two of the 13 books explicitly discussed the responsibilities of citizens. The books argued that responsibilities refer to decision-making through an informed mind and acting responsibly without harming others. Conversely, responsibilities also mean that anyone with power should exercise that power to fulfill their responsibilities. These findings are consistent with the views of [Westheimer and Kahne \(2004\)](#) that personally responsible citizens are often emphasized at the expense of justice-oriented citizens, and that critical reflection tools are underestimated in citizenship education. IB books also placed the concept of responsibility from a global perspective. They claimed that rights and responsibilities are connected to cultural backgrounds and questioned the responsibilities of global citizens. They stated that they had to help in crises in other countries and make sustainable and future-oriented choices. This focus is consistent with the dominant features of global citizenship education in early 21st century Western contexts ([Davies, 2006](#); [Gaudelli, 2016](#); [Reimers, 2006](#)).

The missing theme regarding duties and responsibilities is accountability. The books, to an extent, discussed corruption, incompetence, neglect of duty, etc., of political and military leaders but did not show a clear way of relating any form of accountability to them. Only IB textbooks discussed accountability on a global scale, for example, for the exploitation of natural resources and its precedence for future generations. This reflects the common assumption of normality, health, and longevity of Western imperial reorganization without deeply analyzing the roots of imperialism, natural resources, and how these reflected the behaviors and values of the global North ([Torres, 2017](#)). With regard to sustainable development, IB books offer a more comprehensive understanding. They stated its links to different themes, such as the environment, social justice, and individual and collective responsibilities. They also encouraged students to take action to achieve sustainable development according to the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. It also reflects the dominant features of education in the 21st century, which is education for sustainable development ([Tarozzi & Torres, 2016](#)). Textbooks specifically designed for Pakistani students were vague about sustainable development. Though they discussed historical examples of development and their consequences in relation to non-sustainability, they did not critique the role of people; hence, they missed locating sustainability in the minds of people in the respective era. IB books provided a sophisticated version of sustainable development. Although they mentioned that humans have rights and rest on them, it is morally expected from them that at least they do not leave bad marks on the earth. They further elaborated on our connection to the earth, the major challenges facing the world today, the importance of keeping questions alive, etc.

Conclusion

This study shows that citizenship is just a term and has not been given any proper treatment in the curriculum of elite private schools in Pakistan, as studied through the content analysis method of qualitative research. The gaps and lack emerging in the contents of the different textbooks on citizenship show how little attention has been paid to this enigmatic and challenging element of an inclusive curriculum. The analysis of the textbooks showed that responsibility was discussed in a few books, mainly IB. This was explained in terms of making informed decisions and acting responsibly. They also had a broader vision of responsibility as global citizens, considering themselves citizens of the world, and having an obligation to work for a sustainable world and help others in crisis. Nevertheless, the texts in all textbooks about accountability were poor, particularly with regard to the accountability of political and military leaders. None of the textbooks provided content on holding leaders accountable for their actions.

The textbooks have almost the same definition of sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the abilities of future generations. It was mainly the Pakistani students' books that lacked a detailed and enthusiastic presentation of the meaning of sustainable development. This should be presented based on the criteria that sustainable development is not only related to the environment, but also has four equal components: environment, social justice, individual responsibility, and collective responsibility. This criterion of four equal components has been used only in IB books; however, it is badly needed to promote this aspect because students lack the concept of their role in promoting sustainable development as individuals and collectives. The texts of almost all books showed similarities while discussing law and order. Almost all textbooks state that laws and orders must be followed to maintain peace and consistency in the present world. No elaboration has been made to show its comparative and proportional importance in the present world, e.g., mentioning the law-and-order scenario in the country, i.e., Pakistan.

Content analysis reveals the need for comprehensive and context-specific citizenship education that empowers students to be active and engaged citizens of Pakistan, both in their local communities and in the wider world. This calls for moving away from the narrowly construed meaning of citizenship education, hammered by personal responsibility links with religion, to a more robust and inclusive view of citizenship that incorporates social responsibility, political participation, and global interconnectedness in citizenship education. For that matter, the first step will be to reform citizenship education policies and curricula in Pakistan in light of the key gaps emerging from the content analysis of the textbooks examined in this study. The way forward towards this goal could include explicitly including general texts on key concepts of citizenship education, that is, notions of duty and responsibility, accountability, sustainable development, and law and order in the curriculum.

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