



The Discourse of Division: Analyzing the Two-Nation Theory in Punjab's Pakistan Studies Textbooks

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Abstract:

This study critically looks at the portrayal of Two-Nation Theory in Pakistan Studies textbooks, taught at secondary and higher secondary schools in Punjab. By applying Berelson's (1952) content analysis as research method and Louis Althusser's (2012) Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) as theoretical framework, the study explores how these textbooks are used as tools for constructing national identity and promoting state ideology. The study aims to detect biases and exaggerations in the Two-Nation Theory's presentation by examining the language, content, and historical narratives. The study explores a number of important themes, such as the glorification of historical Muslim heroes, the idea that Hindus were favored more than Muslims during British colonial rule, and the fundamental animosity between Muslims and Hindus. This research attempts to promote a more critical and inclusive approach to the teaching of Pakistan Studies. The study emphasizes how important it is to provide comprehensive and well-balanced educational resources which represent a variety of viewpoints and promote social cohesiveness and critical thinking.

Keywords: Two-Nation Theory, Pakistan Studies Textbooks, Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), Animosity between Muslims and Hindus

Introduction

Textbooks serve a variety of purposes in the modern world. Moreover, in “Transmitting knowledge, textbooks also seek to anchor the political and social norms of a society. Textbooks convey a global understanding of history and of the rules of society as well as norms of living with other people.” (Schissler, 1990, p. 81). The Pakistan Studies textbooks are specifically designed to answer the distinct political and social concerns of the people, particularly the Muslims, in Pakistan. The history presented in these textbooks, which deviates from the global historiography, is one of the things that Pakistan's government finds acceptable. The official stance of the Pakistan's government on the past, present, and future that the government wants to instill in the next generation is reflected in the material that is highlighted, withheld, and presented in Pakistan Studies textbooks. International understanding is the goal of international textbook analysis, as stated in the UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision (2010). Accordingly, evaluating Pakistan's controversial textbooks on Pakistan Studies entails more than just determining historical correctness. Rather, it fulfills a more important function: using these educational resources to promote national ideology.

Over the past ten years, a number of newspapers and news websites, including the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), The Hindu, Times of India, Dawn, and Daily Times, have gone over the criticism of Pakistan Studies textbooks. One 2004 article on The Hindu website, for example, examined earlier academic publications that criticized Pakistan Studies textbooks and called Pakistan's history textbooks' distortion of historical narratives "even more tragic and traumatic" (Verghese, 2004) than those in India. These media sources have regularly covered the problems found in Pakistani textbooks, especially those that are used to teach history. The main issues raised include the propagation of Islamic extremism, the denigration of Hindus in speech, the elevation of Pakistan's military authority, and the falsification of historical accounts. Teachers, historians, and legislators are extremely concerned by these difficulties because these textbooks not only distort historical facts but also encourage students to adopt a prejudiced and biased mindset. There is a constant global drumbeat of criticism that emphasizes the urgent need to re-examine and revise the textbooks used in Pakistani education to provide children with a true and objective account of Pakistani and international history. According to Abbas (2022), an examination of Pakistan Studies textbooks indicates that every Pakistani regime has embraced Hegel's "philosophical" approach to history, which involves picking and choosing which historical figures, events, or periods to include and which to leave out in order to support the national narrative. It also implies that the curriculum, which is supported by the state, encourages religious nationalism as opposed to secular nationalism, which in turn supports majoritarian nationalism and the nation's efforts to marginalize its minority populations.

In Pakistan, teaching Pakistan Studies is compulsory in secondary and higher secondary schools as well as colleges (Rosser, 2005). Rosser argues that these textbooks are replete with nationalistic rhetoric and a clear defense of the Two-Nation Theory, which holds that Islamic values are better to Hindu ones. The Two-Nation Theory provided the ideological underpinning for the desire for a separate state for Muslims, which resulted in creation of Pakistan as a separate country. It was founded on the idea that India was made up of two different nations: Muslims and Hindus. However, this theory seems greatly overstated in textbooks on Pakistan Studies. The narrative of these textbooks highlights the insurmountable divisions between Muslims and Hindus in order to defend the division of India and the establishment of Pakistan. In addition to pumping a sense of patriotic pride, this representation establishes a binary worldview that pits India's Hindu identity against Pakistan's Islamic identity. Viewed in the context of a larger attempt to instill a certain national ideology in students, this kind of portrayal can be understood as representing the state's interpretation of past events and its outlook for the

country's future.

The Two-Nation Theory asserts that because Muslims and Hindus are different from one another in terms of religion, culture, society, and daily life, so a separate Muslim country where Muslims are free to express who they are must be established. The inception of this thought started with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Later, this thought was refined by the efforts of Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, who gave it defined limits and a "name" in the context of the prospective Muslim state (Shahbaz, 2020). The individual who brought the Two-Nation Theory to the levels of a defined plan and filled its gaps with his efforts was Muhammad Ali Jinnah. As a result of this theoretical and practical effort, the "Two-Nation Theory brought forth the emergence of the new force of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, in the shape of a new country.

Problem Statement

The discussion of the Two-Nation Theory in various Pakistan Studies books has generated a lot of controversy and debate. These books form part of the curriculum for both secondary and higher secondary students and thus play a very important role in framing the history and identity that Pakistani students carry. However, there is growing concern that the two-nation theory is hugely exaggerated and the storyline portrayed is prejudiced, serving only to needlessly ignite Hindu–Muslim hostility and promote Islamic supremacy. This kind of portrayal does not merely miscalculate historical events but generates a nationalist-divisional mindset as well. Despite much media attention and academic review, no serious, systematic textual analysis of these textbooks has ever been conducted. This research, therefore, endeavors to fill this void by using Berelson's (1952) content analytic framework to explore how Punjab's Pakistan Studies textbooks linguistically and ideationally construct the Two-Nation Theory. This will bring to light how the teaching and learning of history are projected in Pakistan. In order to address this problem, this study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. How is the Two-Nation Theory depicted in Pakistan Studies textbooks used in Punjab's Secondary and Higher Secondary schools?
2. In what ways do these textbooks present a biased or exaggerated narrative of the Two-Nation Theory to promote a discourse of division?

Significance of the Study

This research has the overwhelming potential to move the academic realm ahead, shape the methods of teaching and learning, bring inclusivity and understanding of society, and perhaps shape the policymaking process. This research contributes significantly to the understanding of the theoretical aspects of how teaching aids might embody state ideology. This study develops theoretical understanding of textbooks as ideological state apparatuses further and is an important contribution to the discipline of Pakistan Studies by analyzing textbook narratives using the instrument of content analysis and the concept of Ideological State Apparatus by Louis Althusser. This study has implications that could help textbook developers and policymakers identify the ideological roots and imbalance and develop textbooks that are inclusive and promote critical thinking. This study has implications and ideas that teachers can implement by developing informed teaching strategies that respect different perspectives and promote critical teaching.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Althusser's concept of the ISA provides a valuable tool for the analysis of how ideology permeates through society. An ISA is defined by Althusser as a means through which the ruling ideas of the ruling class are transmitted to maintain social order, and it can be an institution like a school, a church, or the media. Pakistan Studies textbooks are considered an ISA in this research, transmitting the official version of the Two-Nation Theory into the minds of students. This research studies textbooks that represent the State through their selection and presentation of history and culture, with the aim of reproducing the state's ideology in the minds of students by leading them toward a particular concept of national identity based on the Two-Nation Theory. Althusser's framework proves valuable for examining these effects. The research will highlight the ideological themes embedded in the instructional materials and how they support the formulation of a collective national identity based on the Two Nation Theory, analyzing the textbooks from the ISA perspective. This research focuses on the content of the Two-Nation Theory as presented in Pakistan Studies textbooks of secondary and higher secondary schools of the province of Punjab through a qualitative research method called content analysis. According to a definition provided by Berelson in 1952, content analysis is a systematic scrutiny of communications to find out the meaning of possible biases and thematic elements of communications. The primary source for this research is derived through content analysis of routine course materials being dealt with at the secondary and higher secondary levels of schools of the province of Punjab. The reason for this selection is the fact that this is applied throughout the province as approved by the Punjab Textbook Board. For finding inconsistencies, the study also compares the content with the traditional historiography of this matter. By using this analogy, the readers will be able to understand the perspectives of the different sources of history. Two-Nation Theory and Review of Literature

The authors who describe the context of the birth of Pakistan and the ideological foundations of the Pakistani state are Majid and Habib (2014). The authors discuss a question evoked by Pakistan's birth, namely whether the ideological roots of the state lie in the Two-Nation Theory or whether there is a more secular tradition of the Pakistani state. The authors discuss the current status of religion within the Pakistani government, as well as the origins of the Islamic nationalist tradition of Pakistan, whether they are associated with language, geography, race, or religion. In 2015, according to Majid, a proper understanding of the freedom struggle of the Indo-Pak subcontinent requires an examination of this history within its proper temporal framework. He begins by noting that Muslims came into India from the west/northwest as conquerors/victorians. This was evidenced by Muhammad Bin Qasim's invasion of Sindh in 712 A.D., when Muslim dominance was established that reached up to Multan. This is an important part of history that ultimately led to a Pakistan that we have today, according to Majid. According to Kadir & Jawad (2020), it is theoretically problematic to distinguish between Muslims and Hindus only on the basis of ethno-religious beliefs because of the intricate processes of mass conversion, assimilation, and the entwined caste structure between these two groups. Considering the profound impact of the family structure on the lives of individuals on the subcontinent, irrespective of their religious beliefs, Kadir & Jawad suggest that it would be more enlightening to see both groups as rival branches of a single family. This viewpoint aids in comprehending how the Two-Nation Theory was put together from a familial standpoint. The purpose of their paper is to clarify the theoretical process by which beliefs at the family level mold people's worldviews, affecting how they understand abstract ideas like nationalism and group conflict, and ultimately influencing their political ideals.

Kak (1998) argues that Pakistan has always been fundamentally impacted by the issue of

internal dynamics. Pakistan and Israel are two of the rare countries whose foundation was motivated by the desire of a religious group for a political entity where it could maintain supremacy, in contrast to most other nations of the 20th century. Even while religion might have been a unifying factor in the early years of independence, internal divides were unavoidably caused by the polity's basic structural problems. Following the 1970 general elections that were the first to use universal direct suffrage, these divisions were made clear. The political establishment's, particularly Zulfikar Bhutto's unwillingness to acknowledge Bengali leadership caused havoc with the election results.

Pakistan's foreign policy during the first few years of its independence (1947–1951) is examined critically by Khan & Khalil (2022). British India was split into two independent states in August 1947. Indian Muslims opposed this with their own interpretation of Muslim nationalism, known as the Two-Nation Theory, while the Indian National Congress had spearheaded the independence campaign based on Indian (Hindu) nationalism. According to this idea, India was a heterogeneous society made up of two major nations: Hindus and Muslims, rather than the nation-states of Europe. This ideology held that the right to self-determination and the creation of independent states belonged to both groups. The Congress fiercely opposed the Two-Nation Theory for nearly fifty years, both politically and conceptually, and it never acknowledged the Muslim desire for a separate state, which it called a "vivisection" of India. The Indian subcontinent was eventually divided as a result of the British rejecting Congress' arguments, despite Congress' best attempts to stop the establishment of Pakistan. In an attempt to destroy Pakistan, the Congress then, driven by resentment and a need for vengeance, undertook a "Policy of Strangulation." The researchers put forth a novel theory, contending that during Pakistan's formative years, an existential threat to the economy of the country rather than a military one existed. Although Pakistan's foreign policy leaders highlighted the alleged military danger, the nation actually faced significant economic difficulties in its early years. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Pakistan was able to cope with the immediate economic existential danger by implementing reasonable and practical foreign policy measures. Around the world, textbook authors are essential in bridging the gap between the intended and implemented curricula. This function is especially important in Pakistan, since textbooks are the main tool used to teach content knowledge, direct the majority of classroom activities, and evaluate the learning objectives of students (Mahmood & Saeed, 2011). Since formal curriculum resources are not widely disseminated and the use of government-prescribed textbooks is mandated in Punjab schools, the majority of teachers refer to the textbooks as the "de facto" curriculum (Dean, 2005).

Muhammad & Brett (2015) attempt to investigate the identity-related topics covered in Pakistan Studies textbooks during a time when theocratic education, which had previously been the norm, was under threat from a number of sources. The curriculum policy was pushed away from its theocratic agenda and toward more democratic and pluralistic pathways by a combination of domestic factors, critical official evaluations of flawed textbook methodologies in the late 20th century (e.g., Aziz, 1998; Nayyar, 2003; Nayyar & Salim, 2003; Rosser 2003; Saigol, 1995), and dynamic international pressures (Chughtai 2011, 2015; Jamil, 2009). The creation of militaristic identities was emphasized by these studies (Naseem, 2009), and they brought to light the problems with curriculum and textbooks that include "religious indoctrination, narrow definitions of citizenship, exclusion of religious minorities, hostile images of India and Hinduism, and gender bias" (Leirvik, 2008, p. 143).

Analysis, Discussion, and Findings

This section of the study examines the Pakistan Studies textbooks, taught at secondary and higher secondary schools in Punjab to determine how the Two-Nation Theory is portrayed and to spot instances of bias or exaggeration, using Berelson's content analysis, which is framed by Althusser's notion of Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). Two-Nation Theory serves as the basic account of the creation of Pakistan as an independent country. This argument is presented in Pakistan Studies textbooks in a way that highlights how unique, different, and superior Islamic values are as compared to Hinduism. Prominent historical personalities who espoused this ideology include Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, Syed Ahmad Khan, and Allama Muhammad Iqbal. Their contributions are emphasized in order to uphold religious legitimacy of the creation of Pakistan.

Raja Ram Mohan Rai was a well-known social reformer in 19th-century India, most renowned for his support of women's rights, education, and religious reform as well as his attempts to outlaw customs like sati (widow burning). He established the Brahmo Samaj, a movement that supported social reforms, monotheism, and the purification of Hinduism (Kumar, 2016). In Pakistan Studies textbooks, Raja Ram Mohan Rai is described: "the founder of Brahmo Samaj, also apt to talk against Muslims due to Muslim hostility" (p. 2). This is a historiographic bias that occurs in these textbooks, where history is molded according to the Two-Nation Theory framework. The story is gradually built through visuals of conflict between Hindu and Muslim, thus projecting a particular perspective. It is written, for example: "He established a plan named Shudhi, aimed at converting non-Hindus into Hindu forcefully" (p. 2). Thus, leaving out the facts related to social reform that ultimately led to a progressive society, these textbooks are skewed towards his ant-Muslim utterances. Of course, this implies a bias within these textbooks towards suppressing reformist histories that are secular, hence failing Two-Nation Theory disparages the study of history through a division-centric perspective.

The effect of this is to create a pedagogical structure that enhances an ideological endeavor, constructing a sense of Pakistani identity in the framework of being different, not in a way that recognizes a common inheritance. The text referring to "The Muslim scholars reacted to it and declared that learning of English language was against Islam" (p. 2) alludes to the debates amongst the Muslims in the period. The way in which the teaching of English is presented as being opposed to Islam by the Muslim intellectuals contributes to the construction of a national identity. The claim that the foundation of Pakistan rests on Islamic philosophy emanates from the convoluted mixture of politics and history that finally created the country. The leadership, including Muhammad Ali Jinnah, popularly known as Quaid-e-Azam, supported the Two-Nation Theory, which treated Muslims and Hindus as two different nations with their own customs, ways of life, and beliefs. This kind of argument helped contextualize or even legitimize a justified pursuit to create an independent Muslim state. "The Islamic philosophy of life is the foundation of the Ideology of Pakistan... Quaid-e-Azam once said that the foundation of Pakistan was laid on that very day when the first non-Muslim was converted into Muslim" (p. 4). Statements like these link the national identity of Pakistan with Islam, describing the history of the country in terms of religion and suggesting some sort of divine purpose where the birth of the nation coincided with the conversion of the first non-Muslim.

Yet it is often forgotten that Jinnah also cherished a broad, secular vision for Pakistan. While he clearly believed in a Muslim-majority state, in his speeches he passionately made a case for

democracy, equality, and minority rights. The tone of this presentation is somewhat flat and one-dimensional, essentially downplaying the secular aspects of his ideology. The emphasis seems designed to advance a particular ideological cause and, more importantly, to bolster the Two-Nation Theory. Textbooks used in secondary schools claim that "the Muslim scholars reacted to it and declared that learning of English language was against Islam" (p. 2). To understand this properly, we must read that statement within the wider context of colonial discourse. Resistance towards receiving education in the English language emerged as a consequence of the fear induced by colonial authority that threatened Islamic culture and identity. Pakistan Studies textbooks omit this background, which distorts the students' understanding of those historical motives. The stance taken in the textbooks about Muslim intellectuals' resistance to English language becomes clear when one considers how historical narratives are shaped to promote particular ideological goals. This representation fits in the larger narrative framework of Pakistan Studies textbooks, which highlight religious tension and conservatism in order to support the Two-Nation Theory.

One common example of an early articulation of the Two-Nation Theory is Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's 1867 proclamation that Muslims and Hindus belonged to two different nations. "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan explicitly declared in 1867 that the Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations and could not be merged together" (p. 5). It is important to understand this comment in the context of his initiatives to advance Muslims sociopolitical progress and education in reaction to British colonial practices and the perception of Muslim marginalization. Yet again textbooks repeated attempts to maintain "The concept of two-nation theory had begun with the arrival of Muslims in the subcontinent" (p. 5) is itself ideological. Pakistan Studies textbooks support the idea that Islam is the origin of Pakistan by highlighting the religious division. This prejudice leads to a biased understanding of history, emphasizing conflict over common ancestry and relationships between them for many centuries.

Iqbal advocated for the establishment of an independent Muslim state inside a federated India in his speech at Allahabad. He didn't state outright that he supported a fully independent nation. Rather, he suggested creating a single Muslim state in India's northwest that would nonetheless be a member of the greater Indian federation. "Allama Muhammad Iqbal gave the concept of a separate state for the Muslims in his Allahabad address in 1930" (p. 5). This line in Punjab textbooks of Pakistan Studies has been misinterpreted in terms of a separate country. The way Iqbal is portrayed in textbooks as having introduced the idea of a distinct nation exaggerates what he actually proposed. This exaggeration absolutely ignores the fact that Iqbal's vision was less about a separate country for the Muslims and more about guaranteeing Muslims' political and cultural autonomy inside a federated India. The textbooks selectively accentuate parts of Iqbal's speech that support the Two-Nation Theory and the ideological objectives of Pakistan's founding by highlighting his involvement in promoting a separate state.

"Pakistan was founded on the basis of Two-Nation Theory. The motto of Two-Nation Theory was to establish an independent state of Muslims in India, in which they could lead their individual and collective lives according to Islamic principles" (p. 11). It is the motto of the Two-Nation Theory, which is the core concept that is often highlighted in textbooks on Pakistan Studies. The vision that led to the creation of Pakistan was mainly rooted in the hopes for the formation of an 'Islamic State.' However, this perspective lacks strong, authentic source backing. It misses the overall vision that the freedom movement had in mind. The Two-Nation Theory, as depicted in most textbooks, relies largely on the 'religious aspect' to promote a 'clean' vision for the formation of Pakistan on 'ideological' grounds. This leads to the distortion of history in such a way that the 'social-political background of that period' takes a secondary place to the 'religious' aspects. The claim that "After the war of independence in 1857, Sir Syed realized that Hindus would never be able to befriend Muslims" (p. 12) is one that is also at the heart of the problematic, disharmonious trend that is commonly found in

Pakistan Studies school textbooks. Although it is correct that Sir Syed expressed concerns about maintaining the unity between Hindus and Muslims, his broader objective was to give his own Muslim community the empowerment they needed and the cooperation of the British in order to avoid their further exclusion.

Critics might suggest that textbooks present Sir Syed's moment of revelation in a manner that highlights social divides. The immediate assertion that Hindus and Muslims could never become friends supports a notion that a level of hostility has always existed between these groups, consistent with a focus on Two-Nation Theory. In doing so, a particular focus that Sir Syed had a specific set of aims through his reform policies might be deemed simplistic or even obscured. The Umayyad forces, led by Muhammad bin Qasim, swept into Sindh in the year 711 AD, marking the beginning of Muslim rule over the Indian subcontinent. Although many Pakistani textbooks consider Muhammad bin Qasim a noble and heroic character, there are many doubts among historians regarding how easily the locals accepted this character and whether the ascribed divinely blessed qualities are valid. "Muhammad bin Qasim's kindness, tolerance and justice impressed the locals so much that they considered him an avatar and deity" (p. 11). There is no solid historical evidence to support the idea that the local people saw Muhammad bin Qasim as an avatar or deity. Although his military and administrative prowess are acknowledged in ancient chronicles, the idea that he was a saint is exaggerated and unsupported by reliable historical sources. The way that Muhammad bin Qasim is portrayed in Pakistan Studies textbooks as a model of justice, generosity, and tolerance helps to construct a national identity that is based on the heroics of Muslim history. The Two-Nation Theory's ideological underpinnings are supported by this portrayal, which upholds the notion of a continuous and honorable Muslim lineage. This exaltation supports the ideological objectives of a positive, often at-the-expense of a more balanced understanding of Islamic history.

Different policies were implemented by the administration during the British colonial era in India, and these policies were purely made on merit. However, Pakistan Studies textbooks ascribe these policies to British prejudice against Muslims. "The British promoted the Hindus from minor positions to higher positions" (p. 13). Contrary to this portrayal, Hindus, especially those from higher castes, had better access to English education and were better assimilated into the colonial administrative structure, which frequently resulted in their increased representation in administrative positions. English education was promoted as one of the educational innovations brought in by the British. Hindus accepted these educational opportunities sooner than other groups, especially in areas like Bengal and Punjab. This gave them greater opportunities to hold administrative positions. Conversely, Muslims adopted English education more slowly because of socioreligious reasons and suspicion of British objectives. Textbooks on Pakistan Studies do not highlight this element and propagate the idea of the removal of Muslims from higher administrative positions on account of British prejudice.

Conclusion

Through content analysis, the study brings out the way the textbooks of Pakistan Studies at the level of secondary higher educational institutions in Punjab interpret and have amplified the concept of the Theory of the Two Nations. This study investigates the way some historical narratives are selectively brought out and how the heroes of Islam are elevated to make the ideological basis of the concept of the Two Nations stronger. Opinions such as that the first person who embraced Islam is responsible for setting up the foundation of Pakistan and that Muslims regarded Muhammad bin Qasim as an incarnation are examples of how historical figures of Islam are exaggerated in these textbooks. Such examples have been presented to make Islamic historical contributions and legacy appear good and positive, but they are not backed by any strong historical facts. The way historical events and figures are presented and

interpreted at different places of these textbooks is ideologically biased, such as opinions about Hindu benefit by British colonization and the ideological opposition between Muslims and Hindus, as is reflected through discussion on Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the War of Independence of 1857. This identity is based on the Two-Nation Theory, which presents the Muslim community as separate and hostile to the Hindu community. Students are taught a sense of patriotism and solidarity through the usage of this contradiction, which also serves as justification for the creation of Pakistan. Thus, Pakistan Studies textbooks that are taught in Punjab's secondary and higher secondary schools establish a rift in discourse that worsens hostility between Pakistan and India.

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