

Textbooks & Nationhood: A Content Analysis of Punjab Secondary Curriculum English

Textbooks during Early Ayub Khan Era in Pakistan

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Abstract

Textbooks are great artifacts in the hands of governments that help in fostering the sense of nationhood among students. The present study analyses aspects of nationhood as depicted in the Punjab's secondary curriculum English textbooks of early Ayub Khan's rule in Pakistan. Adopted as the main focal theme, the concept of nationhood is operationalized into three categories, including modernization, Pakistan society and culture, and glorious history. The sample textbooks include English textbooks of Short Poem Collection and Secondary Stage English that were published by Punjab University Board during early 1960s. Based on content analysis of textbooks, data findings reveal that the notion of nationhood is taken up through progress-based modernization, promotion of indigenous culture and society as well as military glorious history and not much on religious ideology as often claimed in scores of analytic writings about textbook contents of Pakistan.

Keywords: English Textbooks, Nationhood, Modernization, Belongingness, Pakistani Society and Culture, Glorious History, Content Analysis.

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Introduction

Textbooks are usually considered as a major tool in promoting feelings of identity and nationhood (Hau, 2009). Curriculum texts are used as the key sites where the state not only engages in identity construction (Tormey, 2006), but also controls the access of individuals to different discourses (Ball, 1990). Because curriculum is contentious, the struggle extends beyond simple debates of what should be imparted to the young ones to the complex questions of "who we are" and how such identity be constructed through formal curriculum (Pinar, 1993). Curriculum wars are thus often struggles over representation of identities and control of knowledge (Apple, 2004). Curriculum texts as manifested in textbooks enjoy the significant power as these shape identities be these local, national, or global. Finding aspects of nationhood in Pakistan's school textbooks and curricula has been taken with great care and in some cases with exalted concern in different research studies (Durrani, 2013; Aziz, 1993; Nayyar & Salim, 2008; Jalal, 1995; & Saigol, 1995). For instance, some studies analyse the content of textbooks as being the promoters of Islamic ideology being adopted for the sake of national identity and nationhood, others tend to depict the engendered binaries of identities with reference to socio-territorial sense of belongingness. Though different in offering their explanations, most of such studies have agreed on the existence of state shaping and/or reforming textbooks in the name of their defined version of nationhood. Upon achieving independence in 1947, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founding father conceived of Pakistan originally as a secular democracy. However, despite that and apparently ignoring the existing non-Muslim communities in Pakistan, successive post-independence governments have had increasingly used Islam to define Pakistan national Identity (Lall & Vickers, 2010). Saying this, the ideology of Islam has not been the only guiding principle for different governments while deciding about the content of

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textbooks. During Ayub Khan's term of office, the concept of modernity for economic development had also reserved a significant place in his policies for Pakistani nation. Knowing that the ideology of Islam had been serving the role of a strong force for national cohesion, his perception for national consolidation was to combine religious ideology and economic development (Haqqani, 2010). Vowing to put an end to the lags in the way of development, Ayub Khan once mentioned with vigor that Pakistan must be prepared 'to move forward and keep pace with the fast-moving world' of present and the future times to come (cited in Saigol, 2003, p.17). His persistent passion for Pakistan becoming a modern nation, a progressive, industrialized and economically developed country, armed with scientific knowledge and technical know-how was visible in his policies (Saigol, 2003, p.15).

Ayub Khan's vision for Nationhood and Pakistan Education Policy

The military regime of Ayub Khan was seen as a break from disorder and instability in Pakistan. In 1958, Ayub Khan's Military rule began with great ambition to transform Pakistani nation into intellectually coherent and administratively effective nation that could serve as a role model for other nations. Declaring his coup as 'revolution', Ayub Khan pledged that his rule shall lead towards making Pakistan a land of 'sound, solid and strong nation' (Cohen, 2004). In his self-declared revolution, Ayub Khan introduced several reforms and gave his utmost attention to the question of ideology and transformed the Islamic ideology in a liberal form and its attachment to economic progress of society for consolidation and nation-building of Pakistan. He believed that education could serve as an effective tool towards achieving the modernization of society for an effective consolidation of his aspired nationhood (Haqqani, 2005). In that direction, he established Education Commission, also called Sharif Commission which presented a comprehensive report, being described as the Magna Carta of educational reforms in Pakistan (Saigol, 2003).

The emerging education policy had entailed dual objective, that is, 'serving the individual needs of a student as well as transforming him/her as a committed patriotic citizen and active economic contributor in the society' (Noreen, 2014, p.38). Based on the recommendations of Sharif Commission report, textbooks were designed reflecting the government policies (Lall & Vicker, 2010). It is believed that Ayub Khan's martial rule highly patronized education with its major objectives centered around nationhood and its necessary corollaries, including national integration, modernization of economy and society, and Pakistan nationhood based on Islamic values (Saigol, 2003). The present research analyses the English textbooks of 1961-1962 to seek answer for the question:

- What manifestations of nationhood are depicted in Punjab secondary curriculum English textbooks during early rule of Ayub Khan?

Setting Theoretical Context of the Study with reference to Textbooks and Nationhood

The theoretical perspective of this study follows from Anderson's view that the process of nationhood is focused on such socio-cultural identity dynamics that envision a nation (1991). Similarly, siding with Hall's description that nation is a 'system of culture representation which is constructed with the help of past stories connected with the present and leading to an imagined identity' (1996, pp. 612-613), this study takes up the case of nationhood as a discourse for sense of self identity as well as national identity. In this reference, Ozkirimli takes the case further when says that ideology constructs the political boundaries to differentiate between 'self' and 'others', (2005). Nationhood is a 'complex phenomenon that includes aspects of personal and group identity, history, culture and political preferences' (Moltchanova, 2007, p. 256). It promotes a strong sense of belonging in a sovereign society. All such manifestations of nationhood and national identity are promoted through state education system (Gellner, 1983; Miller, 1995; & Smith, 1991). Certainly, in the promotion of nationhood, schools are most significant institution after socialization. The education program is the primary instrument which develops national

consciousness in students (McLaughlin and Juceviciene, 1997). The content taught in state run schools provide for the practical manifestation and implementation of national identity.

With reference to curriculum, textbooks are considered the crucial organ in the process of constructing legitimate ideology and beliefs. These are but a reflection of history, knowledge and values considered important by powerful group in society. School textbooks are dominant definition of the curriculum in schools and, they are representation of politics, economic, cultural, political battles and compromises (Ibid). According to Apple, textbooks are ‘conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests’, and ‘... published within political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power’, (1993, p. 46). Although, textbooks are developed by individuals, it represents broader cultural ‘messages’ and in term of their social function have been said to bear similarities to government policy document, (De Castell, 1991). The present study aims at identifying those cultural messages in English textbooks. As for this study, the case of English textbooks becomes more significant to adopt because one would wonder as to how far identity is pro-religious ideology in English textbooks which hint towards the British colonial past of pre-independence Pakistan. It is intriguing to understand whether these textbooks provide evidence for, what Halbwachs (1997) and Burke (1989) call, a ‘collective memory’ of colonial and post-colonial history while hinting towards Pakistani nationhood. Historical memory is an indispensable prerequisite for national identity (Kolakowski, 1995).

Closely associated with colonial past of Pakistan, can be found modernity claims. Therefore, while pursuing aspects of nationhood, it is significant to find out in which way/s the aspects of nationalism have overlapped with the manifestation of modernization. Saying this, the term ‘modernization’ is broader and complex one. Modernization is the study of social, political and cultural consequences of economic growth and conditions that are important for industrialization and economic growth to occur (Eisentadth, 1966; Hountondji, 1966). It is a multifaceted progress involving changes in every area of human thoughts and activity (Huntington, 1969). Modernization is an encompassing process of massive social change, penetrating all domains of life. Bringing intense awareness of change and innovation connected to the idea of development of human societies. This study borrows from Inleghart & Welzel (2007) some dimensions of modernisation, including occupation diversification, technology intensive, individual consciousness. After all, nationhood and national identity refer towards a sense of belongingness and responsibility of an individual towards his/her state.

The idea of citizenship has a strong historical connection with nationalism. The citizen was originally a person, living in a city and participating in the process of cultivation or civilization, and man of city acquired both rights and culture (F. Isin & S. Turner 2002, p. 5). Citizenship further developed as basic foundation of power nation-states. With the development of advanced administrative structure of national governance system, the state was able to mobilize citizenship as an essential aspect of nationalism, (Ibid, pp. 5-6). The term citizenship refers to a legal recognition of an individual as a native of a community. It possesses right to participate in the society and protect by the government institution (Smith, 2002). Different models of citizenship highlight different important aspects; normative components, build-up on different ideological conceptions and particular socio-political settings in which citizens are situated. In the case of Pakistan, the concept of citizenship evolved from religion-based identity claims of colonial times to religion-cum-modern ideologies of identities in the post-independence context. A shift in the notion of nationhood could be seen evident from traditional-religious to modern-territorial identity expressions. This study takes up the case of citizenship in the connotations of nationhood, where a citizen is being a legal member of political community with a strong conviction of patriotism which involves exclusive love for one’s own homeland. As MacIntyre (2002) and Ikuenobe (2010) would argue that such love is expressed by virtues or values of unconditional loyalty, care, sacrifice, devotion and partiality towards one’s own country. The present research also borrows from Pykett, Sawad and Schaefer (2010) the idea that virtues of good citizenship rest on the acts of citizenship rather than citizenship status. Similarly, good citizenship impacts on the social phenomena as it considered

behavioral process carried out by human beings, (Cacciattolo, 2015). The concept of morality is operationalized in this study in terms of social phenomena; as Churchill (1982) argues morals refer to human behavior where morality is a practical activity, and ethics describes the theoretical, systematic and rational reflection upon that human behavior.

Research Sample and Methodology

An interpretive method of writing under the content analysis strategy for sample textbooks is adopted for this study. As a method of writing, interpretation explains or analyzes the meaning of events of idea (Galgano, Arndt, & Hyser, 2012, p. 103). The data analysis is done deductively using content analysis strategy. Content analysis refers to a 'method of analyzing written, verbal or visual communication messages', (Cole, 1988).

As Content analysis is guided by a more-structured process, (Hickey & Kipping, 1996), this study has identified key concepts of nationhood and modernity, which are then divided into sub-themes, sub-categories, codes as well as their evidence in textbooks. Using existing theory or prior researches, investigator beings by identifying key concepts or variable as initial categories, (Potter & Donnerstein, 1999). The following strategy of content analysis used in this study.

<i>Sub-theme</i>	<i>Sub-categories</i>	<i>Codes</i>	<i>Evidence in Textbooks</i>
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The English compulsory textbooks of secondary curriculum that were being published by Punjab University Textbook from 1957 to 1962 are selected. The sample books include Short Poem Collection and Secondary Stage English.

Data Findings and Analysis

The contents of selected textbooks were read with an eye to identify the data presenting relevant information about the main theme and sub-themes of the study. After labeling, the codes were placed under the pre-determined codes/sub-categories. So, the researcher could interpret the data in orderly fashion. The sub-categories were derived from sub-theme which highlighted the main theme. The case of nationhood was found quite visible in the sample textbooks chosen for the present study. As for the sub-themes of modernization, including Pakistan society and culture, and glorious history, rich texts could be found in the sample textbooks though with different shares of representation. The notion of modernization was depicted which highlighted different aspects of country's development at national level. Whereas the notion related to Pakistan culture and society, which highlighted social ethics, participating in society, and promotion of native culture and its tradition was a dominant notion in the sample textbooks. The notion of glorious history had smallest share of representation which highlighted only military history in the sample textbooks.

Delineation of Modernization Aspects in Textbooks

This category is created under the context of nationhood. It highlights the changes in society and advancement towards progress and development given in the textbooks. From the content list of 20 chapters, although only 3 chapters represented the notion of modernization in the English textbook of 1962, these highlighted some aspects of country's advancement towards development and progression. The topics covered areas of development. For instance, the construction of dam was held significant with reference to its future role in producing electricity for irrigation and hence increasing wealth of West Pakistan, (Ch3, The Warsak Dam, p. 65). Other modernizing evidences included developing interest towards new technology for future use, (Ch15, How Things Work, pp. 155-157). In another chapter, encouraging new careers, appreciation of national progress, as well as highlighting the national aim of

making Pakistan an atomic power, (Ch9, How to Choose Career, pp. 83-85). These can be presented as follows:

Table 1. *Delineation of Modernization Aspects in Textbooks*

Sub-categories	Codes	Evidence in textbooks
National progress	Technology- advancement	Location and construction of Warsak Dam, expectation from it, (Ch 20, pp.20-23). Understanding towards technology like hovercraft, (Ch15, pp.155-157).
	Nation's aim	Highlighting the aim of making Pakistan an atomic power, (Ch9, p.84).
Encouragement towards Occupation Diversification	New fields of work	Encouraging the nation to choose different careers for country, (Ch9, p.83).

Source: Developed by the researchers based on one English textbook Secondary Stage English (1962).

Pakistan Culture and Society

This category is created in the context of nationhood. It highlights the points where admiration for indigenous culture and different notions are given in the textbooks. From the content list of 20 topics, 4 chapters promoted the two aspects of Pakistan culture and society in the English textbook of 1962. For instance, a chapter highlighted the admiration for traditions such as old ways of wandering entertainers like monkey man, snake charmers, conjurer with tricks and people's behavior towards them, (Ch14, The Wandering Entertainers of Pakistan, pp. 138-144). Another chapter highlighted that people being skilled in handicrafts were still using ancient handicrafts, although Pakistan was on initial stage of industrial development (Ch 18, Handicrafts of Pakistan, pp. 182-187). Second aspect highlighted the idea of citizens' participation in society through their work depicted as a way of serving the country. For instance, great deal of labor working in tea-production process in East Pakistan, (Ch10, A Holiday in East Pakistan, p. 99). A group a responsible boy scout, students of Pak Pioneers taking every opportunity to help everyone around them. (Ch6, A Campaign Holiday, pp. 50-51). The English textbook of 1961, the content list of 15 poem chapters, 10 poems topics highlighted different social ethics as well as some social issues. Social ethics such as great respect for labor working in country side. (Ch5, The Useful Plough by Anonymous, p. 17), sweet sleep of old labor after an effortful day. (Ch8, Nod by Walter de La Mare, pp. 28-29), and natural blessed boundaries such as sleep at night. (Ch9, To Sleep by William Wordsworth, p. 31). Second social ethic is highlighting natural beauty such as appreciation of beautiful sight daffodils dancing and beautiful memory of them. (Ch10, The Daffodils by William Wordsworth, pp. 34-35), and appreciation the beauty of railway carriage as faster than fairies and witches. (Ch2, From a Railway Carriage by Robert Louis Stevenson, p. 9). Third social ethic lays out the expression of finding happiness on the one's own land. The beauty of countryside life. (Ch15, Happy the Man by Alexander Pope, p. 49). Fourth social ethic highlights human values such as deep love of a King for beggar woman as she is not judged by her social status. (Ch12, The Beggar Maid by Alfred Tennyson, p. 41). Fifth social ethic is about the feeling of friendship. Expressing feeling of gratitude towards old friends who are not in this world anymore. (Ch14, The Old Scholar by Robert Southey, pp. 46-47). On the other hand, social problems are also highlighted such as the vicious cruel nature of hunger and its horror on the society. (Ch13 Hunger by Lawrence Binyon, p. 44-45), and problem of generation gap as old and young ones are failed to understand each other. (Ch6, Father William by Lewis Carroll, p. 21). These can be presented in a tabulated form as follows:

Table 2. *Portrayal of Pakistan Society and Culture in Textbooks*

Sub-categories	Codes	Evidence in textbooks
Traditions	Admiration for old ways entertainment	Wandering Artists of Pakistan Society, (Ch14, p-139-144).
	Admiration for old way of artisanship	Special products of handicraft arts of East Pakistan, (Ch18, p-183-187).
Respect for Labour	Effortful life	Country-side life and working in fields, (PCh5, p-17). Old Shepherd 'sweet sleep after work, (PCh8, p-28-29)
Participation in the society	Hard-working nation	Great Deal of labor in Tea-production process in East Pakistan, (Ch10, p-99)
	Reliable citizens	Character of a boy scout troop, (Ch6, p-50-51).
Respect for natural barriers	Value of sleep	Importance of slumber and next morning tasks, (PCh9, p-31).
Companionship Appreciation for surrounding	Brotherhood	Memories with old friends, (PCh14, p-46)
	Attitude	Beauty of daffodils and response of wandering man towards it, (PCh10, p-34). Admiration towards railway carriage, (PCh2, p-9). Love for native land, (Ch15, p-49).
Human values	Love	King's fascination for beggar main's beauty, and his oath to make her a queen, (PCh12, p-41).
Social Problem	Issues	Vicious nature of hunger, (PCh13, p-44-45)
	Generation Gap	Failed understanding between old one and young man, (PCh6, p-21).

Source: Developed by researchers based on two English textbooks, Short Poem Collection (1961) and Secondary Stage English (1962).

Glorious History in Textbooks

This category is created in the context of nationhood. It highlights the admirable notions of Muslim glorious history given in textbooks. Appreciation for a glorious history could be traced in a number of textbook sections, which depicted attributes of admiration for the religious saints, royal observances of subcontinent's rulers, and indigenous cultural practices, etc. For instance, great respect was expression for the Sufi Saint Hazrat Jalal Shah who came to Sylhet to spread Islam, (Ch10, A Holiday in East Pakistan, p. 97). The symbol of glorious history is not restricted to depiction of religious saints only. In order to highlight the glory of Indian rulers, elephant-catching was mentioned as a sign of wealth and dignity of monarchs of sub-continent, (Ch 20, Elephant Catching, p. 198). Similarly, in another chapter of textbook, a mention can be found about manner of generosity of Great Muslim military leader Salahuddin which was extended to English King during war, (Ch11, Saladin's Gift, p. 38). These can be presented in the following table:

Table 3. *Glimpses of Glorious History in Textbooks*

Sub-categories	Codes	Evidence in textbooks
Admiration	Religious Aspect	Respect for Sufi Ulema Hazrat Shah Jalal as he came to Sylhet to spread Islam, (Ch10, p-99).
	Royal conveyance	Catching elephants and using them for travelling by monarchs of sub-continent, (Ch20, p-198).
	Manners	Appreciation of Saladin's chivalry towards an English King, (PCh11, p-38).

Sources: Developed by researchers based on two English textbooks, Short Poem Collection (1961) and Secondary Stage English (1962)

Discussion

The analyzed English textbooks of early Ayub Khan's rule revealed different aspects of Pakistan nationhood. The result indicated that a dominant notion of modernization as a facet of nationhood was given in the English textbooks which highlighted many aspects of country's advancement towards development and progression. The points such as construction of dam and, its future role in producing electricity, helpful in irrigation and increasing wealth of West Pakistan. Developing interest towards new technology for future use, encouraging new careers, and National goal to make Pakistan an atomic power. It lays out the expression that the idea of modernization was strongly promoted in those English textbooks of early Ayub Khan rule.

As mentioned above, Ayub Khan's reign was a break from instability in Pakistan. His era is significant in promoting national consciousness which was to reconstruct along modernity, development and Pakistan nationalism' through education, (Saigol, 2003, p. 2). In other words, two main factors can be pointed out. First one was 'modernization of economy and society', and second one was 'National integration', (Ibid).

In newly independent nation-state Pakistan, the cause of modernity was upheld, though with caution, with reference to socio-cultural development during military regime of Ayub Khan. For the sake of strengthening 'national spirit', Ayub Khan held in a speech in 1961, he had delivered at the Centennial Celebrations of St. Patrick's High School in Karachi.

We must have the highest regard for traditions and that we must not ignore our past for the sake of future. There is a tendency amongst human beings today under stress of modern life to ridicule the past and not know exactly what they shall do for future, for spiritual and moral foundation (cited in Saigol, 2003, p.14).

With the evidences given above, the idea of modernization was promoted in those English textbooks of early Ayub Khan rule. Because such notion of modernization was promoting the important scientific and technical aspect of country's progress, what was being encouraged was not the occupations requiring desk work but something very much practical in orientation. Another important aspect which appears with a quiet subtlety is an indication towards making Pakistan an atomic power. Certainly, it was too early to decide with conviction about such technically sensitive and strategic matters.

Second aspect of nationhood was characteristics of Pakistan culture, it highlighted the admiration for traditions, such as old ways of entertainments and people's behavior towards them and use of ancient handicrafts in society though Pakistan being on initial stage of industrial development. The data findings are also into line with the arguments that one of the important objectives of education in Pakistan was to maintain 'national integration by integrating a diverse and plural polity into a single sense of nationhood' (Saigol, 2003, p.2). During Ayub Khan's rule, one of goals of education was 'strengthening the national unity and cohesive' tendencies (Kazi, 1994, p.82). And that some features of indigenous culture were also promoted for nationhood along the lines of modernity and development. Similarly, borrowing from Lebron's explanation that culture 'gives sense of belongingness and identity' (2013, p.126), the native culture with its traditions were promoted in those English textbooks.

Other factor which highlighted the nationhood was the idea of promoting the attributes of a true citizen. The quality of citizenship as depicted in the sample textbooks has mainly portrayed virtues of serving the country through participation in the welfare affairs of society. Instance of such active citizenship can be found in the form of women labor working by hand in tea-production process, boy scout serving the community by taking every opportunity to help, etc. In the National Education Commission Report (called Sharif Commission Report) of 1960, the virtues of Pakistani citizenship were

characterized by one's 'love for the country, and a desire to serve it, based on a deep appreciation of its history, aspirations and cultural and social patterns, and determination to correct its weakness and social justice and contribute to its development as a free, progressive and prosperous nation' (Sharif Report, 1959, p.116; Saigol, 2003). Ayub Khan promoted the virtues of good citizens which were patriotism, sincerity with 'a strong conviction that every citizen must have a basic responsibility to contribute what he can do to the growth and strength of the nation' (Saigol, 2003, p.13).

The existing literature about Pakistani nationhood during Ayub Khan era discuss that the 'concept of Pakistan nationhood was developed with particular emphasis on Islamic values' (Saigol, 2003, p.9). Saying this, the sample textbooks depicted those aspects of morals and ethics which related to the conviction to serve the country and not the religion. Notions in the textbooks, such as respect for labor especially those working in country side, respect for slumber at night after a daylong work, appreciation of surrounding neighborhood, idea of brotherhood and human values, etc. are all indicative of adherence to morality. In order to emphasize the development of country, the aspect of hunger and generation gap were also highlighted.

Along with constructing national spirit, the past was also defined as 'glorious and worthy of preservation', such 'ancient greatness' was being instilled through education system in Pakistan (Saigol, 2003, p. 6). According to Ayub Khan's vision of early 1960s, 'It is proper that our people should have the pride in the history of our ancient land and that they should know of achievements of our predecessors in these plains and mountains,' (cited in Ibid). It is believed that it is a 'collective memory' which connects a nation, (Halbwachs 1997; Burke, 1989). To that extent, the textbooks revealed an account of recalling a collective history which could serve the purpose of nationhood. In the sample textbooks, the aspect of Muslim glorious history highlighted notions related to Muslim military leadership and the civility towards others in routine matters. Similarly, the practice of holding elephants, is portrayed as both the symbol of royal convenience of Muslim monarchs as well as a great war animal in the history of sub-continent. As for religious history, the example of a Sufi saint's shrine is mentioned depicting his arrival in the sub-continent to spread Islam. It must be highlighted that in most of researches about educational history of Pakistan, the religion Islam is portrayed as a major key for securing Pakistan's national identity in school textbooks, (Jalal, 1995; Durrani, 2013; Nayyar & Salim, 2008). The present research highlights that the English textbooks which were designed during early Ayub Khan rule, Pakistani nationhood was portrayed through Islamic values of moral and ethical orientation of social existence, rather than portraying religion as essential part in fostering Pakistan national identity through textbooks. Moreover, religion was but one factor in strengthening feelings of belongingness and Pakistani nationhood.

Conclusion

The present study revealed that nationhood was promoted through different manifestations in the selected English textbooks of early 1960s secondary curriculum offered by Punjab textbook Board. The notion of modernization highlighted different aspects of state's development at national level. It was related with modernizing the economy and advancement of technology in the society. The idea of modernization is related with transition of a society from traditions to modernity; with reference to economy and socio-cultural dynamics as portrayed in the textbooks. The attributes of Pakistan's culture and society as were depicted in the sample textbooks, were based on attributes of active citizenship that could promise their participation in society's development and service to the state through hard work. Islamic values got representation in the textbooks but with reference to social ethics and morality. Some social issues such as hunger and generation gap could be seen as relatively related to modernization. And the portrayal of hunger as a big social challenge was perhaps taken up as a reason to modernize the economy of the state. The notion of glorious history was not given much representation. Similarly, while one would expect highlighting the aspect of military glorious history for the sake of justifying martial law

of Pakistan, the aspects of Muslim glorious history had a limited presence in the sample textbooks of present research.

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