



Centering Marginalized Voices: Examining Political and Social Rights in Pakistani Elite School Textbooks

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Abstract

The qualitative content analysis examines the incorporation of human rights education (HRE) in Pakistani citizenship education by examining political and social rights narratives in History textbooks of elite private schools. Utilizing Gagnon and Pagé's 'effective system of rights' framework (1999), this study explored the depth and diversity of rights issue coverage in 13 textbooks. Textbooks show considerable gaps in the representation of rights struggles, exclusion of minority perspectives, and normalization of political repression. This study identified significant differences in rights discourses between elite private schools and IB textbooks. The findings underline the need to diversify narratives on bottom-up rights movements, emphasize socio-economic impacts beyond material losses, and balance global examples with contextualized, relatable accounts of local issues to transform citizenship education for justice.

Keywords: human rights education, citizenship, history textbooks, Pakistan, content analysis



Introduction

The aim of citizenship education is to cultivate responsible, informed, and engaged citizens who are committed to the principles of democracy, equality, and social justice (Abdi & Shultz, 2009; Banks, 2017; Schultz & Blom, 2023). This is achieved by imparting knowledge, skills, and values/attitudes related to government, democracy, politics, history, and culture to the students (Schultz & Blom, 2023). HRE complements citizenship education by preparing young people to respect, recognize, and promote the rights of all people in local, national, and global contexts (Rauf et al., 2021). HRE has emerged as a highly significant part of citizenship education in the past few decades. HRE is defined as learning, education, and training to promote equality, dignity, and social justice (Flowers, 2000; Rauf et al., 2021).

HRE teaches individuals about human rights and also helps them acquire some skills, knowledge, and attitudes about human rights, which enable them to make decisions about everyday life and the well-being of others (Rauf et al., 2024; Rauf et al., 2023). Human rights are intended to apply to all individuals universally, irrespective of their religion, gender, race, nationality, or any other status. They are meant to apply to all people. (UNESCO, 2024). When people understand what their rights are, it helps them identify when those rights are being tested or rejected, which would allow them to assert their rights or protest against the people who are testing or rejecting their rights and principles. Human rights are also made up of values such as critical thinking, advocacy, and caring, as well as attitudes such as thinking/imagining empathy, respect, and helping fellow human beings. These attitudes and values would allow us to build inclusive, just, and peaceful communities (Hirata, 2023; Tibbitts, 2017).

The use of an inclusive education lens is important when examining the representation of rights in educational material because it affects the different types of students reading the book. This lens is important because students from marginalized groups might not see their communities' experiences and concerns in the curriculum, and that can cause disengagement and weaken their sense of civic belonging (Banks, 2017). An inclusive citizenship education would relate how the rights of women intersect with their race, religion, and ethnicity rather than segregating them as a subject dealing with only women's rights as something separate from other identities (Tibbitts, 2017). In this way, students are better engaged in and will learn more from the course.



Most contemporary citizenship education models postulate that citizenship education is about developing responsible citizens who can peacefully coexist, promote social justice, live up to democratic values, appreciate diversity, and participate in public affairs. Right learning is central to contemporary citizenship education models, which is one of the major objectives of the Council of Europe's Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) framework (Council of Europe, 2010).

For Global Citizenship Education (GCED), UNESCO has currently given massive priority to HRE in its model of Global Citizenship Education (UNESCO, 2015). HRE is increasingly integrated into education policies, curricula, and textbooks across the world, including Asia Pacific, owing to its ability "to contribute to positive social transformation." However, there is a gap between the policy, curriculum aspects, and classroom in the literature (Tibbitts, 2017). Textbooks are an important curriculum resource that connects policy and pedagogy. From the perspective of Pakistan, previous citizenship education historiographies criticize HRE issues.

Pakistani citizenship education textbooks highlight the areas that are inhuman, such as the glorification of violence and war, the encouragement of ultra-nationalism, the negative portrayal of the perceived national enemy, the encouragement of religious discrimination, and HRE issues with the minority and the marginalized (Aziz, 2010; Nayyar, 2003, 2013). The components of textbooks, such as powerful narratives, lead to the construction of the collective memory and identity of the people, which are necessary for citizenship and political socialization. Empirical research is needed to explore the citizenship education aspects of Pakistan, considering the human rights issues as a crucial aspect of citizenship in textbooks that can highlight the gap in HRE in Pakistan.

To bridge the research gap, the researchers qualitatively examined the content of the history textbooks of elite private schools, using the analytical framework proposed by Gagnon and Pagé (1999) for the purposes of an effective system of rights. The system of rights includes fundamental freedoms, political and social rights, cultural rights, the recognition of identity, non-discriminatory rights, and the right to positive action. From the research account analysis using the mentioned system of rights, the researcher identified the extent, inadequacy, and biases in the textbooks.

The research is set in an interpretive paradigm and, therefore, uses qualitative content analysis as its methodological approach. Qualitative content analysis systematically describes



textual meanings by coding and categorizing content using an analytical framework (Schreier et al., 2020). In this study, political and social rights related passages were extracted from 13 history textbooks for grades 6-8. These passages were then coded deductively according to a predetermined framework. Additionally, inductive codes were developed as the analysis took place to accommodate emerging categories. The codes and categories that highlighted and compared the dimensions of rights addressed across textbooks, thus surfacing gaps for targeted attention.

This study first establishes this context by outlining the role of HRE in contemporary citizenship education models. It then reviews wider concerns with Pakistani textbooks, which are evaluated for bias and omission vis-à-vis rights issues. The following methodology section details the textbooks, analytical framework, and qualitative content analysis procedures used in the study. In later sections, a structured analysis of political and social rights between texts is conducted using the analytical framework. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the findings of the research, notes differences between school systems, and offers recommendations for better integration of human rights within the Pakistani citizenship education system.

The insights generated by this study into the multidimensional, in-depth, and orientational aspects of human rights coverage in Pakistan's history textbooks may serve as a basis for reevaluating citizenship education policies, curricula, and textbooks, aligning them more closely with human rights values that are crucial for national integration and progress. Locally, the findings may help reform the teaching of political participation, governmental functioning, rights, laws, constitutions, and affirmative state policies based on narrow legalistic, political, and nationalistic conceptions in the texts. Globally, this research provides a model for textual analysis of human rights integration in citizenship education within developing contexts, and the analytical framework and methodology employed are broadly applicable to comparative analyses across educational systems worldwide.

Literature Review

Citizenship education aims to empower learners with knowledge, skills, values, and behaviors vital for engaged civic participation and commitment to justice, equality, and diversity within a democratic polity (UNESCO, 2015). Globally, the integration of HRE into citizenship education programs is increasing, given its effectiveness in promoting participatory and ethical citizenship oriented towards social responsibility and positive



change (Flowers, 2000; Tibbitts, 2017). However, substantial gaps persist between citizenship education policy, curricula, textbooks, and classroom practice concerning human rights incorporation, especially across developing contexts, such as Pakistan (Rauf et al., 2024; Rauf et al., 2023; Saigol, 2005).

Textbooks as key mediators of citizenship education

As official knowledge representatives, textbooks play a potent role in citizenship socialization by conveying state-sanctioned narratives regarding rights, duties, governance, and national identity to shape students' civic perceptions and attitudes (Apple, 2004; Apple & Christian-Smith, 2017). Research indicates that textbooks tend to articulate majoritarian, dominant discourses while silencing or delegitimizing minority voices and perspectives (Pingel, 2010). Textbooks often construct imagined homogeneous nations using selective emphasis and omission to reinforce the construction of the self and others (Crawford & Foster, 2008). They contain pervasive 'hidden curricula' that normalize particular worldviews and power dynamics through subtle messaging versus overt indoctrination (Apple, 2004).

The disparate content of public and private school textbooks raises critical concerns about equity. Repression in public school texts and the disconnect between private school content and local realities work together to perpetuate social hierarchies by preparing students for civic engagement based on their socio-economic status. Curriculum development must adopt inclusive approaches that incorporate diverse histories and perspectives, particularly the lived experiences of the marginalized recounting their struggles and resistance. Integrating these "bottom-up" narratives can render citizenship education more accessible and significant for learners from various backgrounds.

Consequently, analyzing textbooks is vital to uncover the nature and orientation of citizenship education and the gaps therein, especially vis-à-vis human rights (Tibbitts, 2017). The integration of diverse, equitable narratives and representations of rights struggles across groups signifies width in recognized citizenship, while examining conditions, policies, and mechanisms for rights protection indicates depth regarding progressive, justice-oriented citizenship education (Kennedy, 2012; Obiagu, 2024). As textbooks mirror societal contestations, they demand consistent evaluations.

Pakistan's textbooks controversies

In Pakistan's context, the literature documents considerable controversy regarding biases, militarization, and exclusion of diversity in public school textbooks that warp the citizenship



education landscape (Aziz, 2010; Saigol, 2005). Narratives applaud religious conquests, frame history as a Hindu-Muslim struggle, censure the separation of Bangladesh, and exclude the languages and cultures of marginalized groups such as women, religious minorities, and ethnicities in constructing Pakistani nationalism (Aziz, 2010; Muhammad & Brett, 2020; Saigol, 2005). Military rule emerges as comparatively stable, progressive, and morally righteous, while political leadership encounters criticism (Aziz, 2010). Such narratives can delegitimize diversity and dissent while positioning the dominant group's interests as a nation's interests (Saigol, 2005). The Global Terrorism Index 2020 report highlights that Pakistan's youth learn distorted historical narratives that glorify war and deny injustices under colonialism and military dictatorships, which foster conditions for extremism and terrorism (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2020).

While many scholars scrutinized Islamization, militarization, and marginalization of minorities in Pakistani public school textbooks, private elite schools evaded similar scrutiny (Aziz, 2010; Saigol, 2005). Only a few included studies have analyzed citizenship education in these schools, specifically concerning their ideological insulation from progressive reform. The reform of Pakistani citizenship education necessitates problematizing the conservatism and insulation of elite schools, alongside interrogating and transforming public school textbooks (Durrani & Halai, 2018). Overall, most critiques remain theoretical, with few studies offering structured empirical analyses of the messages, discourses, and representations of rights issues and struggles in Pakistani textbooks across school systems, especially using explicit human rights frameworks.

Human rights framework for analyzing citizenship education

Gagnon and Pagé (1999) outline an analytical framework to evaluate the incorporation of various rights critical for progressive democratic citizenship in state policies, curriculum, and practice. Their model, titled 'Effective System of Rights,' identifies four key rights categories: fundamental freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, etc.), political participation rights, social rights (employment, education, health), cultural rights (language and identity), and corresponding state provisions regarding identity recognition, anti-discrimination efforts, equity policies, and access for structurally disadvantaged groups. This comprehensive schema aligns with UN frameworks such as the GCED, underscoring rights education as integral for active democratic citizenship, and has provided several studies



analyzing discourses related to history, collective memory, diversity, and nationalism in textbooks internationally.

In summary, textbooks construct state-sanctioned narratives that profoundly shape citizenship education outcomes (Crawford & Foster, 2008). Existing research documents problematic biases in Pakistani public textbooks, while elite private schools escape similar analyses (Aziz, 1998; Saigol, 2005). Furthermore, few studies empirically examine Pakistani textbooks using explicit human rights analysis frameworks. This study addressed these gaps. It adopts a) model to systematically compare the incorporation of political and social rights across grade 6-8 Pakistani History textbooks from elite private schools. The findings can inform targeted reforms towards transformative, justice-oriented citizenship education in Pakistan by highlighting differences in rights discourses across school systems.

Research Method

Qualitative Content Analysis was used in this study (Schreier et al., 2020). The study is based on a critical review of texts (Schreier, 2012). Qualitative Content Analysis can be easily understood based on its constituent terms. The word ‘content’ means the available text, and the word ‘analysis’ means the systematic and rigorous measurement of those contents (Schreier et al., 2020).

Content Analysis can be inductive or deductive (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023). The inductive approach is based on categories derived from the data, whereas the deductive approach is based on categories derived from the researcher’s prior knowledge (Kyngäs, 2020). We used both inductive and deductive categories in the present study.

Table 1

List of Elite School Books Selected for Qualitative Content Analysis.

o.	Book Type	Book Title	Key
	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Understanding History for Class 6	UH6
	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Understanding History for Class 7	UH7
	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Understanding History for Class 8	UH8
	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Oxford History for Pakistan 1	OHP
	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	History in Focus 1	HIF
	Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Pakistan History, Culture and Government	PHCG



Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	The History and Culture of Pakistan	THCP
Book specifically designed for Pakistani students	Pakistan - A Historical and Contemporary Look	PHCL
Book specifically designed for American students but being taught in Pakistani Elite Schools	My World History	MWH
Book specifically designed for IB MYP Program	Individual and Societies 1	IS1
Book specifically designed for IB MYP Program	Individual and Societies 2	IS2
Book specifically designed for IB MYP Program	Individual and Societies 3	IS3
Book specifically designed for IB MYP Program	History By Concepts (MYP) By Concepts	HBC

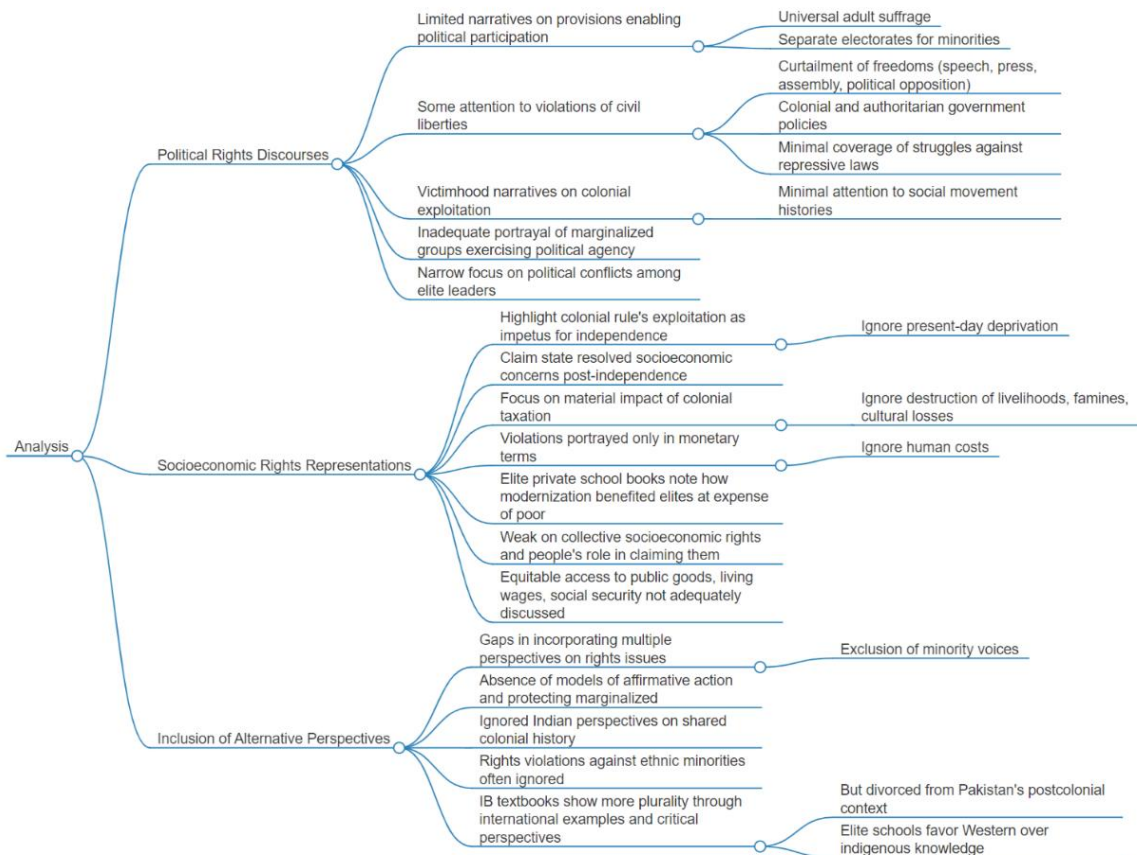
Analysis

Political rights & Socio-economic rights

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

Figure 1

A visual representation of themes and sub-themes





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

Limited political rights discourses

The books incorporated limited discourses on provisions for political participation. The content delivered that as human history unraveled from early civilization to the contemporary world, the political system became more intricate, and awareness of political rights extended. However, abuse of political rights has been a constant throughout the ages. Books recounted how the rulers tried to curtail political participation. The conclusion was that participation in politics was mostly the responsibility of aristocrats or nobles in society. At the same time, the lower segment struggled and paid a heavy price for their political rights. There was no exception when it came to the political story of Indo-Pak. The books conveyed that both before and after independence, the political crown served mighty heads, ignoring the interests of the unwashed masses.

The books paid some attention to violations of civil liberties but little on struggles against repression. A number of other cases of violations of political rights by powerful hands from history were described in IB books. Violation of political rights via “unequal treaties” in the Meiji period in Japan (HBC, p. 19), the story behind “women suffrage” (HBC, p. 140), the Nazi-Soviet pact (HBC, p. 179), the appeasement policy of Hitler (HBC, p. 180), struggle of Kenya against British imperialism (HBC, p. 244), struggle of black Americans and Africans (HBC, p. 255), Apartheid laws (HBC, p. 268), show us how political rights have been misused.

The books emphasized the victimhood narratives on colonial exploitation, but minimal attention was given to social movements. Political rights were nonexistent in the Indian subcontinent. The Subsidiary Alliances (UH8, p. 4) and the Doctrine of Lapse (PHCG, p. 33) are probably the most important ways in which the Native Indians were not allowed to rule their very own land and were expected to abide by British rules. In addition, the Rowlett Act could be added to the growing list of ways in which the Indians could not enjoy their own rights politically. Government measures curtailed the individual freedom of people; this happened because of the government authorizing imprisonment without trial, judge-only trials without juries, no right to appeal, censorship, house arrest of suspects, and the ban on political activities, such as meetings and processions (UH8, p. 46).

There was an inadequate portrayal of marginalized groups exercising political agency. For example, a book portrayed that although the Constitution of America upheld the voting rights



of blacks, their attempts to cast their ballots were either impeded or nullified. Their means of preventing blacks from registering to vote included literacy tests with difficult reading passages and other questions about historical figures, which were almost impossible for blacks to pass. Their fears were also heightened by the threat of violence because if anyone violated any of the Jim Crow laws, they ran the chance of losing their jobs, homes, or even their lives. In addition, the white-dominant legal system supported such intimidation (HBC, p. 253).

Moreover, the books had a narrow focus on political conflicts occurring among elite political leaders. Textbooks for students in Pakistan often mentioned how the political rights of the general public were restrained. The most famous instance was in Bangladesh because Bengalis also complained that, even though they constituted a majority in the Constituent Assembly, Governors-General and Prime Ministers were almost always from West Pakistan (THCP, p. 135) and President Yahya Khan launched Operation Searchlight—his crackdown on Bengali nationalism (THCP, p. 138). Furthermore, the individuals of East Pakistan had consistently been less wealthy as well as not connected with government end-products (THCP, p. 128). Previously, the misuse of the people's political rights has been dismissively noted, with the creation of 'Basic Democrats' in the Ayub era, the referendum by Zia ul Haq in the name of Islam, and the promise that the winning parties in NWFP and Baluchistan could stay in office if they wished as long as they backed PPP policy in the National Assembly (THCP, p. 177).

Socio-economic rights representations

The books focused on the exploitation of colonial rule as a cause for independence and ignored the destitution that still lies today. The same line of domination of socio-economic rights was endured while narrating the British control of India. The terms of trade were created so that the dominant heads became rich, while socio-economic rights were taken from the lower class: The poverty of so many Indians was easily blamed on the British, who exploited the Indians for their profits (PHCG, p. 33). What's more, the text talks about how England tried to save textile production at home by destroying India, even though it led to a lot of grudges.

Books argued that the state resolved socio-economic issues after independence. Among the 13 books, a snippet of the recent socio-economic condition of Pakistan was published only in one book named "Pakistan Studies" for the students of O level. An essay on only health and



education was written in the book authored by Farooq Naseem Bajwa. The expressions were delivered that Pakistan is not suffering from any disputes or difficulties regarding its socio-economic rights.

The focus of the books was on the material impact of colonial taxation, destruction of livelihoods, famines, and cultural losses was ignored. The books stated that even in early civilization, tax remained a powerful tool for the exploitation of economic rights. “The Nandas kept their power in two ways: they taxed the people heavily and kept a huge and powerful army” (HIF, p. 86). The same was the case in Chinese civilization: most of the people were peasants. These people were maintained at a level of poverty due to high feudal taxes. This meant that the Daimyo accounted for 40–60 percent of a peasant’s annual household rice production (HBC, p. 12).

Books incorporated violations only in monetary terms, ignoring human costs. The living conditions of the masses in Athens were mentioned: For poor Romans, life was very different. Poor people in the city mostly live in crowded apartments with no running water. Crimes, germs, and fires were serious risks. Apartment buildings were often badly built, so they often collapsed. Ordinary office workers were also involved in working for private businesses and paying their landlords to run them. The others included construction workers, who were hired at most day rates at construction sites or in the very busy ports of the city. Some had opened retail stores, bars, or steak shops (MWH, p. 377).

IB books noted how modernization benefited elites at the expense of the poor and marginalized. The books mention that the comfort of the discoveries was made available to only the rich in Egypt as “Life, at least for the rich, became very comfortable in the Fertile Crescent as discoveries were made” (OHP, p. 15). However, it was not only in the early civilization that the benefits of technological progress were limited to aristocrats of society only, and common people were deprived of their economic share. The benefits of the Industrial Revolution have also served as a source of socio-economic suffering in Britain. The living conditions for the workers were disgusting and appalling; often, they lived in unsanitary slum housing. They are usually made to live in wooden dormitories directly above the factory they work in (HBC, p. 25).

The books were weak on collective socio-economic rights and people’s role in claiming them. The books published for Pakistani students remained sensitive towards the socio-economic status of people living in the Indo-Pak subcontinent rather than the people of



independent Pakistan. The connotation developed after Quaid-e-Azam and the independence of Pakistan—the issue of socio-economic rights—was solved.

Equitable access to public goods, living wages, and social security were not adequately discussed. The most important micro component under this heading concerns the programs and measures taken to ensure human rights. Most accounts narrate human rights violations. Very few accounts have been given regarding the steps taken in history to ensure human rights by kings or political elites. The implication was also developed that human rights are something to be dealt with at a higher level in society by its aristocrats. Individual roles, duties, and responsibilities towards human rights were ignored.

Inclusion of alternative perspectives

There were gaps in books published for Pakistani students in relation to incorporating multiple perspectives on rights issues. Books published for Pakistani students covered the details of the abuse of political rights in West Pakistan and concluded that the separation of East Pakistan was due to Indian intervention. It also normalizes political abuse during the Ayub Khan, Zia-ul-Haq, and Musharraf eras. The textbooks legitimized enmity through narratives of political conflict, especially by silencing, excluding, or acknowledging alternate perspectives. To build a homogenous nation, textbooks justified governmental actions, and safeguarded state institutions, and remained biased in presenting human rights violations in present-day Pakistan.

Models of affirmative action and protecting the marginalized were absent from books published for Pakistani students. In the historical accounts written for Pakistani students, the story of human rights ended with Quaid-e-Azam's death. Not a single personality was mentioned who talked about or struggled with human rights after independence. However, it has been stated that basic human rights are part of Pakistan's Constitution. Laws and regulations related to child labor, women, the elderly, immigrants, and the disabled were ignored.

In addition, the books ignored Indian perspectives on shared colonial history. The books remained silent about most resources in rich countries and the exploitation of poor nations. The books published for Pakistani students remained sensitive towards the socio-economic status of people living in the Indo-Pak subcontinent rather than the people of independent Pakistan.



Discussions of ethnic minority rights infringement was frequently neglected. Pakistani textbooks issued for students, in many cases, were written about the political rights of the common people, which existed no longer. The best example is Bangladesh. East Bengalis also complained that, although they were a majority in the Constituent Assembly, Governors-General and Prime Ministers were nearly always from West Pakistan (THCP, p. 135), and President Yahya Khan launched Operation Searchlight—his campaign to crush Bengali nationalism (THCP, p. 138).

IB textbooks showed more plurality through international examples and critical perspectives, but they were divorced from Pakistan's post-colonial context as elite schools favor Western over indigenous knowledge. The books published for IB and American students also provided accounts of the violation of socio-economic rights through mighty heads, but there were also few accounts of the struggles of the people who fought bravely to end socio-economic abuse. As with previous cases, violations of socio-economic rights due to technological advancement and globalization were part of IB books, not Pakistani books.

Books published for foreign students also penned that after long wars and fights between different clans, treaties and declarations were written to end hostilities and safeguard human rights. The books implicitly mentioned that these treaties were meant to serve only the rights and economic and political interests of the winning parties. It focused more on solving the issue of human rights with the help of international organizations or global interaction. The topic has remained less localized and globalized.

Conclusion and Discussion

Discussion

Employing the effective system of rights framework (Gagnon & Pagé, 1999), this study examined the incorporation of the aforementioned rights within grade 6-8 Pakistani History textbooks. The findings revealed gaps in current practices for teaching a variety of rights-related issues and struggles within the analyzed texts. Furthermore, the study identified significant differences between books written for Pakistani students and IB school textbooks in the representation of human rights.

Similar to the findings of the previous research (Durrani & Dunne, 2010), the texts contain limited narratives regarding provisions that enable public political participation, such as universal adult suffrage or separate electorates for minorities. The texts signaled some



attention to violations of civil liberties fundamental to democratic citizenship, such as the curtailment of freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and political opposition under colonial and authoritarian government policies. However, the text explains little about people's struggles with repressive laws and policies. For example, it briefly mentions the repressions of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Furthermore, the texts were victimhood narratives on the colonial exploitation of economic rights, with minimal attention paid to the social movement histories that fought such injustices (Muhammad & Brett, 2017). Consequently, the existing approaches in the texts do not adequately portray the exercise of political agency by structurally marginalized groups to claim their rights (Kadiwal & Durrani, 2018).

The textbooks show the limited capabilities, content, and narratives of textbooks designed for Pakistani students. These textbooks are alleged to project that the denial of political self-determination and political autonomy over East Pakistan is the only reason for breaking up Pakistan without stating the contention on the part of the leadership of West Pakistan to address the basic rights of the East Pakistan public, which ultimately led to division (Durrani & Dunne, 2010). It also reveals that all military rule, especially of Ayub Khan and Zia-ul-Haq, has been normalized as a means of keeping peace regarding the decisions made by the government, which may suspend political rights and give way to the exclusion of minorities (Rahman, 2004; Rahman, 2011, 2012). This perspective can hinder people's ability to express dissent as a majority and take part in making decisions when they do not perceive equal footing in terms of their fundamental rights.

Cognitive democracy, being the right to have access to knowledge about conflicts and diversity, is of key importance for meaningful citizen education. However, this stands in sharp contrast to the current form of citizenship education in Pakistan, which should ideally have a steadfast dedication to equal rights protection, diversity, and the freedom to dissent (Banks, 2017). Because of these implications, it is very important to analyze our course materials clearly, which not only differ from historical views but also strongly promote traditional democratic values.

This reinforces the need to diversify textbook content development teams to include scholars and educators from diverse backgrounds who can identify and redress representation gaps while informing the design of culturally responsive pedagogies that reflect the lived experiences of marginalized students (Durrani & Halai, 2018). In addition, teachers need professional development to enable them to effectively facilitate difficult dialogues about



historical injustices and persistent unequal rights actualization among student identity groups, which is crucial for fostering empathy, allyship, and a sense of collective social responsibility within diverse classrooms (Kadiwal & Durrani, 2018).

The existing text focuses narrowly on political conflicts among elite leaders: monarchs, colonial viceroys, and senior officials (Howard & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2010). None of the social movements connected to universal suffrage, desegregation, or women's rights were mentioned. The net effect of this framing could be to make political rights sound like a top-down dictate rather than a hard-won public asset and thus tacitly support path dependency towards self-marginalization. To deprogram the reader, a well-crafted entry will show how common citizens achieve their political rights over time by coming together to beat power (Flanagan, 2013).

Text representations highlight the colonial rule's socio-economic exploitation as the main impetus for independence movements while ignoring present-day deprivation. Textbooks thank state welfare after independence for completely resolving socio-economic concerns. They ignore Pakistan's continued development challenges, which contradicts this claim (Rahman, 2004). These descriptions also highlight colonial taxation and its impact on material wealth. Nonetheless, they discuss the destruction of traditional livelihoods, famines, and cultural losses resulting from British economic policies (Saigol, 2005). Therefore, it appears that we risk teaching socio-economic rights violations solely in monetary terms, ignoring the human costs for dignity and community survival. Only foreign texts critically note how the benefits of modernization have favored political elites exclusively throughout history at the expense of poor, landless, and marginalized groups (Andrabi et al., 2006). They demonstrate that dominant power centers continue to control economic gains for self-interest in post-colonial contexts (Gardezi, 1991).

The existing narratives on citizenship education in Pakistan are weak in terms of collective socio-economic rights. They highlight the role of the state in providing socio-economic welfare services while neglecting the role of people in claiming these rights through activism, advocacy, public participation, and the spirit of common suffering with fellow citizens. Equitable access to public goods, living wages, and social security, which are some of the factors necessary for marginalized people to participate as substantive citizens, are not adequately discussed in the text. Similarly, while there are stories of religious conquests and conflicts, the texts have left socio-economic rights movement stories untouched and hence



untested as pedagogical resources meant for educating Pakistan's citizens (Durrani & Halai, 2018).

Analysis of IB history textbooks reveals greater plurality through international examples and debates, such as war crimes, as well as the inclusion of critical perspectives on historical rights violations by the state, religion, and corporate authorities. However, this was divorced from Pakistan's unique post-colonial setting (Qazi et al., 2022). Elite private Pakistani schools tend to favor Western epistemologies while dismissing indigenous knowledge as traditional or radical (Rahman, 2004). However, transformative citizenship implies an understanding of how students may have different human rights issues based on their sociocultural location, coupled with an awareness of and empathy for experiential differences globally (Andreotti, 2014; Martinelle et al., 2024).

Conclusion

The results of the textbook analysis showed widespread ignoring of civic learning of citizenship, diversity accommodation, and critical perspective on social and political rights as called for in studies grade level expectations in grades 6-8 (Muhammad & Brett, 2017). This research demonstrates the normalization of political repression, elitist conceptions of rights, superficial welfare narratives, and the exclusion of alternative rights perspectives (Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Rahman, 2004). To address this problem, new ways of incorporating citizenship in textbooks are needed (Muhammad & Brett, 2015).

Diversifying the narratives on rights struggles emphasizes how the violence of rights violations, besides material losses, forecloses claimants' civic and political participation and human welfare (Saigol, 2005). Greater attention should also be paid to affirmative protection, anti-discrimination, the importance of public political dissent and self-critique for governments, and how authoritarianism is now normalized (Kadiwal & Durrani, 2018). The consciousness of rights as active entitlements rather than passive access is required, and more emphasis should be placed on the responsibilities of individuals, collectives, and states in claiming and protecting rights (Durrani & Halai, 2018).

Achieving representation in textbooks requires introducing greater regional, class, ethnic, religious, and gender diversity in historical accounts, along with student debate about competing versions (Durrani, 2007). Our elite private schools need to supplement global illustrations with local struggles and role models that resonate with students' lived realities beyond classroom walls (Rahman, 2004). Mainstreaming marginalized group perspectives on



colonialism, development, and nation-building stories facilitates intercultural dialogue among youth (Lall, 2008). All texts must better connect human rights histories to their present-day actualization by combining discussions of declarations and charters with an analysis of implementation gaps, which is an essential skill for engaged citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). These recommendations might help to transform Pakistani citizenship education to foster justice-oriented historical thinking, empathy, and social action competencies among youth in order to forge an inclusive, progressive national and global future (Banks, 2017).

This analysis reinforces the urgent need for a profound paradigm shift toward inclusive and transformative citizenship education in Pakistan. To address the inequities in access to quality citizenship learning resources, educational stakeholders must critically interrogate the issues and, most importantly, center the voices and experiences of marginalized groups. Also, they must provide concrete strategies for curricular and pedagogical reform to reimagine citizenship education as a powerful tool to dismantle rather than reproduce sociopolitical exclusion. Pakistani schools can only fulfill their promise of cultivating civic actors who are engaged, empathetic, and justice-oriented when they nurture a deep sense of shared fate, common struggle, and collective agency among all students, regardless of their backgrounds.

The study needs to be extended by adding public school textbooks to it, in addition to the study done for elite private schools, to paint a comprehensive and broad picture of human rights education in the schools of Pakistan. This will help further identify the gaps and pinpoint targets for immediate reform. In addition, qualitative research investigating teachers' viewpoints about infusing human rights education into their classrooms would help uncover valuable information about the possibilities and obstacles involved in translating policy and curricular changes into pedagogical practice. Exploring teachers' existing approaches, training needs, and opinions is essential if effective interventions are to be designed. Moreover, surveys, interviews, or focus groups that examine student reactions and involvement with the textbook material could be used to determine the real influence of the stories on students' civic progression. Considering the student's opinion is crucial to see whether or not the texts are fostering the appropriate comprehension, abilities, and attitudes for caring and active civic engagement.

Pursuing these research directions would significantly enrich our understanding of the complex dynamics shaping citizenship education in Pakistan and pave the way for evidence-



based, contextually relevant reforms to actualize the transformative potential of human rights education for all learners.

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