USING TECHNICAL WRITING STRATEGIES TO CREATE ISLAMIC PAKISTANI SUBJECTS

A Case Study of Textbooks in Pakistan

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In response to the call by Agboka (2013) for the need to take up more international technical communication projects that have a social justice goal, this paper engages some of the complex processes of globalization and cultural identity through the analysis of 'Pakistan Studies' textbooks used in grade 9 and 10 in some Pakistani schools. This paper is based on the fundamental assumption that the textbook, as an essential component of formal education, cannot be disassociated from the political, social, economic, and even religious realities of modern life. We argue that textbooks are technical writing projects that operate from scientific and technologized forms whose legitimation results in the subordination of alternative knowledge. An analysis of the data through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) reveals that these textbooks reinforce subjectivities through a project that privileges certain forms of cultural identification.

Keywords. Textbooks, International Professional Communication, Cultural Studies, Identities, Technical Writing.

In response to the call by Agboka (2013) for the need to take up more international technical communication projects that have a social justice goal, this
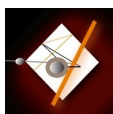
paper engages some of the complex processes of globalization and cultural identity through the analysis of textbooks in Pakistan. This paper is based on the fundamental assumption that the textbook, as an essential component of formal education, cannot be disassociated from the political, social, economic, and even religious realities of modern life. This assumption is borrowed from Longo's (1998) work on the importance of applying a cultural studies approach to technical writing research.

Longo (1998) argued that in Western societies, technical writing has largely been used as a mediator between rational/scientific/technological knowledge and the "user." The user's 'naïve' mindset is replaced with rational/scientific knowledge which is disseminated through specific institutions. Moreover, Longo observed,

> Because technical writing participates in institutional relationships, it works to organize knowledge through science and practice through theory. For example, because technical writing knowledge is made through institutions such as schools and publishing companies, naive or uneducated technical writing practices are organized through academic and economic systems which tend to reproduce our culture's dominant scientific model (p. 59).

In effect, technical writing works to replace certain discourses with others, the result of which is a cultural reorientation that may have extracultural—that is, economic, political, historical—influences and consequences.

In the case of Pakistan, a similar argument could be made about the nature of technical and professional communication genres such textbooks. In form and content, such textbooks are closely aligned with the concerns and purposes of technical writing products. Thus, the textbooks used in our analysis not only serve as a mechanism of cultural orientation, they also intersect economic and political outcomes. Therefore, we argue that textbooks have assumed a rhetorical role in the realm of technical writing: they are employed to inculcate

specific ideas of what it means to be Pakistani in relation to the country's immediate neighbors and to Western countries.

An important part of the argument we make in this paper is that technical writing as a genre of professional communication operates from scientific and technologized forms whose legitimation, Foucault (2010) argued, has simultaneously resulted in the subordination of other knowledges. For instance, scientific and technical knowledges have, over time, achieved a hegemonic status and thus have successfully masked the cultural impulses they bring with them. It is, therefore, our aim in this paper to contribute to the strand of research that critically examines the cultural implications of institutionalized technical writing projects like textbooks. We achieve this by analyzing the discourses produced by Pakistan Studies textbooks to uncover the nature of the ideologies they perpetuate, particularly in relation to cultural identity.

Habermas (1991) produced perhaps some of the most important work on how the social is connected to the historical, political, cultural and economic. He argued that the process of producing public discourse about social and political issues in modern society has been usurped by economic interests, implying that the media, instead of providing public information and education, have become conduits of ideological material aimed at manufacturing public consensus to serve the needs of the bourgeoisie. Similarly, the textbook as a genre of professional communication is an important product of the bourgeois public because it is a medium of rational social organization. As Mayhew (1997) argued, genres of professional communication—which in our case include the technical communication used in textbooks—employ "rational communication as the defining feature of reason in society" (p. 82). The implication is that professional communication involves a kind of market-organized, depersonalized communication characteristic of the New Public, a term Mayhew used to describe the further technicizing of the means of ideological control.

Consequently, we define technical communication, in alignment with Mayhew (1997), as written communication with a focus on analysis of audience and the purpose to determine preferences, content, form and style. This definition also links our project to International Professional Communication (IPC)

because, as scholars like Durão (2013) have argued, IPC includes document design, visuals, and patterns of reading and processing information. In effect, the style, form, and content of school textbooks are all important and they perform specific ideological functions. For our purposes, we focus on the content of the textbooks, specifically, the rhetorical aspects of some of the Pakistani Studies textbooks used in schools.

With social justice as a goal, our contribution seeks to add to the breadth of research (Blyler, 1995; Longo, 1998; Mayhew, 1997) that focuses on the rhetorical aspects of professional communication. This allows us to interrogate not simply the ideological nature of professional communication texts but also to examine their role in creating or influencing reality. Particularly, in the case of high school courses like history and social/cultural studies, we argue that the Pakistani Studies textbooks are not simply designed as objective educational tools but that they form part of the overall systemic effort at creating the citizen as subject.

The reason for the above claim is in alignment with scholars like Hall (1997, 2001) who have profoundly written about the need to examine how language is used to construct meanings about people, ideas and events. Representation through language includes signs, symbols, images, and impressions—even objects—and is, thus, significant to the shaping of reality, which undoubtedly bear implications for people's identities.

Textbooks and Identity Construction: A Historical Review of 'Pakistan Studies'

Educational systems in many countries are viewed as crucial tools for the national identity construction (Mohammad-Arif, 2005). Schools, in particular, are required to "socialize the young into an approved national past, the approving agency being the state" (Kumar, 2001, p. 20). This phenomenon can be observed in postcolonial societies, where nation-building becomes a paramount pursuit, often at the cost of teaching democratic values, social justice, and addressing health disparities that are relegated to the background. In some countries that

came into existence after the Second World war—like Pakistan—it is argued that the primary purpose of education is not necessarily to help the intellectual development of children but to "disseminate a view of the nation's past deemed necessary for national unity and integration" (Mohammad-Arif, 2005, p. 1). Therefore, textbook writing and history lessons take an important position to perpetuate political ideologies and construct cultural identities (Durrani, 2007; Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Rosser, 2004).

Once a part of British India, Pakistan came into existence in 1947 as a Muslim-majority country. Carved out of the Hindu majority India in the name of a "separate identity" hinged to Islam, and prefixed as the "Islamic Republic" of Pakistan, the religion of Islam was—and is—an integral thread and identity-marker that the state sanctioned and used to coalesce diverse nationalities into one "nation." This was done to mold diverse and distinct ethnic groups like the Bengalis, Punjabis, Pashtuns, Sindhis and Baloch—with their own distinct histories, languages, cultural practices, and lands—into one, common identity: the Pakistani nation.

To create and reinforce a Pakistani national identity, the state decided to introduce "Social Studies" as a compulsory component of the national curriculum in early education. An amalgam of geography, history, culture and religion, Social Studies interpreted and reinforced a Pakistani identity through the lens of these markers, while using religion as the dividing factor between Pakistan and India to construct distinction between 'us' and 'them'. The Two-Nation Theory was introduced in Social Studies books to reinforce the notion that Pakistan and India were two different nations with separate cultural identities, afforded mainly to each nation's distinctive national-level association with one religion: Islam (in Pakistan) and Hinduism (in India). The Pakistani government used Islam as a binding force—or the "nodal point," according to Laclau and Mouffe (1985)—in the attempt to construct a monolithic identity, a nation set apart from India. To this end, the Ministry of Education formed a Textbook Curriculum Division in 1976, which introduced books on Pakistan Studies—replacing Social Studies—to write history for school children.

After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the then military dictator of Pakistan, General Zia ul Haq, established a new Curriculum Board, which introduced further Islamic fundamentalist and exclusivist subject matter into the curriculum (Durrani & Dunne, 2010). The curriculum introduced by Zia rewrote the history to create the 'Other' to suit his political goals (Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985). To legitimize his military rule and to stay in power, Zia banked on the right-wing Islamic political parties for support. The curriculum changes during the Zia era had two primary objectives: (1) to reinforce Islam as the state religion; and (2) to produce militants to fight Russia in Afghanistan (Aziz, 1993). This aim was in keeping with the West's strategic interests that, at the time, sanctioned *Jihad* as a religious imperative to prop up resistance against the Soviet Union and its military, then deployed in Afghanistan. During Zia's regime, Pakistan openly supported and trained the Afghan *mujahideen,* or freedom fighters, while the United States, through USAID and the University of Nebraska, developed and printed textbooks for Afghan schoolchildren "filled with violent images and militant Islamic teachings, part of covert attempts to spur resistance to the Soviet occupation" (Stephens & Ottaway, 2002, para 1). Children were "taught to count with illustrations showing tanks, missiles, and land mines" (Stephens & Ottaway, 2002, para 16). Ironically, it was in Pakistan that the United States carried out the "scrubbing operation" to clear the books from all references to Jihad and rifles. This process began after 9/11, when the United States began to recognize the "legacy" of America's prior educational "intervention" in Afghanistan. Since then, Pakistan and the West, once caught in an embrace over the practical aims of Jihad, have fallen apart. Now Pakistan national textbooks (e.g., History and Social Studies/Pakistan Studies books), added Lall (2008), represent India and the West as the 'enemies,' stressing the phenomenon of religious *Jihad* [fight against infidels] to create a global Islamic Emirate where Pakistan represents the "fortress of Islam." It is that particular version of Jihad that glorifies war and killing in the name of Islam (Nayyar & Salim, 2003).

To reinforce a particular ideology and develop a distinct cultural and national identity, the textbooks systematically misrepresented events that occurred in the recent history of Pakistan, including those which are within living memory

of many people (Aziz, 1993). The causes, effects, and responsibility for the major events were presented to leave a biased understanding of Pakistan's national experience. For example, contrary to the facts, India was held responsible for launching the wars of 1948, 1965, and 1971 against Pakistan. Nayyar and Salim (2003) argued that a significant part of the history of the region was also omitted. For Pakistanis, history started with the independence of Pakistan, as prior to that that moment there was only India as a shared geography, one in which people lived together in a common sociocultural milieu that even religious differences could not dilute. Some of those original bonds have yet weathered the new geography that came from the Partition of India. In a sense, therefore, the textbook material is presented in a way that seems to encourage students to marginalize and be hostile toward other social groups and people in the region (Mahmood, 2011).

As exemplified in textbooks used in the government schools, Pakistani nationalism is repeatedly defined in a manner that excludes non-Muslim Pakistanis from being considered Pakistani nationals (Ahmad, 2004; Lall, 2008). To better understand this undercurrent of exclusivist hostility at work in the subject matter approved by the Federal Ministry of Education and to constrain the scope of this paper, we examine the discourses of Pakistan Studies textbooks used in the high schools. Besides uncovering specific content in relation to what is being produced, this approach also enabled examination of the types of technical writing techniques used to produce these books.

Critical Theory and Identity Politics

This study investigates cultural subject positioning and the influence of institutional forces from a critical perspective (Collier, 1998; Collier & Gudykunst, 2005). In the following paragraphs, we define the concepts of cultural identity and cultural memory in the context of this study and elaborate the ontological and epistemological assumptions. We argue that there are institutionalized attempts to define cultural identities in Pakistan through the

shaping of cultural memory, and this is done by appropriating biased and/or incomplete Pakistani history in textbooks.

Cultural memory can be defined as "the interplay of present and past in sociocultural contexts" (Erll, 2008, p. 7), which emphasizes the fluid or contingent relationship between the past and the present. In this sense, the past is reconstructed in a way that shapes understandings of the present and a sense of identity. Cultural memory always relates knowledge of history to an actual and contemporary situation. In other words, the past is brought to the present, leading to the conflation of both in the process. As Erll, Nünning, and Young (2008) put it, "memory is fixed in immovable figures and knowledge of the past; but in every contemporary context, memory relates to these figures and knowledge differently, sometimes by criticism, sometimes by preservation, or sometimes by transformation" (p. 130). However, versions of history and national memory are created through discourses that enable systematic forgetting. Huyssen (2000) noted that "memory and forgetting are indissolubly linked to each other, that memory is but another form of forgetting, and forgetting a form of hidden memory" (p. 27). We argue that this process, both of creating memory and forgetting, serves to enforce a certain cultural identity.

The concept of identity has recently taken a central position, especially in poststructuralist literature. According to Huyssen (2000), the term "identity" references *sameness.* In other words, when people are most similar, it is expected that identity would be most salient. However, this definition, in several ways, reduces and essentializes a complex concept. The essentialist conceptualization of identity assumes that identities are the outcome of a natural process and are fixed or permanent. Against this 'traditional' understanding, poststructuralist approaches posit that identity is identification with a subject position. The subject position is the result of the play of power, which Althusser calls *interpellation.* Interpellation is the placing of individuals in certain positions by particular ways of talking, which in the vocabulary of Bucholtz & Hall, (2004), is part of discourse. This positioning through discourse seeks to construct a particular identity for the individual. Discourses designate positions for people to occupy as a subject. This play of power renders the individual prone to interpellation with a

particular identity. Poststructuralist theory does not assume the subject (individual) as sovereign or autonomous; the individual is ascribed different positions by different discourses. At the same time, these discourses provide different behavioral instructions to the subject, reducing his/her autonomy.

According to (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), identity is always relational, oppositional, and contingent. This means that the subject becomes an individual by being opposed to the 'Other'; it is by contrasting with a recognized 'Other' that the self comes into being. For example, 'black' is black because of the presence of the 'white' and is, thus, in constant opposition to 'white.' Identities are contingent because they "are accepted, refused and negotiated in discursive processes" (Laclau and Mouffe (1985). Identities operate through exclusion and representation. As Hall and Du Gay (1996) argued, "identities are about . . . becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from,' so much as what we might become, how we have been represented . . . how we might represent ourselves" (p. 4).

Consequently, identities are never permanently fixed; their fixation is always temporary and is achieved through hegemonic exercises. According to Bates (1975), Gramsci explains hegemony as being a social consensus that masks the dominant classes' or governments' real intentions. However, existing identities can be challenged and undermined through the creation of meaning in alternative ways. Hetherington (1998) noted that identities are always in the process of (re)construction. With respect to the collective, Collier and Gudykunst (2005) defined cultural identification as "shared locations and orientations evidenced in a variety of communication forms, including the conduct of groups of people, discourses in public texts, mediated forms, artistic expressions, commodities and products, and individual accounts and ascriptions about group conduct" (p. 235). Based on this definition, we argue that technical writing products, which includes textbooks as formally structure publications, perform an important cultural identification function; they help orient students to a given set of claims about nationhood and citizenship. It is, therefore, important to examine how groups are positioned in relation to each other—such as how Muslims are situated in relation to non-Muslims in Pakistan.

Methodology

The analysis in this study focuses on the rhetorical strategies employed in Pakistani school textbooks to help construct and galvanize a national cultural identity based on specific religious beliefs. To do this we employ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). According to Wodak and Meyer (2009), regardless of the specific position in which any CDA project finds itself, power and ideology feature prominently in the analysis. As a problem-oriented approach, CDA is concerned with the way discourse (re)produces social domination and how dominated groups resist. In doing this, CDA accounts for the structures, strategies, and functions of text and talk, i.e., the mundane everyday social practices of people in specific contexts.

For this study, we aim to examine

1. the discursive means by which Pakistani Studies textbooks advance certain ideologies through technical writing techniques;

2. how these ideologies position different cultural groups in Pakistan.

We conceptualize textbooks as a genre of professional communication, which results from a crystallization of several social practices.

Integral to professional communication is that what you see as the ultimate product is the text. This outcome is made possible by the combination of a complex and dynamic range of resources, including those that in linguistic and earlier discourse-relevant analytical literature is viewed as lexicogrammatical, rhetorical, and organizational (Bhatia, 2010, p. 33).

Therefore, an important assumption we make in our analysis is that professional communication, especially as related to written texts, is not a neutral ground; it is a space where cultural practices are usually manifested through adherence, negotiation, or contestation of dominant ideologies. In this respect, we recognize the role of institutions in the production of discourses such as those found in Pakistani high-school textbooks. The Federal Education Ministry's Curriculum Wing develops contents of textbooks for primary to higher secondary schools (grade 1 to grade 12). Provincial Textbook Boards then prepare, publish,

stock, and distribute those books to schools in their respective provinces. Thus, there is an institutionalized control over the content of textbooks. The textbooks analyzed in this paper are produced by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board, Peshawar, and approved by the Federal Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing), Islamabad.

These textbooks are used in all the government schools of the conflict-prone Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in Pakistan's northwest. The students are required to memorize content to pass a national written exam conducted by the different boards of elementary and secondary education in order to be promoted to the next grade. Students are asked different questions related to the ideology of Pakistan, the history of Pakistan, the definition of nationhood and the atrocities of Hindus against Muslims at the time of the Partition of Indian subcontinent, usually as a set of questions at the end of every chapter. Students need to memorize the text and reproduce answers from the text in the written exercises or exams. Alternative responses to questions beyond the framework of the text can result in failure in exams. Therefore, the ideas presented in the text are naturalized as truth that students need to know, since such "truth" is what students are required to memorize and reproduce in the exams.

The work of 'guarding' and administering Pakistani nationalism spans across several institutions, which for our purposes, includes the Ministry of Education that produces textbooks for government schools in the country. Our analysis of the excerpts from the textbooks is done within the context of the institution (the Ministry of Education), their goals for producing those discourses, and the historical background. This is in accordance with CDA's insistence on a direct link between the text and the context of a specific discourse, which in effect are also linked to other texts and other discourses.

To facilitate analysis, we focus on two aspects of CDA; namely, intertextuality and interdiscursivity. While intertextuality, for instance, enables us to see how different texts are historically linked to other texts in the context of textbooks, interdiscursivity allows us to see how types of texts are different in the way they appropriate different discourses within certain genres (Fairclough, 1995, 2003). This means that different types of texts may draw on or reproduce different

discourses within the same textual environment; and interdiscursivity is the concept that helps analyze such differences.

Textual analysis

Fairclough (1995) recommended textual analysis as a first step to see how propositions are structured and combined. He noted that textual analysis also involves analysis of vocabulary and semantics as well as phonology and writing system. Fairclough (1995) asserted further that CDA should involve analyzing the "sociocultural practice" of the text, particularly "its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture," (p. 62). We uncover the power relations and ideologies that were implicated in the school textbooks analyzed. In order to conceptualize "power" in this study, we used Lukes' (2004) "Theory of Power." Lukes (2004) defined power as "the ability to constrain the choices of others, coercing them or securing their compliance, by impeding them from living as their nature and judgment dictates" (p. 85). This definition also takes into account the Gramscian notion of ideology which suggests that power is the ability to manufacture consent for a given purpose.

We analyzed the Pakistan Studies textbooks for the 9th and 10th grades. Students are introduced to Pakistan Studies when they reach grade 9; until grade 8, they are taught Social Studies. The Social Studies books introduce students to topics like 'world geography,' (which includes 'world climate,' 'life in the desert,' 'life in the forest,' and 'life in polar regions.'), 'geography of Pakistan,' and 'history of rights' (which include 'early history of Islam,' 'Europeans and the subcontinent,' 'the struggle for independence,' and 'Lessons from history'). Pakistan Studies is part of the text that the state has been using to create 'Islamic' ideological subjectivities. To this end, this course legitimizes some kinds of knowledge as opposed to others. Therefore, it constitutes a prime object of analysis for this study. The target age group of these books is 12 to 16 (i.e., high school students). We translated the text from Urdu (national language of Pakistan) into English.

To check the validity of the translation of the text, we relied on the services of a professional translator who back-translated the text.

Finally, we examined the relationship between the discourses, social order, power relations and ideologies that account for the construction and positioning of cultural identities.

Analysis

We identified four major themes in the analysis of the Pakistani Studies textbooks. The discourses produced by the textbooks present Pakistani Muslims as having different cultural identities from those of Pakistani non-Muslims. They emphasize religious differences over sociocultural similarities (and in the regional context, the "South Asian" identity and culture common to people living in the region).

The textbooks describe Islam as the overarching ideology of Pakistan, implying that as a nation, Pakistan was created for Muslims only. Also, the Pakistan Studies books describe religion as a totalizing system that defines Pakistan's ideology, which then defines culture and nationhood by excluding non-Muslims living in Pakistan from participation in national life. As such, those who belong to any religion other than Islam are excluded from true citizenship. The textbooks claim that Pakistan is an ideological state. An ideological state is defined as "one in which individuals mold their code of life and national character in the light of their ideology" (Marwat, Rauf, Iqbal, and Dilawar, 2010b, p. 57), which, in Pakistan, is Islam.

Furthermore, the Pakistan Studies textbooks also position Pakistan as a nation at odds with the United States. The United States is described as a "fair-weather and unreliable friend" (Marwat et al., 2010a, p. 88). The book claims that the United States "secretly supported" the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan in 1971 (p. 88). Formerly East Pakistan seceded from West Pakistan to become Bangladesh after a liberation war that saw India militarily supporting the Bengalis. In this following section, we discuss the themes that merged in the data.

Construction of Nationhood and Cultural Identities

In this section, we analyze how the larger discourses of the textbooks create and reinforce particular identities. Hall (2000) noted that identities are constructed within discourses and "we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices by specific enunciative strategies" (p. 17). The grade 9 Pakistan Studies textbook (Marwat, Rauf, Iqbal, & Dilawar, 2010a) describes Pakistan as an "ideological state," based on "the ideology of Pakistan." Ideology is defined in this textbook as follows: "Every nation has some goals, which they strive to achieve through collective thinking. The collective thinking is called ideology" (p. 1).

Marwat et al. (2010a) then define the ideology of Pakistan as such: "The thinking behind the idea that Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations and they should have two separate countries is called the ideology of Pakistan" (p. 1). These definitions show that the process of the development of cultural identities and subjectivities starts from the first page of the book. The textbook quotes Muhammad Ali Jinnah—founder of Pakistan—as saying that Muslims and Hindus have entirely different civilizations, cultures, and traditions; framing an 'us' versus 'them' situation to justify the creation of an Islamic Pakistan. This is also done to create an impression that Pakistani Muslims' Islamic identity is the most salient of all their individual identities.

The textbooks also position Pakistan as an "Islamic State" that was created to enact Islamic laws and provide justice for all its citizens per the Islamic Law (*Sharia*). The authors claim that Islamic religious identity is the basis of the ideology of Pakistan. The book pitches Muslims against 'Others,' which includes Hindus, Christians, Jews or people of other religions. The Muslim subject and the Islamic state are then positioned against this 'Other' by evoking the West to simultaneously justify Pakistan's exclusionary nationalism and to purport a difference from Western countries. As in the following quote: "Contrary to the Western ideologies, Muslim nationalism is not based on territory or race but on "*kalma e tawheed*" (Marwat et al., 2010a, p. 3). To accentuate the contradiction rather than difference between the Pakistani subject and the West, it is

emphasized, "from an Islamic point of view, the fundamental objective of human life is to accept the sovereignty of Almighty *Allah* [God] and abide by his Prophet [Muhammad]" (p. 4). Thus, the cultural identity of the Pakistani subject, as portrayed in the textbook, is interwoven with the precepts of Islam to the exclusion of all other components that contribute to the identity of a country and its people.

Additionally, the textbooks do not talk about the citizenship status of the 'Others' in Pakistan, even though 3.6 percent of Pakistanis are non-Muslims (Agency, 2013). The definition of a nation in the grade 9 textbook is also exclusionist. The book defines a nation as a set of people "who share same religion, culture and traditions" (p. 2). This definition implies that only Muslims are a part of the Pakistani nation and all 'Others' who are not of the same religion are excluded. By implication, the 'Others' are subjected to what Hall (1997) calls symbolic annihilation. They are referred to as "minorities" and deprived of their distinct identities—religious, ethnic, and cultural. Ono, Nakayama, and Halualani (2010) argued that the concept of nation makes sense when the idea is naturalized, and nationhood is taken for granted and becomes a daily experience. As such, ideology-based nationhood legitimizes the Islamic political parties.

Ironically, the Pakistan Studies textbooks are also compulsory for non-Muslim students who, otherwise, are excluded from Pakistani nationhood because they belong to religions other than Islam. Hall and Du Gay (1996) help us explain this by arguing that one form of domination is to mark a group of people as the 'Other' within a dominant discourse. Another is to require their knowledge and adherence to the dominant discourse as an imposed will, and demanding conformity to the norm.

The Islamic System of Governance versus Western Democracy

The grade 9 textbook (Marwat et al., 2010a) discusses the Islamic system of governance and democracy in chapter 1, titled "Ideology of Pakistan." The book describes "Islamic democracy" as being different from the Western style of

democracy. It emphasizes that "according to Islamic democratic principles, only a competent, righteous, pious person, and a believer can lead the nation" (p. 5). In the same chapter, the book frequently refers to how the Prophet Muhammad would consult his trusted companion before making any important decision. Then, it explains how the first four caliphs of Islam came to power through consultation among the "capable" ones. After their 'elections,' "the representatives of different groups and tribes of the Muslims used to take oaths of allegiance at the hands of the Caliph to pledge their loyalty to him" (p. 5). The book makes an ideological closure by declaring, "This whole process was the best example of a democratic method of election" in which not everybody was allowed to express their choice of a ruler (p. 5). Thus, instead of popular support—which is the focal point of Western democracy—religious piety is constructed as the only qualification to form and head a government. At the same time, this discourse excludes non-Muslims from aspiring to public office and constrains the choice of the people in political decision-making. However, the authors contradict this claim in the next line by saying that non-Muslims have equal rights under the Islamic democratic system.

The authors (Marwat et al., 2010a) also quote the national poet of Pakistan, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, and founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah to support their argument for the Islamic system of governance. Quoting Jinnah, the textbook adds that he told an official gathering that "we must lay the foundations of our democracy on the Islamic ideals and principles in true sense" (p. 5). The authors use this to suggest that the founders of Pakistan were against the Western democratic system and that Pakistan was created to establish an Islamic system of governance.

Even more intriguing, the grade 9 textbook attempts to make a case for dictatorship (Martial Law) and against democracy. Discussing Gen. Ayub Khan's martial law of 1958, the book argues that it was imposed because of the "worst economic condition of the country," "political disorder," "worst trade conditions," "social defects," and rapacious politicians who were "exploiting the people by verbal claims of Islam and democracy" (p. 56). Thus, a cause-and-effect relationship is established between the failures of politicians and political

dictatorship. This construction of the political situation justifies dictatorship and demonizes politicians—and by extension, democracy.

Heroes versus Villains

The Grade 10 Pakistan Studies textbook presents Islam as a morally superior religion to other faiths as "it does not divide people by race, caste, color and financial resources as Hindus do" (Marwat et al., 2010b, p. 4). In the next paragraph, the book deplores the treatment of Muslims and other minorities by the colonial powers. It compares Islam to other religions by describing the "socioeconomic" conditions of Muslims before the creation of Pakistan. For example, "being a minority, the Muslims [in undivided India] were deprived of all their rights and kept backward in social and economic fields" (p. 4). The implication is that since rulers before the creation of Pakistan were non-Muslims, they—with the support of the secular Congress—mistreated Muslims and other minorities. Therefore, the Muslim League, a political party which campaigned for the creation of Pakistan in opposition to the Congress, warned the Muslims that if the British left India without dividing it, "they would go into permanent slavery of the Congress" (p. 21). The books use the Congress and Hindus interchangeably even though the former always claimed to be representing the people of India. The authors of the book try to create subjectivities by describing Muslims (Self) as kind-hearted and peaceful (heroes) and non-Muslims (Others) as "cruel."

Here, the textbook creates a chain of equivalence between Muslims and other minorities to construct a common identity of victimized 'Us' and a demonized 'Other.' The 'Other' is 'trickster,' 'oppressor,' and is 'unfaithful" as is evident in the following example: "During the Second World War, Congress made great efforts for the withdrawal of the British from India and transfer of power to the Congress. But the British knew the Congress' trickery" (Marwat et al., 2010b, p. 18).

America as an Unreliable Friend of Pakistan

The grade 10 Pakistan Studies textbook (Marwat et al., 2010b) has 11 chapters. Chapter 10 deals with Pakistan's foreign policy issues. The United States is constructed in different images: its power, wealth, and influence entice Pakistan; however, American "values and attitudes are disliked." For example, "As the wealthiest, most powerful, and finally most successful of the two superpowers, the influence of the USA was difficult to resist," despite the fact that "some Pakistanis disliked American attitudes and values" (Marwat et al., 2010b, p. 49). In other words, it was America's wealth and power which enticed Pakistan into friendship with it despite disliking its values. Similarly, "after the downfall of the USSR, the USA became the sole superpower in the world. The new turn in international politics has caused problems for anti-American forces and countries. No one can afford the opposition of America" (Marwat et al., 2010b, p. 49). This means that countries like Pakistan can 'oppose' American foreign policy engagements, in principle, but the latter's economic, political, and military power is so overwhelming that the former cannot afford to challenge it. This implies that Pakistan chose to become a non-NATO ally of the United States in its "war on terror" not as a willing partner but under duress.

The textbooks position the United States as an anti-Muslim country. The United States is represented as "a country full of resources" and that this is the reason why Pakistan wants to be friends with it. As a result, an important part of the process of constructing a Pakistani identity based on Islam is to attempt to culturally disassociate it from Western countries, particularly the US.

Discussion

In accordance with Agboka's (2013) call to take up projects in international technical communication that have a social justice goal, and with Longo's (1998) work on the importance of applying a cultural studies approach to technical writing research, the Pakistan high-school textbooks we examined comprised a professional communication genre. Thus, our approach to these texts aligned closely with Agboka's and Longo's real-world interests in other technical and

professional communication products and practices. Specifically, the textbooks comprise an essential component of formal education that cannot be disassociated from the political, social, economic, and even religious realities of modern life.

Additionally, our analysis of 9th-and 10th-grade Pakistan Studies textbooks shows that the state of Pakistan uses these professional communication genres to constitute some subjects, or themes, in relation to others. Using CDA as both theory and method, therefore, specific themes emerged from textual and contextual analysis of these textbooks. When examined within the historical context and broader discourses, the textbooks reveal social structures and social norms that privilege certain classes. The textbooks also reinforce ideologies, power relations, and hegemonic influences that naturalize Pakistan as an 'ideological state' and position Pakistani Muslims against people of other countries and faiths.

Michel Foucault (2001) insisted that "naturalization is the royal road to common sense." Common sense is shaped by those who have power and resources which, in this case, is the Federal Government of Pakistan and the provincial governments who authorize the writing of the textbooks. In analyzing the first theme, we examined how the textbooks produced by the government of Pakistan and used as compulsory subjects in the schools, reinforced a cultural identity of the Pakistani Muslims as Islamic Pakistani subjects and positioned them against "the Other." This theme supported the findings of Mohammad-Arif (2005) who claimed that the government of Pakistan was creating hatred among Pakistani Muslim students for non-Muslims by communalizing education. During the analysis of the first theme, the authors found that the textbooks defined culture and nationhood in a manner that excludes Pakistani non-Muslims from nationhood and positions them as "the Other" in the discourse. This discourse "guarantees" rights of religious minorities but not as equal citizens.

The second theme analyzed the positioning of the "Islamic system of governance" against the principles of "Western democracy." The textbooks implied that the Islamic system of governance was better than other systems as it was based on the concept of justice and equality as promulgated by Islam. This discourse opposes and rejects multiparty democracy by calling it Western and secular. The term *secular* is used to denote "antireligious," demonizing its

philosophy and, by extension, the philosophy of Western-style democracy. The alternative is found in "Islamic democracy," which does not empower everybody to be part of the system of governance but only citizens who are "honest, truthful and God fearing." This argument imposes a new exclusivity on Pakistani citizenship and has various implications. For example, it disenfranchises non-Muslim citizens because these qualifications derive their meanings from Islam. Non-Muslims, therefore, cannot even aspire to positions of authority.

Religious (Islamic) exclusivity is also emphasized in the construction of the history of Pakistan through erasure. This discourse makes frequent use of erasure, which disarticulates the history of Pakistan from the history of India. It serves two purposes: (1) making Pakistan a *coeval* of India, and (2) establishing that the people of Pakistan do not share a common history with the people of India. Thus, exclusivity is imposed in a hegemonic intervention. At the same time, Pakistan and its citizens are robbed of significant portions of their history and civilization, which were rooted in a pre-Islamic past. This cultural memory *otherizes* non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan and non-Muslim countries, especially India and the United States.

Conclusion

Through analysis of 9th-and 10th-grade Pakistan Studies textbooks, we found that the textbooks reinforce subjectivities and advance certain political and religious ideologies. Islam is positioned as a totalizing system, which defines not only the religious belief of the citizens but also their culture, civilization, and history. By linking citizenship status with the religion of Islam, people of other religions are rendered second-class citizens by the textbooks. Hence, non-Muslims are marginalized as the 'Other.' The current study supports previous studies that found that Pakistan Studies textbooks used in Pakistani schools are exclusionary: they narrow the perspective of the readers [students] and portray non-Muslims as enemies or "the Other" (Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985; Rosser, 2004). This study also adds to the literature by

deconstructing the discourse produced by the textbooks targeting school-going children.

The findings of the study are important in the context of the "war on terror." The government of Pakistan has launched the National Action Plan (NAP) in the aftermath of the terrorist attack on a school in Peshawar in which 143 school children were killed. Under this Plan, the government resolved to check militancy in the country, protect minorities, and bring reforms to the kind of education given by the *madrassas* [religious schools]. In both school textbooks and militant discourses, religion is the basis of culture and nationhood. On September 25, 2013, no less than 81 Christians were killed in two suicide attacks in Pakistan, a carnage for which the *Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan* (TTP) claimed responsibility. The spokesperson of the militant organization was quoted by the *Guardian* newspaper as saying: "(The Christians) are the enemies of Islam. Therefore, we target them. We will continue our attacks on non-Muslims on Pakistani land" (Boon, 2013). This shows that the marginalization of non-Muslim Pakistanis—as perpetuated in the textbooks—not only excludes them from aspects of national life but is also a threat to their very lives.

Furthermore, the textbooks portray the United States as an "unreliable" and "untrustworthy" ally, because the Pakistani government is morally opposed to the former. This can be a reason why, despite the investment of billions of dollars in Pakistan over the years, the United States has largely failed to change Pakistani public opinion about it. The efforts and public discourses produced by the government of Pakistan have also failed to project the United States as an ally and friend of Pakistan. Hoodbhoy and Nayyar (1985) warned that if the curriculum of the Pakistan Studies textbooks were not changed, and the otherization and demonization of non-Muslims not stopped, the curriculum will result in an educational system "the full impact of which will probably be felt by the turn of the century, when the present generation of the school-going children attains maturity" (p. 7).

This study adds to the literature on professional communication by exploring the relationship between technical writing, knowledge, and power. As Longo (1998) argued:

> The statements that did appear in technical texts retell stories of the struggles, contradictions, and tensions within historic relations of knowledge and power. These statements also hold the silence of other statements that were possible but did not appear in technical texts at the particular time and place under study. (p. 63)

This study examines a "systematic history of discourses" by exploring how Pakistan Studies textbooks produced and legitimated discourses like "citizenship based on religion", as knowledge through technical writing, while delegitimizing other discourses like equal citizenship (Longo, 1998). Our study also helps open new areas of technical and professional communication to research. In particular, the study helps show technical writing researchers the intertextual influences that shape the construction and mobilization of cultural identity and subject positioning during communication (Hunsinger, 2006). Throughout this research, we have analyzed how cultural identities and ideologies are constructed and reinforced by the discourses generated by the textbooks. However, this study is limited to the analysis of 9th-and 10th-grade Pakistan Studies textbooks used in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The results of this study, therefore, cannot be generalized beyond the scope of the textbooks we analyzed. Future research can analyze textbooks used to teach different languages (e.g., English, Urdu, and Pushto) to explore how textbooks in those languages are used, both for subject positioning and influencing identity construction. ◼

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