



Educating Pakistan's Daughters: Girls' Citizenship Education and the Reproduction of Cultural Violence in Pakistan

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ABSTRACT *This article draws from a case study exploring the link between girls' citizenship education and identity-based violence. The research was conducted in a girls' government secondary school in Islamabad, Pakistan. The data was collected through participant observation, qualitative interviews and a participatory workshop with 23 school staff, as well as focus groups with 33 students. The focus of this paper is on how school practice – the day-to-day activities that happen in and out of the classroom – reproduces a gendered and classed notion of citizenship. Drawing on Galtung's (1969; 1990) violence triangle, I then link the findings to the implications for violence against women.*

The findings indicate that for the urban middle-class girls of the case study school, citizenship is entwined with historical constructions of nationalist and religious notions of womanhood. Citizenship education teaches girls that their duty to the state is located in the private sphere of the home, as mothers and wives, while excluding them from the rights associated with citizenship that are located in the male dominated public sphere. These notions of unequal citizenship were evident in the responses from both teachers and students about the roles of women in creating a more peaceful Pakistan. Most of the teachers (all of whom are women) and students indicated that they had limited agency to affect change outside of an ability to influence their children and husbands. I argue that citizenship education in this school serves as a form of gendered cultural violence as it discourages girls from affecting change on the social structures that disempower them.

KEYWORDS Pakistan; girls' education; citizenship education; school practice; education and violence; education and peacebuilding; social reproduction

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An Introduction to Critical Education and the Reproduction of Gendered Citizenship in Pakistan

Critical educationalists view education as a micro-political site for the reproduction of inequities in society (Apple, 2012; Giroux, 1983). Education also preserves and distributes economic and cultural power and often includes “patronage, gender inequality, violence and fear, cultures of passivity, and lack of freedom of speech” (Davies, 2011, p. 35). Citizenship Education – educating students to perform their expected roles in society – is entwined in the inequalities that education reproduces through curriculum as well as in the day-to-day practices of the school. In curriculum, this is done through the use of language that separates, degrades or simply omits certain groups from textbooks, including women and ethnic or religious minorities; this negatively impacts how they are understood as citizens (Jamal, 2006). For girls and women, the ways schools are structured also teaches them their role as subordinate to men. As Kirk (2008b, p.11) discusses, schools are patriarchal establishments in which females are “conditioned to accept the naturalness of male domination.”

School practice consists of the patterns of interactions children are exposed to while in school. It is defined by the shared beliefs, the relationships between individuals and groups in the organization, the physical environment, and the characteristics of individuals and groups at the school (Giroux & Penna, 1979). It is in part through this school practice that children learn how to relate to the structures of authority and the community to which they belong (Apple, 2012).

This article is part of a larger study that explored how education in one girls’ government school teaches citizenship that reproduces identity-based violence in Pakistan. This in-depth qualitative case study was conducted in a girls’ government model school in Islamabad. This article focuses on the gendered aspects of citizenship education and unpacks the ways in which citizenship education contributes to the reproduction of cultural violence that often relegates women to the private (domestic) sphere, away from the rights and protections from direct violence, which are understood as located in the public sphere. This study contributes to the widening literature that explores the multifaceted entanglement between education and violence by analyzing school practice as a reproducer of gendered norms that often affect the agency of women to impact the social structures that disempower them.

Methodology

The case study school, Margalla Girls' College is an all girls' school that offers classes from reception to masters' degrees.¹ As a model government school, it is more resourced than other government schools and teachers are more highly qualified. The majority of the 6,000 students come from lower-middle and lower economic classes. Most of the students' fathers work as low-level civil servants and aspire to be part of the urban middle class. The teachers and administrators, all of whom are women, come from a wider spread of socio-economic family backgrounds, from the lower middle classes to some of the most influential families in Islamabad. The only male staff, the clerks and finance officers, are spatially separated from the women and girls, as their offices are located in an administrative block, away from the main part of campus.

This case study uses critical education and feminist citizenship theories, which problematize the positioning of women outside the protections of the state, to unpack the complex relationship between education and violence. It employs a historical and intersectional lens to situate citizenship education in the context of broader society, both as a product and reproducer of social and economic inequality. To explore the day-to-day activities of the school, school practice is analyzed, including school governance, teaching methods, student activities, teacher-student relationships, and visual messages in the school. This case study, conducted over three months in early 2014, included a participatory workshop and interviews with 18 secondary social science teachers, interviews with three administrative staff and the two vice-principals, focus groups with 33 secondary school students, observations of social science classrooms, and informal discussions and observations throughout the school days.

In the remainder of this article, I situate girls' citizenship education in its broader historical context through a discussion of women's citizenship in Pakistan. I then illustrate how school practice reproduces gendered citizenship in the case study school, and discuss the limited space for agency that teachers and students faced in engaging as citizens of Pakistan. Finally, I link the limitations of agency reproduced through school practice to cultural violence.

The Construction of Women's Citizenship in Pakistan

Citizenship can be defined as the civil, political and social rights of an individual and the reciprocal duty of individuals to abide by the laws of the

¹ The name of the school and of those of the teachers and students are pseudonyms used to protect the identity of the participants.

state (Carens, 2000). In liberal theories of citizenship, much of the interaction between the individual and the state occurs in public spaces, away from the domestic sphere (Pateman, 1989) where much of women's lives in Pakistan are expected to occur. Feminist scholars including Pateman (1989), Yuval-Davis (1997), and Siim (2000) argue that liberal citizenship often promotes a (false) divide between the public and private spheres that excludes women and positions them outside the public, political lives of citizens. This has the potential to infringe upon the rights and the protection of women. Yuval-Davis (1997, p. 5) argues, "much of the explanation of women's oppression has been related to their location in a different social sphere from that of men."

Women's citizenship in Pakistan is further complicated as it resides at the crux of the tension between liberal notions of citizenship and theocratic/Islamist notions of the state. Women's identities as citizens are rooted in the idea that women are the protectors of traditional culture and the ideology of the state. Yuval-Davis (1997, p. 39) explains, "gendered bodies play a role as territories, markers and reproducers of the narratives of nations and the heart of cultural construction of social identities and collectivities." This civic identity of women is reinforced through multiple spheres of the society, including the media, which reproduces stereotypes of "good" and "bad" women. In 1987, Mumtaz and Shaheed argued that women are shown in the media exclusively as self-sacrificing mothers who suffer without complaint at the hands of their husband and in-laws. This is consistent with a 1991 study discussed in Naseem (2010), which analysed the portrayal of "good women" on Pakistani television. They found that good women were portrayed as "self-sacrificing, self-abnegating, virtuous, domesticated, mother, daughter, sister, honest, in poverty, loyal, religious, emotional, and irrational" (Naseem, 2010, p.78). Naseem (2010) goes on to say that women on television who did not demonstrate these characteristics were portrayed as "bad women." Both studies were conducted prior to the influx of international media including the internet and wider access to international television and films; today women and girls are being exposed to global norms about women's rights. This portrayal of women in media and the continued debate over women's rights and changing legislation mean that women's roles in Pakistani society are in flux. Views of *pardah*, women's role in the socioeconomic sector, and legal rights, are all contested among Pakistani citizens, their government and religious leaders.

Women are also understood as the preservers of culture and religion as a part of the national project to differentiate Pakistan from India and the West. While men are expected to defend the state on the battlefield, women should defend the moral and religious character of the state, especially in their roles as mothers. Rouse (2004, p. 100) explains the importance of this role to women's citizenship:

Women, in order to claim “citizenship” in the Pakistani State must conform to cultural, social and sexual norms. Should they protest and resist... they risk being accused of being “western” and culturally deviant, liable to rebuke and sanctions.

According to Jafar (2005) this contrasting between Western women and the ideal of a Muslim woman began during colonial rule in India. Jafar (2005) argues that women’s bodies and their veiling were considered a symbol of resistance against colonial rulers. She noted that no matter how “Western” the public (male) sphere became, people could take comfort in the knowledge that the private (female) sphere had remained “untouched.”

The construction of women as protectors of the nation reinforces their position in the domestic sphere. Saigol (2003, p. 132), argues that in Pakistan, civic identity

comes to be constructed in terms of [a man’s] rights as an individual citizen of the state, while female identity is predicated upon her duties to the nation/state as a mother. This kind of division of citizenship, based on women’s difference, ensure that women will be confined to the so-called ‘private sphere’ of home, family, and personal relations.

The importance of women’s role in the domestic or private sphere is reinforced throughout the lives of girls. As children, girls are expected to contribute to the household by serving as caregivers to their siblings and contributing to domestic work including cleaning and cooking. As adults, Pakistani women are often expected to be responsible for the life of the family within the home, while men are expected to be responsible for life outside the home, including engaging in the political sphere (Weiss, 2015).

Of course, the expectations of the women of Pakistan are not homogenous and are largely dependent on class, ethnicity, and geographical location, as well as a woman’s interests and the nature of her family. The practice of *pardah* (the seclusion of women from men, including women’s covering of their hair and face in the presence of unrelated men) serves as an example of this. In 1987, Mumtaz and Shaheed explained the historical use of *pardah* as a symbol of affluence. They state, “a veiled woman [became] a symbol of social status, which translated simply means: ‘I am so rich that my women don’t have to work in the fields’” (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987, p. 30). In the years since 1987, the upper classes have become more liberal and gender restrictions have become less severe for educated elite women, particularly related to participation in socioeconomic activities outside the home (Weiss, 2015), and especially in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh. Today *pardah* is most commonly practiced by middle-class women and women in rural areas. However, Weiss (2015) also notes that nowhere do unrelated women and men mix freely.

Citizenship as Cultural Violence

The positioning of women in the private sphere but under strict surveillance to protect the religious and cultural identity of Pakistan can be understood as cultural violence. Galtung (1990) defines cultural violence as any part of culture, exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, or empirical and formal science, that makes structural and direct violence acceptable in society. Education often plays an important role in reproducing cultural violence, which leads to unequal citizenship.

Because cultural violence legitimizes other kinds of violence, it creates opportunities for direct violence against women. When this is coupled with situating women in the private sphere, which in liberal theories of citizenship is outside the realm of citizenship, violence against women becomes sanctioned by the state. Stromquist (1995, p. 424) explains, “the state is not neutral towards women and its definition of gender tends to restrict women to the domestic sphere and to ignore how domesticity links with other forms of social control.”

Women’s positioning in the private sphere leads them to being thought of as minority groups who often face little protection from the state against direct and structural violence (Naseem, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 1997). For example, violence against women by husbands and other family members is sometimes understood as a private matter (as it occurs in the private sphere), and therefore access to protection through state-sponsored agencies (i.e., police) is not always available. Direct violence against women is often tied to traditional notions of honor and committed by male family members (Patel, 2010), including about 1,000 honor killings each year (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Many of these cases of violence against women go unreported. The reasons for this silence, though many, are related to women’s exemption from the public sphere, where citizenship occurs. Patel (2010) argues that by defining violence against women as domestic violence, it becomes understood as a private matter. She goes on to add that women often do not have access to legal services, and even if they do, they often fear that they will not be able to care for themselves or their children if a father or husband is convicted of a crime.

Girls’ Education

Girls’ education sits at the crux of this debate about the role of women in Pakistan, while serving as part of the nation-building project to teach children who they are as Pakistanis (Durrani & Dunne, 2010). The cultural expectations assigned to girls often contribute to barriers to girls’ participation in education. For example, in some parts of Pakistan, girls’ education is not understood as a priority, resulting in low enrollment rates. Even when parents would like to send daughters to school, concerns of

maintaining *purdah* may discourage this, as girls may come in contact with men and boys (Weiss, 2015). In extreme cases, opposition to educating girls has resulted in violence against girls' schools by militant organizations (Mujahid-Mukhtar, 2011). Even when girls are sent to school, boys' education is often prioritized due in part to the expectation that male children will stay with their parents and provide for them, while daughters become the "property" of their husband's family, therefore making a girl's education seem like a financial loss (Naseem, 2010). Consequently, girls make up only 43% of children in school nationwide; in rural areas the percentage is much lower (Academy of Educational Planning & Management, 2015). In the Federal Administered Tribal Areas, for example, girls make up just 31% of children in school (Academy of Educational Planning & Management, 2015). In urban areas, however, especially among wealthy elites, more girls have access to education. In Islamabad, 48% of students are girls (Academy of Educational Planning & Management, 2015). Although more girls attend school in urban areas, there are different expectations for educating girls than boys, especially among the middle classes. For many parents, the purpose of educating girls is to improve the prospects of attracting educated husbands, rather than focusing on preparing for careers (Weiss, 2015). These expectations, in turn, influence what girls learn about citizenship through schooling, which centers on ensuring that girls learn to fulfill their roles as wives, mothers, and protectors of the culture of Pakistan (Naseem, 2010; Saigol, 2003).

Practice and the Reproduction of Gendered Citizenship at Margalla Girls' College

The School, Security, and the State

Margalla Girls' College must be responsive to the demands of parents and communities by providing an education that sits comfortably within traditional ideals of womanhood in Pakistani society. Girls' education in the context of the urban middle class often must maintain a precarious balance between providing formal education while ensuring that social norms that regulate women, specifically in terms of freedom of movement, dress, and expected behavior, are strictly followed. One way that girls' schools are expected to maintain the balance between social norms and education is by protecting girls and women from potential risks, including physical harm or the temptation of girls to behave in ways that are seen as inappropriate. Weiss (2015) notes that several studies on girls' education in Pakistan indicate that concerns for the safety of daughters (from drastic acts like kidnapping, but also simply interacting with boys) and thus their honor (and the honor of the

family) are the strongest arguments against sending girls to school, especially after they begin puberty.

Margalla Girls' College provides this safe atmosphere for girls. The campus itself is surrounded by a high concrete wall, which makes it impossible to see inside (a standard and important aspect of school design in Pakistan). There are only a few entrances to the campus, which are watched over by *chowkidars* (gatekeepers). The *chowkidar* spoke of the importance of the safety provided at the school. He said, "[the school] is a good place for girls – the rules and regulations are strict. If anybody come to pick any student [from school] the headmistress asks who came to pick them." The school prospectus (used as promotional material) also highlights the safety of the school for girls, especially through a section written from the perspective of a student, titled "Why I Chose [Margalla College]." The section states, "it is an all girls' institute and many parents prefer to send their daughters here because it caters to all levels of education." The passage suggests that a girl may never have to leave the safety of the school's walls while achieving up to a master's degree. This may be appealing to parents who wish to keep their daughters safe from potential risks. The anonymous student writer of this section ends her letter about why she chose the school with, "most importantly the security is very good, providing a very reliable and safe atmosphere" (Margalla School, 2014, p. 7).

One political science teacher told me a personal story that illustrated how safety is valued for girls, even over the quality of education received. She told me,

First, I have my boy. I try to give him the best education. I admitted him to [an elite private school chain] and my daughter, she studied over here [the case study school] ...It was my husband, not me. I can fight for my son, but not my daughter. It's because of 100% my husband. Because he said she is not safe outside, she will go with you.

By protecting the students and female teachers and ensuring that girls are safe inside the privacy of the walls of the school, the school upholds and preserves the dignity of the state.

Teachers' Experiences as Gendered Citizens

Teachers are an important influence on young girls in the school setting. Smith (2010) emphasizes that teachers are the most important factor in determining the quality of learning, imparting values, and modeling behavior. Teachers contribute importantly to developing and nurturing their students' skills and values, including those related to citizenship. Teachers' values are then enacted through daily school practice, including teaching and learning, teacher-student relations, student activities, and school management. In contexts like Pakistan, where women have been subjected to inequality and

violence, women teachers can be key to social change for the empowerment of women. Kirk (2004, p. 50) states, "if women can experience personal and professional development through being teachers, they can be empowered as key agents of structural and societal transformation that is built on principles of gender equality." However, for many of the teachers, the path to becoming teachers was constrained by gendered notions of womanhood. For those who came from middle or lower middle class backgrounds especially, teaching was often the only profession that their families (especially fathers) allowed for them. Many wanted to pursue careers in other fields. One English teacher said,

Actually, I wanted to be a lawyer, but my father, being a judge, said that the environment is not good. I said I will go into practice with you and he said no. I was interested in English literature because I have an interest in reading.

This contrasts with the teachers from elite classes who all claim to have come to the profession (often later in life) because of their passion, especially for supporting the greater good of Pakistan. These results are consistent with Kirk's (2008a) findings about teachers in Karachi, many of whom came into teaching by default because it is considered a respectable profession for women and it draws upon the ideals that women should be nurturing and support the greater good, both for their families and nation.

Teachers' Expectations of Students as Citizens

The teachers, who themselves have come into this career under the confines of gendered expectations, are thus responsible for finding ways to pass this on to their students. Teachers' own perceptions of gendered citizenship performance were made evident through a participatory activity in which teachers were asked to brainstorm and rank the civic values they hoped to instill in their students (see Table 1). Their responses strongly reflected the notions of good and bad women found in Naseem (2010) and Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987), including strong faith, purity, gracefulness, and not acting western.

Purity and cleanliness are monitored throughout the school every day. There are Student Union Members whose job it is to ensure that other students' uniforms are properly cleaned and worn, and according to the prospectus there is a fine for an untidy uniform. The importance of cleanliness for women can be understood from a cultural and historical perspective. First, women are expected to keep themselves clean in every sense of the word. They are expected to remain virgins until their marriage, and this is an important aspect of being a proper Muslim woman. Additionally, there is a colonial rhetoric of cleanliness that still impacts

Pakistani culture today. Under British rule in the sub-continent, the education system used rhetoric around the “unclean” native who resisted British rule and the educated “clean” native who kept his or her place in society. According to Saigol (2003, p. 136) “cleanliness became synonymous with good, modern citizenship. Cleanliness was not only a bodily, but a political metaphor which meant a politically sanitized person incapable of mounting revolt or challenging colonial power.” The ideal of Pakistani female purity and cleanliness is understood to have its opposite in Hindu, and more recently Western, women, who are positioned as immoral and unclean others (Saigol, 2003).

Teachers’ Ranking of Civic Values	
1.	Strong Faith
2.	Patriotism
3.	Truthfulness
4.	Purity/Cleanliness
5.	Tolerance/Democratic
6.	Disciplined
7.	Punctual/ Regular
8.	Respect Elders and Teachers
9.	Gracefulness
10.	Helpfulness
11.	Modern, but not Western

Table 1. Teachers’ Ranking of Civic Values.

Modern, but not Western was a contested addition to the brainstorming part of the activity, and again represents the surveillance of women by women to stay within their boundaries. When one teacher suggested “Modern” as a positively-valued attribute, another teacher added, “*but not Western*.” And the other teachers were quick to agree and write that explanation down next to *Modern*. The term modern is often used as a negative term for a woman who is considered to dress in an inappropriate way (e.g., wearing a sleeveless top) and who is considered to have loose morals; characteristics associated with Western women. Therefore, by adding this caveat, they could change the meaning of ‘Modern’ to include a woman who perhaps works in a profession and is free to make her own life choices. Nevertheless, all three groups ranked this last among the valued qualities they identified.

Teachers’ civic values were also reflected in the types of students who were favored. For example, two teachers, Irum and Aleeza, focused on cleanliness, which they link to good results. Irum said her favorite student is one who is “confident, well-behaved, not rude, show good results and takes care of cleanliness.” Aleeza said, “[my favorite student] ... is always neat and clean. Her copies are so good. Copies are completed and behavior with every teacher is very good. She participates in the class.”

Another teacher, Faiza, was most concerned with obedience and linked it to religious duty. She said,

She is brilliant in her studies, but it hit me that the thing I like most about her is that she is very obedient... and very cooperative to me in the recitation of the *naut* [reading of the Holy *Quran*] and whatever I say, she helps me out.

However, Aleeza, a political science teacher, had different ideas about students than many of her colleagues. She said that she likes students who ask a lot of questions, including questioning what they are learning. However, she notes that it is very unusual for students to ask questions. She said, "it's my opinion that they are trained this way from class 1... you tell the student, 'sit down, don't ask.' This has been the way in our country." Aleeza touched on the role of education in encouraging passivity among girls. The results are consistent with Saigol (2003, p. 140), who argues that the purpose of girls' citizenship education is to "create a 'civilized,' 'obedient,' 'well-mannered,' 'honest,' 'truthful' and 'modernized' citizen..."

The views of the teachers relating to gendered citizenship are consistent with research on the notions of good and bad women discussed in Naseem (2010) and Saigol (2003). Pakistan's history of expectations of women strongly influenced teachers' understandings of citizenship for women citizens. The ways that teachers understand citizenship combined with the official discourse of the curriculum come together to create aspects of school practice that encourage students to embody these gendered notions of citizenship.

Reproduction of Gendered Citizenship Through School Practice

The gendered constructions of citizenship expressed by the teachers were played out in many aspects of school practice, including the types of classes and activities offered, visual messages (posters and signs) hanging in the school, and teaching methods. First, the types of classes offered in the school encouraged students to excel in areas associated with skills needed for homemaking. The home economics department and the art room were among the best resourced in the school. The home economics room was complete with ovens, microwaves, refrigerators and sewing machines. Similarly the arts room was well stocked with art supplies and examples of students' work. There is also a computer and science lab, but both are out of date and I did not see students using them.

In addition to the classes offered, school practice extends into the activities, clubs, and events that schools offer students. Giving students opportunities to participate in activities and civic projects helps teach them how to engage in civic life outside of the school (Faour, 2012). Many of the student activities

(e.g., drama, fine arts, photography) were well suited to the gender norms for girls by including indoor and artistic activities that are acceptable for women to engage in as they prepare for middle class womanhood.

One of the school's major yearly events is Union Week. Union Week is an opportunity for students to engage in intermural competitions with students from other government girls' schools in Islamabad. Like the clubs, most of these events seem quite gendered and include jewelry making, flower arranging, drama and debates in both English and Urdu, computer graphics and art. This event contributes to the schools' goal to groom girls as proper women. Even events that are not inherently gendered have gendered themes. For example, the theme for the English speech was "love is blind, marriage is an eye opener." The poster or PowerPoint presentation for the computer section was based on the topic, "the importance of teachers in the lives of students." There were also clear instructions that no political or controversial content was to be used in any debates or speeches. The rules also forbid Indian music at the competitions.

Perhaps the most important and prestigious activity for students' civic learning is the Student Union, which according to the Prospectus (Margalla School, 2014, p. 28), is responsible for, "... checking behavior, uniform, and discipline during college hours..." The Student Union members, who are selected by the teachers and principle (not elected by their peers), seemed to embody the ideals of good citizenship that teachers listed. They were all very polite, well spoken, obeyed their teachers and looked very put together in their immaculate school uniforms complete with sashes that stated their positions. The selection of these girls for the Student Union, which has prestige among students, rewards those girls who embody the traits that teachers said they valued.

The visual images around the school emphasized the role of women as charitable and as supporters of men. The School Code of Honor, found displayed at the front entrance, is a verse from the *Quran* that encourages all to "practice regular charity." And the Prospectus (Margalla School, 2014, p. 4) states that "...[the school prepares] students for personal and professional success while contributing to the betterment of the larger community."

There were only two posters in the school that focused on women. One poster highlights the biography of Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Mohammad Ali Jinnah ("father of the nation" and Pakistan's first Prime Minister), who played a major role in the Pakistan movement. This description of Fatima Jinnah positions her as an extension of her brother, rather than her own person. She is also described as loving, loyal and a lifelong companion to her great brother, rather than as a dentist, political leader, and founding member of the Pakistan Movement. Her work for the Pakistan Movement is described as selfless and sincere.

The supporting role of women is also noted in the second poster about the role of women in the Pakistan Movement. Here again, women are described as supporters of their famous male family members who did selfless work

including working as a secretary and taking no salary. The poster states that Lady Mohammad Ali addressed large gatherings of Muslims wearing a *burqa* (an outer garment which covers the wearer's face and body). Including this detail stresses that this woman ventured into the public domain, which is not considered appropriate for women, but wore a *burqa* thereby keeping her modesty (and therefore honor) intact.

These two posters seemed to be the only visual messages in the school guiding girls about women's roles as citizens of Pakistan. The women discussed on these posters (and certainly most of the prominent women discussed in history and social studies classes) were upper class Urdu speakers and often related to important men involved in the founding of Pakistan (Rouse, 2004). The role of women from other classes and backgrounds is wholly excluded from history taught in schools. Therefore, these girls from the lower middle class, some of whom belong to ethnic or religious minorities, never have the chance to learn about women like them contributing to Pakistan's history.

Finally, the focus on indoctrinating students into a certain performance of gendered citizenship is supported by a lack of opportunities for students to engage critically in the classrooms. Levine and Bishai (2010) argue that teachers have the opportunity to model a positive balance between authority and citizen input that is critical in participatory political systems, like that of Pakistan. This balance is achieved through student-centered learning and classroom management. However, in all of the classrooms observed, teachers used lecture methods that relied primarily on reading from the textbook. Students were asked mainly memory-based questions, and there was little chance for students to critically engage with content, or offer their thoughts on a subject. Most of the teachers emphasized an authoritarian model of classroom management, which rewards passive and silent students (Levine & Bishai, 2010), and attributed those characteristics to their favorite students. This model does not encourage girls to engage critically with the world around them, but to accept what they are taught as unquestionable fact.

Limiting Agency in the Public Sphere: Implications of Gendered Education

Through the views of teachers and school practices, the school serves as a reproducer of historically and culturally constructed gendered citizenship. It also monitors adherence to these constructions through rewarding students who embody certain characteristics (e.g., Student Union membership) and punishing those who do not (e.g., fines for unclean uniforms). Monitoring of gendered citizenship also extends to the teachers. For example, during the brainstorming activity (see Table 1), once *Strong Faith* was mentioned as a civic value, a teacher said, "now that it has been said, we all must rank it

first.” Each of the three groups then ranked *Strong Faith* first on their lists. This monitoring of the teachers was also evidenced by one teacher’s experience as a member of the Islamabad Chapter of the Women’s Action Forum, a political group focused on women’s rights (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The teacher revealed that she had been a member of the group, but didn’t feel she could continue because several of her colleagues felt that the group was too “Western and anti-Islamic.” This was a stark contrast to the lower class male school clerks who actively engaged in politics and advocacy through their unions. The different experiences of these men from that of the teacher suggest that gender is more powerful than class when engaging in the public political sphere.

The implications of the reproduction of gendered citizenship learned through schooling were made evident through the two focus groups I conducted to explore how students understand themselves as citizens of Pakistan. One group consisted of Student Union members, and the second was assembled from other students who volunteered to participate. There was a distinct contrast between the Student Union members and the other students in terms of their demeanors, aspirations, and expectations regarding women’s roles in society. For example, many of the Student Union members aspired to be teachers, lecturers or doctors. These are among the traditionally respectable positions for women to hold in Pakistan and tended to fit within the ideals of women as nurturers and caregivers (Jafar, 2005). The other students had slightly wider ideas about what they wanted to be when they grew up, although some did want to be doctors and teachers. A few of the girls wanted to work for NGOs, be pilots, dentists, Islamic scholars, and politicians. However, it should also be noted that all of the 33 students interviewed aspired to careers outside the home. The difference between the two focus groups illustrates how those students who demonstrate a form of gender that most closely adheres to the ideals of their school are rewarded by being selected for the Student Union.

Although all of the students in the focus groups aspire to these careers and some will train, many may not have the opportunity to work outside the home. For many parents, the purpose of educating girls is to improve their chances to find a husband who is also educated and from a good family (Weiss, 2015). This sentiment was expressed by the Pakistan Studies teacher, Abida, when speculating about the future of her students. She said,

Mostly the girls, after getting education have to be restricted at home... I see very good girls from very good families get married after education, because it is required Islamically, as far as the religion is concerned the girls must be married... she must manage the home.

The limited spectrum of career aspirations discussed by the students and teachers is consistent with Weiss (2015), who argues that the emphasis on women’s roles as mothers, wives, and caregivers leaves little space for them to aspire to other occupations.

In addition to gendered aspirations, the limitations on agency that are imposed by gendered expectations of citizenship were evident in the ways that students and teachers felt they, as educated Pakistani women, could contribute to a more peaceful Pakistan. Almost all limited their answers to raising children and “creating awareness” among children and male family members. One Pakistan Studies teacher focused on her role as a teacher and said, “through students you can create awareness and at home we can create awareness among our children.”

Another teacher focused on the role of women as mothers. She said,

Changing of the mind, because a woman, definitely, she is not strong as she can do anything. But she can change the mind of the kids. And to tell them what you are and be honest and do your best for your country. I think this the way... a mother can do this, a teacher can do this, a woman can do this because she cannot fight... but changing the mind is most important.

Some of the teachers also discussed the barriers they faced in contributing to social change in Pakistan. Sharmeela, an English teacher, felt that women needed to be more engaged in choosing a better government, which can then address the issues they are facing. She said,

I am a warm-hearted person and I feel sorry for all the people dying in [Pakistan]. All I can do is feel sorry for them. I cannot go to the border and shoot all the Taliban... we can at least talk about it. We can discuss how can we be out of it and choose a proper mechanism for ourselves and that is choosing a better government, a better administration.

Her response also highlights the lack of space for women to exercise agency to affect change. She said she could only feel sorry for people being killed, but she herself could not act (“shoot all the Taliban”). She then went on to discuss the importance of women in positions of power in the government. She added, “we the women need to have a say in the government.” She felt as though women’s exclusion from (meaningful) participation in the government stifled their agency to affect change.

For most of the teachers, the most significant barriers to participating in change outside the home were the restrictions they face as women and their duties within their homes. Abida said, “mostly the girls, after getting education have to be restricted at home... as far as the religion is concerned to handle the problem of a country, it is the matter of the boys.” For Abida, there is very little agency for girls to choose how they engage in society, because of the religious and cultural expectations assigned to women. She points out that the problems of the country are the responsibility of the boys. Faiza also emphasized the restrictions on women because of work they do within the homes and the negative impact it has on their engagement in social issues. She said,

This is ...a big problem, all the time women in society are thinking about their problems, they have to support their family, take care of their children, the in-laws, we have to make everyone happy... and she don't even have time for the newspaper.

The students in the focus groups had varying ideas of the ways that they could engage as educated women to help transform Pakistan. The Student Union students answered in ways that were similar to many of the teachers. The President, Anjum, said that they should "help educate the people in backward areas." Another student said, "we must do well in our careers and that will help make Pakistan a better place." However, the students in the other focus group had very different ideas about how they could help Pakistan. Their ideas strayed from the private sphere that the Student Union students embraced, and included working for women's rights through NGOs and women's organisations (such as the Women's Action Forum that their teacher was pressured to quit).

The students, like their teachers, were keenly aware of the issues faced in their country, but felt that their teachers and parents did not take the time to discuss these issues with them. Sabina, age 14, told me, "[our teachers and parents] don't want to talk to us about these things because we are girls." Despite the apparent resistance of adults to include them in discussions about their country, many of the girls felt it was important that they do something to help. Ayisha, whose uncle had been a victim of political violence in Karachi, told me, "I want to be an assassin... I just think it would be cool to kill the bad guys." While it was clear that students and teachers wanted to work for change, many expressed frustrations with the lack of agency and the narrow spaces they can occupy to promote change without the risk of violence against them. As 13-year-old Sunduz said, "it's very difficult [to speak out] and can be dangerous, but we must speak out."

The historical and cultural notions of women citizens reproduced at Margalla Girls' School serves as constraints to the space that they are allowed to occupy outside of the private sphere. This, in turn, limits women's agential space to engage as citizens with the ability to affect change upon the (public) institutions that disempower women (Saigol, 2003).

Conclusion: Gendered Citizenship Education as Cultural Violence

Women's citizenship as taught through this school's practice is framed as duty to the family and support of the "greater good." It was important for the school to provide an environment that balanced traditional ideals of middle-class womanhood with providing a quality education. This was done through the promotion of gendered civic values that were expected to be performed by students through student activities and in the classroom. Students who were best able to demonstrate these ideals of feminine citizenship were

rewarded through special appointments in clubs like the Student Union. Therefore, schooling in this case serves to reproduce traditional gender expectations, which have developed through the complex historical, religious, and cultural positioning of middle-class women – maintaining schools, even girls' schools, as patriarchal establishments (Kirk, 2008b).

The reproduction of gendered citizenship implications for the power dynamics associated with citizenship. The exclusion of women from the male-dominated public and political spheres reproduces civic and social inequalities based on gender. The resulting economic and political subordination of women are forms of structural violence that limit women's agency to choose how to engage as citizens. So, for women who have an interest in resisting the status quo, there comes with it an inherent risk. Shaheed (2010, p. 864) explains that this risk is contingent on the intersection of identities. She states,

The ability of an individual woman to resist the negative impact of the religion-politics nexus depends on factors such as class, economic resources, the community and family in which she is located and, of course, her own personal inclinations.

By promoting specific gendered performances of citizenship, the school serves as a reproducer of cultural violence (Galtung, 1990), through normalizing structural violence against women. Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui and Joseph (2005, p. 368) argue that "...one of the most powerful forms of oppression is internalized hegemony, which includes both coercion and consent." Fraser (1995, p. 73) suggests, "the result is often a vicious circle of cultural and economic subordination." The school contributes to this vicious circle rather than allowing teachers to become agents of social change (Kirk, 2004) to encourage girl students to develop the skills they would require to break the cycle of cultural and economic subordination of women.

The limits of gender and class on agency for resistance was made clear by the ways teachers and students understood their roles in the improvement of Pakistan. Almost all felt that their space for resistance resided in the private sphere of the family and careers in teaching. Both of these spaces have traditionally been acceptable for women's participation. Still, within these spaces there are barriers to resistance including the use of religion as a means of control, especially the notion of women as the protectors of the purity of the culture by maintaining their traditional gender roles. Women are expected to contribute through influencing male family members while, as one teacher said, "the burden of the country is that of the boys."

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