



Expression of Masculinity in Textbooks

Shirakat - Partnership for Development



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Preface

Most of us have grown up with someone in the family telling us that books can be a person's best friend. The question whether they are or not needs careful examination. Do the books we read as children show us strategies of how to exist in the world? Or are they a continuation of the process of socialization begun with our family members?

The primary socialization – the socialization that we go through during childhood – depends mostly on the messages that our family members and extended family members give us constantly. These messages from the most important agent of socialization – the family – endure and tend to stay with us for a long time, influencing our direction and decisions in life. Therefore, gender roles are learned at an early age; the division of labour between women and men is imprinted in our minds – contributing to creation and perpetuation of learned gender behaviours.

This socialization is further perpetuated through our textbooks. The repeated rote learning prevalent in most schools ensures that gender lessons learnt through socialization are never forgotten. Women's and men's roles, division of private and public space, limitations on women's access to and exercise of their rights becomes more and more ingrained with 6-8 hours spent every day in schools.

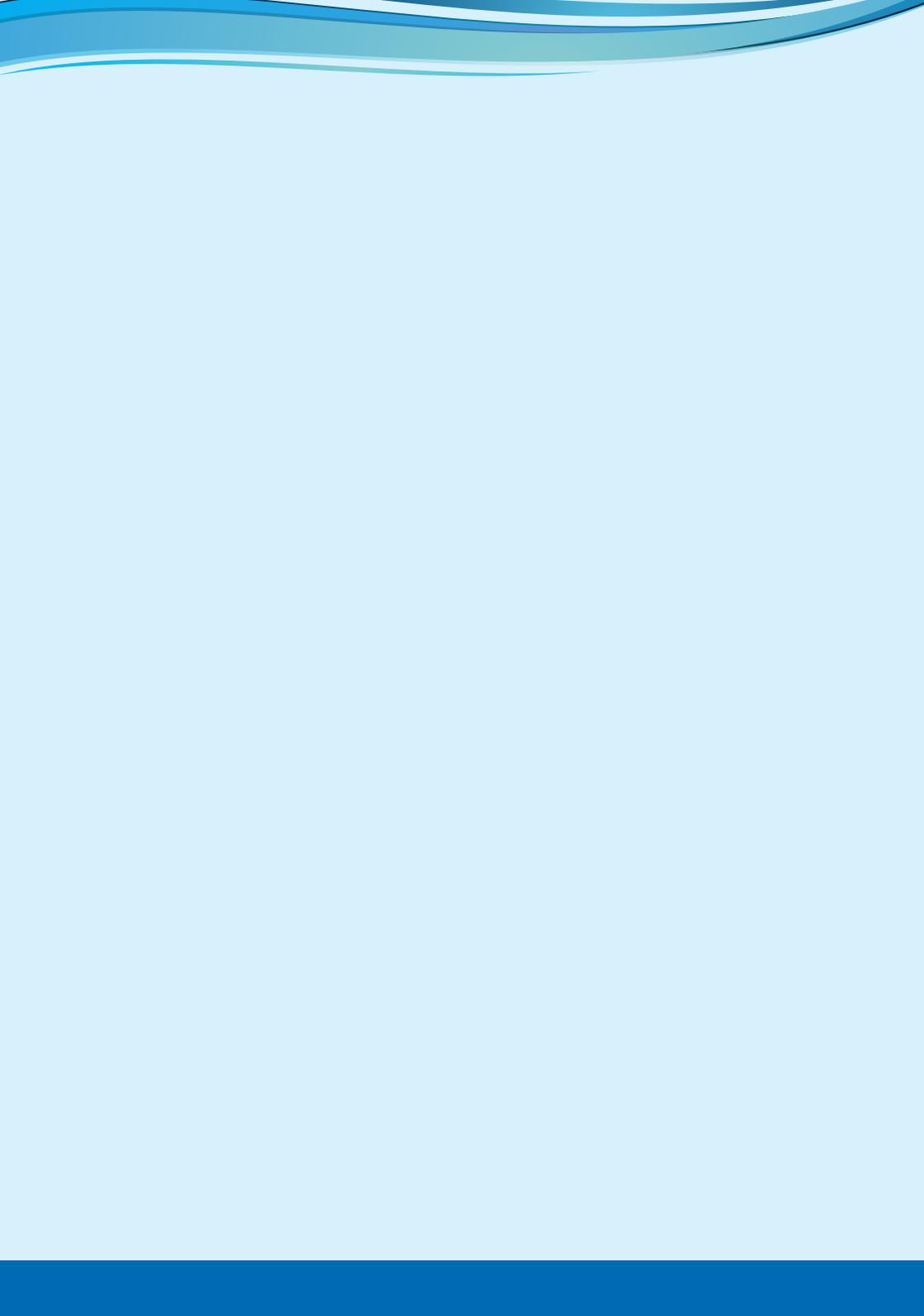
This socialization impacts women and men both and there are various characteristics assigned to each gender through this learning. Shirakat, in its work on gender equality and social justice has made an effort to analyze how textbooks generate and perpetuate gender norms. This book is an effort in that direction.

We acknowledge support of European Union for this research.

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Summary

The summary of the research findings shows that:

- There is a gender imbalance in the portrayal of gender images in favor of males to the extent that in some books it seems that the world is only comprised of men/boys.
- Although there are more female content authors (about 60%), almost all pedagogical authors, editors, and designers who participated in the development of these books are men.
- There are more male characters than females portrayed in almost all the books.
- Men are portrayed in productive activities which perpetuate gender stereotyping in the textbooks.
- In terms of personality traits, it has been observed that generally men / boys are depicted in more rational behavior and more positive way. Also they are shown in a superior position than girls.
- Generally men are depicted as brave, adventurous, doing things that require muscle, running around and hardworking.
- Men are portrayed as leaders e.g. kings, presidents, head of states, scientists, politicians, administrators etc.
- Usually the high value things are controlled by men and belong to them i.e. electrical equipment, motor car, bicycle (even in cases of the poor families), etc.
- The games played by boys/men are different than the ones played by girls/women i.e. men usually play cricket, football, basketball, hockey etc.
- These textbooks are engaged in a gendered process of citizen creation, wherein masculinity is defined in relation to the nation. The hegemonic male ideal is being aggressive, militaristic, authoritative, and following a strict division of labor on gendered lines.

Introduction

The present research study is one part of a larger project undertaken by Shirakat—Partnership for Development: “Collaboration for Change: Transforming Lives and Minds for Equal Citizenship”, implemented in collaboration with European Union and Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) since March 2016. The main objective of this project is the realization of equal citizenship through the promotion of women's empowerment and active participation in public life. Shirakat is using an overarching strategy of engaging men and boys for gender justice in delivering the project objectives. Other strategies include knowledge building, research, advocacy, dialogue and capacity building). In keeping with this larger enterprise, the current research attempts to understand how representations of masculinities in text books shape the minds of children and help perpetuate gender stereotypes and inequalities from an early age. This paper examines the expression of masculinity in the text books and whether or not these portray the diversity that exists in reality.

This report reviews and documents the images of masculinity as given in the text books of Federal Directorate of Education Islamabad. The report presents an analysis of the following books from grade one to eight:

Table 1: The Books Reviewed

Grade	Urdu	Islamiyat	English	Social Studies	General	History
1	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-
2	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-
3	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-
4	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-
5	✓	✓	Not available	✓	-	-
6	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓
7	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓
8	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓

There is no separate book of Islamiyat for grade 1 and 2, no social studies for grades 1-3, 6, 7 and 8; and History is only introduced as a separate subject at grade 6. Grade one to three is taught General Knowledge as a subject.

Background

Globally, the debate for equal rights for men and women started with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and has been growing ever since. This idea of equal rights for men and women provided the impetus for the global gender equality movement. In the 1970s the UN decade for women's rights played a key role in the feminist movement.¹

Thus the issue of gender equality became a key point on the policy agenda. The disadvantaged position of women worldwide gave rise to the urge to redress this situation. The role of 'feminist' men cannot be ignored in this context; as supporters of the women's movement, they have been key players in gender-equality reform. Gender inequities are complex and spread through all aspects of life. Power differentials between women and men are at play at every level of society and culture. Such roles and relations have deep historical and cultural roots. Moving towards a more egalitarian society involves not only institutional change but also a change in everyday life and personal conduct of both men and women.

In order to achieve this goal of gender equality in the society at large, efforts have to be made at several levels but significant support from men and boys is essential for changing attitudes towards power and building new norms in the society. At the moment most of the economy, politics, and culture are controlled by men, and women's claim to gender justice thus cannot be achieved unless men and boys are convinced that a society with more gender equality is desirable. Therefore, the MenEngage movement aims to engage men and boys in this worldwide discussion of gender-equality and the role that they can play in it.

Since ICPD, concerns about issues of men and boys have been raised globally and dialogue about their role in gender equality has been generated. In the 1990s a movement was developing among men from the middle class examining problems of relationships, sexuality and identity in US. Around the same time there were discussions in European countries around issues faced by men and boys, men's response to feminism, and men's involvement in families and fatherhood, men's violence against women and working to end this violence.

¹Change Among the Gate Keepers: Men, Masculinities and Gender Equality in the Global Arena, R. W. Connell

The concept of masculinity, according to the scholar Raewyn Connell, is a relational concept that has been defined in relation to femininity in feminist discourses. Only recently has there been a move towards engaging with the concept of masculinity itself, to try and bring into relief what it actually entails. Connell's seminal work has made some headway in this regard with her concept of a hegemonic masculinity and other masculinities that function in relation to it. Other scholars have also followed her lead, using terms such as 'scopic reality' to refer to a hegemonic masculinity, within which operate other masculinities, either in an affirming or subversive capacity, but always in relation to it.

There has also been a wave of research around the globe on men's gender identities, masculinities and the closely linked social processes that lead to these social constructions. Although these issues were first discussed in the "developed" world, such dialogue has spread around the world and there is a body of growing literature on men and masculinity in Pakistan as well.

Research on South Asian masculinities seems to be focused on a few recurring themes; (a) masculinity in the Diaspora as analyzed through the lens of migration studies, (b) a tribal masculinity based on a study of peripheral areas in Pakistan such as NWFP, Chitral and Sindh, (c) Islamism and masculinity, i.e. how geo-politics influences the formation of jihadist outlooks and religiously conservative masculinities in a Muslim-majority country such as Pakistan, and lastly, (d) masculinities in Indian cinema in light of discourses of the nation-state and globalization. All of this illustrates that the concept of masculinity has only been superficially engaged in, in South Asia, if at all. There has not been an effort to explore and define the contours of masculinity (ies) in post-colonial countries on its own terms. Masculinity (ies) in these countries has always been seen in relation to "global" discourses, bypassing the essential step of first defining and understanding the characteristics of that masculinity (ies) in the said country. In other words, it has largely been a top-down approach, with masculinity (ies) in post-colonial countries such as Pakistan and India always being seen in relation to the Diaspora or being couched in the rhetoric of the global war on terror. Where attempts have been made to engage with the concept at a local level, it is mainly outside of academia, with local media and NGOs partnering to highlight issues such as honor killing and gang rapes. However, this still leaves a lot open to research, as these attempts are largely focused on apparently violent masculinity(ies), utilizing catch-all terms such as 'honor killing', without regard to the specificities of space and

place or for that matter without regard to everyday lived reality.

Bearing in mind this research gap, the current research examines gender stereotyping in textbooks to assess its impact on children in their early years. Gender representation in school textbooks and children's literature has been researched and discussed extensively in a serious academic tone since the early classic studies by second wave feminist in the 1970s and 1980s using content analysis approach. These early studies as well as those carried out by feminist post structuralists, using qualitative approaches, asserted that children's literature has strong gender bias. Generally the literature carried more male images than females and both men and women are portrayed in their conventional gender roles². It is to this stream of literature that the current study wishes to add by tackling masculinities specifically.

Male Gender Identities and Masculinities in Text Books

Literature on masculinities, as discussed above, is a fairly recent addition to the literature on gender. There are variances in different cultures between the definition of what constitutes masculine behavior, leading to a debate over whether masculinity is biological or socially constructed. The observation is that gender is given prominence from the time of birth of a child, and is central to his or her identity construction. Once a child is named as a boy or girl, society starts to expect certain behaviors appropriate to that gender. Limits are placed upon individuals corresponding to their gender though out their life, beginning at birth. Masculinity as an identity for a male child gradually manifests in different learned behaviors, norms, embodied practices, roles and responsibilities. Though the specificities of this process vary across cultures, as well as the degree to which gender roles and norms are flexible, this process itself is more or less found in all societies.

Though most societies are patriarchal, not all men are always in dominant positions. For example if there is a comparison between men of different economic classes, those which are richer hold more power. Similarly, race, religion, and ethnicity may also affect an individual's privilege within society. Nonetheless, Connell³ points out that all men suffer at the hand of patriarchy, both those perpetuating hegemonic masculinity and those excluded from dominant groups because of their lack of 'manliness', their race, class or sexual orientation.

² Gender Representation in Children's Books: A Critical Review of Empirical Studies, HazirUllah, JoharAli and Arab Naz

³ Gender Short Introductions, R. W. Connell 2002

Among men, young boys can be marginalized due to their age and also because they are still in the process of defining their own identity as young boys. Their age prohibits them from exercising their masculinity fully. In the eyes of society, they are not yet fully men. Boyhood is also marginalized in gender studies, “the boy is all but elided in the various descriptions of manhood in the making which tend to present him as an incomplete man”⁴. However, this leads to an incomplete understanding of boyhood which means an incomplete understanding of gender.

In our society the gender order thus is structured in a manner that boys are taught to be hard, strong and dominant in order to grow into men. They are encouraged by their families, peers, school and the media to be competitive, tough and aggressive. Several books and literature gives a number of theories on how children acquire their gender identities and one of these, perhaps the most powerful, is “sex role” theory. According to this theory, sex roles are acquired through socialization managed by various factors, such as the family, school, peer groups and media. These roles are reinforced by repercussions associated with the compliance or non-compliance with such roles.

The school is one significant actor that manages the socialization process of gender identities. Schools are institutions which are supposed to provide space for overall growth and development of girls and boys. As such, they play a major role in gender socialization, by reinforcing the traditional values, attitudes and stereotypes within the society through various teaching learning practices. What is taught in schools through the curriculum is a vital part of schooling and consists of teaching and learning materials including text books, classroom practices, teachers' attitude and character, examination procedures and language policy, within which the children grow up as female/ male in the society. It serves as the strongest tool to transmit and/or transform the culture, values, attitudes and beliefs of the society to the learner.

Textbooks play a very important role in the lives of children as gender socialization agents at an early age. These books play a crucial role in determining the children's worldview of what is appropriate for men and women in society. Dorothy Smith asserts that text book is an essential

4 Greer & Ross (2007) Verbal Behavior Analysis: Inducing and Expanding New Verbal Capabilities in Children with Language Delays

medium of power that shapes the ways in which children think about themselves and the society.⁵ Several psychologists argue that texts and illustrations determine models of thought and offer preferred choices to children. The books tell children what is right and wrong, what is beautiful and hideous, what can be achieved and what is out of reach, and hence shape children's identities.⁶

Gender sensitivity (and a balanced view of the masculinities) in the curriculum and the corresponding text books is one of the emerging issues that have attracted attention in various academic and policy settings. The initial research on text books focused on the portrayal of women and how they have been stereotyped through various readings in the text books. Most of the researches on text books were done from a feminist perspective drawing upon post-structural feminist theory and social constructionist theory of gender.

Through various researches in other parts of the world, it has been indicated that the content of study leads to many behavioral changes; personality traits are modified at schools where students spend several hours of their time. Textbooks play a strong part in constructing young girls' and boys' behavior. Therefore the images of masculinity portrayed in the books will affect boys process by which they conceive possible masculinities from which they must choose their own identity within preset parameters. Furthermore, such imagery also affects girls' perceptions about prevalent masculine behaviors and how they themselves are expected to behave in response to or in relation with such masculinities.

Unless men are engaged in ensuring gender equality, there will be no change in the society because men are the still dominant in all fields of life including control of resources essential to achieve equality in the society. With this in mind there is also realization that the society needs to understand the gender construct of men and masculinities in order to bring a sustained change in the society and also address the vulnerabilities that men face due to these stereotypes.

While feminists worked on drawing attention to the portrayal of women and wrote extensively on women's representation in various literature and

⁵ Smith, D. 1987. *The everyday world as problematic: A Feminist Sociology*, Boston: Northeastern University Press.

⁶ McCabe J, F. Fairchild, L. Grauerholz, B.Pescosolido and D. Tope, 2011. *Gender in twentieth century children's books patterns of disparity entitles and central characters.* *Gender and Society*,25(2): 197-226



media, the MenEngage movement has drawn attention to the lack of knowledge about men, masculinities and their corresponding identities. While studies from women's perspective were essential to reconstitute images of women and highlight the injustices caused by their exclusion, studies on men may seem to be a phenomenon of “countering the feminism” for some critics. However, unless there is clarity on how male identities function and affect the relationships within family and society, unequal gender relations cannot be addressed.

Analytical Framework and the Parameters of Masculinities

This study utilizes Hofstede's model of 'national culture' which has in recent decades held an important place among cross-cultural research approaches aiming to contribute to people's understanding of the relationship between culture and identity.⁷

Hofstede identifies six dimensions of national cultures: 1) Power Distance, 2) Uncertainty Avoidance, 3) Individualism/Collectivism, 4) Masculinity/Femininity, 5) Long/Short Term Orientation, and 6) Indulgence/Restraint. These seem to be 6 varied dimensions, however when each dimension is applied, the result depends on aggregation, One needs to be mindful that individual values may vary as compared to the collective values that form the culture and the degree to which each dimension is applicable to each culture may also vary.

Similarly, masculinity versus its opposite, femininity refers to the distribution of values⁸ between the genders. The values that describe a masculine culture include:

- Maximum emotional and social role differentiation between the genders
- Men should be and women may be assertive and ambitious
- Work prevails over family
- Admiration for the strong, tall, powerful
- Fathers deal with facts, mothers with feelings (men associated with education, wisdom, foresight etc.)
- Girls cry, boys don't; boys should fight back, girls shouldn't fight
- Fathers decide on family issues; men decide about women
- Few women in elected political positions; separate spheres of performance – public sphere for men; businesses, most occupations

⁷ Hofstede's Dimension of Masculinity as an Analytical Framework for Gender Equality and Sexual Difference, Marija Bartulović, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia, Department of Pedagogy

⁸ Dimensionalizing Cultures: The Hofstede Model in Context, Geert Hofstede, 2011

- Moralistic attitudes about sexuality of women, while sex is a way of performing for men (admiration of sexual strength)

These dimensions of masculinity have been used here in this study as an analytical framework for analyzing sex/gender discrimination in the text books. Overall, masculinity represents a preference in society for achievement, heroism, assertiveness and material rewards for success; hence, a masculine society at large is more competitive. It's opposite, femininity, stands for a preference for cooperation, modesty, caring for the weak and quality of life; a feminine society is generally more consensus-oriented. In the business context Masculinity versus Femininity is sometimes also related to as "tough versus tender" cultures.⁹ Using this framework, the text books indicate that mostly the books are portraying images of men in a masculine society, while looking at the culture of specific areas in the country there is more preference for cooperation perhaps due to the other challenges faced by everyone i.e. climatic and environmental.

Masculinities themselves have been more closely analyzed using Connell's concept of body-reflexive practice.¹⁰ Connell argues that gender is neither biologically, nor sociologically determined. It is neither purely physical, nor purely symbolic—and also not some compromised mixture of these two extremes. Rather, she states that gender is enacted through body-reflexive practices which constitute and are constituted by social reality. Retaining the physicality and corporeal nature of human bodies within the ambit of gender, she states that these bodies are inherently meaningful in both the personal and social sense. The body is both subject, and object, and an individual's agency is integral to their gender identity and to the concept of gender as a whole. Such a conception of gender side-steps dichotomies of mind and body usually found in desecration discourse, and allows for a more holistic and meaningful analysis of gender—and therefore masculinities. Thus, this perspective is employed here to gain a more substantive understanding of the kinds of masculinities present in current text-books.

⁹ <https://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html>

¹⁰ Connell, Raewyn, *Masculinities*, Cambridge, Polity, 2014.

The Findings

The findings of the review of books are organized in the sections below according to: 1) authorship; 2) the theme/subject of the books and how each subject has treated the images of masculinities. The pictures/illustrations in the books were reviewed to see how men and boys are represented as well as the text in each story to see how the identities of men and boys have been portrayed in the stories/lessons. The findings are organized in the following sub sections:

- Authorship
- Subject wise review of books:
 - Urdu
 - Islamiyat
 - Social Studies
 - General Knowledge
 - History
 - English

3.1. Authorship

The books reviewed (see table 1 for details) were developed according to National Curriculum 2006-07 and National Style Guide. The books had been published for the past few years (from 2011 to 2014) before being repackaged and presented in 2015 under the new management and supervision of textbook development principles and guidelines with new design and layout.

It is very interesting to note that most of the content has been authored by women. Collectively there are 42 authors of the content of these 30 books; out of these, 27, or 64%, are women. This does not necessarily ensure gender sensitive content, as female writers are under the influence of same socialization as men. Pedagogical authors, however, are mostly men (24 out of 30, or 80%). Similarly, all these books are also designed and edited by men and the management and supervision of the textbook creation process is also done by men.

3.2. Subject wise Review of Books

General Knowledge, Social Studies and History

General Knowledge, Social Studies and History are tackled here together because these textbooks present similar ideas of nationalism, public service and citizenship. Masculinities presented in these books are generally physically strong, and engaged in service to the nation. The protection of the

passive feminine homeland/motherland under threat by external forces, and the protection of passive, weak women are presented side by side as the duty and responsibility of men. This section proceeds with a subject wise gender analysis of each subject, and then concludes with an overarching analysis of themes and masculinities promoted by these textbooks.

Protection of the female motherland, and protection and help of women—all are the job of men.

General Knowledge

General Knowledge as a subject is taught to Grade one to three. The content writers of the three books for grade 1, 2 and 3 are women. Grade 1 and Grade 2 books are written by one author each while Grade 3 book is written by two female writers. The rest of the teams including pedagogical writers, editors, layout / design, supervisor etc. are all men.

The books for these early grades promote gender biases. The book for Grade 1 starts with a lesson “About Myself”, in which all the pictures are of boys; the school is for boys; the teacher is male. Female authorship hardly seems to guarantee the presentation of a balanced world to children in books. Pictures similarly propagate traditional gender norms by (Page 10 & 11) showing a male doctor, female nurse, boys playing football, a boy helping an old man cross the road, and a woman serving tea—all traditional roles that men and women are supposed to play. Males are also shown in situations superior to that of females e.g. Lesson 4, page 24, a boy is shown neat & clean, throwing garbage in a bin, while a girl is shown dirty.

Depictions of children at play are more balanced, but still far from ideal. Even though there are lessons and pictures where there are mixed groups of girls and boys playing together, more boys are shown playing games like hockey, basketball, carom, cricket, fishing, cycling, swimming, crossing hurdles while girls are playing badminton, and rope skipping. Table tennis, cricket and karate are played by both boys and girls. As a result, boys are generally depicted as being more physically active and energetic than girls—this activity is an important aspect of what defines them as males, and how boys enact their developing masculine identities.

Furthermore, the lesson about aspiration of children for their future also shows a pilot, farmer, shop keeper, cobbler, butcher, laborer, singer, doctor, dentist, tailor, chef, waiter, motor mechanic, architect, mason, painter,

electrician, gas technician, gas station worker and carpenter—all men. Women are shown as teachers, air hostesses, lady tailors and nurses (grade 1, Lesson 8, page 38-39, 41 and grade 2, page 26, grade 3, lesson 17). Positions of power, authority or leadership are shown to be held by men almost always i.e. numberdar, patwari, Councillor, Commissioner, SHO, Nazim, and Tehsildar.

Moreover religious rituals are also performed by boys/men in the public places i.e. mosque or open grounds while the mother would pray at home. For example in Grade 3, Lesson 8, page 42, Religious Festivals: out of two pictures of Eid-ul-Fitr, one is of male children embracing each other and the other is of male adults embracing each other and saying Eid Mubarak. Only boys and men celebrate Eid in the universe created within these books. Other religious festivals are also covered. Christmas is signified with a Christmas tree; Holi is celebrated by male & female children together; Baisakhi is celebrated by mostly men.

Other public places such as shops and markets are shown to be run by men and mostly men are shopping except one woman in one picture. Similarly in parks and playgrounds the boys are shown to do activities which are run by motors / electricity while girls are shown on simple swings. Such depictions of professional, religious, and economic activities reinforce the idea that public spaces and public life are the domain of men, and that women, when present at all, are not equal participants in this arena, but rather subordinates.

Similarly there are tasks which men are never shown to be performing such as engaging in childcare—for example, taking children to health care center or to the doctor. A picture shows people at a hospital where doctor is a male and nurse is a female and children are accompanied by mother in most cases (Lesson 15, pages 64-65). This again reinforces the idea that childcare is the province exclusively of women.

Most of the grand personalities/heroes are almost always men—in the Grade 2 book, (Lesson 3, pages 16-17), Quaid-e-Azam is portrayed as the founder of Pakistan, father of the nation, a great leader, excellent orator, a fearless and courageous lawyer. He gave Muslims of India a separate homeland. Even when telling children about the flag, the pictures are mostly of boys.

Inventors presented in the book are all men and their inventions have been

mentioned. In grade 3, there are lessons on conflict resolution / managing disagreements, however the characters are mostly boys. About 73% pictures are of boys and men while only 14% are of girls and women. Another 13% are mixed pictures.

Table 6: Number of Pictures / Illustrations in General Knowledge Books

Grade	Boys / men	Girls/Women	Mixed	Total
1	9	0	2 (family)	11
2	14	2	6	22
3	16	2	5	23
Total	117	23	21	161
%age	72.7	14.3	13.0	100

Social Studies

The subject of Social Studies is taught to only grade 4 and 5 students. For these two books, there are 4 content authors, who are all women. For Grade 4 book there are three content authors while for grade 5 there is only one. The rest of the team however is all male including the pedagogical authors, design and layout, editor, supervisor, and manager.

These books contain lessons on history and geography, along with information about social services and cultures in Pakistan. Mostly the lessons are neutral, however in some of the lessons related to heroes, saints or different rulers, there are images of masculinities in the description as well as pictures presented in both the books.

For example in the book for Grade 4, (Page 24, Role of Important Personalities of Islamabad) the important personalities that are mentioned include two spiritual leaders, the President field Marshal Ayub Khan, and Dr. Abdul Qadir Khan. The two religious leaders are praised for their religious devotion, the family's nobility and piety, education in a range of varied subjects and traveling to several countries for education. Both played a role in preaching Islam and many non-Muslims embraced Islam at their hands. President Ayub Khan, while appreciated for the development in the country during his tenure, framing 1961 constitution in written form, and starting the construction of Islamabad, is also termed as first dictator in the history of

Pakistan. One of the important personalities is that of Dr. Abdul Qadir Khan who made Pakistan the atomic power. They are all considered heroes and termed as courageous, committed, brave, and diligent.

The book also displays the pictures of army soldiers who were martyred and awarded Nishan-e-Haider, Quaid-i-Azam, Allama Iqbal, Liaquat Ali Khan, Fatima Jinnah, and Abdul Sattar Edhi as our heroes – all male except Fatima Jinnah. Similarly, most of the pictures of professional people are of men i.e. a doctor examining a patient, labourer, barber cutting hair, teacher is teaching. There are also a few illustrations of our culture where the pictures show Luddi and Dhamal by men, although the luddi (traditional dance) is a dance of women and dhamal (a form of mystic dance) is performed by men mostly but also sometimes performed by women.

The book for Grade 5 has lessons on many subjects which are also sometimes controversial. However, the book has tried to present it in a positive manner. For example, at page 10 the definition of Jihad is given: “when some nation inflicts cruelty and injustice on Muslims, effort against that is called Jihad. Before announcing jihad against anyone, the ulama should clearly define the causes of that because this is very serious action. Acting against poverty and spreading Quranic education is also jihad.” Similarly the concept of good citizens and their duties is presented on page 16 where it says, “good citizens respect law, don’t harm their neighbors, don’t harm the country assets, respect traffic rules, think for the whole country rather than for their own benefit. In order to become good citizen, one should get education.”

Another lesson describes that love, respect, sincerity and kindness is part of a Muslim society. The respect for women is mentioned in relationships such as mother, sister, daughter and wife. It is however not mentioned that apart from this respect for women as a human being and as a citizen is also essential. A husband's duty is also described “to arrange food, accommodation, clothes and other needs of his wife and treat her well”. Prophet's sayings are mentioned. Respect for old people is stated as part of our culture.

There are certain positive concepts introduced such as the concept of social justice - equality and equal rights. It is also mentioned that there is discrimination with girls in our families especially related to education. The book also contains the Prophet's charter of rights and the UDHR provisions.

One of the kings, Raja Dahir is described as a cruel ruler and Muhammad Bin Qasim as a savior who came to the rescue of Muslim women who were captured by Raja Dahir's men and defeated the Raja. Muhammad Bin Qasim is portrayed as a great leader of the army and as a person who had spread Islam in this region, a kind hearted, simple and just man. Another ruler that is mentioned in the book is Mehmood Ghaznavi who fought for Islam. He got many mosques, educational institutions and libraries constructed. He used to break idols wherever he went.

Another lesson presents some important people of the Pakistan Movement including Shah Wali Allah, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah and their role in the movement is explained. Their dedication to the cause of giving Muslims an identity, modern education, and a homeland is lauded. They are reflected as visionary leaders in their own fields i.e. religion, education, poetry, and politics respectively.

These two books have a total of 52 pictures / illustrations out of which 65.4% are of men and boys while only about 6% are of women/girls and about 29% are mixed. Some of the pictures are of famous people / heroes, while others are of various activities being performed e.g. steel mill, fishing, a man on a bike, a caravan in dessert, various public places full of men, people performing different professions etc. Out of three pictures of women two are of Fatima Jinnah and one is of a girl from Kailash.

Table 5: Number of Pictures / Illustrations in Social Studies

Grade	Boys / men	Girls/Women	Mixed	Total
4	21	2	13	36
5	13	1	2	16
Total	34	3	15	52
%age	65.4%	5.8	28.8	100

The history book for grade 6 is written by a male content author while those for grade 7 and 8 are written by female content authors. As with previous texts, the pedagogical authors, the editors, the designer, the supervisor and the manager are all men.

The History book of Grade 6 starts with Indus Valley Civilization and goes on

until 1626, the Lodhi Sultanate. Grade 7 History contains Mughal Empire and the ascendancy of the British Rule. The grade 8 book starts with the Consolidation of British power in India and goes upto the division of sub-continent into India and Pakistan.

Grade 6 and Grade 7 books provide more masculine identities as they take the students through various periods of history and the rulers of various periods and character of rulers while grade 8 book is more focused on incidences of history, the system and laws brought by the British, the politics between Hindus and Muslims and less on individual personalities.

The characters described in the books are mostly kings or rulers (all male except Razia Sultana) and many have been described as mighty or great conquerors, empire builders, and great military geniuses. They are brave and patriotic. One is a fierce warrior with an unbroken record of victories, who fought several years to avenge the murder of his brother. A mighty general and a wise statesman maintained peace & order in the country; a born leader of men, who, blessed with unusual valor and courage, brought the whole of south Asia under his control. This is a recurrent theme of masculinity that has been highlighted the most i.e. the ability to fight wars and expand empire.

Since this was the usual trend, anyone who did not fit this mold is described in opposition to it: “a mild man, disliked bloodshed, was peaceful. The young khilji officers considered him unfit for kingship. He was murdered at the hand of his nephew Alauddin by deceit”. (History Grade 6, Page 63, Jalaluddin Khilji).

Other highlighted aspects include piety and religiosity. Laudable leaders are portrayed as friends of saints, pious Muslims, tolerant to Hindu subjects, generous, in quest of truth (e.g. Buddha) or as being free from fanaticism. In keeping with this theme, saints are also described in the books e.g. Hazrat Ali Hijveri Data Sahib, and Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti and their devotion to missionary work. Several other saints are mentioned briefly.

Support for education and respect for learned individuals are also mentioned as admirable characteristics of men in power. They are described as “patron[s] of art and learning”, supporters of philosophers, writers and sculpture, literary and artistic achievements, lovers of learning, poets and dramatists.

Another recurrent theme is Justice. Many rulers are said to be very strict and impartial in administering justice. An example is given where a king killed his own nephew on a serious complaint. Various development and infrastructure projects are also mentioned, such as the construction of a number of towns, canals, buildings, hospitals, schools, mosques, gardens, roads, and public rest houses along roads for rest and recuperation.

There is also a detailed description of Muhammad Ali Jinnah as Quaid-e-Azam, which describes him as possessing a unique sense of honesty, justice, and loyalty to the cause of a homeland for Muslims. It is mentioned that he was never put behind bars as his every action was in accordance with legal and legislative requirements.

The table below gives the number of pictures in each history book. The largest number of pictures/illustrations is found in Grade 7 History out of the three. However most of the pictures are of men i.e. 89% while only about 4 % are of girls and women and 7% are mixed pictures. Mostly the kings and saints, lords of British rule are presented in such pictures. A few collective pictures are of the time of war of independence and later the movement for Pakistan and migration of people to Pakistan.

Table 7: Number of Pictures / Illustrations in History Books

Grade	Boys / men	Girls/Women	Mixed	Total
6	14	1	1	16
7	51	2	3	56
8	33	1	4	38
Total	98	4	8	110
%age	89	3.6	7.3	100

In General Knowledge, Social Studies and History books for primary and middle schooling, notions of nationalism and masculinity are intricately linked. A kind of hyper-masculinity is depicted as the ideal in most of the stories within these books. What it means to be a man is very closely linked with war and conquest.

These themes build slowly from the General Knowledge books. Written for very young children, these books are concerned more with boys than with

the characters of men. It is important to note here that boys possess underdeveloped masculinities—they are not yet men, and are still realizing their masculine identities through experimentation and action. Thus, the characters in these books embody more basic aspects of what it means to be a man, which follow clear developmental trajectories in texts for higher grades.

Chief amongst such aspects is the physical embodiment of masculinities. Boys in General Knowledge books are shown as engaging in a wide variety of physically demanding forms of play football, hockey and so on. This physical exertion is what marks them as male, even in this early stage of life (recall that girls are generally shown as engaging in more passive forms of play). Through this bodily experience the characters in these books express their identity as males. As we progress to Social Studies and History books for higher grade levels (or when we look at grown men within the General Knowledge books, e.g. in the lesson on “Heroes”), the physical exertions of men depicted in books turn towards war and conquest. Masculinity is embodied in the physical strength of soldiers and generals who use this strength in battle to conquer lands, or defend the motherland.

The second aspect of these currently underdeveloped masculinities in General Knowledge texts is their involvement in the assistance and protection of women. Boys are shown as assisting elderly women, or helping their mothers in the home - albeit in vague terms. Thus even these underdeveloped masculinities are already defined early on as in a position to assist and aid females, and rarely be on the receiving end of any form of help from women. In the history and social studies books for older students, masculinities are depicted in a similar manner. A man is strong; he protects his mother, daughters and wife, and also a passive feminine motherland from external threats. A man is aggressive; he conquers lands and wages wars. A man is disciplined and just; he rules with a firm and impartial hand and is the instrument of justice.

Males, thus, are rarely passive - whether on the playground as children, or in the realm of politics as adults - or indeed, as religious figures. It is interesting to note that most elaborations of the deeds of saints or pious men involve missionary efforts - deliberate attempts to convert misguided individuals to the path of righteousness. Where the soldier realizes his masculinity through the act of war, the pious man, though not necessarily meeting the same standards of a hegemonic masculinity prizing strength and valor, is nonetheless engaged in an act of conquest - the conquest of minds and

souls. This analysis holds just as true for the saints and Muslim scholars discussed in Islamiyat books, though not for depictions of the Prophet (PBUH), whose character is fleshed out in a much more comprehensive manner.

Another prominent masculinity within these texts is that of the learned man, which though by no means conforming completely to the male ideals of physical strength and aggression, is nonetheless complicit with such masculinities in that it supports, justifies, or otherwise assists their existence. For example, Abdul Qadeer Khan is mentioned at multiple points in the books—as a hero, as an intellectual—for his service to the nation through the development of the atomic bomb. Though he is therefore not directly involved in the act of going to war, his work and research nonetheless are directly involved in the military machinery that does so.

Thus, most masculinity present in these texts is closely linked with the idea of the nation and its protection or expansion. Even those who are not directly involved in this process are still in one manner or another complicit to the glorification of the nation, whether through their intellectual work, or through other forms of service.

Urdu Text Books

For Urdu Text books from grade 1-8 there were a total of 13 content writers out of which 7 are women and 6 are men, which shows quite a balanced overview of the content writers in terms of division between men and women writers. However, all pedagogical writers (one each for each text book) are men and the editors, designers, and supervisors are all men as well.

There are many stories in which the language is neutral and promotes values within human beings without any distinction of sex or gender, such as caring for each other, cooperation, truthfulness, respect and care of parents, respecting teachers, value of education in Islam, taking care of the poor and needy etc. This is especially true for lessons concerning the teachings of Islam or the life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Texts often show that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) loved children, and was always the first one to say salaam or greeting to them, prioritized their needs, helped orphans, loved his own grandchildren and ordered others to "be affectionate to children and respect elders". In each book there is one lesson on the Prophet (PBUH) that talks about rights of people, equality, or the importance

of “work” and how the Prophet (PBUH) used to do his own tasks. Lessons also show him (PBUH) as a good general, a wise person, a humble, loving and caring person. This sets good example for all children as the Prophet (PBUH) represents the same icon for all Muslims – men or women.

In a similar way, there are many positive examples in different Urdu books, for example Urdu Grade 7 book, lesson 4, pages 22-25, Mushaqqat ki Zillat Jinhon nay Uthai (Those who went through hard work): has highlighted the significance of hard work - working with one's own hands. The lesson provides example of different prophets who worked to earn their living e.g. Hazrat Adam did agriculture, Hazrat Idrees was a tailor, Hazrat Hood did trading, Hazrat Musa herded the sheep of Hazrat Shoaib for 10 years, Hazrat Daud used to make zirah (armor), Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) also used to herd sheep and goats, and did trading as well; as an employee of Hazrat Khadija (RA). The Prophet named the people who work hard as Allah's friends.

Similarly in book 8, Lesson 3, page 14-17, Ihteraam-e-Insaniat (Respect for Humanity): is also a very positive lesson about respect for human beings and human rights in the light of Islam. The lesson also talks about education as a duty of both men and women; describes Code of conduct given by Prophet Muhammad at his last Hajj (Pilgrimage) which highlights equality without any discrimination of colour, creed, gender, place of origin etc. and that the only person better in the eyes of Allah is the person who has more taqwa (Piety).

On the other hand, there are also stories that depict only boys and men in various roles: travelers, athletes, kings, scientists. Men are always shown as helping others in emergency situations etc., women are almost exclusively dependent on such help, and rarely the ones offering it. In the stories or lessons involving characters of both genders, usually boys are shown as more rational while girls are shown sulking, crying, or complaining. As an example, Urdu for Grade 2, Lesson 23, page 92-93 (Honehar Taliba) is a story of Arfa Karim who was a computer expert at an early age. However the story starts with Samina crying and complaining to her father that her brother does not give her the computer. The father explains to Samina that her brother has an exam and she should let him work. The brother is shown very considerate and tells his sister that he will give her the computer once he finishes his work.

Similarly in other lessons the men are portrayed as “wise men”, in powerful

positions such as king, brave boys, scientists (Abdul Qadeer, Khwarzami, Abdul Malik Asmai, Abual Qasim Zahravi, Bu Ali Sina etc.), poets (Allama Iqbal, Ghalib, and so on), farmers, politicians (such as Quaid-e-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah), doctors, teachers, and engineers.

Book 8 also has a lesson on Civil Defense, (Lesson 18, pages 94-97, Shehri Diffa). This lesson also only shows men at work and as members of the Civil Defense and their role in emergencies / disasters - natural or man - made, as if girls and women do not live in cities and have no role in protecting against such occurrences. There is also a lesson on boy scouts in book 6 where scouts are characterized as trustworthy, honest, faithful, obedient, helpful, well - mannered, friendly, sympathetic, brave, and economical. No such organizations or roles for girls are mentioned. As discussed previously, men are constantly portrayed as actively involved in helping women—this is depicted recurrently as appropriate action for men, and thus is integral to the concept of masculinity put forth in textbooks.

Overall, the world presented within these books seems to have very few women and girls. Even narratives on schools are dominated by male characters: the lesson describing an exemplary student depicts male students in a boys-only school with a male teacher. Only in some cases there is a balance created by giving a story about a girl or a woman who was a high achiever e.g. story of Fatima Jinnah, Arfa Karim. But generally these are fewer in number than the stories and lessons about boys and men. Thus, such women are implicitly shown as exceptional, and separate from the norm of womanhood.

All Urdu textbooks are dominated by pictures of men and boys. While there are a few pictures in each book that show both boys and girls, or entire families with men, women, girls and boys, these are far fewer in number. A small minority of pictures depict girls or women alone. Out of a total of 161 pictures / illustrations 72.7% were of men or boys, while only 14.3% are of girls / women and 13% are mixed. This visual absence of women again implicitly reinforces the social norm that women are to be seen primarily in relation to their male relations or counterparts, and not as individuals who can stand alone as independent agents within society.

Table 2: Number of Pictures / Illustrations in Urdu Books

Grade	Boys / men	Girls/Women	Mixed	Total
1	9	0	2 (family)	11
2	14	2	6	22
3	16	2	5	23
4	12	1	1	14
5	12	3	1	16
6	20	3	2	25
7	17	9	1	27
8	17	3	3	23
Total	117	23	21	161
%age	72.7	14.3	13.0	100

Many pictures show people performing certain activities or doing their professional work. When things are related to boys' activities, they are mostly playing games such as football, cricket, hockey, etc. or reading, or working on computer. Where men are shown in professions they are involved in work that requires technical understanding or skills, physical strength or finance. Girls are shown playing hide & seek, rope skipping and crying and women are shown in a few professions only i.e. teaching, nursing, or working in the home. Once more, budding masculinities are expressed through the physical exertion of the body through sport and play.

Table 3: Different Activities and Professions of Men & Women in Urdu Books

Boys / men	Girls/Women
Cricket, hockey, hide & seek, reading, working on computers	Hide & seek, rope skipping, crying
Cricketers, farmers, washerman, carpenter, tailor, cobbler, doctor, social worker, leader, king, poet, students, social workers, teacher, businessman	Nurse, teacher, student, computer expert (Arfa Karim), housewives

Islamiyat (Compulsory)

Islamiyat in Federal Education System is being taught from Grade 3 onwards. Therefore six books from grade 3 to grade 8 were reviewed. The books are in Urdu and were revised and presented in 2015 under the new management and supervision of textbook development principles and guidelines with new design and layout.

There are a total of 12 content authors out of which 9 are men and 3 are women. All pedagogical authors are men, the design, layout and editing is done by men and the overall management and supervision is done by men, therefore practically rendering religion as a male dominated domain which has been so for centuries. The same is reflected in the Pakistani society presently.

In terms of text and content of the books of Islamiyat, the books are organized in such a manner that the first few pages are “Quran Lesson” i.e. reading Quran in Arabic, and then the next couple of chapters in each book are on various necessary aspects of the religion. In the remaining part of the book there are incidents related from the life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and then stories of His Companions.

The chapters where the incidents from the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) are listed and where there are His Sayings, the language is mostly all inclusive i.e. the messages are for all human beings and not for men or women. The Prophet's (PBUH) life forms such an exemplary way of life to be copied by everyone. For example, in Islamiyat for Grade 3, after the first few lessons about how to read Quran, there are lessons on the Prophet's (PBUH) life – his childhood, work during young age and in youth, and his marriage with Hazrat Khadija. The books also discuss relationship with human beings, honesty, cooperation, patience, etc. The personality of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) has been portrayed as an ideal for all humanity – honesty, truthfulness, just, finder of best solution, fulfilling promises, and respecting the rights of everyone.

The character of the Prophet (PBUH) establishes a well-rounded masculine

presence in these books which goes beyond conquest, war and physical strength. The strength of His (PBUH) character in terms of justice and knowledge are discussed, but also complemented by softer characteristics such as kindness and compassion. His (PBUH) affection for children in particular is often mentioned, a characteristic which goes against the other masculinities which are rarely engaged in childcare beyond a disciplining and authoritarian role. The strength in this message lies in the fact that He (PBUH) is the epitome of perfection in Islamic doctrine. Therefore stories and lessons about the Prophet (PBUH) which focus on his actions or characteristics that run contrary to the common social conception of masculinity are extremely important and effective tools to present children with alternatives to the hegemonic ideal.

There is also a story on Prophet Ibrahim, his son Ismael and the Sacrifice and Eid-ul-Azha. The last chapter is on Hazrat Abu Bakar Siddiq. In this book and the book 4, there is nothing specific to masculinity. However, the lessons about other prophets and about Khalifas after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) show high standards of justice, reforms, accountability and ensuring rights of the people living in the country.

In Grade 5 book also, there is emphasis on various aspects of the life of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). There are examples from His life on living in a society, different battles and the necessity of obeying the commander (example Jang-e-Uhad), obeying Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) orders, muafqat, fulfilling promises, ufw-o-darguzar (forgiveness) and burdbari (patience, controlling anger); respecting other people's opinion, being kind to people, prudent in spending, cooperation with each other, equality between human beings etc. In the same book there is also a lesson on Jesus Christ and how he promoted God's way to people.

In textbooks for Grade 6, 7 and 8 also there are several positive lessons on the Prophet (PBUH): e.g. for Sulah Hudeibia (Agreement at Hudeibia) how He (PBUH) showed his consultative nature in trying to resolve matters peacefully, and how He (PBUH) wrote letters to various heads of states for Dawat-e-Islam (invitation to accept Islam) . He forgave all his opponents at the time of his last address at Mecca. He was full of blessing, affection, forgiveness. He fulfilled his promises, and promoted equality by truthfulness and taqwa. The Prophet taught people to treat servants with respect, patience, justice - individual and social, husn-e-muashrat (rights of people in the family, society, settlement etc), and talking politely to others. His family

life - love for his wives , affection to children, preference for simple food, assistance in household chores, mending his own shoes, repairing his own dress etc. are good examples for promoting a balanced character in the young boys and men, and subversive to the other masculinities presented in other subjects, which often emphasize very traditional and aggressive masculinities centered around the waging of wars and having a limited involvement in home-life, particularly¹¹with regards to childcare.

The lives of Caliphs are also shown as having high level of responsibility, accountability, respect for everyone, and economical use of resources of the state. One of the lessons on Ghazva-e-Khyber, page 49, throws light on the bravery of Hazrat Ali. He was given the flag by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and was asked to go to the battlefield and preach first before war. Then Hazrat Ali fought with Marhab (the leader of the Jews). He introduced himself in response to Marhab's introduction as brave and experienced. Hazrat Ali said he is the one who was named by his mother as "Haider" (meaning Lion). Hazrat Ali was victorious.

Another lesson in Grade 6 book on Hazrat Ali also describes him as a just person in the household as well (5.2: Hazrat Ai (SA), page 91). Hazrat Ali implemented a division of responsibilities for household work with Hazrat Fatima (SA) - he used to bring groceries, fetch water and earn for the household while Fatima (SA) did the cooking and managed the house. He fought several wars, he was courageous, brave, and had great manners; he was simple, hardworking and generous. These are excellent examples of masculine characteristics which can help children adopt ways that may bring them to create more just society.

The books also have some stories of saints and some Muslim scholars e.g. Syed Ali Hajveri or Data Ganj Bakhsh: page 95, well-travelled for ilm (knowledge and education), constructed a mosque and preached Islam. Several Hindus converted to Islam at his hand. There is also a story of Fariduddin Masood Ganj Shakar – portrayed as a religious man, who was well mannered, and prayed a lot. Then there is a story of Muhammad Bin Qasim as a military commander, but at the same time he is shown to be courageous, selfless, soft-spoken, social, and brave. Another story is that of Bu Ali Sina who was a philosopher, tabib and scholar - a humble human being and Ibn-e-Khuldoon, was a wise man, expert in sociology, philosophy, and Shariah. He was from a noble family.

¹¹See the discussion on General Knowledge, Social Studies and History text books.

These stories do provide quite a variety of men who were either known because of their military command, being religious, being highly educated or their courage and leadership qualities. These depictions provide a variety of ways of being a man, and broaden children's perspectives on what choices are available to them. However these are all male figures and there is a lack of women's stories through which similar traits can be demonstrated to help children get a more balanced view.

Islamiyat books did not have many pictures. The books of grade 5, 6 and 7 did not have any pictures at all while the remaining had a total of 15 pictures out of which 40% were mixed while the rest were all male. The pictures were mainly of the religious congregations which are usually male dominated except in cases of hajj / pilgrimage at Mecca where men and women both are present.

Table 4: Number of Pictures / Illustrations in Islamiyat Books

Grade	Boys / men	Girls/Women	Mixed	Total
3	0	0	4	4
4	3	0	1	4
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0
8	6	0	1	7
Total	9	0	6	15
%age	60		40	100

English

There are 9 females and one male content author out of a total of 10 authors. Moreover the pedagogical authors for 6 books are also women. There are only 2 books for which the pedagogical authors are male. The rest of the teams i.e. editor, designer, supervisors and approver are male.

Overall the content of English books is no different than the rest of the books

in terms of providing masculine roles for boys and feminine roles for girls with the exception of lessons focusing more on good habits for all children. Mostly, there are different activities being done by girls and different activities by boys e.g. boys talk, run, walk, sleep, swim, taking care of their pet animals, throwing rubbish in the bin, reading in the library etc. Girls are shown to do things like eating, writing, brushing her teeth, clean the floor etc.

Similarly the games that are played by boys and men include mostly the games that require more running around, physical strength or power. For example boys are shown playing cricket, hockey, gardening while women are shown working in the kitchen, cooking and teaching.

Male aspirations about what they want to become when they grow up also indicate the usual male professions i.e. lawyer, doctor, Pakistan Army officer, teacher and police officer. One girl is also shown who wants to become a doctor while another wants to become a teacher. Most other professions are shown in pictures as being held by men - barber, farmer, bus conductor, judge, police, cobbler, bus driver, farmer, carpenter, mason, surgeon and shopkeeper. Women are shown as teachers or working inside the home. There is only one woman shown as a doctor. This reaffirms the hegemonic conception of masculinity as being defined by active participation in the public arena and in public spaces.

There is also a lesson in Grade 3 book (Page 53, Oral Communication) where cartoon characters are shown which predominantly are the ones “very powerful” and can never be defeated, such as Superman, Batman, and Spiderman in addition to the Mickey Mouse, Tom & Jerry, Dexter and Tweety. No such depictions of women are included. Once again, this reinforces the hegemonic ideal of male strength and men's role as active saviors of humanity.

There are a few exceptions to this dominant narrative within the textbooks. The first is seen in Grade 1 book where there is almost equal representation of figures of boys and girls. Different activities are being done by both and are general with no connotation of gender or masculinity. In some pictures both a boy and girl are shown to do the same action e.g. crying. Such a depiction may be interpreted as subversive because according to the hegemonic male ideal, men are supposed to display strength in all aspects of their lives, and are not supposed to be emotional. All feelings are meant to be locked inside the male psyche, and any external, physical display of sorrow runs directly

counter to this. However, because it is a male child displaying such an emotional response, such an analysis would be flawed at best. Boys retain a marginal role in the gender order because they are not yet fully men. Their masculinities have yet to be established through gender performance and embodied practice. Therefore, this depiction might be better counted as one of the few marginalized masculinities represented within these books. Nonetheless, all figures show difference between boys and girls through their dress and hair.

Similarly Grade 3 book on Page 67-68 highlights the fact that Fatima Jinnah was a dentist, however later the lessons go on to provide all prestigious professions to be held by men. Similarly there are a few pictures where boys are shown to help in the house.

There is a positive example for children to follow (at least there is an attempt to portray equality) in Grade 4, Lesson 11, pages 98-99. The Siblings at Work lesson provides a good story of a boy and a girl who jointly do the household chores and then play together. They also help the neighbors by lending them the iron. This presentation of a male child helping in household chores goes against the strict adherence to gender norms in the division of labor which is presented in most of the other lessons. There is another positive example in Grade 7 book which presents a lesson on Women's Role in Development and shows women in technical spheres like IT, engineering, architecture, communication and cricket and hockey teams as well. This may stimulate boys to think about women as competent in various professions.

There is also some comparison shown of the good and bad in the Grade 6 book (Lesson 6, pages 66-69, A bus Journey) where there is a well-mannered boy who is respectful to older people and a group of rowdy boys who are teasing everyone and how their noise affects everyone in the bus. Finally they were scolded by the old woman who told them to behave. Again this signifies the stereotypical images of boys where generally they are believed to be undisciplined and rude especially when out of homes.

In Grade 7 and 8 there are lessons on the Personality of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) where his truthfulness, trustworthiness, hospitality, mercifulness, just nature, patience, compassion, tolerance and understanding is highlighted and children are told that if they want to be honorable they should follow the character of our Prophet (PBUH).

Another story which presents positive picture of women (Grade 8, Lesson 12 The first Woman to Win the Sword of Honour) is where Saira Amin is presented as the first woman who is awarded the Sword of Honour. However her achievement is marked by words "She excelled in a field that is supposed to be of man's world", again highlighting the masculine concepts of achievement.

The table below indicates that the pictures are predominantly those of boys and men i.e. 50% of the total, while of girls and women are only about one third of the total while the remaining 16% are mixed pictures of boys and girls, or families having boys, girls, men and women. The exception is grade 2 book where the pictures of girls and boys are almost equal, followed by the grade 1 book where the difference is much smaller (45% boys, 40% girls and 15% mixed) as compared to Grade 3 and 4. The books for grade 6-8 have very small number of pictures or illustrations, however the difference between boys/men and girls/women pictures widens.

Table 8: Number of Pictures / Illustrations in English Books

Grade	Boys / men	Girls/Women	Mixed	Total
1	74	66	25	165
2	63	64	9	136
3	30	6	28	64
4	71	26	12	
5	Book not available (out of print)			
6	9	5	5	19
7	6	4	3	13
8	8	3	1	12
Total	261	174	83	518
%age	50.4%	33.6%	16.0%	100

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

From the above report and the summary, it is noteworthy that although the books have been reviewed recently by the National Book Foundation / Federal Textbook Board in the light of the guidance provided under the new management and supervision of textbook development principles and guidelines with new design and layout there is still a need for textbooks to be gender sensitive. Although there has been a lot of effort in the past several years to improve the quality of text, there is still a lot more to be done in order to make books fully gender sensitive and inclusive of alternate forms of masculine success. Most stories still revolve around strict adherence to gender norms and to the hegemonic ideal of masculinity which maintains that men are strong, aggressive and have dominion over the public sphere. Masculinity is closely linked to nationalism and the military as the textbooks engage in an active process of citizen formation, discussing issues of civic duty and service to the nation. Little masculinity are presented which revolve around purely intellectual pursuits, or which show men as submitting to the authority of women or engaging with them as equals.

There is also need to continuously assess and re-assess the impact of the text books on children after a thorough review and revision is done from a gender perspective. Excessive use of masculine characters, figures and illustration on the one hand prohibits females from identifying with the text and illustrations while on the other hand it also does not help boys to have better understanding of reality.

There are various factors that can be attributed to the overwhelming number of masculine / male images in the school textbooks in Pakistan which include: lack of comprehensive assessment checklists or understanding to identify gender stereotypes in the textbooks, the guidelines may be emphasizing more on contents of the topics and conformity to curriculum, mostly men are involved in the production of the text books and there may be a lack of regular in-service training on gender issues for the staff involved in textbook development and production.

Recommendations

As described above in the conclusion there are various implications for curriculum, teaching methodology, learning in schools and teachers' training. Therefore some of the recommendations / suggestions are given below:

- Curriculum at the time of design should incorporate globally accepted gender and human rights standards. Textbooks should be written by a team which has been through gender sensitivity training and can also relate to the implication of gender biases on the minds of children.
- The content of the books should be “futuristic” and should have a vision of change woven through books. There should be a diversity of roles, responsibilities and relationships in which men and women or girls and boys are depicted – both in the content and in the illustrations or pictures.
- The teams that are given charge to write, design and develop textbooks should be provided training on gender equality and human rights in order to help them better understand the diversity in human beings and appreciate the need for bringing that into the text book lessons.
- Teachers, principals and other staff in schools should be trained on gender sensitive behavior and on the use of gender sensitive language in order to promote a gender fair world for the children.
- Teachers shall be taught to use a variety of teaching material and should be able to select material which is gender sensitive or free from gender biases. They should be aware of the importance of using gender fair examples during teaching which avoid stereotypes.
- Cross learning should be encouraged by helping teachers visit other schools and share their experience and reflect on good practices that they may find from other schools.
- The curriculum enrichment can be done through the identification of lessons and story books or poems that depict more equal gender relations, roles and responsibilities and can help promote a variety of different options children can exercise in their lives to form their identities.

Shirakat

Partnership for Development

Vision

A just, peaceful and tolerant society where all can exercise their human rights

Mission

To contribute towards social justice and women's rights through piloting innovative initiatives; striving for behavioral change; and action beyond boundaries.

Guiding Principles

- Utilization of local wisdom, ● knowledge and resources
- Enhancing networking and coordination for collective action
- Encouragement of innovation and creativity
- Prioritizing quality and accepting challenges
- Equal rights and opportunities for all

We believe in:

- Equal opportunity for men and women irrespective of class, caste, age, ethnicity, culture or religion
- Transparency, accountability and diversity
- Active involvement of men, women and children, especially those marginalized and disadvantaged, in development initiatives.
- Engaging boys and men for social justice.
- Freedom of thought, expression and choice

Organizational Capacity

The presence of well qualified and experienced national and international volunteers, supporters and staff with years of working experience with both national and international NGOs as well as donor agencies guarantees the systematic accomplishment of work. Close linkages with a number of leading NGOs involved in research, implementation and information dissemination through community organization in their respective areas strengthen Shirakat's work. These networks ensure easy access to remote and outlying areas for implementation of initiatives and information dissemination.

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